

ActionAid Australia

Submission to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's Inquiry into Australia's new International Development Policy



1. Introduction

ActionAid welcomes the opportunity to provide this submission to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's inquiry into Australia's new International Development Policy. ActionAid Australia is a global women's rights organisation that empowers women on the frontlines of injustice to mobilise and transform their communities. In more than 45 countries, ActionAid supports women to understand their rights, reflect on the people and systems that affect them, and harness their collective power to change their lives and positions in society. More than 70,000 Australians support our efforts to advance economic and climate justice for women and their rights in emergencies. Over the past year ActionAid Australia has reached over 3.5 million people through direct support to partners in 19 countries, including working with women's organisations in the Asia-Pacific region with the support of the Australian Aid Program.

Australia's new international development policy arrives at critical time. Communities in many parts of the world are in crisis as they battle the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, rapidly worsening climate impacts and growing food insecurity. Extreme poverty has risen for the first time in two decades,ⁱ pushing the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) increasingly out of reach. UN Women has indicated that we are at a tipping point for women's rights and gender equality and without investment, realising gender equality will take over 300 years at current rates of progress. Gender disparities are worsening in the face of cascading global crises with half a billion women living in extreme poverty.ⁱⁱ

In developing this new policy, the Government has an opportunity to set an ambitious agenda that fosters peaceful, flourishing and equitable societies across our region and globally. It is an opportunity to reorient the Australian Aid Program towards poverty alleviation and sustainable development rather than a national interest agenda. This requires a focus on tackling the structural drivers of poverty, gender inequality and climate injustice and supporting women, people with disability and other marginalised groups to drive integrated, intersectional and inclusive interventions across the development and humanitarian nexus. To be effective, the new policy should also be matched by adequate resourcing, targeted to where there is greatest need. Australia must also work towards

coherence between its climate, development, trade, diplomacy and defence policies to ensure maximum impact in responding to global challenges.

2. Centring Gender Equality in Australia's Development Assistance

Gender equality should be a central goal of Australia's new international development policy. Achieving gender equality is critical to the realisation of human rights for all. Progress on gender equality is also a critical element and enabler of poverty eradication and broader development outcomes. Yet, women's rights are increasingly under threat globally, as the compounding impacts of COVID-19, climate change and rising conflict lead to a deterioration in gender equality. UN Women's latest Gender Snapshot has highlighted the deepening in extreme poverty and hunger for women and girls, alongside an alarming rise in violence against women, a backlash against women's sexual and reproductive rights and persistent gaps in access to education and participation in decision-making.ⁱⁱⁱ

It is widely recognised that feminist organisations, including those representing diverse women and girls, have strong community networks and an understanding of the local context that is critical in addressing the systemic factors and power relations that underpin gender inequality. For example, there is strong evidence that sustained advocacy of feminist organisations has been the most important contributor to new laws, policies and programs to tackle violence against women globally. ActionAid's partnership with the Shifting the Power Coalition in the Pacific has also demonstrated that locally-led feminist coalitions are effective in transforming male dominated decision-making spaces such as the humanitarian sector.^{iv} In reimaging its new international development policy, DFAT should develop targeted funding streams to support feminist and women's rights organisations in both the Pacific and Southeast Asia.

The Government's decision to reinstate the '80 percent performance target', which requires that at least 80 percent of all development investments effectively address gender equality is welcome. As is the new requirement that all investments of more than \$3 million must have a significant focus on gender equality alongside their primary objective. Increased technical capacity will be required across the Department

of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to support implementation of these new policies as well as regular and transparent reporting on progress against these commitments to ensure accountability and improve performance on gender equality.

Beyond this, currently only 5 percent of the international development budget is directed at targeted gender equality programmes and less than 0.5 percent of bilateral Official development assistance (ODA) was allocated to women's rights organisations (WROs) in 2018-19.^v If the Australian Government is serious about achieving gender equality and halting the erosion of hard-won gains, a significant investment in gender transformative programming is essential. This requires targeted investment in programming that has gender equality as its principal objective and is actively targeting unequal power relations, harmful gender norms and widespread discrimination faced by women globally.

ActionAid urges the Government to match progress on gender mainstreaming with a commitment to directing 20 percent of all new ODA investments to initiatives that have gender equality as their primary objective. It is recommended that this include allocating 5 percent of bilateral ODA towards women's rights organisations (WROs) across all regions, provided as accessible, flexible, core and multi-year grant-funding, administered directly through post or feminist intermediaries. Investing in gender transformative programming is critical to progress on gender equality, alongside an intersectional feminist approach that targets the most marginalised women and girls, including those living with disability, and supports their leadership in driving effective and inclusive development responses.

