Preventing Violent Conflict
Cover Photo: Somaliland, Hargeisa.
Women demonstrating for peace. The banner reads, “There is no life without peace or milk” – milk is a pastoralist symbol for peace and prosperity.

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Preventing Violent Conflict
Preface

By 2010, half of the world’s poorest people could be living in states that are experiencing, or at risk of, violent conflict. Tackling violent conflict and its underlying causes is essential if we are to make progress in the fight against world poverty. Without addressing violent conflict, we will not achieve international security, stability and the protection of basic human rights for all.

To do this requires collective action; by the UK government; by civil society and by international bodies such as the UN and the African Union. This paper was developed in consultation with other UK Government departments, principally the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Ministry of Defence and the Cabinet Office and sets out DFID’s contribution to that collective effort.

Rt Hon Hilary Benn MP
Secretary of State for International Development
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Summary

The costs of violent conflict are enormous. It is not only the obvious and immediate toll on lives and property. Development is a victim too. During the 1990s, half of the countries where life expectancy, income and education went backwards had experienced violent conflict. Of the 34 countries furthest from reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 22 are in the midst of – or emerging from – violent conflict.¹ Like other countries, the United Kingdom has a strong interest in reducing the likelihood of violent conflict. There are economic as well as security benefits. The average cost of one conflict is nearly equivalent to the value of annual development aid worldwide. An increase in violent conflict, as the UK Parliament’s Select Committee on International Development observed, could in effect cancel out all the new aid commitments made in 2005.²

Although, thankfully, the number of violent conflicts has fallen in recent years, other trends could increase the risk of violence. Mounting pressure on natural resources like land and water, aggravated by climate change, may bring competition at the local level which turns violent. And global competition to secure sources of energy and other minerals could contribute to instability and violence.³ So it is more essential than ever that we address the causes of violent conflict in order to bring the MDGs within reach and defeat extreme poverty.

Poor people are increasingly concentrated in fragile states, where there is a high risk of violent conflict. By 2010, half of the world’s poorest people could be living in states that are experiencing, or at risk of, violent conflict.⁴ That is why we are committed to working more in fragile states – in fact we have already increased expenditure in our country programmes from 17% in 2000/01 to 30% in 2005/06.

¹ Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals, UN Millennium Project, 2005.
But the way we do so has to take account of the impact our aid might have in increasing or reducing the chances of violence. We can then act accordingly to make sure it does help.

The UK Government’s Department for International Development (DFID) has published a number of papers which refer to the causes and effects of violence and insecurity. The 2006 White Paper looked at peace and security in the context of promoting better governance for the benefit of the poor. Other policy papers – such as those on social exclusion, security and development, fragile states and humanitarian issues – cover specific aspects of violent conflict. What this paper seeks to do is to show how we understand and respond to conflict across the breadth of our work.

This paper steps back from addressing the effects of violence and asks instead: how can DFID play a part in tackling the problems that contribute to violent conflict? A mixture of underlying causes and immediate events are often the triggers. Dealing with these frequently takes us into difficult, highly political territory. DFID works with other government departments to try to reduce the threat of violence – in particular, with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), in dealing with politics involving national governments and international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the Ministry of Defence (MOD), in collaborating to provide a stable environment for development and

6 See, for example, the following papers, which all refer to the impact of violent conflict and all agree that we need greater understanding of the factors that could lead to violent conflict. In the main, they do not focus on the importance of preventing violent conflict:

– Why we need to work more effectively in Fragile States, DFID, January 2005, which outlines how to improve the effectiveness of aid to deliver services for poor people in fragile states.
– Fighting poverty to build a safer world, DFID, March 2005, which shows how promoting the security of poor people can help address global security concerns.
– Reducing poverty by tackling social exclusion, DFID, September 2005, which highlights the impact of social exclusion on efforts to reach the MDGs.
– Saving lives, relieving suffering, protecting dignity: DFID’s humanitarian policy, DFID, June 2006, which outlines how we can improve our response to the impact of disasters and violence.
The 2006 White Paper: our commitments relating to conflict

- Assess the causes of conflict and insecurity as part of our new governance assessment and use this to shape UK development policy and programmes;

- Press the international community to do more to tackle the trade in conflict resources;

- Work with governments and civil society to secure agreement at the UN General Assembly in 2006 to start talks on an Arms Trade Treaty;

- Work with developing countries and other international partners to improve security and access to justice for the poor;

- Work with others to ensure that the international agreement on the ‘responsibility to protect’ is turned into a willingness to act in specific cases;

- Work with others to ensure that the UN, African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and other regional organisations have adequate capacity to prevent and respond to conflict;

- Continue to push for a significant increase in the number of high-quality peacekeepers internationally and with G8 partners train 75,000 troops by 2010, as agreed by the G8 in 2004. We will support the creation of an Africa Standby Force;

- Contribute directly to UN mandated missions by providing UK troops and assets, subject to other commitments;

- Provide diplomatic and financial support to the new UN Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Support Office and the Peacebuilding Fund.
reconstruction efforts as well as broader security related activity. We also work with other donors and civil society, including women’s groups. Much of DFID’s development work focuses on the longer-term structural changes which can – if the politics works – reduce the underlying risks of violent conflict taking place.

This paper explains what we will do in three areas:

**Putting greater emphasis on preventing violent conflict**

We will work harder to prevent conflict before it turns, or returns, to violence and support local, national and international mechanisms to manage and resolve disputes peacefully.

**Making our response to armed conflict more effective**

We will improve our practical and political support to peace processes and help build the capacity of international and regional organisations and civil society, as well as national governments, so that they can manage conflicts better. What we do when conflict breaks out will be tied more closely to dealing with the underlying causes.

