

Communities' assets are looted in Abyei, an area disputed by Sudan and South Sudan, in 2011. Abyei is one of many places where intractable conflict is preventing chronic underdevelopment from being addressed.
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APPROACHING POST-2015 FROM A PEACE PERSPECTIVE

WHY FOCUS ON CONFLICT AND FRAGILITY? The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) will expire at the end of 2015 and discussions are already underway on whether there should be a framework to replace them and, if so, what it should look like. It is clear that the MDGs have been extremely influential in defining international development priorities since their adoption. However, there has been a failure to achieve tangible progress towards MDGs in many contexts and this is particularly the case in conflict-affected and fragile states. In 2011, the World Bank built the case for addressing conflict and fragility in the context of development when it observed that no low income conflict affected or fragile state had achieved a single MDG.¹ In 2012, the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda has recognised that, “violence and fragility have become the largest obstacle to the MDGs.”²

The evidence is clear that preventing and reducing violence and fragility is vital to achieving sustainable development. As the UN Task Team has recognised, “Development, human rights and peace and security are indivisible and interrelated. Each cannot be achieved without achieving the other.”³ It is therefore vital that the framework which replaces the MDGs takes account of these connections and includes measures designed to prevent and reduce violent conflict, to ensure that conflict-affected and fragile states are not again left behind. This is important not just for countries that are already experiencing violence, but also for helping to prevent violent conflicts that have not yet emerged.

This briefing highlights elements of successful and sustainable approaches to peacebuilding as evidenced in existing research documents and recognised in key policy frameworks. It identifies areas of common ground between the evidence base and the frameworks and illustrates points of alignment and divergence between them and the current MDGs. Based on this, it suggests priority areas for discussion to inform the development of a new, more holistic post-MDG framework. The paper is not an exhaustive list of issues for discussion, nor is it Saferworld's blueprint for the post-MDG framework. It is intended to stimulate debate on how peacebuilding issues can best be included in forthcoming discussions.





The challenges of poverty, inequality, weak institutions, insecurity and weak access to justice are intertwined in South Asia's poorest country, Nepal. In Kaski District, women are consulted about their security and justice needs.

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An inclusive process

Saferworld supports calls by the Beyond 2015 campaign for the process of developing the post-2015 framework to be “open and transparent, participatory, inclusive and responsive to voices and expertise of those directly affected by poverty and injustice.”⁴ By amplifying the needs and priorities of these people in the post-2015 debate, there is a greater chance that they can shape the development priorities that are applied to them.

Ensuring that the voices of people in conflict-affected countries are included in the debate may present a particular challenge: for example, those who feel threatened or insecure may be the least able to freely articulate their needs in national or international policy debates. The post-2015 debate, which focuses on long-term goals, may also seem far removed to communities which are experiencing crisis. However, it is vital that every effort is made to involve poor and marginalised people – including women, men, boys and girls – from conflict-affected societies in policy dialogue. This dialogue will need to be designed and supported differently in different contexts, as factors such as local cultural norms, levels of education and the politics of the enabling environment will inevitably have an impact on the process.

Finding common ground

A large number of policy communities are already bringing a vast range of demands to the post-2015 debate. It is important that the conversation does not become a tug of war between different camps, but

“Violent conflict has become the largest obstacle to the MDGs... 60 percent of the undernourished, 61 percent of impoverished, 77 percent of children not in primary school and 65 percent of people without access to safe water live and 70 percent of infant deaths occur in fragile or conflict-affected countries.”

UN Task Team/PBSO, ‘Peace and Security – Thematic Think Piece’, May 2012

rather a collaborative search for a shared vision of what will deliver real and lasting improvements in the lives of the world's people. What does this mean? First and foremost, it must be understood that lasting peace and poverty reduction can only be achieved by addressing a range of factors that cause conflict and insecurity, including such issues as gender inequality and environmental degradation. The post-2015 framework should be one around which those promoting the aims of peace, human rights, gender equality, environmental sustainability and equitable poverty reduction can all agree.

