

# Conflict and Development: what do we know

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# Conflict – Development Nexus

*See: Concept Paper* (Background Paper 1)  
by Fukuda-Parr and Picciotto

- Link 1: Impact of war on development
- Link 2: Socio-economic structures as root causes and risk factors

Preventing conflict is both intrinsically valuable but can be an important means to development and poverty reduction.

# Research findings

Link 1: Armed conflict as development in reverse

Link 2: Socio-economic structures and risks of armed conflict:

- Chronic poverty (Collier)
- Natural resource dependence (Collier)
- Horizontal inequality and exclusion (Stewart)
- Youth bulge and unemployment (Cincotta)
- Environmental pressure (Homer Dixon)
- History of war (Collier)
- Neighbourhood

# Conflicts – Development Nexus: A Survey of Armed Conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa 1980-2005

*See Background paper 4 by*

Fukuda-Parr, Ashwill, Chiappa and Messenio

# Armed conflicts 1980-2005

- 126 wars involving the state in 32 countries
- 6 between states, 120 within states
- long duration: 10 countries in conflict over 10 years
- sub-regional spillovers
- diverse driving claims: control of state, territorial, secessionist
- high human cost on civilian population: 1 million battle deaths; total war deaths multiples of battle deaths, and massive dislocations

# 'New wars' of the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Defy conventional state-centric definitions and conceptions of war:

- Many non-state wars: 2002-05 – 77 wars with 13,000 fatalities (17 state wars with 21,000 fatalities)
- Battle deaths are a small portion of war deaths
- Driven by political and private economic motives
- Involve diverse actors: external and internal actors, state and non-state
- Human rights violations of civilians by both state and non-state militias, organized criminal groups with long lasting societal consequences

# Link 1 - Development consequences

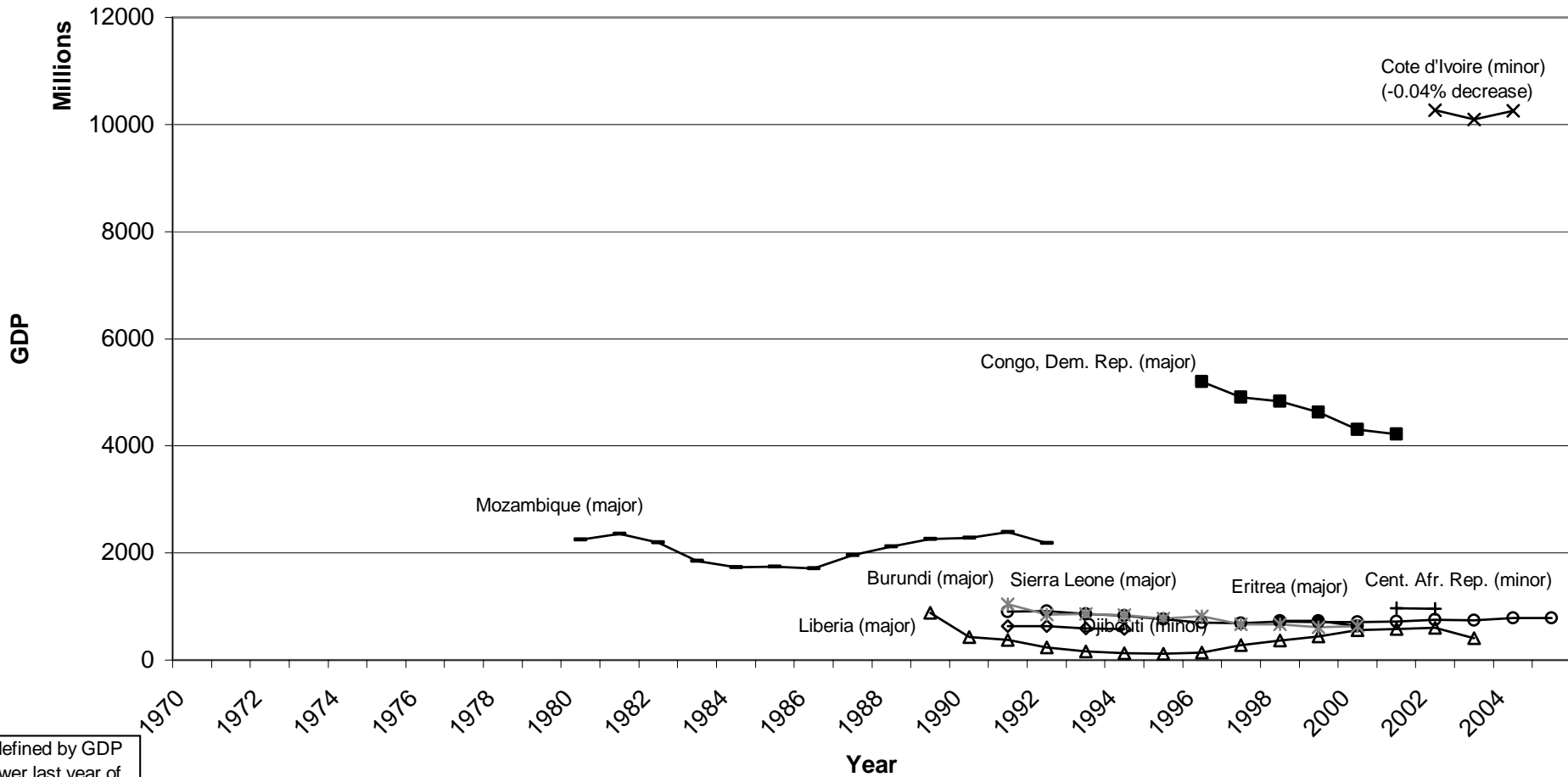
Wars destroy lives, infrastructure and institutions but impacts are diverse and complex