**Making our development work more 'conflict-sensitive'**

We will ensure that our development work takes conflict into consideration through our Country Governance Assessments. We will develop better corporate approaches and systems to support our work in countries affected by conflict, including through strengthening our staff capacity, expertise and deployability and by improving the way we assess and deal with risk in planning country programmes.
Introduction

The context: global trends

1. The causes and triggers of armed violence and the factors which sustain it are unique to each conflict, but there are some common issues that fuel armed conflict which need to be tackled at the international level.

2. The scarcity of natural resources is one. Politicised allocation of water and land fuels low level conflict, which can spark major violence. For example, in Darfur, the combination of drought, the expansion of farms and intense competition over land and water led to increasing tensions between subsistence farmers and their pastoralist neighbours. When violence started these tensions were exploited, and confrontation escalated.

3. Without action, the coming decades will see growing resource scarcity and greater environmental degradation. If, as we expect, climate change causes more frequent natural disasters, reduced availability of freshwater, and shocks to food production and livelihoods, it may exacerbate existing tensions and the risk of violent conflict, most of all in the poorest countries. For example, over 30 countries worldwide receive more than one-third of their water from outside their borders; an uncertain supply. Up to now, we have seen more cooperation than violent conflict over water between countries, but action is needed to manage risks: the Nile Basin initiative is one example.

4. Resource scarcity is one cause of migration. Most migration is rural to urban. Of the world’s population, 48% lived in urban areas in 2003. This is expected to increase to 61% by 2030. This rise in urban population will be concentrated in the developing world, and these cities will increase the pressure on natural resources. In some circumstances, particularly where urbanisation is happening as a result of conflict, and where it happens rapidly, it can also spread the violence.

5. While scarcity of natural resources is sometimes associated with violent conflict, abundant natural resources such as oil, minerals or timber can also pose challenges. Competition for control of the profits so often turns violent that natural assets are frequently seen as a “curse” rather than a “blessing”.

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than a blessing. Natural resources have fuelled conflicts in West Africa (diamonds, oil), the Democratic Republic of Congo (coltan and gold, for example), Indonesia (oil) and Cambodia (timber).

6. The availability of conventional weapons, particularly small arms, can make it easier for conflict to turn violent. There are an estimated 650 million small arms already in circulation. This is fed by a global arms trade that is worth over $4 billion annually. These weapons fuel a cycle of violent conflict and crime, particularly in poor countries and among poor communities within them.

7. As set out in our 2006 White Paper, we are working with the international community to tackle the common factors behind instability and violent conflict, including the trade in “conflict resources”, whether timber, diamonds or other minerals, as well as small arms proliferation.

Climate, the environment and the risk of violent conflicts

The use of natural resources, particularly land and water, can exacerbate the underlying causes of conflict. Tensions over changing patterns of land-use have sparked armed violence between pastoralist and agriculturalist communities throughout the East and the Horn of Africa.

Climate change can exacerbate these tensions through an increase in environmental degradation (such as desertification) or extreme weather events (such as flooding or droughts), triggering the movement of large groups of people and competition for resources. It was a factor behind violence in Senegal/Mauritania during the 1980s and in Northern India, when refugees from floods in Bangladesh crossed the border in 2000.

The Stern Review\(^9\) suggests that regional cooperation is needed to manage these risks, particularly in situations where a number of groups depend on a single water source. The UK is funding the Nile Basin Initiative (managed by the World Bank), which promotes regional cooperation among nine African states, all dependent on water from the Nile.

Preventing conflict becoming violent

8. Conflict exists in all societies at all times and need not necessarily be negative or destructive. Conflict is the pursuit of contrary or seemingly incompatible interests – whether between individuals, groups or

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\(^9\) The Economics of Climate Change, ‘Stern Review, UK Treasury, October 2006.
countries. It can be a major force for positive social change. In states with good governance, strong civil society and robust political and social systems where human rights are protected, conflicting interests are managed and ways found for groups to pursue their goals peacefully. Where there is poor governance, however, grievances, disillusionment, competition for resources and disputes are more likely to become violent.

9. Violent conflict is devastating. The effects on individuals and communities are enormous. It takes a huge toll on the poor and on the prospects for reducing poverty. The consequences usually fall most heavily on women and children, who make up the majority of displaced people. Women and girls often experience rape, sexual violence, forced pregnancy, kidnap or abuse. It destroys hard-won development gains and hinders economic growth. In Africa, between 1960 and 2002, 20-25% of states experienced instability at some point. Most of the countries with the lowest average income have suffered from violent conflict. For every year of civil war, a country’s growth rate falls by an estimated 2.2%.

10. Violent conflict has both immediate and longer term costs. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), most of the estimated 4 million conflict-related deaths between 1998 and 2004 were not the direct result of violence, but of the malnutrition and disease that the war brought with it. In Sierra Leone, where an estimated half a million farming families were displaced by the civil war, the production of the staple rice crop fell to 20% of pre-war levels.

11. Protracted armed conflict can also lead to a vicious spiral in which violence becomes the norm. Even when violent conflict has ended, it can easily flare up again. On average, 40% of conflicts which have ended restart within ten years. Recurrent violent conflict, in central Africa or Haiti for example, shows that where underlying causes are

“Conflict exists in all societies at all times and need not necessarily be negative or destructive”

“For every year of civil war, a country’s growth rate falls by an estimated 2.2%”

not tackled, conflict will persist and potentially turn violent.\textsuperscript{14} The state can be a target of violence. It can also be a perpetrator of violence against its own people – or those in neighbouring states.