An evidence-based approach

Negotiations on the post-2015 framework will involve governments, international institutions, civil society organisations and the public. These actors will bring a staggering array of perspectives, priorities

and interests to the debate. There is a clear risk that the post-2015 framework will be overly shaped by political and institutional interests, not least when it comes to politically-sensitive issues such as conflict and security. The design of the process will be critical to prevent this from happening. Saferworld suggests that one way to reduce this risk is to focus the discussion on examining the evidence of what works in practice. Ultimately, the framework will need to be agreed based on political consensus. However, the more closely this consensus reflects the best available evidence, the more effective it will be in improving the lives of the world's poorest people.

The debate will need to draw on independent evidence and analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of different models of development and how successful transitions to peace have worked. These issues are not yet well understood, and there is still time to add to the body of evidence on them. However, in the meantime it is worth examining what the existing evidence and policy frameworks are telling us so far. The next section sets out what some of the most relevant studies and policy frameworks say about the building blocks of sustainable peace. It identifies areas of commonality across them and suggests some key areas that, from a peacebuilding perspective, need to be explored in the post-2015 debate.

WHAT DOES THE EVIDENCE TELL US?

The table overleaf takes six well-known and credible peacebuilding frameworks, and attempts to illustrate points of alignment and divergence between them and the current MDGs. It is striking that there is a significant degree of consensus within the peacebuilding frameworks on the factors which need to be addressed in order to prevent and reduce violence and fragility, but that these are almost entirely absent from the MDGs. This is not to say that some of the targets included in the MDGs do not contribute to building peace: for example, reversing the

loss of natural resources may be key to reducing the drivers of conflict in particular contexts, and achieving gender equality is increasingly recognised as contributing to building peaceful societies.

Here we highlight three of these frameworks and their contribution to the debate. The World Development Report 2011 and the Structures of Peace framework represent significant pieces of research drawing on large datasets, while the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) have the backing of a range

of important stakeholders in the post-2015 debate.

The table also includes: the UN Development Programme's human security framework, which laid the foundations for much of the subsequent policy that has been developed in this area; the UK Department for International Development's peacebuilding and statebuilding approach, giving the perspective of a key UN Member State; and the programming framework for international peacebuilding NGO International Alert, offering a practitioners' perspective.

World Development Report 2011

One key contribution to our understanding is the *World Bank's World development report 2011: conflict, security and development*. The report is particularly significant because it draws on a wide ranging review of existing evidence, background papers, case studies and consultations with governments, civil society, the private sector, media and international actors, and builds on the experiences of a huge range of countries, to assert the common factors that underpinned successful transitions out of fragility. It argues that successful transitions have rarely been achieved without prioritising the following:

- Citizen security
- Justice
- Jobs
- Better governance through legitimate institutions
- Reducing external stresses

There is a significant degree of consensus within peacebuilding frameworks on the factors which need to be addressed in order to prevent and reduce violence and fragility, but these are almost entirely absent from the MDGs

Structures of Peace

A further important attempt to summarise evidence of what supports peace across a variety of contexts is the Institute for Economics and Peace's work on 'Structures of Peace'.⁵ This builds on analysis of the Global Peace Index, which uses more than 300 cross-country datasets to define the key economic, political, and cultural determinants that lead to more peaceful societies. It defines eight factors as associated with peaceful environments, that are all both beneficial in themselves and mutually reinforcing of one another:

- Well-functioning government
- Sound business environment
- Equitable distribution of resources
- Acceptance of the rights of others
- Good relations with neighbours
- Free flow of information
- High levels of education
- Low levels of corruption

The *Structures of Peace* paper also argues that "peacebuilding efforts should aim at enhancing and building these structures as much as possible while dealing with... issues such as **violence containment**"⁶ – thus acknowledging that security provision cannot be neglected.

Importantly, the framework emphasises that the mutually reinforcing nature of these building blocks means that if any one of them is taken away, the prospects for peace may collapse.

Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals

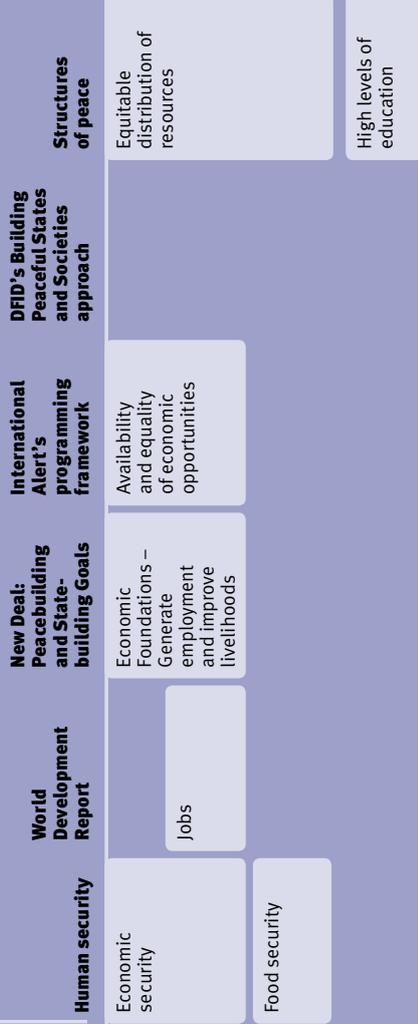
The Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) were developed by the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding⁷ and endorsed in the *New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States* in December 2011.⁸ Their significance derives from the fact that they have been endorsed by 37 states at the time of writing,⁹ as well as by a number of multi-lateral institutions, and importantly they have the backing of the g7+ group of fragile states.¹⁰ The PSGs were designed as a set of interim goals for addressing structural causes of conflict and fragility as a precursor to meeting the existing MDGs, and New Deal signatories have explicitly committed to advocating for the inclusion of the goals in the post-2015 framework. The PSGs are:

- **Legitimate Politics** – Foster inclusive political settlements and conflict resolution
- **Security** – Establish and strengthen people's security
- **Justice** – Address injustices and increase people's access to justice
- **Economic Foundations** – Generate employment and improve livelihoods
- **Revenues & Services** – Manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery.

CURRENT MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Goals	Targets
1 Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1/day Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
2 Achieve universal primary education	Ensure that all children will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
3 Promote gender equality and empower women	Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education
4 Reduce child mortality	Reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
5 Improve maternal health	Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio Achieve universal access to reproductive health
6 Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	Have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
7 Ensure environmental sustainability	Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes, reverse loss of environmental resources Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss Halve the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation By 2020, achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers
8 Develop a global partnership for development	Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system

