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Chapter 1

AID AND DEVELOPMENT IN CONFLICT ENVIRONMENTS: AN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

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INTRODUCTION

Conflict is a major cause of suffering for millions of people throughout the world. It inhibits development and fosters displacement of people, destruction of infrastructure, food and economic insecurity, abuse of human rights, gendered violence, dislocation of families and communities, and loss of cultural identity. The nature of the aid provided and delivery mechanisms for aid delivery in environments of conflicts has serious ramifications for future development post-conflict. Therefore, the provision of aid in environments of conflict is increasingly important for social and economic prosperity in post-conflict environments.

Aid is vital in responding to the deteriorating circumstances of the poor following conflict. More than 15 percent of official development assistance flows to post-conflict countries (Addison and McGillivray 2004). It is important that the realities of aid provision in conflict environments are discussed and best practices identified. Practitioners, communities, donors and theorists all have an important role in reflecting on recent history to ensure this occurs. This volume contains analysis of the role of government institutions in delivering aid to environments of conflict, various sectoral studies of aid and a number of case studies to identify best practice and lessons learned. It is hoped that together, donors, practitioners and communities will be able to draw on the lessons learned presented in this volume to better inform future aid delivery to environments of conflict.

Over the past fifteen years there have been over sixty armed conflicts in various parts of the world (Eriksson et al. 2003). The sad reality is that these conflicts are concentrated within developing countries, with much of this conflict being internal rather cross borders. Developed countries have in recent times been peaceful and free of conflict (Smith 2003). We should expect therefore that conflict is likely to remain a key characteristic of poorer countries into the foreseeable future. (Given the recent rise in terrorism, conflict might increase in traditionally stable and peaceful developed countries as well though). This is
largely a factor of past conflict being a key determinant of future conflict. Bigcombe et al. (2003) note that nearly one third of all civil wars resume within a decade of the end of a preceding episode of civil war (this resumption of war is higher in certain parts of the war, with half of African peace treaties failing within ten years). It is therefore timely to highlight the lessons learned from recent aid delivery in conflict environments to inform future planning in such environments.

The causes of conflict are complex and unique. Some studies have focused on the role of social structures in conflict (Colletta and Cullen 2000a, 2000b; Doyle and Sambanis 2000; Sambanis 2001) and other focus on the economic motivation – the ‘greed’ theory – in conflict (Collier and Hoeffler 2002). Further, some studies have noted that it is not possible to separate social and economic motives (Ngaruko and Nkurunziza 2000; Davies 2000).

The cost of conflict must be measured primarily in human terms and then in social, economic and environmental terms. Deaths amongst civilian populations often outweigh deaths of direct combatants in civil conflict. For example, in East Congo, 2.9 million have been killed since 1989. In Bougainville, around 10 percent of its population were killed during its ten year civil conflict. Added then to deaths arising from conflict must be the injured and maimed, widowed, orphaned, raped, abused and traumatised. Social relationships and capital are broken as civil war results in families and communities often fighting one another. In addition to this lost human capital, the economic costs include destroyed or damaged infrastructure, loss of productivity, loss of market access and various other opportunity costs associated with increased military spending – spending on basic needs that has been foregone due to expenditure on military hardware (according to Sachs (2005) the Millennium Development Goals could be achieved with an additional $50 billion on overseas aid – or five percent of annual global military spending). The environment is damaged by hosting theatres of conflict or effectively damaged through the laying of landmines and other ordinances.

As a result of all this damage, the poor are the most affected by conflict. They are affected either as direct combatants (in the absence of formal standing militia) or as civilians targeted in civil violence or between opposing forces. Within conflict the circumstances of the poor worsen. In addition to lower personal security, the poor also experience lower economic security. This is especially so in some parts of the world, where for example conflict has contributed to the average household in Africa consuming one-fifth less than it did 25 years ago.

**VOLUME CONTENTS**

There are a number of issues that are important to those delivering aid to achieve development outcomes in environments of conflict. This include:

- Aid and development responses to conflict situations. Different types of aid (microfinance, health, reconstruction, etc.) is sought and used for different purposes. What success have these different aid and development responses had?
- Maintaining humanitarian values in conflict environments. With an increasing role of external military and police forces in conflict environments, communities, NGOs and
government security agencies (military and police) must interact in new ways. What have been the successes and difficulties in establishing these relationships?

- Aid and development for sustainable peace. Nearly one-third of all civil wars resume within ten years of the first ‘peace’ being declared. How can aid be used to support and build civil society, infrastructure and political institutions to ensure sustainable peace is achieved?
- Post-conflict reconstruction. Aid and development can play an important role in establishing functioning civil societies once conflict has ceased. What are the lessons for future reconstruction in post-conflict environments?