12. Dealing with the impact and consequences of violence is essential, but it comes at a high price. Preventing violent conflict is far less costly in terms of lives and resources.\textsuperscript{15} As our 2006 White Paper explains, better governance is essential to manage conflict and to reduce poverty. Good governance means:

- \textit{Capability} – the extent to which leaders and governments are able to get things done;
- \textit{Responsiveness} – whether public policies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights;
- \textit{Accountability} – the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinise public institutions and governments and hold them to account. This includes, ultimately, the ability to change governments democratically.

\begin{quote}
Preventing violent conflict is far less costly in terms of lives and resources
\end{quote}

From the Human Security Brief 2006
Figure 1.1 – Number of state-based armed conflicts by type, 1946-2005

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1_1.png}
\caption{Number of state-based armed conflicts by type, 1946-2005}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{15} Prime Minister’s Strategy Unit “Investing in Prevention” 2005.
13. The incidence of violent conflict is falling. This trend is even more pronounced in Africa.\textsuperscript{16}

14. Research suggests that part of the reason why the number of armed conflicts is falling is because of the increased efforts of the international community to manage and reduce violent conflict.\textsuperscript{17} But there is no room for complacency. In four regions of the world, the number of armed conflicts increased between 2002 and 2005. Some 56 armed conflicts are still being fought around the world and in many cases these are long-running, making solutions difficult to find.\textsuperscript{18} International terrorist incidents increased threefold worldwide between 2002 and 2005, with an even greater increase in fatalities. And conflict over land and water, aggravated by climate change, could well increase. Our efforts need to redouble.

\textsuperscript{16} The data for the graphs are from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Uppsala University. Centre for the Study of Civil War, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 2004. Only those conflicts with at least 25 battle-related deaths, where one of the parties was a state, are counted.


\textsuperscript{18} Human Security Report 2005:9. We use this figure rather than other data-sets (reporting approximately 30 armed conflicts) as this paper focuses on the processes that lead to armed violence and the impact on development. For example, armed violence between communities in the Horn of Africa over land use has an enormous effect on development priorities, yet will not be measured as a formal armed conflict.
The Human Security Report: Peace breaks out

- From the beginning of 2002 to the end of 2005, the number of armed conflicts declined 15% – from 66 to 56. By far the greatest reduction was in Sub-Saharan Africa.

- Estimated battle-death tolls declined worldwide by almost 40% over the same period.

- The steep post-Cold War decline in campaigns of genocide and other mass slaughters of civilians has continued. In 2005, there was just one ongoing genocide. In 1989, there were 10.

- Growing numbers of wars are ending in negotiated settlements instead of being fought to the bitter end.

Working together to reduce conflict

15. The most significant groups in resolving violent conflict are the people involved. Long-running and seemingly intractable violent conflicts, such as those in Aceh, Indonesia, southern Sudan and DRC can come to an end once political leaders decide that peace is better than fighting. But the international community, including the UK, can contribute to efforts to reduce violent conflict.19

16. DFID works with other UK government departments to do this, bringing together development, diplomatic and defence efforts. A joint approach means that DFID, the FCO and the MOD can draw on each other’s skills, perspective and expertise, both in Whitehall and overseas.20 We will continue to strengthen these links to support peace initiatives.

The Conflict Prevention Pools

Created in 2001, the Conflict Prevention Pools are a joint DFID, FCO and MOD innovation. The Pools support the implementation of jointly agreed priorities – combining programmes of development, diplomacy and defence. The Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP) is the UK’s main means of tackling conflict in Africa, and is chaired by the Secretary of State for International Development. The Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) addresses conflict in many non-African countries and is chaired by the Foreign Secretary. The Pools receive specific funding

19 In some circumstances, the UK will not be seen as an impartial actor.

20 DFID shares a joint Public Service Agreement (PSA) target with MOD and FCO. This target states that, by 2008, these departments will ‘deliver improved effectiveness of UK and international support in conflict prevention by addressing long-term structural causes of conflict, managing regional and national tension and violence, and supporting post-conflict reconstruction’.
Sri Lanka is a good example of the joined-up approach. A single strategy, informed by thorough conflict assessments, frames all UK assistance to prevent conflict and build peace at international, regional, national and community levels. Peace seems particularly elusive at the time of writing, but there is plenty to be done, and the strategy is being adapted to meet the changing situation.

An example of success is the work of the Foundation for Co-Existence (FCE), a local NGO. Using methods such as SMS text messaging, FCE alert their network – from Colombo policy-makers to local mediators – to potential threats of communal violence or other threats to human security, enabling quick responses to prevent any escalation. A recent evaluation of this work concluded that “…through FCE’s extensive network of Co-Existence Committees and contacts with influential Muslim and Tamil leaders, FCE was able to convene meetings in which decisions were made that alleviated the dangerously tense circumstances that [had] prevailed“.

The innovative use of radio to build peace and support development in northern Uganda, which is affected by the conflict between the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government, is a good example of an ACPP project. MEGA FM went on air in August 2002 and quickly established a large and very enthusiastic audience across northern Uganda. The station carries news, drama, cultural events and features, and other specific programmes covering development, human rights and conflict reduction. The LRA leadership are known to listen to the station and on a number of occasions have joined radio phone-in talk shows and held discussions with government and civil society representatives. There is strong evidence that MEGA FM has played an instrumental role in encouraging many combatants to come out of the bush, for example by relaying the offer of an amnesty for LRA combatants. A number of former combatants have
Irrigation and power projects have been supported by PCRU only in Helmand, water projects in both Iraq and Helmand.

The Conflict Prevention Pools (continued)

tested that repeated messages aired on MEGA FM helped them make up their minds to lay down their arms. On Sunday 29 August 2006, the deputy leader of the LRA called Mega FM to announce a cessation of hostilities, following an agreement signed in Juba between the Government of Uganda and the LRA.

The Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit

DFID also plays its part in improving the coordination of UK initiatives in response to violent conflict, for example, as host of the tri-departmental Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU). This body was created in late 2004 as a jointly managed DFID, FCO and MOD unit. Its task is to enable UK Government Departments and the military to work better together to support countries emerging from conflict – by helping to manage and reduce tensions which might lead to a resurgence in violence and supporting the preconditions for successful longer-term development. The Unit has seen some successes. In Helmand Province in Afghanistan and in Basra, Iraq for instance, PCRU has helped provincial authorities to decide on priorities and make immediate improvements, through water, irrigation and power supply projects. PCRU has also helped the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to disseminate the benefits of the Darfur Peace Agreement to non-signatories and the general public.