Policy coherence for sustainable development and gender equality is important across the breadth of Australia's foreign policy. This could be progressed through a transition towards a feminist foreign policy and Australia's Indigenous Foreign Policy, grounded in the principle of free, prior and informed consent.

Recommendation 1: ACCOUNTABILITY - DFAT should report annually on progress towards the 80 percent target and the commitment for programs over \$3m to have a gender equality objective, as well as undertake an annual, independent assessment of gender equality progress.

Recommendation 2: PRIORITIES - Australia should prioritise gender equality in the new development policy and invest in gender transformative programming by directing 20 percent of all ODA to initiatives with gender equality as the principal objective.

Recommendation 3: PARTNERSHIPS - A minimum of 5 percent of bilateral ODA should be directed at frontline women's rights organisations across all priority regions. This should be accessible, flexible, core and multi-year grant-funding and delivered through post or feminist intermediaries.

Recommendation 4: CAPABILITY - DFAT should invest in enhanced gender technical expertise at post and thematic level as well as adequate resourcing of its central Gender Equality Branch.

2.1 Fostering an integrated approach to climate change and gender equality programming and realising a 'double dividend'

Global evidence suggests not only that climate change is altering weather systems and driving unprecedented economic challenges, conflict, and humanitarian disasters, but that it is exacerbating existing inequalities. Diverse women and girls are bearing the brunt of these crises, due to worsening gender-based violence, increased unpaid work and a loss of livelihoods and biodiversity. Healthcare and public services, which women disproportionately rely on, also face disruptions in extreme weather events. Further, diverse women's widespread exclusion from decision making creates a vicious cycle that results in their needs and priorities being overlooked in national plans to respond to climate and disaster risk.^{vi}

ActionAid research has found that while 30 percent of Australia's bilateral climate finance to the Pacific region in 2019-2020 was categorised as addressing gender equality, only five out of 111 investments had a 'principal' focus on gender equality, reflecting just 0.35 percent of the total investment to the region. Only 12 of the investments with a 'significant' focus on gender had a clear reference to gender equality, with most investments making no mention of gender equality or women and girls in the project description. Further, only four investments had either a principal or strong focus on both gender and climate change.^{vii}

ActionAid believes that there is an urgent need to improve the accountability to gender equality mainstreaming across climate programming as well as a clear case for climate change being a central priority in the new international development policy, given its detrimental impacts on women and girls. An integrated approach to climate change and gender equality is critical in developing effective climate responses that progress gender equality alongside climate adaptation and resilience building. ActionAid's Gender Responsive Alternatives to Climate Change and Related Crises (GRACC) framework, supported by the Australian Aid Program, can support this transition.^{viii} The GRACC framework is underpinned by the recognition that effective climate change responses can drive transformative change in gender relations by valuing women's localised and indigenous knowledge; supporting diverse women's participation in decision making at all levels; resourcing women's collective action; and addressing unequal gender norms that continue to increase climate and disaster risk.

Australia can build on these learnings by scaling-up funding for integrated climate change responses that enable diverse women from affected communities and their organisations to drive effective climate solutions. In a resource constrained environment with many competing priorities, this is also an opportunity to realise a 'double dividend' that achieves both gender equality and climate goals. For example, ActionAid's *Women Wetem Weta* model^{ix} in Vanuatu has supported Pacific women's leadership in developing a nation-wide early warning and information system in partnership with Digicel that now reaches 40% of the population – delivering multiple dividends across disaster risk reduction, gender equality, localisation and private sector engagement. As Australia expands its global climate finance, it can drive innovative new models that ensure funding reaches the most affected communities.

Recommendation 5: PRIORITIES - *Australia should adopt an integrated framework that addresses climate change, gender equality and interlinked crises, which would drive more effective responses for the most marginalised and climate affected populations, particularly women and girls.*

3. Strategic targeting of ODA investments and policy coherence for sustainable development

The global gap in aid and climate funding is undermining progress towards the realisation of the SDGs and the implementation of the Paris Agreement. In a tight fiscal environment Australia should ensure its ODA is targeted where there is greatest need. Further, Australia's aid investments should be complemented by policy coherence for sustainable development and gender equality. Providing leadership to progress solutions to the global debt crisis and on international tax and trade reform can complement ODA investments and have strong impacts on mobilising public revenue in low-income countries and creating an enabling environment for effective development and climate responses.