This book is divided into three parts. Following this introduction, Part I contains five chapters, focusing on the importance of human security to development and the delivery of official development assistance and the role played by institutional bodies doing so. The four chapters in Part II provide various sectoral analysis of aid in conflict, while Part III includes four case studies.

Clements introduces the concept of Human Security in Chapter 2. Clements explains that Human Security encompasses both freedom from fear and freedom from want. Human Security is an important concept to determine how successful national governments are in working to satisfy the needs/interests of their citizens, but also determining whether or not social and economic policies in weak and vulnerable societies are just and fair, inclusive and open. Therefore, this concept in other words helps us develop benchmarks against which we can determine whether or not aid, development and security policies are at minimum “doing no harm” and/or, how they might be adapted to do some good. It is also becoming clear that the achievement of human security will not be possible unless there is a willingness to combine the security and development agendas in what is known as conflict sensitive development or developmentally sensitive security strategy, policy and programming. Focussing on development issues, for example, while ignoring state incapacity or worse state weakening and possible failure is not going to deliver stable peace. Equally, focussing on the interests of the State or what some call “state centric security” without addressing the medium to long term development and welfare needs of citizens will not address some of the deeper structural sources of conflict which afflict developing societies. So the challenge is how to ensure that conflict sensitivity or peace and conflict impact assessments are grafted into development and humanitarian assistance planning processes. For this to happen all that has to occur is that development planning processes are attuned to their impact or possible impacts on conflict. This chapter introduces five steps that are important for conflict sensitive development planning.

In Chapter 3, O’Dwyer describes the approach of the Australian Government’s official overseas aid program as administer by AusAID. She notes that the international donor community has become increasingly conscious of the nexus between development cooperation and crisis prevention/conflict management. Since the end of the Cold War, intrastate conflict has escalated and violent conflict is now perhaps the single most deleterious human intervention in the development process. About three-quarters of all the development cooperation programs AusAID manages are in conflict prone countries. The urgency of conflict conditions also demands rapid, flexible and responsive administrative and financial systems. Most critically, peace-building requires long-term commitments from the international development community, along with the capacity to adjust planning and
implementation strategies to reflect the fluidity between conflict and peace conditions. There
are, of course, limits to what programs can affect or achieve. Engagement in conflict and
post-conflict reconstruction is a difficult and long-term task. Finally O'Dwyer argues that
fully sustainable outcomes are unlikely to be achieved in poor performing environments.

Chapter 4 focuses on the role of the military in development, and specifically the role of
military actively engaged in the ensuing conflict. The Indonesian province of Aceh (and its
capital – Banda Aceh) was directly affected by the tsunami of December 26, 2004. Damage
from this catastrophe was profound and more than 240,000 of Aceh’s population of a little
over four million was either killed or were never found, while thousands more were injured.
Kingsbury notes that the relief efforts were complicated by a long-standing armed struggle
between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (Gerekan Aceh Merdeka
– GAM). Kingsbury’s paper explores the role of the Indonesian military (Tentara Nasional
Indonesia – TNI) and the development process within an environment of conflict and how the
TNI used the tsunami disaster to its military advantage. While the TNI did devote much
manpower to the disaster relief, it also launched a further military operation against GAM,
using the unilateral ceasefire to its advantage. As around 15,000 fresh TNI were poured in to
Aceh, only a proportion of them were allocated to disaster relief functions, with around 75 per
cent of all TNI devoted to the renewed conflict. This chapter therefore provides an interesting
point of comparison for other chapters within this book.

The role of the Australian Federal Police is described by Jamieson in Chapter 5. This
chapter provides an overview of the International Deployment Group (IDG) of the Australian
Federal Police (AFP). While the AFP have undertaken overseas policing roles in
conjunction with the United Nations since 1964, the IDG was only formally established in
2004. The purpose of this group was to establish a strategic coordinating and management
body that could recruit, prepare, and deploy Australian police personnel to work in overseas
peacekeeping and capacity development missions. Its establishment recognizes the
importance of the AFP in Australia’s overseas aid program. Jamieson argues that through the
creation of the IDG, the AFP has moved away from traditional Peace Keeping and
Monitoring Missions and now focuses upon Law Enforcement Cooperation Programs (LECP)
which develop the capacity of local law enforcement. This is a significant paradigm shift
regarding government policy and how the AFP would deliver such programs on a large scale
such as the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) and the Enhanced
Cooperation Program (ECP) delivered to PNG through the Australian Assisting Police
(AAP). This chapter explores this shift by describing activities in the Solomon Islands,
PNG and Narau. It also highlights a number of lessons learned that will impact on future policing
missions.