PEACEBUILDING FRAMEWORKS



KEY PEACEBUILDING ISSUES TO EXPLORE FOR INCLUSION IN POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

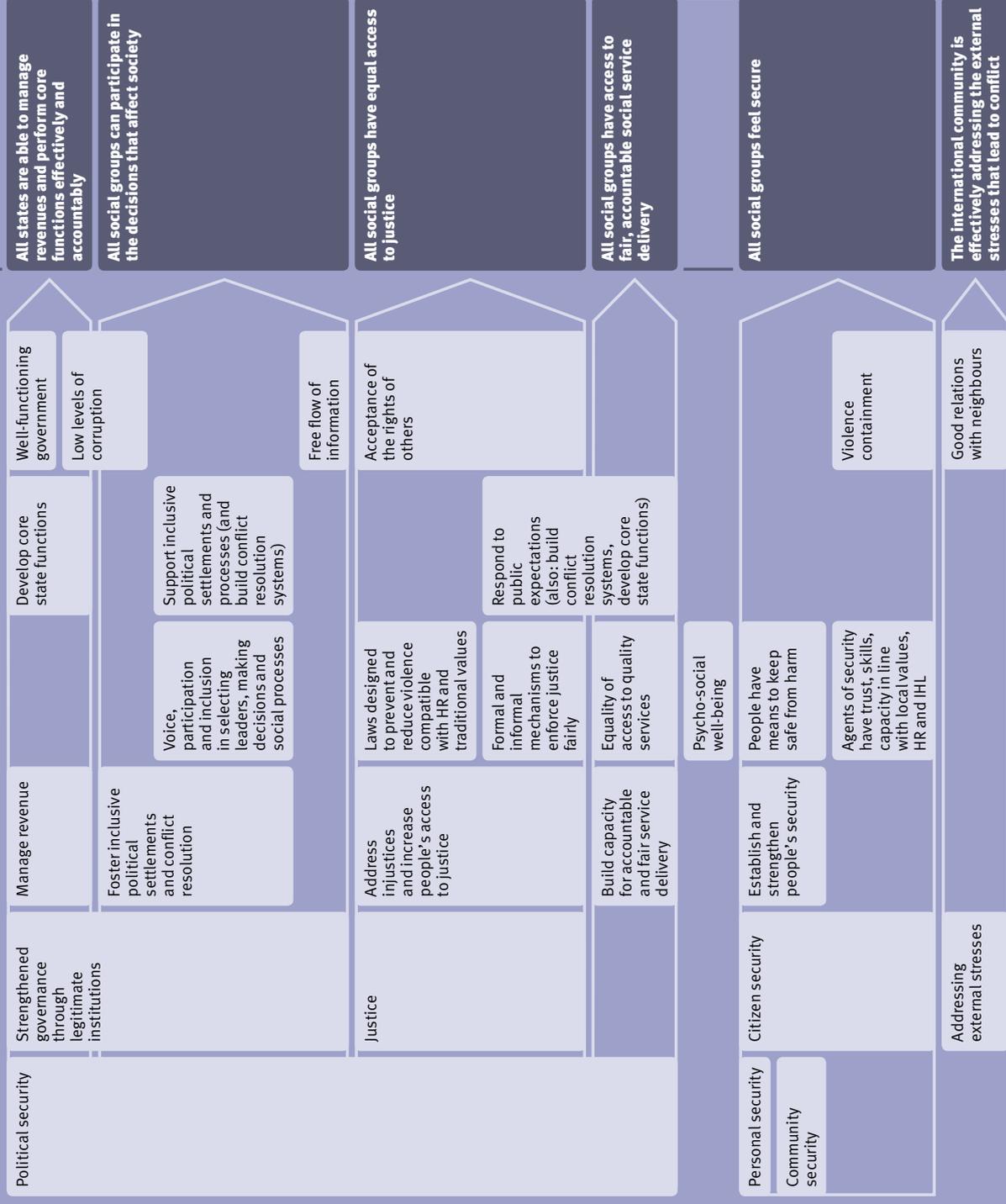
All social groups have access to decent livelihoods

The current MDG framework does not cover the core elements of most peacebuilding frameworks

Sound business environment

- Address the special needs of least developed countries
- Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing States
- Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries
- Provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries
- Make available benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

A comparison of peacebuilding frameworks highlights issue areas outside of the current MDG framework to explore for inclusion in the post-2015 development framework



PRIORITY AREAS FOR DISCUSSION

If we compare the language and concepts in the existing peacebuilding frameworks included in the matrix, two points are clear: firstly, the current MDGs cover only one of the issues that feature in most of the peacebuilding frameworks, which could be formulated as:

- All social groups have access to decent livelihoods.

Except for this area, most components of existing peacebuilding frameworks fall outside of the current MDGs.

Secondly, there is considerable common ground among the different frameworks on variations of six further points, which could be articulated as follows:

- All states are able to manage revenues and perform core functions effectively and accountably
- All social groups can participate in the decisions that affect society
- All social groups have equal access to justice
- All social groups have access to fair, accountable social service delivery
- All social groups feel secure
- The international community is effectively addressing the external stresses that lead to conflict.

It is worth noting that these objectives are worth pursuing not only because they may contribute to building peace, but also because they contribute to other ends such as the protection of human rights and the achievement of economic growth, as well as being ends in themselves.

Issues that appear in only one of the selected peacebuilding frameworks, such as the need for a sound business environment or psycho-social well-being, are not incompatible with the points listed above and should also be taken into consideration. Since the existing frameworks suggest that the factors that lead to peace are mutually reinforcing, this suggests that the post-2015 framework must be truly holistic, and avoid omitting any key factor where progress is required to build and sustain peace.