17. The UK can use its international position and influence to shape initiatives at the international level – for example, by working with the UN or regional organisations such as the African Union. The UK was a leading voice behind the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which calls upon states, the UN system and all others involved to ensure that women fully participate in peace processes.

21 Irrigation and power projects have been supported by PCRU only in Helmand, water projects in both Iraq and Helmand.
The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security

UNSCR 1325 calls for women's equal participation in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It gives the UN system and its Member States the task of supporting local women in resolving conflict and decision-making, ensuring the protection of women and girls and incorporating their needs into all peacekeeping and peace building initiatives.

Most peacekeeping missions now include gender advisers, whose work has led (e.g. in Liberia) to many more women being reintegrated, significant participation by women candidates and voters in elections and concrete steps to address gender violence. But implementation of UNSCR 1325 by both the UN and Member States needs to go much further. The UK is supporting a number of initiatives, including:

- Working with relevant UN agencies to ensure that women’s empowerment and political participation are addressed as part of post-conflict reconstruction;
- Funds to help gender advisers make a difference in UN peacekeeping missions;
- Initiating a review of UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation's (UN DPKO) work on gender and peacekeeping, which will help to ensure adequate resources, clearer accountability for implementation, and more effective division of responsibilities between UN agencies;
- Funding the NGO working group on SCR 1325 in New York, to guarantee continued monitoring of implementation;
- Working with the UN, local government and local women’s organisations to ensure women’s participation in the 2006 elections in DRC.

18. The 2006 White Paper commits DFID to working in countries with the largest numbers of poor people, especially those vulnerable to conflict. DFID’s investment in conflict prevention and spending in countries affected by conflict has risen significantly in recent years. But we need to do more to reduce violent conflict so that we can reduce poverty. The following sections set out how we will do this.

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22 Through the Conflict Prevention Pools, for example, DFID’s estimated spending on conflict prevention is almost double what it was four years ago and our increased spend is projected to continue into the future. Departmental Report, DFID, 2006, p 222.
1 Putting greater emphasis on preventing violent conflict

We will make greater efforts to address conflict before it turns or returns to violence. This means tackling underlying causes of conflict through our development work and supporting political and social processes that manage conflicts peacefully.

Tackling underlying causes

19. Poor governance can lead to social exclusion. And exclusion is most likely to lead to conflict, and possibly violence, where there is marked and widening inequality between social groups or geographical regions.

20. Groups denied access to economic, political and other opportunities and unable to achieve redress through civil institutions may believe they have little to lose from taking violent action. Such grievances are all too easily harnessed by charismatic leaders promising change and justifying violence to deliver it. Faith, ethnicity or cultural differences can be powerful sources of mobilisation. War is ten times more likely to occur where there is discrimination against ethnic groups. War is ten times more likely to occur where there is discrimination against ethnic groups. And state failure is five times more likely where there is ethnic discrimination.

21. When people fight on ethnic or religious lines, it is nearly always the case that they fight over fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of economic or political power. If a lasting solution is to be found, exclusion and inequality must be tackled. Purely military action to eliminate those responsible for violence may not work because, as long as inequalities and grievances exist, new leaders will be able to mobilise support.

"War is ten times more likely to occur where there is discrimination against ethnic groups."


24 Ibid.

22. The grievances felt by young people are often a critical element. For example, a key factor behind the war in Sierra Leone was the exclusion of young people by older men, urban elites and rural chiefs. Young people, lacking political voice, social and economic opportunities, and in the face of declining public services, started fighting. Following the end of the war and elections in May 2002, DFID Sierra Leone is tackling exclusion through programmes such as support to rebuilding local government, sustainable livelihoods for young people and conflict resolution at community level.

Brazil: tackling armed violence and social exclusion

In Brazil, more than 100 people die every day through armed violence. Most of the victims – and perpetrators – are young men from favelas (informal settlements) in cities like Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paolo. Although Brazil is a middle income country, nominally at peace, the scale of violence in localised areas is akin to that of a country at war. The UK government, through the Global Conflict Prevention Pool, has provided support for a number of years to an organisation called Viva Rio, which works with young people from disadvantaged communities to prevent violence. Viva Rio has woven together a number of strands of work: it advocates for stronger controls on guns, supports efforts to reform the city’s police force and works on social and economic development projects that can provide real alternatives to violence. In the favelas of Rio, it helps children and young people go back to school, find work, or tap into micro-credit schemes. Viva Rio also runs Luta pela Paz (Fight for Peace) a project that combines professional boxing lessons with citizenship classes and group discussions with a social worker. Evidence suggests that Viva Rio’s work has helped reduce violence among disadvantaged young men – and young women – in Rio and beyond.

23. In order to prevent violent conflict, it is essential to understand what’s going on in a society, strengthen relationships between disparate groups and promote policies which encourage equality and inclusion.\(^{27}\) The contrasting examples of Sri Lanka and Malaysia illustrate the impact that policies to reduce inequalities and promote peaceful social and economic development can have. Following anti-Chinese riots in 1971, the Malaysian government put forward a programme of ‘affirmative action’ to tackle exclusion and poverty among the Malay population. Violence has not re-surfaced.\(^{28}\) It can be argued that in Sri Lanka, the recurrence of conflict is partly due to the lack of such action.

24. Analysis of exclusion is now central to DFID’s country planning processes, helping to design programmes which make governments more responsive and accountable to poor and excluded groups and targeting civil society organisations which represent them. Improving access to justice for poor and excluded people at a local level, both through state and non-state bodies, is essential. Women play a central role in this.

25. The likelihood of violent conflict can also be reduced if we strengthen ways of managing disputes between individuals and groups fairly and speedily. One example is the work of village peace monitors, who are able to resolve rising tensions over such issues as the resettlement of former combatants and local land disputes. In Sierra Leone, village mediators are increasingly involved in managing the appointment of paramount chiefs and the sharing of community revenue from natural resources – both of which were underlying issues in the previous armed conflict.