3.1 Directing aid where there is greatest need

Australia should ensure its ODA investments are directed where there is greatest need, by providing half of its ODA funding to Least Developed Countries (LDCs).^x As of 2021, 46 countries were classified as LDCs by the UN ECOSOC's Committee for Development – 33 of these are in the African region, with 9 in Asia and 4 in the Pacific.^{xi} The Government's focus on the Pacific and Southeast Asia is justified as our nearest neighbours. However, given the significant challenges to human development within LDCs, Australia should reconsider its support to the Africa region as well as invest in a more effective development approach. While it is important that Australia contributes to spikes in protracted humanitarian crises, the root causes require investment in multi-year, long term development programming focused on building food security and resilience.

3.2 Ensure funding modalities do not exacerbate debt distress and lead on solutions to the global debt crisis and tax reform

High levels of public debt restrict governments from investing in health, education, economic development and climate change solutions. Low-income country debt payments are the highest in 20 years, which risks undermining locally-led development and climate responses.^{xii} Australia should ensure its funding modalities, including the Australian Infrastructure Financing Facility for the Pacific, do not deepen debt distress and

provide global leadership in addressing debt relief and restructuring in low-income countries.^{xiii}

Corporate tax evasion and avoidance, and other forms of illicit financial flows, also obstruct redistribution and reduce public resources that are crucial to addressing inequalities, particularly gender inequality. As such, by progressing international tax reform, Australia can support low-income countries to free-up vital funding for investment in public services and sustainable development.^{xiv}

3.3 Ensuring policy coherence between Australia's trade and development policies

Well-designed trade rules can play an important role in supporting development outcomes, gender equality and climate action. However, Australia's existing trade agreements include provisions that can reinforce and deepen discriminatory economic structures, impacting on economic development and limiting women's access to decent work and increasing their unpaid domestic and care burden.^{xv} Investor-state dispute settlement provisions (ISDS) are particularly concerning and can restrict governments' ability to implement policies needed to promote sustainable development and protect the environment. Intellectual property rules can also extend technology patents and increase the cost of green technologies, which prevent developing countries from accessing the technology necessary to transition to a post-carbon economy.^{xvi} By ensuring coherence between Australia's trade and development, Australia can use its trade agreements to support sustainable development and gender equality outcomes and facilitate strong climate action.

Recommendation 6: PRIORITIES - *Australia should allocate half of ODA investments to Least Developed Countries, including increasing the proportion of ODA to the African region, where 90 percent of people living in extreme poverty are expected to reside by 2030.*

Recommendation 7: PARTNERSHIPS - *Australia should cease the use of loans (commercial or concessional) in its development assistance and provide global leadership in reducing debt distress in low-income countries and growing their tax revenues to drive locally-led development.*

Recommendation 8: ACCOUNTABILITY - *Australia should ensure policy coherence between its trade and development policies, including by resourcing independent gender,*

social, economic and environmental impact assessments for all trade agreements to identify and respond to any potential negative impacts on and gender equality and sustainable development.

4. Strengthening Civil Society

The 2021 CIVICUS Monitor found that only 3.1 percent of the world's population live in countries with open civic space, while 88 percent of people reside in countries where civic space is either closed, obstructed or threatened.^{xvii} The COVID-19 pandemic has further restricted civic space in many countries across the world. While some restrictions on freedom of movement are justified to protect people's health, there is evidence that over time the pandemic has been used to constrict civic space and, in some cases, to undermine human rights. For example, ActionAid research in nine countries^{xviii} found that the pandemic was used by some governments to "further close civic space as they expand emergency powers, institute regimes of surveillance and attack activists and movements while refusing to provide relief to those who are facing immediate and long-term social and economic impacts of the pandemic."^{xix}

A healthy and vibrant civil society, and an open civic space, is critical in achieving democracy, good governance and progress in vital areas such as gender equality. Where people and civil society can organise, and engage with decision making processes, they are better able to claim their human rights and influence the social, political and economic structures that impact them. Australia should make support for a strong and vibrant civil society a key objective of its new development policy. This should include developing and adequately financing a coherent strategy for engagement with civil society in Australia and partner countries. Resourcing civil society organisations, including feminist organisations, particularly in contexts like Myanmar and Afghanistan, is critical in fostering open civic space and enabling local organisations to hold governments accountable. This strategy could also guide collaboration with Australian NGOs in driving long-term development partnerships with communities.