- Some economies keep growing
- Human indicators may continue to improve
- Distribution of costs among population uneven

**Figure 1: GDP decreases\* during conflicts 1970-2005 (in constant 2000 US dollars)**

excluding conflicts of one year

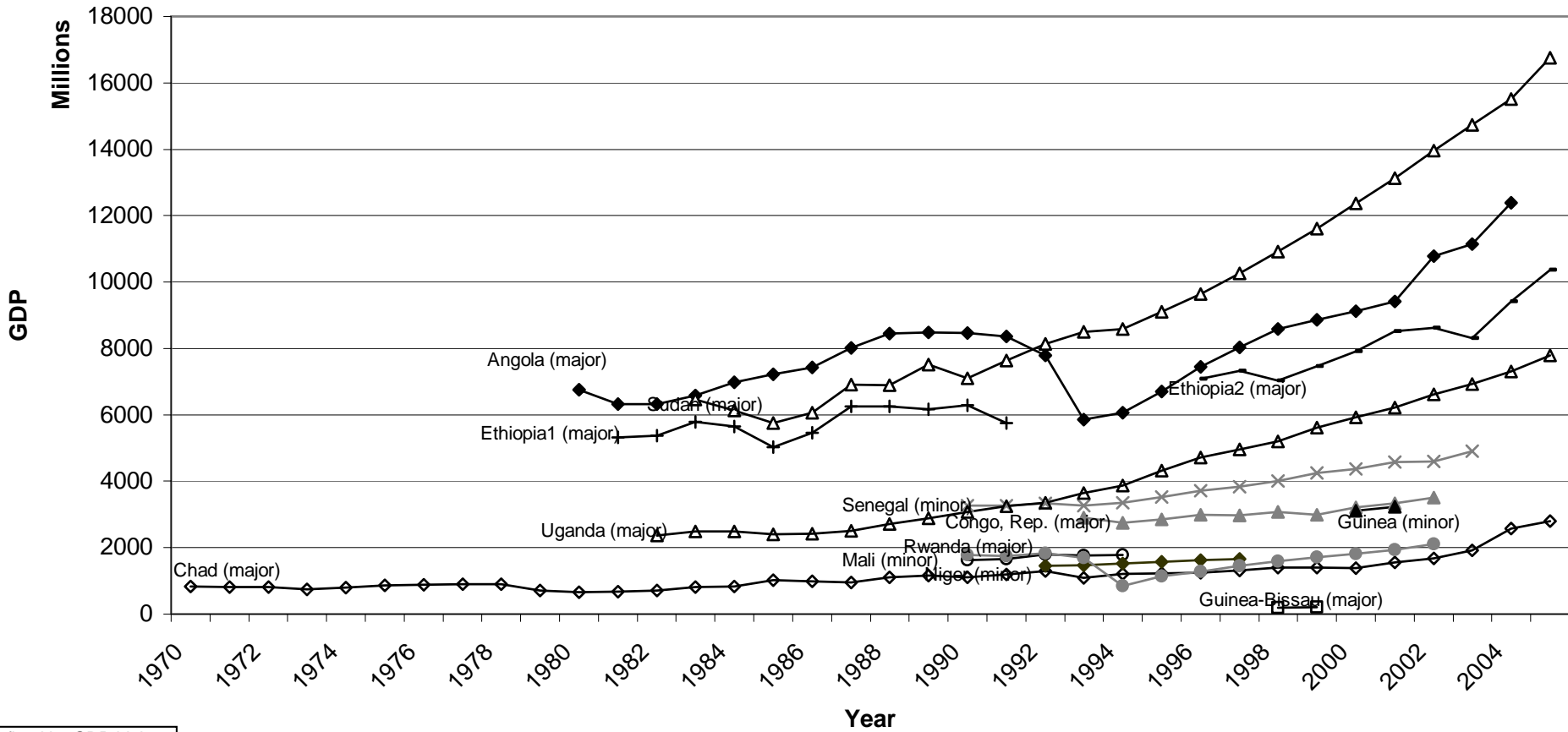
Source: World Development Indicators



\*defined by GDP lower last year of conflict compared with first year  
^data from Mozambique begins 1980

- Burundi (1991-2005)
- ✕— Cote d'Ivoire (2002-2004)
- △— Liberia (1989-2003)
- +— Central African Republic (2001-2002)
- ◇— Djibouti (1991-1994)
- Mozambique (1977-1992)
- Congo, Dem. Rep. (1996-2001)
- Eritrea (1998-2000)
- \*— Sierra Leone (1991-2000)

**Figure 2: GDP increases\* during conflicts 1970-2005 (in constant 2000 US dollars)^**  
 (excluding conflicts of one year\*\*)  
 Source: World Development Indicators