\(^{27}\) Reducing poverty by tackling Social Exclusion: DFID 2005.

\(^{28}\) Social Exclusion and violent conflict: F. Stewart 2005.
Indonesia: resolving conflict over natural resources

In Indonesia, DFID has worked with local communities and government to resolve conflicts over access to land and natural resources. Often, poor people were forcibly evicted from their traditional lands to make way for timber concessions, oil palm plantations or conservation areas. These land disputes often resulted in violent conflict.

With assistance from DFID’s Multi-stakeholder Forestry Programme, the legal framework was changed to give greater protection to the land rights of poor forest-dependent people. The programme provided grants to numerous civil society organisations, which facilitated public consultations, supported government officers in rebuilding community relations, and helped mediate conflicts and negotiate settlements. As a result, the Head of a District Forest Department said “in the past, forest officials would never turn up in a village on their own for fear of being attacked. Now they are warmly welcomed and their relationship with local communities has been transformed from one of outright conflict to one of close co-operation”.

26. Supporting countries to fulfil their human rights commitments can help provide alternatives to violence. Human rights standards can provide a basis around which to build consensus between groups whose underlying conflicts involve religious or cultural differences. An example is the role of local representatives of the Colombian government’s Human Rights Ombudsman’s office.
Case Study

Human Rights: Community Defenders for excluded groups in Colombia

The Global Conflict Prevention Pool is helping the Colombian government’s Human Rights Ombudsman’s office put “Community Defenders” into remote areas of Colombia where communities, generally from the Afro-Colombian and indigenous ethnic groups, face the risk of having to leave their homes or suffer violent attack due to the conflict.

Community Defenders have helped people to understand their rights, have documented allegations of human rights abuses, and provided highly visible support to communities at risk, bringing access to justice and an increased sense of security. Local community groups have been formed and lobby the government to respond to their needs. The Community Defenders provide the government with information on the needs of the local population, making it easier for the government to respond at local, regional and national levels. Previously the military was the only face of government visible to local people.

The success of the programme has prompted government agencies to think about how they can fulfil their obligations towards these marginalised communities, providing increased access to basic services and protection from forced displacement.

27. The UK will work more closely with international organisations to prevent conflict. At country level, we will provide more financial and political support aimed at increasing UN, EU and AU capacity to identify, analyse and tackle underlying causes of conflict. For example, in Guyana, DFID supported the UN’s efforts to reduce political tension between ethnic groups. This included support to talks between communities, and to the Guyana Elections Commission, and training for the media, political, NGOs and union leaders. All these measures contributed to peaceful elections in August 2006.
There has been violent conflict in northern Uganda between the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government for twenty years. Through the ACPP, the UK has contributed £3 million to work for peace, including the Acholi Religious Leaders’ Peace Initiative (ARLPI). This fostered talks between communities, religious leaders and LRA commanders. As a direct result of these meetings, the Government of Uganda declared a ceasefire in a small area of northern Uganda. While this did not last, it resulted in the handover of several hundred abducted women and children by the LRA. DFID financial support to ARLPI in the aftermath of a major massacre in 2004 helped them to intervene quickly and diffuse tensions between two communities which threatened to ignite wider ethnic conflict.

In October 2006, DFID announced a contribution of £250,000 to support ongoing peace talks. The contribution will help to pay for the costs of the mediation process taking place in Juba, Southern Sudan.

28. Sometimes the regional dynamics of conflict are overlooked. In West Africa, conflict assessments have shown that stability in Sierra Leone or Liberia is threatened by insecurity in neighbouring states. But this is often not considered. Similarly, the causes of violent conflict in eastern DRC, Burundi and Rwanda, are inextricably linked. In Africa, through the cross-government Conflict Prevention Pool, we are increasingly supporting regional analysis to ensure we work at the right level with the right people, for instance regional power brokers.

29. We will continue to support research to inform our work. For example, there are few comparative studies that provide lessons on what is best done first, or the relative merits of different multilateral institutions’ efforts to prevent conflict.
Women and peacemaking

Although women often play a major role in preventing conflict and building peace, their contributions are overlooked and underestimated. They have often been portrayed as passive victims, with scant attention paid to how they promote peace and foster security.

In Fiji, for instance, national women’s groups, in partnership with the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, formed the Women, Peace, and Security Committee of Fiji in 2003 and have initiated a number of activities to promote peace. The programmes range from community radio shows and public vigils to lobbying successfully for more transparency in national security and defence policy-making, as well as training local communities in detecting early signs of violence and conflict. So far, although there has been a military coup, violence has been limited.

In Sierra Leone, in May 2000, a group of women initiated collective action against the leader of the rebel movement, in protest at his refusal to comply with the Lomé Peace Accord. They visited his home and placed a traditional curse on him. Emboldened by the women’s action, the wider community were mobilised to march on his home, leading to his arrest.

Research on central Africa shows that peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction, and governance do better when women are involved.

In Uganda, the women’s peace movement networks, with other groups, share common experiences among disparate regions. They also offer practical training for conflict resolution and trauma counselling, within families, in community disputes, and for inter-community grievances. This approach has proved successful in reducing violence.

In Northern Ireland, two members of the Women’s Coalition broke the mould of local politics by getting elected as delegates to the talks that led to the Good Friday Peace agreement. They made sure that issues fundamental to achieving a lasting peace, such as education, social service provision, justice and human rights, made it onto the agenda. As a direct result of their lobbying, a consultative Civic Forum became part of the final peace agreement, allowing civil society organisations a formal position in political life in Northern Ireland.

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29 Sources: International Alert, Desmond Molloy (UNAMSIL), International Crisis Group, Conciliation Resources.
2 Improve the effectiveness of responses to violent conflict

We will increase further our practical and political support to peace processes. We will help build the capacity of international organisations and civil society to manage violent conflicts better. We will strengthen the link between our immediate response to the outbreak of violence and efforts to deal with the causes.