The final chapter in this section is by Downie who discusses the role of the United
Nations Peace Keepers. Peace-keeping and peace missions have been a core role of the
United Nations since its inception. This chapter makes three points around how this core role
could be enhanced to result in long-term sustainable peace. First, peace missions administered
by the United Nations today are far more comprehensive than 50 – even 15 – years ago, to the
point where peace-keeping and peace-building missions are now undertaking development-
type activities. The second point is that although the mandates and outputs of peace missions
have changed greatly, generally speaking, the managers have not. Specifically, the UN’s
Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) is still predominantly military focused and
not sufficiently prepared for implementing these new, non-military, activities. Thirdly, the
chapter posits that “the development approach”, which is a way of thinking, and is more often used by non-government organizations (NGOs), should be used in the planning and implementation of peace-keeping and peace-building missions, as this would lead to more sustainable peace, and reduce the likelihood of conflict resuming. This chapter illustrates these points by drawing on examples of a number of DPKO missions.

Part II includes sectoral analysis of aid in conflict and begins with a chapter by Renzaho (the first of two chapters by Renzaho) looking at the provision of health services to internally displaced people (IDPs). The number of people requiring humanitarian assistance has been increasing over the last four decades. Data by the UNHCR indicate that, as of January 2004, 17.1 million people were of concern to UNHCR of whom 26% of were IDPs, 57% were refugees and 17% were others including asylum seekers and returned refugees. In terms of IDPs, Africa remains also the continent worst affected, with more than 20 countries experiencing the plight of internal displacement due to war, ethnic conflicts or a combination of both. Where resources are available and a coordination of humanitarian assistance is possible, public health interventions have lead to immeasurable positive health outcomes. However, impaired public health infrastructures, insecurity and the dearth of resources and management capacity to respond to emergencies in affected countries combine with political factors dictating allocation of international humanitarian assistance to hamper the impact of public health interventions. This situation is exacerbated by the current move toward the militarisation of humanitarian assistance and war on terror. More research is required to devise frameworks that will enhance synergy between relief and development at the same time promoting long-term result-oriented programming, effective reporting of human rights abuses and a continuation of investment in integrated approaches between donors and implementing and research institutions.

Chapter 8 by Marino highlights microfinance as a specific aid program that can be useful in environments of conflict. Microfinance used in a post-conflict context is usually described in the literature as a powerful tool to boost local economic development and to support post-conflict rehabilitation assistance. However, little research has been undertaken to look beyond microfinance’s economic benefits, and looked at social mobilization, empowerment, stabilisation, peacebuilding and solidarity, through social capital enhancement. This chapter describes microfinance’s intangible benefits, by reviewing the literature and exploring and synthesising lessons from conflicts in nine countries in Asia and the Pacific, with emphasis on microfinance experiments in Afghanistan, Nepal, Papua New Guinea (Bougainville), Sri Lanka and Timor Leste. This chapter demonstrates that microfinance promotes conflict resolution, for example by empowering members to establish their own organisation. It encourages democratic procedures that help people surmount conflicts, while providing a way to bring people together, focusing on economic activities and cooperation rather than differences. Microfinance provided to different ethnic groups can also contribute to social and political reconciliation, as it provides a forum for a unified voice for peace, with people cooperating and working towards a shared future. Moreover, microfinance also encourages reintegration of refugees and demobilised soldiers by providing finance to mixed groups linked by joint liability. Finally, Marino argues that microfinance is also a tool to empower people by regaining trust and confidence in themselves.

A second study of microfinance is presented by Shaw and Clarke in Chapter 9. Shaw and Clarke focus on how microfinance has been utilised in Bougainville – a province of PNG that only recently has ended a ten year period of armed conflict. In a similar vein to Marino, Shaw
and Clarke also argue that microfinance can be harnessed to serve both relief and development purposes in post-conflict environments, supporting survival, reconstruction and social reconciliation objectives in the immediate conflict aftermath, as well as longer-term economic re-building through microenterprise development. Independence from donor subsidies is widely viewed as a desirable goal in the microfinance industry, and a number of donors are building full cost recovery objectives into their support for post-conflict microfinance programs. The appropriateness of the full cost recovery paradigm in post-conflict environments is questionable, given the high operating costs faced by post-conflict microfinance agencies, weak demand for the most profitable microfinance services, and limitations on rapid improvements in local economic capacity, particularly in remote areas. This chapter reviews the issues raised by full cost recovery in post-conflict environments, with particular reference to a microfinance scheme in Bougainville, a province of Papua New Guinea currently in recovery from a prolonged period of armed conflict.