No doubt new evidence of successful peacebuilding approaches will emerge, but in the meantime, Saferworld contends that these seven issue areas should be carefully considered within an evidence-based conversation as common peacebuilding issues that need to be covered in a new, holistic post-2015 development framework.

It is vital that the framework which replaces the MDGs includes measures designed to prevent and reduce violent conflict, to ensure that conflict-affected and fragile states are not again left behind.

MORE ON THE PRIORITY AREAS...

All social groups have access to decent livelihoods

The need to achieve “full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people” is a target under MDG1. The human security framework recognises the need for economic security, including “assured basic income – usually from productive and remunerative work”,¹¹ while the PSGs endorse the need to “generate employment and improve livelihoods”.¹² Most of the frameworks emphasise the importance of access to jobs being equal across social groups.

All states are able to manage revenues and perform core functions effectively and accountably

The different frameworks examined here present different views of what core state functions are needed to build and maintain peace. For example, the UK Department for International Development’s *Building Peaceful States and Societies* approach posits that security, law and justice and financial and macroeconomic management are “indispensable” functions of the state,¹³ while the Structures of Peace framework advocates for “well-functioning government” which is dependent on “political participation, political culture, the separation of powers, the quality of democracy and public service delivery”.¹⁴ While there seems to be agreement that certain standards of good governance need to be applied, a wider discussion is needed on what this should entail.



Women assert their right to participate in decision-making in Yemen.

© REUTERS / KHALED ADBULLAH ALI AL MAHDI, COURTESY THE THOMSON REUTERS FOUNDATION – ALERTNET

All social groups can participate in the decisions that affect society

International Alert's programming framework states that "A society in which all members – men and women, rich and poor, from all regions and ethnicities – have the opportunity and the capacity to participate in decision-making is more resilient to violence than one in which decisions tend to be in the hands of a particular category."¹⁵ While different societies are likely to choose different models of government to meet their specific needs, most peace practitioners agree that participatory decision-making is a quality that can help all societies achieve sustainable peace.

All social groups have equal access to justice

Access to justice is mentioned by all six frameworks as a key component of a peaceful society. DFID argues that states must "establish laws and rules that govern the behaviour of the state and society" in a fair and transparent way, such that "the law is applied fairly and without discrimination, whether by state or non-state justice systems, and there is mutual agreement on the rights and obligations shared by society and the state."¹⁶ The human security framework notes that part of 'political security' is that "people should be able to live in a society that honours their basic human rights."¹⁷

All social groups have access to fair, accountable social service delivery

While the MDGs have a great deal to say on the delivery of services – for example, access to primary education and health-care – it is well recognised that they do not satisfactorily address how fairly access to these services is distributed. DFID captures the problem well, pointing out that, "Service delivery can help improve state-society relations, but if handled poorly, it can sow discord and discrimination".¹⁸ The Monrovia Roadmap which first set out the PSGs, suggests that "the state must gradually ensure fair access to these services to all key groups in society, including the most vulnerable and marginalised."

All social groups feel secure

Security – whether of "persons", "people", "citizens" or "communities" – is cited by several of the frameworks as a key element of conflict prevention. International Alert argues that, "although the physical prevention of violence is not enough by itself to build peace, it is an essential component in peacebuilding".¹⁹ Similarly, the *World Development Report 2011* argues that security provision "cuts to the heart of the government's obligation to care for its citizens".²⁰ How to commit to the right vision of security for all people in society will thus be a key issue for the debate to get to grips with in the run up to 2015.

The international community is effectively addressing the external stresses that lead to conflict

The *World Development Report 2011* identifies illicit flows of drugs, arms, and money, transnational crime, migration, volatile commodity markets and transnational ideological threats as some of the external factors which have the potential to increase fragility,²¹ while the Structures of Peace framework finds that "countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and also tend to be politically stable".²² OECD INCAF is currently looking at ways to mitigate global factors that negatively impact on conflict and fragility. New commitments to an updated 'global partnership for development' could build on such evidence to affirm how the international community will do its part to make it less hard for all societies to achieve lasting peace.