30. Whilst the UK can strengthen its work in anticipating and preventing violent conflict, as set out above, we will inevitably find situations where we need to respond to armed conflict which is already taking place. The effectiveness of all international responses, including that of the relevant UK government departments, DFID, FCO and MOD, is a major factor in determining whether violent conflict can be transformed into sustainable peace.

31. Immediate responses, including providing peacekeepers and humanitarian assistance, are vital. However they are not the focus of this paper, except where they play a role in reducing future violent conflict. Wherever practicable, these responses need to integrate longer-term considerations in order to help build sustainable peace.

Iraq: rebuilding governance and services

DFID is supporting the UK-led Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Basra, which helps Iraqi Provincial Councils to drive forward local development and reconstruction. The Basra PRT is an international military and civilian team. It has supported:

- Work to strengthen the rule of law through police training and building capacity of provincial justice services;
- Small business and private sector development through a Business Development Centre and loan scheme;
- Improvement of governance and financial management in Provincial Councils through training and mentoring;
- The planning necessary to get funding from the national government to rebuild infrastructure and provide essential services such as health care and education.
Iraq: rebuilding governance and services (continued)

Using their three year development strategy which DFID and the PRT helped to produce, Basra Provincial Council has now approved over 300 projects which will deliver essential services including water, sewage, road repairs, and refuse collection, and generate around 72,000 days of work.

Additionally, Basra, Muthanna and Dhi Qar provinces have now received national government funding of around $400 million to spend on reconstruction. These funds are expected to double in 2007.

Tackling underlying causes

32. If they are managed properly, peace processes offer opportunities to tackle the underlying issues causing conflict. However, some peace processes can simply reinforce a weak peace and therefore greatly increase the chances of a resumption of violence. A good peace process can provide a chance to develop new rules and institutions for managing disputes and can lead to intense social and political change. The character of the process, including who participates, the agreements reached and how they are implemented, as well as the capacity of governments to manage this, are all factors which determine whether a process will hold. Too often opportunities to involve women are not taken. Where it is well placed to assist, the UK through either DFID or the Global or African Conflict Prevention Pools will offer financial, technical and political support for strong peace processes, making efforts to ensure women are included.

Israel/Palestine: helping deal with obstacles to peace

In this challenging context, the GCPP has had some success in reversing decisions on the routing of the Israeli separation barrier. The original decisions were particularly threatening the prospects of the Road Map towards a two-state solution, which is the basis for sustainable peace. Through supporting parties to the legal process, the amount of West Bank land on the “Israeli” side of the barrier fell from around 16% to 8.5%.
Burundi: building an inclusive peace

DFID’s support for peace building activities between polarised groups, including dialogues, conflict resolution training, and reconciliation projects, had tangible results in rebuilding communication channels between communities. They helped develop new confidence and led to common activities, including development programmes. DFID’s resources also helped to foster contact with the remaining rebel groups outside the formal peace process, building relationships of trust between former conflicting parties. Whilst this process took place with the knowledge of the formal Regional Initiative (led by Ugandan President Museveni), it was done independently, providing an alternative channel for dialogue between the Government of Burundi and the rebel group. It contributed to the inclusion of the last remaining rebel groups into the peace process and led to a full ceasefire agreement in September 2006.

Democratic Republic of Congo: UK support to the election process

On 6 December 2006, Joseph Kabila was sworn in as the first President of the Third Republic of DRC. Whilst peace is fragile, after the deaths of an estimated four million people in this long-running civil war, the first democratic election without violence in forty years is a hopeful sign.

The commitment by the government to tackle poor governance is an important step in achieving the political settlement necessary for lasting peace.

The UK was the largest bilateral donor to the election process and worked with the international community to provide comprehensive support, based on a thorough analysis of the challenges to democratic transition. While the election process and election security were the first priority, the UK worked to ensure the Supreme Court was prepared so that, if the election was contested, a legal mediation process could be followed. The UK’s flexible approach also meant that we could respond quickly to emerging threats and opportunities – for example, responding quickly to the Electoral Commission’s request to bolster civic education by incorporating churches and faith groups into the process.
33. As soon as peace is negotiated, it is important that development assistance moves from the immediate humanitarian response to longer-term programmes. It is vital that the government is seen to deliver for all its people, including previously excluded groups. A good example of this is the National Solidarity Programme in Afghanistan.

**Afghanistan: helping to make a difference**

Since 2003 DFID has contributed £13 million to the Government of Afghanistan’s flagship programme for community-led development, the National Solidarity Programme (NSP). The NSP has helped provide water and sanitation, education, livelihoods, and other priorities identified by local communities themselves. By reaching all 34 provinces and 50% of all rural communities in Afghanistan, the NSP has helped build the legitimacy of the central government at a local level by delivering a tangible peace dividend. The 15,000 locally elected Community Development Councils, including many women representatives, are widely seen as legitimate and democratically viable alternatives to warlords.

Support to International Institutions

34. DFID has been working with the FCO to improve the capacity of international institutions to mediate and support the peaceful resolution of armed conflicts, in particular the UN, which has a unique role and legitimacy.
Success of UN-led negotiations

“In the last 15 years, more civil wars were ended through negotiation than in the previous two centuries in large part because the United Nations provided leadership, opportunities for negotiation, strategic coordination, and the resources needed for implementation. Hundreds of thousands of lives were saved, and regional and international stability were enhanced”. Despite this relative success, the UN calls mediation work “grossly under-resourced”.

