CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT

DEVELOPMENT **MATTERS**

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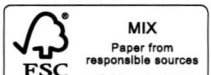

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About the series

Development Matters is a series of comprehensive but concise introductions to the key issues in development studies. It offers politically engaged and challenging critiques while demonstrating academic and conceptual rigour to provide readers with critical, reflexive and challenging explorations of the pressing concerns in development. With carefully designed features, such as explanatory text boxes, glossaries and recommended reading, the series provides the reader with accessible guides to development studies.

Series editor: Helen Yanacopulos

About the author

Eleanor O' Gorman lives in Cambridge and works as an independent strategist and researcher on international development, conflict and security issues. She advises, among others, the UN, the UK Government, the Government of Ireland, the European Commission, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Eleanor has extensive field experience in conflict-affected countries, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sri Lanka and Timor Leste. With a PhD in Social and Political Sciences from the University of Cambridge, she has previously lectured at the University of East Anglia on development studies, and held the post of senior policy adviser with the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) in New York and Brussels. Eleanor is currently Senior Associate at the Gender Studies Centre and Research Associate at the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge and serves as an expert on international panels and forums.

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Acronyms

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Assistance
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
AVR	armed violence reduction
CHASE	Conflict, Humanitarian and Security Department (DFID)
CHD	Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
CSCW	Centre for the Study of Civil War at PRIO
CSO	civil society organisation
DDR	disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FEWER	Forum on Early Warning and Early Response
G8	Group of 8 (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, UK, US)
GHA	global humanitarian assistance
GNI	gross national income
GPI	Global Peace Index

GTZ/BMZ	(German) Association for Technical Cooperation/Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
HIPC	heavily indebted poor country
HSRP	Human Security Research Project
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	internally displaced person(s)
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INCAF	International Network on Conflict and Fragility (at the OECD DAC)
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
IR	International Relations
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan
LDC	least-developed country
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	non-governmental organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee
PCIA	peace and conflict impact assessment
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo, Norway
R2P	responsibility to protect
SALW	small arms and light weapons
SCA	strategic conflict assessment

SCR	Security Council Resolution (UN)
SEA	sexual exploitation and abuse
SGBV	sexual and gender-based violence
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General (UN)
SSR	security sector reform
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Project
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union/ United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN DPKO	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UPSP	Uppsala Conflict Data Project
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peace
WB	World Bank
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding Programme

Contents

1 | International Conflict and Development in the Twenty-First Century: an Overview

The new breed of intra-state conflicts has certain characteristics that present United Nations peacekeepers with challenges not encountered since the Congo operation of the early 1960s. They are usually fought not only by regular armies but also by militias and armed civilians with little discipline and with ill-defined chains of command. They are often guerrilla wars without clear front lines. Civilians are the main victims and often the main targets. Humanitarian emergencies are commonplace and the combatant authorities, in so far as they can be called authorities, lack the capacity to cope with them. The number of refugees registered ... has increased.... The number of internally displaced persons has increased even more dramatically. Another feature of such conflicts is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government suspended, its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country.... It means that international intervention must extend beyond military and humanitarian tasks and must include the promotion of national reconciliation and the re-establishment of effective government. (Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations in 1995)

Introduction

The aim of this book is to map out the thinking and practices that are redefining contemporary responses to violent conflict in the Global South[1] and generating new possibilities and dilemmas for the moral, legitimate and practical role of international development assistance in the twenty-first century. The book focuses on the post-Cold War period since 1989 and traces the emergence and rapid expansion of a field of endeavour called Conflict and Development that seeks to enable international aid policies and programmes to better prevent, respond to, and even transform the occurrence of war and large-scale violent conflict. It explores, from the viewpoints of theory, policy and practice, a set of core themes that have both driven and arisen from this agenda over the past two decades. They provide a critical introduction to major aspects of the relationship between contemporary international conflict and development through the following chapters:

- understanding violent conflict and its relationship with poverty and development (Chapter 2);
- designing and using conflict analysis as a tool for development (Chapter 3);
- the evolving international aid architecture – policies and organisations, including competing ideas of security – that shapes the conflict and development agenda (Chapter 4);
- the political momentum surrounding women, peace and security and its implications for gendered understandings of conflict, violence and development (Chapter 5);
- the current dominance of the peacebuilding/statebuilding axis and to what extent it may indicate the overreach of development policies and programmes in conflict zones (Chapter 6).

This agenda of conflict and development has brought forth new dilemmas: how can soldiers, diplomats and aid workers work together in conflict situations? How to classify development assistance in complex situations and not squeeze traditional poverty reduction programmes? Is aid always compromised in war-affected situations? How do we measure success? Critical engagement with the idea of 'new wars' and the policy and practices of the 'liberal peace' and its institutional reach run through the book and are re-evaluated in the final chapter on peacebuilding and statebuilding to focus on current dilemmas.