In Chapter 10, Mitchell and Nunn highlight the importance of gender in aid delivery in conflict environments. While international aid organisations are increasingly aware of gender issues, and increasingly willing to integrate gender mainstreaming into policy and practice, the current crisis in Darfur, Sudan has shown that this does not always translate into gender-sensitive implementation on the ground. So while there are numerous diverse materials available on women in war and conflict, including legal instruments, UN and other organisational guidelines, case studies, and checklists, with many of these materials available on-line, it was found that 13 Australian aid agencies were active in Darfur, but none had specific gender projects, or interventions specifically targeted to women’s needs. This chapter reflects work by the International Women’s Development Agency (IWDA) in bringing together a synthesis of some of the international gender material to develop some guidelines specific for the Darfur context. IWDA hoped that by making a document available to representatives of Australian aid organisations involved in planning for, and working in, humanitarian crises, it could help facilitate a deeper understanding of gender issues and a broader application of gender-sensitive practice. This chapter includes examples of three briefing sheets prepared by IWDA and made available to Australian NGOS working in Darfur.

Four case studies are presented in Part III. The first is by van Horen and Shuaid looking at the conflict in Sri Lanka. This chapter examines the building of institutional capacity in war-torn Jaffna in Sri Lanka. In order to build institutional capacity, seven critical areas need to be addressed: these include the re-building of physical assets, an appropriate resettlement framework, re-building natural assets, strengthening human capital, strengthening social capital, building a viable local economic base, and ensuring positive governance and institutional reform. If these seven areas are addressed, the ingredients necessary to ensure the longer-term improvement will be in place. If any of the ingredients of this institutional capacity are missing, not only will the benefits of development interventions be short-lived, but there may also be a negligible contribution to building a foundation for longer-term improvement in quality of life for residents of war-torn Jaffna.

Chapter 12 by Wigglesworth looks at the aid program in East Timor, which has been hailed as a tremendous success. Wigglesworth however notes that a number of post-conflict researchers have identified the failure of the emergency response to involve the Timorese in the early stages of the relief effort as a significant issue. This chapter will explain how the events prior to the 1999 Ballot, as well as the traumatic events of September 1999 affected the
Timorese response to the emergency relief program. The globalisation of NGO networks and the international emergency funding mechanisms created a rush for the donor dollar and an influx of humanitarian personnel who were not familiar with local history and culture is illustrated. The experience of Caritas Australia’s East Timor Program is used to analyse how this resulted in the marginalisation of a local partner organisation. It is argued that accountability to the international network overrode accountability to the partner organisation. In addition, the limited local capacities to participate in the relief distribution mechanisms were not understood by the emergency specialists. Appropriate action was not taken to build local capacity. The conclusion draws out three key lessons for emergency programming that arise from the East Timor experience.

Renzaho’s second chapter is a summary of the lessons learned by one of the world’s largest non-government organisations (World Vision) in its aid delivery across Africa. This chapter examines the impact of a World Vision community-based disaster mitigation, preparedness and response pilot project. The project aims at minimising the impact of both human-made and natural emergencies in 26 countries, and addresses four major components: disaster preparedness, disaster mitigation, disaster response, and the establishment of functional teams, systems and networks. The project has been successful in bridging the cultural divide between relief and development, assisting communities and national offices to develop initial disaster preparedness plans, and reducing competition between non-government organizations (NGOs) while increasing NGOs’ awareness of the need for cultural sensitivity. It is concluded that synergising relief and development-related activities provides an avenue to explore new and effective opportunities to mitigate disasters while minimising the negative effects associated with the antagonistic attitudes that exist between relief and development, and to demystify the perception that ‘emergency is the failure/absence of development work’ among relief workers.

The final chapter is an overview of the role of aid in the Solomon Islands conflict from personal experiences as well as from talking to ordinary Solomon Islanders and from the writing of others. This reflective account by Billy is illustrative for a number of reasons. Billy notes that the Solomon Islands is slowly emerging from several years of internal unrest that resulted primarily from but not limited to ethnic conflict between Guadalcanal and Malaita provinces. In June 2000 an armed conflict followed between the two militia groups of the two provinces - the Isatabu Freedom Movement of Guadalcanal and the Malaita Eagle Force. The Malaitan militant group was formed initially to further the evicted Malaitans' demand for any form of compensation or restitution for their lost or damage properties on Guadalcanal. The conflict displaced many families, killed many lives, caused major human rights abuses, destroyed personal and government property and destroyed the nation's economy. Although Guadalcanal and Malaita were the most directly affected, people across all the provinces of the country were ultimately affected.

**CONCLUSION**

It is inevitable that conflict will continue to cast a long shadow over humanity, especially in the developing world. It is equally inevitable that aid will be provide both during and other conflict to address the personal, environmental and social destruction resulting from this
conflict. It is important therefore that those involved in the delivery of aid reflect on past experiences and incorporate lessons learned into future programming. This volume will hopefully assist in this task. It has highlighted the roles played by both government and non-government organisations through sectoral analysis and case studies. If any one theme or conclusion is to be drawn from this volume, it is the need for aid to explicitly play a peace-building role in environments of conflict. Good aid can build peace, bad aid cannot.

REFERENCES