Source: UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, December 2004

35. We have been helping to build the UN’s capacity to fulfil its unique role since 2001, through the Global Conflict Prevention Pool as well as with DFID funds. We will continue to provide support to:

- The UN Department of Political Affairs with its proposed Mediation Support Unit, which will include a team of experienced mediators, who can be quickly deployed to help with peace negotiations;
- The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, to improve the quality of UN peacekeepers, including the implementation of the Sexual Exploitation Zero Tolerance Policy, both in headquarters and in the field;
- The UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the UN System Staff College to train senior UN mediators and Special Representatives of the Secretary General in the skills necessary to analyse, mediate and prevent violent conflict;
- The UN Development Programme (UNDP) to act on early warning signs of violent conflict and ensure its development programmes include specific actions aimed directly at preventing conflict;
- The Government of Slovakia’s effort to encourage the UN to develop a coherent and coordinated response to Security Sector Reform.
The Global Conflict Prevention Pool: working with the UN and others to support women

In 2001-2006, the GCPP funded UNIFEM’s work on women, peace and security. Practical outcomes include:

- In Sierra Leone, ensuring that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission addressed the experiences of women, and that women who were unwilling or afraid to testify were given support and counselling to tell their story;
- In DRC, the formation of an advocacy group by women survivors of violence as a result of UNIFEM training;
- In Afghanistan, Iraq and Timor-Leste, training and advocacy for increased participation of women in electoral processes.

The GCPP has also supported the Urgent Action Fund (UAF) which provides protection (and if necessary, evacuation) at short notice for women who stand up for human rights and are at risk in conflict situations.

36. The UN Peacebuilding Commission has recently been established to help countries emerge from periods of violent conflict and to maintain international support for such countries over the long-term. DFID has worked closely with the FCO to establish the Commission. Beginning with Burundi and Sierra Leone, the Commission will focus on both short and long-term threats to peace and help national governments, the international community, national civil society and the private sector to develop a vision of how to build peace. DFID is also contributing £30 million over three years to the new Peacebuilding Fund. The Fund aims to get money as quickly as possible to countries once violent conflict has ended, for example to help to implement peace agreements and build governments’ abilities to manage conflict peacefully. Priorities in both countries include governance, security and justice sector reform.

37. The 2005 UN World Summit agreed that both states and the international community acting through the UN, have the responsibility to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. DFID, working with others, will focus on the preventative aspects by supporting efforts to assist States to build the requisite capacity to exercise their “responsibility to protect”, and to assist those States which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out. For instance, we will:
• Support organisations to prevent, monitor, report on and potentially bring legal challenge against activities (such as hate media) that lead to abuse and violence;

• Provide assistance to civil society, in particular women’s groups and independent media, to get across alternative perspectives to those which exacerbate tensions between social groups;

• Provide human rights training and support security sector and justice sector reform, ensuring that the security of the state does not undermine the security of its citizens;

• Make sure that development projects do not inadvertently make worse social tensions that cause violence.

38. The creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) reinforces the need for the international community to combat impunity for war crimes, genocide and other crimes against humanity. The UK was instrumental in getting agreement at the UN Security Council to refer the situation in Darfur to the ICC.

39. The ACPP has helped the AU strengthen the capacity of regional and national Peace Support Operation training institutions, and improve the professional standards and capabilities of African armed forces. For instance, the UK has contributed significant technical advice, funds and political support to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS). The presence of African forces on the ground in Darfur has undoubtedly contributed to reducing the level of violence, although the primary objective of stopping the conflict has not yet been achieved. Through the ACPP, we will continue to support the AU’s ambition to establish new structures to secure peace and security, including mechanisms for early warning, mediation (the “Panel of the Wise”) and post-conflict reconstruction. We are also supporting the development of the African Standby Force with valuable MOD expertise.

40. The EU is the world’s largest provider of development and humanitarian assistance. That, combined with the political influence of 25 member states and the practical aid of European Defence and Security Policy (ESDP) missions, gives the EU a central role in helping both to prevent and respond to conflict. With other Whitehall Departments, we will seek to improve the effectiveness of EU work on violent conflict. We will encourage greater sensitivity to conflict in country programme work, promote the most effective use of the European Commission budget allocated for conflict-related activities, improve the effectiveness of ESDP missions and promote greater consistency between development, foreign, and security policies.
3 Making all our development work ‘conflict-sensitive’

We will ensure that development work takes better account of its possible effect on conflict.

41. Being sensitive to conflict means that we, and the partners with whom we work, must appreciate the interaction between our activities and the potential for violent conflict, and design and adapt our approaches and programmes accordingly. Evidence shows that this approach reduces the potential harm of development assistance and makes the most of potential benefits.\(^\text{30}\)

42. However, conflict-sensitivity also applies to our work in countries which are not currently affected by violent conflict. For example, until the genocide in 1994, Rwanda received more development assistance per capita than most other countries. Much of this aid reinforced the existing politics of exclusion and repression in the country and ignored many of the political and social tensions that set the stage for the killings. At the same time, on the traditional measures of success, Rwanda scored highly for its development achievements. These apparent ‘successes’ were mis-diagnosed because the underlying conflict was ignored.\(^\text{31}\)

\(^{30}\) The Do No Harm Handbook: (The Framework for Analysing the Impact of Assistance on Conflict), Collaborative for Development Action, Inc., Cambridge, USA, 2004

\(^{31}\) Development aid: conclusions and paths for reflection, P. Uvin 1998
Before conflict analysis was undertaken in 2001, DFID Nepal, along with the majority of other donors, saw conflict as a risk to be avoided rather than as the operating reality. The Nepal Government referred to a “law and order problem” and actively discouraged donors from using the word “conflict”. Development assistance consequently tended to avoid areas where there were security risks, and all too often reached only as far as District Headquarters, rather than the people in the more remote conflict-affected areas.

DFID’s conflict analysis revealed that very little of DFID’s development assistance reached the excluded rural poor, and that DFID’s approach failed to change the dynamics that generated and sustained the conflict. As a result of the assessment, DFID fundamentally re-orientated its development programme, as well as its staffing and risk management systems, in order to tackle the political, economic and social exclusion underlying Nepal’s civil war.