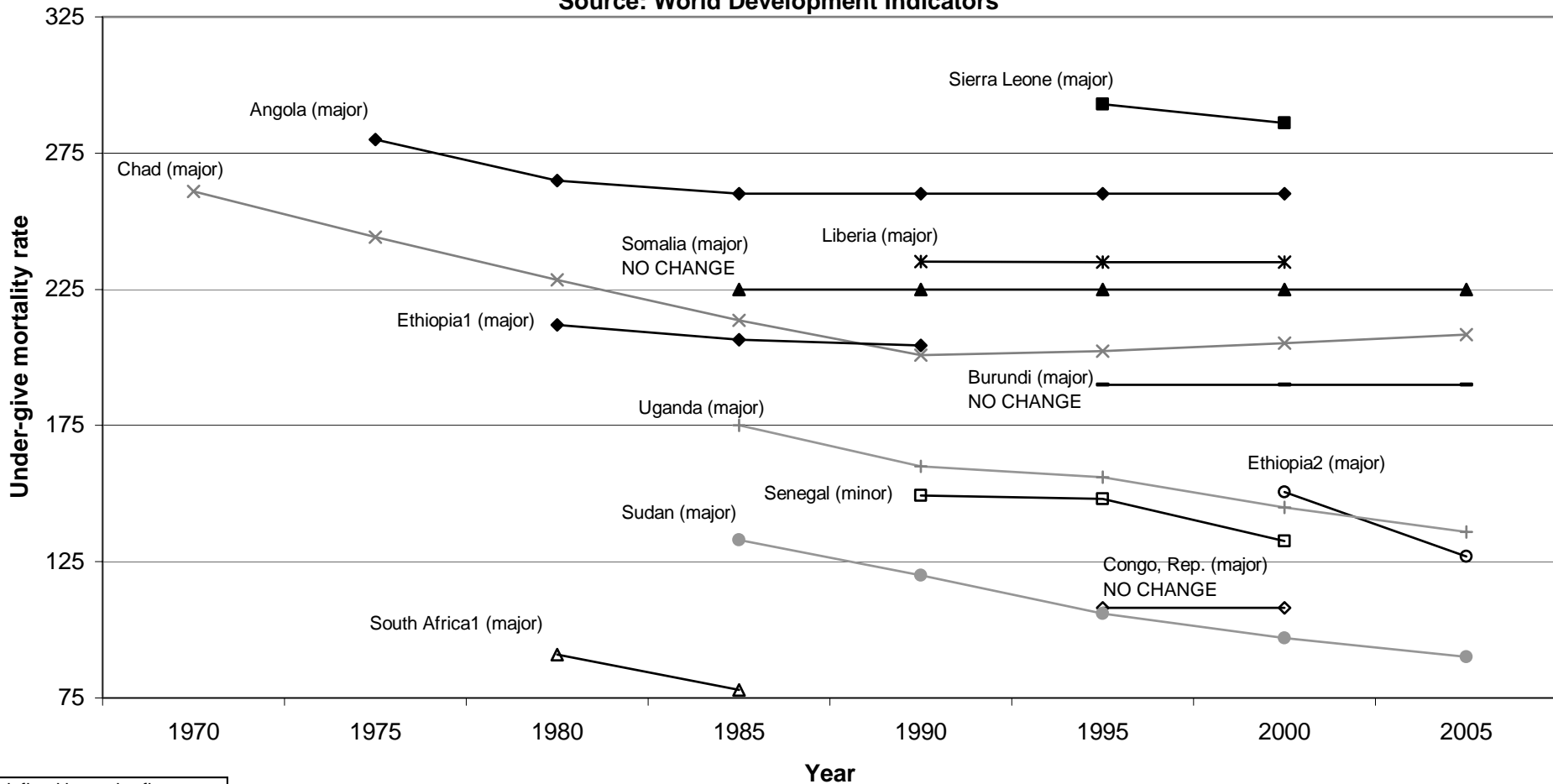
\*defined by GDP higher last year of conflict compared with first year  
 ^data from Angola begins 1980, Chad 1970, Ethiopia1 1981, Uganda 1982  
 \*\*excluding South Africa

- ◆ Angola (1974-2004)
- ◆ Chad (1965-2005)
- ◆ Congo, Rep. (1993-2002)
- + Ethiopia1 (1976-1991)
- + Ethiopia2 (1996-2005)
- ▲ Guinea (2000-2001)
- Guinea-Bissau (1998-1999)
- Mali (1990-1994)
- Niger (1992-1997)
- Rwanda (1990-2002)
- × Senegal (1990-2003)
- ▲ Sudan (1983-2005)

### Figure 3: Under-five mortality rate decreases\* during conflict 1970-2005

(excluding conflicts with one or less data point recorded during conflict)

Source: World Development Indicators



\*defined by under-five mortality rate being lower at last year of conflict (or closest data point, taken at five year increments) as compared with beginning of conflict

- ◆— Angola (1974-2004)
- ◆— Burundi (1991-2005)
- x— Chad (1965-2005)
- ◇— Congo, Rep. (1993-2002)
- Ethiopia1 (1976-1991)
- Ethiopia2 (1996-2005)
- \*— Liberia (1989-2003)
- Senegal (1990-2003)
- Sierra Leone (1991-2000)
- ▲— Somalia (1981-2005)
- ▲— South Africa1 (1980-1988)
- Sudan (1983-2005)
- +— Uganda (1981-2005)