In 2015, DFAT's Office for Development Effectiveness found that ANCP represented around 2.7 percent of the ODA budget and delivered 18.2 percent of outputs reported in the Department's aggregate development results.^{xx} To target limited resources most effectively and

contribute to a strong civil society, the Australian Government should ensure that 25 percent of all development funding is delivered through civil society organisations. This can be achieved through an expansion of the ANCP program to invest in several multi-year targeted development initiatives that address strategic priorities and build on existing local partnerships, expertise and capabilities of ANGOs, similar to past bilateral funding schemes.^{xxi} Developing funding mechanisms to support national civil society, including feminist civil society, at post or regional level is also critical in supporting the localisation agenda and realising the Grand Bargain commitment to 25 percent of humanitarian funding being directed to national or local organisations.

Recommendation 9: PARTNERSHIPS –
Australia should make support for strong and vibrant civil society a key objective of its new international development policy, including by:

- *Developing a civil society strategy across the program to foster meaningful engagement, dialogue and partnership with civil society actors at all levels and targeted interventions in contexts where civic space is rapidly shrinking or closed.*
- *Ensure that 25 percent of all ODA is directed at civil society organisations with an expansion of new NGO funding mechanisms to support investment in targeted multiyear initiatives in priority countries around thematic priorities as well as flexible, core, multi-year funding to national civil society organisations.*
- *Ensure that all country plans include analysis of civic space, strategies to safeguard civic space with bilateral partners and targeted investments in civil society in restrictive contexts.*

5. Supporting ambitious and equitable global climate action

Communities across the world are facing a climate emergency, and it is those least responsible for causing the crisis who are being hit hardest. In line with our recent report *Falling Short*^{xxii}, ActionAid urges Australia to ensure that within the development policy, climate finance is

delivered in new and additional grant-based finance, in line with our international fair share.

5.1 Ensuring transparent and rigorous reporting of climate investments

Australia should also ensure transparent and rigorous reporting of its climate finance investments. Under the existing climate finance reporting system, there is a risk that climate funding can be overestimated, particularly where it is integrated and counted alongside broader development programming. ActionAid research found that between 2012-2020, 88 percent of Australia's bilateral and regional climate finance initiatives were classified as 'significantly' focused on climate change, with the number of investments with a 'principal' focus on climate change declining steadily throughout the period.^{xxiii} While mainstreaming climate change into development programming is important, transparency is needed to ensure the accuracy of climate finance reporting and that increases to climate funding reflect a greater investment in initiatives primarily focused on climate change and not merely a reclassification of existing aid spending.

5.2 Prioritising locally-led, transformative adaptation initiatives

Locally driven adaptation initiatives that provide direct resourcing to local communities and community-based organisations are particularly effective in driving inclusive and targeted climate solutions. ActionAid research found that less than 3 percent of climate finance investments to the Pacific region in 2019-2020 explicitly channelled resources to the local level and only 1.2 percent of funding was categorised as principally focused on adaptation.^{xxiv} This raises concerns about the effectiveness of Australia's investments in achieving transformative adaptation outcomes. Australia should ensure that a greater proportion of its climate finance is targeted at locally-led transformative adaptation initiatives, including by signing onto the Principles for Locally-led Adaptation,^{xxv} which ensure that climate investments are designed to reach local communities and build resilience.

5.3 Responding to climate-induced loss and damage

Communities around the world are facing growing loss and damage in the wake of escalating climate impacts caused by sudden-onset disasters, such as cyclones, floods and bushfires, and slow-onset events, such as drought and desertification. Australia should

establish a new window for loss and damage financing, alongside continued international cooperation to operationalise the global loss and damage fund agreed at COP27.

Recommendation 10: ACCOUNTABILITY -

Australia should ensure its climate finance is new and additional to the ODA budget and provided as grants. Transparent and rigorous reporting of climate finance investments should include publishing full project lists, tracking and reporting funding that is directed to the local level, and for each project:

- *reporting both the full project value and the amount being counted as climate finance, and only count principally climate-related investments as climate finance; and*
- *providing an explanation of how the climate finance component of the project costs was calculated.*

Recommendation 11: PARTNERSHIPS -

Australia should ensure its climate finance provides greater support for locally-led adaptation initiatives by:

- *Endorsing the principles for locally-led adaptation and taking action to embed these within DFAT's climate change strategy.*
- *Directing 25 percent of bilateral climate finance to locally-led initiatives.*
- *Significantly increasing the proportion of Australian climate change investments that have a 'principal' focus on adaptation to support transformative solutions.*

Recommendation 12: PRIORITIES -

Australia should establish a new climate finance window to address climate-induced loss and damage, alongside ongoing international cooperation to operationalise the new global loss and damage fund.