New wars and liberal peace

The post-Cold War world opened up the possibility of new international responses to a range of peace, security and development issues ranging from civil wars, human rights abuses, proliferation of small arms and landmines, through to natural resource conflicts, environmental degradation and HIV/Aids. This moment of optimism was captured in 'An Agenda for Peace' by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, in which he outlined an approach of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding that would expand the interventions of the UN in conflicts where Cold War vetoes by Security Council members had hitherto paralysed action.[2] Little cited or commented upon is the accompanying 'Agenda for Development' of 1995 and its vision of new possibilities for the relationship between peace, security and development. It called for development as peacebuilding based on the premise that 'only sustained efforts to resolve underlying socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation' (UN 1995). From 1989, the international community became involved in new types of international

humanitarian and peacekeeping operations where there was no peace to keep, a humanitarian imperative to act and yet an incapacity to enforce an end of hostilities (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia). There was also an increasingly civilian dimension to peacekeeping operations, where peace agreements were negotiated and supported in implementation in areas such as organising elections, handling return of refugees, coordinating reconstruction, monitoring human rights, de-mining, policing, and overseeing transitional administration (Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia, El Salvador, Kosovo and Timor-Leste). Peacekeepers also acquired a further role in protecting humanitarian convoys and operations to prevent looting and attacks. Within this new generation of peacebuilding and conflict prevention responses, boundaries among military, humanitarian, political/diplomatic and development approaches have been challenged and transformed.

The period of 1990–2010 brings us through the troubled and failed humanitarian interventions of the early 1990s in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia to the statebuilding ambitions of armed interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Two particular political trends define the understanding of and response to international conflict, and inform the themes taken up in this book:

1. The changing nature of conflict from inter-state to intra-state, with an emphasis on resurgent nationalism, ethnic conflict, civil wars, and the financing of conflict – including the growth of regional and global networks of arms, minerals and organized crime. This trend revolves around debates on the nature of 'new wars' in terms of the dynamics of globalisation and localisation in intra-state wars and the emergence of the 'liberal peace thesis' as a guide to international responses informing increasingly comprehensive peace operations spanning peacekeeping, diplomatic, humanitarian, rule of law and development interventions. The

norms of 'humanitarian intervention' and the 'responsibility to protect' as guides to action are part of these debates.

2. In the last decade the changing global context of violent conflict has been altered again by concerns of terrorism and so-called failed or fragile states, whereby underdevelopment itself becomes a threat to international security. This is driving new variations of the relationship between military security and development – captured by current preoccupations with stabilisation and the peacebuilding/statebuilding nexus as the template for preventing and recovering from contemporary violent conflict. In Iraq and Afghanistan this nexus potentially extends into areas of counterinsurgency and anti-terrorist objectives.

The 'new wars' debate shaped the understanding of violent conflicts that erupted in the early 1990s and brought with them new understandings of the local and global, unfettered by the superpower struggles of the Cold War period. Mary Kaldor (2006 [1999]: 8), credited with coining the phrase, describes such wars as 'a mixture of war, crime and human rights violations'. Others interpret them as inherently irrational, driven by ethnic rivalries and nationalist fervour giving rise to a 'new barbarism' (Kaplan 1993; 1994). Kaldor, along with Mark Duffield, argues for the formative role of globalisation in shaping the form and nature of new intrastate wars linked into global economic and political processes and transformations. This legacy of globalisation includes the changing world economy in terms of the rise of private sector actors in developing countries and the deregulation of markets, the growing reach and speed of technology and communications, and the emergence of transnational political networks and organisations (Kaldor 2006 [1999]: 4–10; Duffield 2001: 2–9). The new wars were typified by the rise of intra-state as opposed to inter-state conflicts and by extremely violent

guerrilla and counterinsurgency clashes in which non-state actors such as militias and armed groups challenged government authority or filled a vacuum of governance, operating across borders in many cases. Furthermore, these wars were underpinned by economic incentives to ensure supplies and access to arms and resources. Thus war economies were not simply serving political ends; instead, economic gain and disruption, linked into regional and global supply chains (for example, arms, drugs, and diamonds), became ends in themselves – fuelling further violence.

Some critics argue that the differences between new and old wars have been overstated and point to the history of 'low intensity conflict', guerrilla warfare and counterinsurgency before 1990 (Fearon and Laitin 2003; Kalyvas 2001). Others argue that the evidence of greater atrocity and ferocity does not stand up to statistical or historical analysis, and point instead to declining civilian deaths since the end of the Cold War (Melander et al. 2009; Newman 2004). Even if there is disagreement on the label of 'new', there is some consensus on the trends of wars emerging in the aftermath of the bipolar Cold War order. These include: the implication and targeting of civilians with brutal violence; the availability and use of small arms and light weapons carried by ever-younger armies that are well organised and dispersed over wide areas (the notorious Lord's Resistance Army rebel group can lay claim to conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic and Southern Sudan, having originated and being active in northern Uganda until 2005); the forced recruitment of child soldiers; and the financing of war through criminal activity and networks – whether smuggling petrol and weapons in the Balkans, 'taxing' mineral resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo, or drug trading in Colombia.

Alongside the debates on new wars came the framing of international responses to them; as outlined above, the nature of