DFID helped to set up basic services and income-generation programmes targeting rural areas affected by conflict, beyond the reach of government. An emphasis on community ownership, transparency and public audit helped to minimise the impact of the conflict, maintain community cohesion and offered alternatives to joining a violent insurgency.

A Risk Management Office was set up to provide programmes with guidance on levels of risk and its mitigation and on the principle of “do no harm”.

DFID is now also supporting work to tackle the underlying causes of the conflict. Apart from geographical exclusion from services, discrimination based on caste, class, gender and the feudal social structure are recognised as among the causes of the Maoist insurgency. DFID funds community mediation initiatives providing people from all castes, classes and ethnic groups with access to low-cost, accessible and timely justice. Through this work, many disputes have been prevented from escalating into violence. There was a dispute in Ilam province, where the local milk collection board refused to accept the milk from cows owned by Dalits (people from the “untouchable” caste). It could easily have become violent, but instead was solved quickly by mediation. To date, this DFID-funded initiative has peacefully resolved some 1,400 community level disputes and has been accepted by both the Government and the Maoists as a credible mechanism.
43. In future, DFID will analyse conflict issues for our country programmes through our new Country Governance Assessments. As our 2006 White Paper sets out, the Country Governance Assessments will also incorporate the causes of conflict and insecurity and be used to guide the way that the UK gives aid.

**Changing direction: our work in Sudan**

During the long-running civil war in the south, DFID primarily supported humanitarian work aimed at protecting civilians. In 2003, a decision was made to shift our emphasis to working towards the resolution of the north-south conflict. Through a close working partnership between DFID, the FCO and the MOD, and pooled funding (through the ACPP), the UK was able to provide effective support to the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)-led peace process. This included funding for the process itself, technical assistance on security and demilitarisation for the lead mediator and Sudanese parties, as well as financial support for ceasefire monitoring missions. A Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in January 2005 although the conflict in Darfur continues.

44. We will ensure that none of our activities inadvertently sideline women or their efforts to reduce conflict. We will, for example, build into the planning cycle an analysis of local conflict, its gender dimensions and the role of women’s organisations. Moreover, violence against women often increases after disarmament and demobilisation. We need to work more effectively with men as well as women to reduce such violence, and to encourage less aggressive ideals of masculinity in communities which have been highly militarised.

45. While it is right to give long-term commitments to governments in post-conflict situations, ensuring the mechanisms DFID uses to deliver development assistance are appropriate is vital. We will deliver assistance in a wide variety of ways and evaluate impact regularly, rather than applying a standard model, to ensure we do not contribute to violent conflict. When Multi-donor Trust Funds and other pooled mechanisms, such

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as the Yemen Social Fund, are emerging as promising mechanisms in environments where conflict could turn violent.

**Yemen: donor cooperation in a state where social exclusion could lead to conflict**

The Government of Yemen’s Social Fund for Development (SFD) provides a powerful illustration of donors working together to provide assistance in a state where there is a risk of conflict turning violent. Social Funds, which ensure prompt access to basic services for the poor and socially excluded, are progressively absorbed into government and are transparent. The approach of the SFD is widely acknowledged as innovative and exemplary and is a progressive force for change in Yemen.

46. DFID’s ‘conditionality’ policy sets out an approach to building successful aid partnerships based on a shared commitment to reducing poverty; respecting human rights and other international obligations, and strengthening financial management. It can be difficult to apply these principles in states which are fragile or experiencing conflict. We have commissioned research to improve our understanding of how policy processes and aid can best provide incentives and support action to address conflict, including instances where we are considering direct budget support.

47. We will strengthen our understanding and management of risk as it relates to working cost-effectively in conflict-affected environments, including risks related to staff safety, security and standards of care. We will ensure our programme objectives are realistic for such environments, and are adjusted as risks change. We will continue to adapt our human resource policies and processes to ensure we have people available with the right experience and abilities to work in states affected by conflict and that they are enabled to work effectively. We will continue to build knowledge and understanding among staff.

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48. We will pilot a ‘conflict audit’, in a number of countries, which will help us review how well we integrate conflict into all our development work, and provide a baseline against which to monitor changes.

49. We will build on our work with the International Financial Institutions on conflict-sensitive approaches to make sure that international, regional and national MDG-based poverty reduction strategies include specific actions aimed directly at preventing conflict and enhancing peace and security.

50. Preventing conflict is not an exact science with easily measurable results. But we know we will not reach the MDGs if we fail to prevent violent conflict. The UK, in partnership with the international community, will do all we can in the coming years to reduce violent conflict.
Department for International Development

DFID, the Department for International Development: leading the British Government’s fight against world poverty.

One in five people in the world today, over 1 billion people, live in poverty on less than one dollar a day. In an increasingly interdependent world, many problems – like conflict, crime, pollution and diseases such as HIV and AIDS – are caused or made worse by poverty.

DFID supports long-term programmes to help tackle the underlying causes of poverty. DFID also responds to emergencies, both natural and man-made.

DFID’s work forms part of a global promise to:

• halve the number of people living in extreme poverty and hunger
• ensure that all children receive primary education
• promote sexual equality and give women a stronger voice
• reduce child death rates
• improve the health of mothers
• combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases
• make sure the environment is protected
• build a global partnership for those working in development.

Together, these form the United Nations’ eight ‘Millennium Development Goals’, with a 2015 deadline. Each of these Goals has its own, measurable, targets.

DFID works in partnership with governments, civil society, the private sector and others. It also works with multilateral institutions, including the World Bank, United Nations agencies and the European Commission.

DFID works directly in over 150 countries worldwide, with a budget of some £5.3 billion in 2006/7. Its headquarters are in London and East Kilbride, near Glasgow.

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06/06 3k Produced for DFID by GWS Group on recycled material containing 80% post-consumer waste and 20% virgin fibre TCF

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ISBN 1 86192 865 3