6. Conclusion

Australia's new International Development Policy arrives at critical time, as communities in many parts of the world battle the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, rapidly worsening climate impacts and growing food insecurity. Women and girls, people with disability and other marginalised groups are bearing the brunt of these impacts as gender equality and women's rights gains are increasingly coming under threat.

Australia should use this opportunity to set an ambitious international development agenda that fosters peaceful, flourishing and equitable societies across our region and globally. To ensure maximum impact in responding to global challenges, the new international development policy should prioritise gender equality and climate action, ensure Australian ODA is directed where there is greatest need, and provide policy coherence between Australia's development, foreign and defence policies. Australia has a strong history of gender equality and development leadership in our region and globally. The new international development policy provides an opportunity for Australia to rebuild this leadership and play a critical role in facilitating global peace, stability and wellbeing.

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ANNEX 1. Full list of recommendations

1. Prioritising gender equality

Recommendation 1: ACCOUNTABILITY - DFAT should report annually on progress towards the 80 percent target and the commitment for programs over \$3m to have a gender equality objective, as well as undertake an annual, independent assessment of gender equality progress.

Recommendation 2: PRIORITIES - Australia should prioritise gender equality in the new development policy and invest in gender transformative programming by directing 20 percent of all ODA to initiatives with gender equality as the principal objective.

Recommendation 3: PARTNERSHIPS - A minimum of 5 percent of bilateral ODA should be directed at frontline women's rights organisations across all priority regions. This should be accessible, flexible, core and multi-year grant-funding and delivered through post or feminist intermediaries.

Recommendation 4: CAPABILITY - DFAT should invest in enhanced gender technical expertise at post and thematic level as well as adequate resourcing of its central Gender Equality Branch.

Recommendation 5: PRIORITIES - Australia should adopt an integrated framework that addresses climate change, gender equality and interlinked crises, which would drive more effective responses for the most marginalised and climate affected populations, particularly women and girls.

2. Strategic targeting of ODA investments and policy coherence for sustainable development

Recommendation 6: PRIORITIES - Australia should allocate half of ODA investments to Least Developed Countries, including increasing the proportion of ODA to the African region, where 90 percent of people living in extreme poverty are expected to reside by 2030.

Recommendation 7: PARTNERSHIPS - Australia should cease the use of loans (commercial or concessional) in its development assistance and provide global leadership in reducing debt distress in low-income countries

and growing their tax revenues to drive locally led development.

Recommendation 8: ACCOUNTABILITY - Australia should ensure policy coherence between its trade and development policies, including by resourcing independent gender, social, economic and environmental impact assessments for all trade agreements to identify and respond to any potential negative impacts on and gender equality and sustainable development.

3. Strengthening civil society

Recommendation 9: PARTNERSHIPS – Australia should make support for strong and vibrant civil society a key objective of Australia's new international development policy, including by:

- Developing a civil society strategy across the program to foster meaningful engagement, dialogue and partnership with civil society actors at all levels and targeted interventions in contexts where civic space is rapidly shrinking or closed.
- Ensure that 25 percent of all ODA is directed at civil society organisations with an expansion of new NGO funding mechanisms to support investment in targeted multiyear initiatives in priority countries around thematic priorities as well as flexible, core, multi-year funding to national civil society organisations.
- Ensure that all country plans include analysis of civic space, strategies to safeguard civic space with bilateral partners and targeted investments in civil society in restrictive contexts.

4. Supporting ambitious and equitable global climate action

Recommendation 10: ACCOUNTABILITY - Australia should ensure its climate finance is new and additional to the ODA budget and provided as grants. Transparent and rigorous reporting of climate finance investments should include publishing full project lists, tracking and reporting funding that is directed to the local level, and for each project:

- reporting both the full project value and the amount being counted as climate finance, and only count principally climate-related investments as climate finance; and

- *providing an explanation of how the climate finance component of the project costs was calculated.*

Recommendation 11: PARTNERSHIPS -

Australia should ensure its climate finance provides greater support for locally led adaptation initiatives by:

- *Endorsing the locally led adaptation principles and taking action to embed these within DFAT's climate change strategy.*
- *Directing 25 percent of bilateral climate finance to locally-led initiatives.*
- *Significantly increasing the proportion of Australian climate change investments that have a 'principal' focus on adaptation to support transformative solutions.*

Recommendation 12: PRIORITIES –

Australia should establish a new climate finance window to address climate-induced loss and damage, alongside ongoing international cooperation to operationalise the new global loss and damage fund.