FINDING CONSENSUS WHILST RESPECTING OUR DIFFERENCES

In an increasingly multipolar world, a wider range of actors than ever before is involved in shaping the global development agenda. Beyond OECD members, actors such as China, India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa, Arab nations, the G-77 group of developing countries, and the g7+ group of fragile states all have crucial roles to play. The evidence base used by those promoting peacebuilding to influence the debate on conflict must therefore engage with their experience as development actors and countries with their own peacebuilding experiences. There is much to be learned from doing so.

At the same time as examining existing frameworks that draw on evidence and experience, it is important to consider what is politically feasible. For example, while the PSGs offer a very important entry point into the post-2015 debate for those concerned about conflict and fragility, they are unlikely to receive full

backing from certain countries and agencies in their current form: some governments and multilateral agencies are unlikely to favour a goal framed in the language of 'legitimate politics'; whether they might accept a goal promoting inclusive decision-making and dialogue in some form remains to be seen.

Consensus on global development norms and policies can only be achieved through language that is compatible with the outlooks and perspectives of diverse policy communities – and governments – throughout the world. Therefore, while the frameworks highlighted in this briefing offer a useful starting point, the language and ideas will need to be adapted to suit a variety of actors. Crafting commitments that all can agree on, without leaving out any substantive area where progress is required to build and maintain sustainable peace, is the challenge we now face.

Liberian children greet Chinese Premier Hu Jintao in 2007. Emerging donors like China have an increasing influence on development progress in conflict-affected states – the post-2015 debate is an opportunity for policy dialogue with them on how best to define and support peace and sustainable human development. © CHRISTOPHER HERWIG

NOTES

- 1 World Bank, *World development report 2011: Conflict, security and development* (2011)
- 2 UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, *Peace and security thematic think piece* (2012), p 3. Signatories include 60 UN agencies.
- 3 *Op cit* UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, p 7.
- 4 Beyond 2015, *Essential must-haves – legitimacy*, www.beyond2015.org/document/essential-must-haves-legitimacy accessed 13 August 2012.
- 5 Institute for Economics and Peace, *Structures of peace: identifying what leads to peaceful societies* (2011), www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Structures-of-Peace.pdf.
- 6 *Ibid.* p 2.
- 7 www.oecd.org/international%20dialogue/
- 8 International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, *A New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States* (2011), www.oecd.org/international%20dialogue/49151944.pdf.
- 9 www.oecd.org/international%20dialogue/aneuwealforengagementinfragilestates.htm#endorse
- 10 Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Liberia, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Solomon Islands, South Sudan, Timor-Leste, Togo.
- 11 UN Development Programme, *Human development report 1994: New dimensions of human security* (1994), p 25.
- 12 *Op cit* International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, p 2.
- 13 DFID, *Building peaceful states and societies*, www.gsdcrc.org/docs/open/CON75.pdf, p 6.
- 14 *Op cit* Institute for Economics and Peace, p 6.
- 15 International Alert, *Programming framework for International Alert: design, monitoring and evaluation* (2010), p 8.
- 16 *Op cit* DFID, p 29.
- 17 *Op cit* UNDP, p 32–3.
- 18 *Op cit* DFID, p 34.
- 19 *Op cit* International Alert, p 10.
- 20 *Op cit* World Bank, p 149.
- 21 *Op cit* World Bank, p 217–240.
- 22 *Op cit* Institute for Economics and Peace, p 21.

ABOUT SAFERWORLD

Saferworld is an independent international NGO. We work directly with local people, as well as governments and international organisations, to prevent violent conflict and encourage co-operative, people-centred approaches to peace and security. We believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

While we are not a traditional development agency, we seek to understand

and influence the relationship between conflict, security and international development.

We work in over 15 countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. We have staff based in Bangladesh, Kenya, Kosovo, Nepal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Uganda, as well as in London, Brussels and Vienna.

All our publications are available to download from our website.