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- ⁱ The World Bank (2021) *2021 Year in Review in 11 Charts: The Inequality Pandemic*, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2021/12/20/year-2021-in-review-the-inequality-pandemic>
- ⁱⁱ UN Women (2022) *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The Gender Snapshot 2022*, https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/documents/Publications/GenderSnapshot_2022.pdf
- ⁱⁱⁱ UN Women (2022) *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The Gender Snapshot 2022*, https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/documents/Publications/GenderSnapshot_2022.pdf
- ^{iviv} For more information see Shifting the Power Coalition: Impact Assessment Report, 2021, <https://actionaid.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/StPC-Impact-Assessment-Report-25012263.pdf>
- ^v OECD DAC (2021) *Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Donor Charts*, <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/aid-in-support-of-gender-equality-2021.pdf>
- ^{vi} The Economist Intelligence Unit Limited (2014) *The South Asia Women's Resilience Index Examining the role of women in preparing for and recovering from disasters*, <http://actionaid.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/The-South-Asia-Womens-Resilience-Index.pdf>
- ^{vii} ActionAid Australia, Oxfam Australia et al (2022) *Falling Short: Australia's role in funding fairer climate action in a warming world*, https://actionaid.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Climate-Finance-Report_Digital-V2.pdf
- ^{viii} For more information on the GRACC initiative and framework see <https://actionaid.org.au/programs/gender-responsive-alternatives-for-climate-change-2/>
- ^{ix} For more information on Women Wetem Weta see <https://www.undrr.org/publication/inclusive-and-accessible-multi-hazard-early-warning-systems-learning-women-led-early>
- ^x SDG Target 17.2, <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/?Text=&Goal=17&Target=17.2>
- ^{xi} United Nations Committee for Development Policy (2021) *List of Least Developed Countries (as of 15 November 2022)*, <https://unctad.org/topic/least-developed-countries/list>
- ^{xii} Debt Justice UK (2022) *Growing global debt crisis to worsen with interest rate rises*, <https://debtjustice.org.uk/press-release/growing-debt-crisis-to-worsen-with-interest-rate-rises>
- ^{xiii} For more information see ActionAid et al (2022) *Submission to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's Review into New Forms of Development Finance*, <https://actionaid.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Development-finance-submission-ActionAid-Jubilee-and-Oxfam.pdf>
- ^{xiv} Ibid
- ^{xv} ActionAid Australia (2021) *Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties inquiry into the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership agreement*, <https://actionaid.org.au/resources/regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership-agreement/>
- ^{xvi} Trade Justice Movement (2021) *How trade can support climate action: a 2021 agenda for the UK*, https://www.tjm.org.uk/documents/reports/TJM_Trade-support-climate-action_Jul21_download.pdf
- ^{xvii} CIVICUS Monitor 2021, <https://findings2021.monitor.civicus.org/>
- ^{xviii} Bolivia, Brazil, Ghana, Guatemala, Nepal, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe.
- ^{xix} ActionAid International (2021) *Unseen, unheard Impact of Covid-19 Measures on Civil and Political Rights in Nine Countries*, https://actionaid.org/sites/default/files/publication/Unseen%2C%20unheard_full%20report.pdf
- ^{xx} DFAT (2016) *Independent Evaluation of the Australian NGO Cooperation Program*, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/development/performance-assessment/aid-evaluation/program-evaluations/evaluation-of-the-australian-ngo-cooperation-program>
- ^{xxi} For example, the Australian Africa Community Engagement Scheme, the Australian Middle East NGO Cooperation Agreement Program and the Australia Afghanistan Community Resilience Scheme
- ^{xxii} ActionAid Australia, Oxfam Australia et al (2022) *Falling Short: Australia's role in funding fairer climate action in a warming world*, https://actionaid.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Climate-Finance-Report_Digital-V2.pdf
- ^{xxiii} Ibid
- ^{xxiv} Ibid
- ^{xxv} IIED, *Principles for locally led adaptation*, <https://www.iied.org/principles-for-locally-led-adaptation>