# Link 2: structural conditions and risks of war

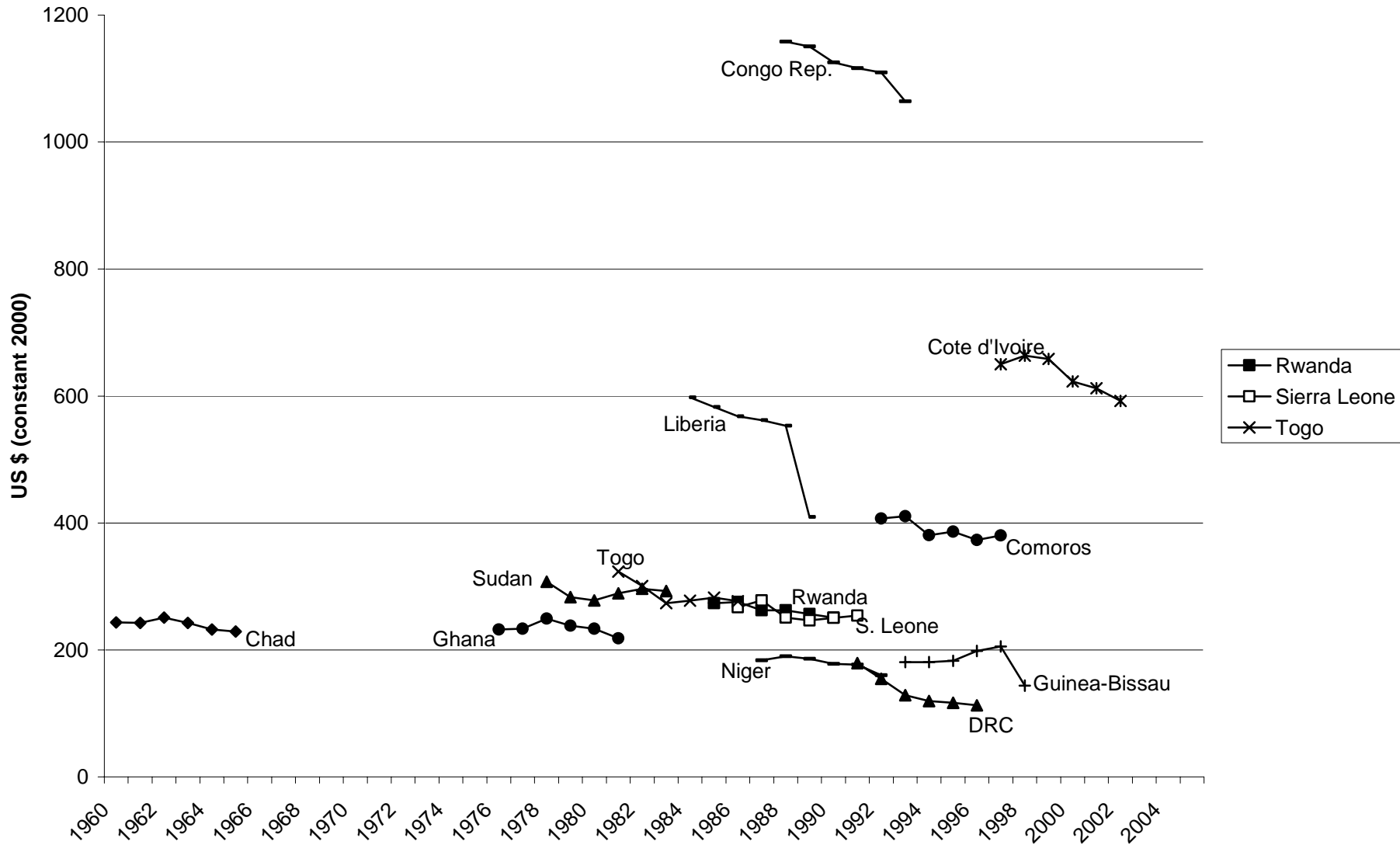
Characteristic of countries in region from evidence in official data for poverty, youth bulge and from non-official sources for environmental pressure, horizontal inequality

Role in driving conflict complex and varied for 32 countries

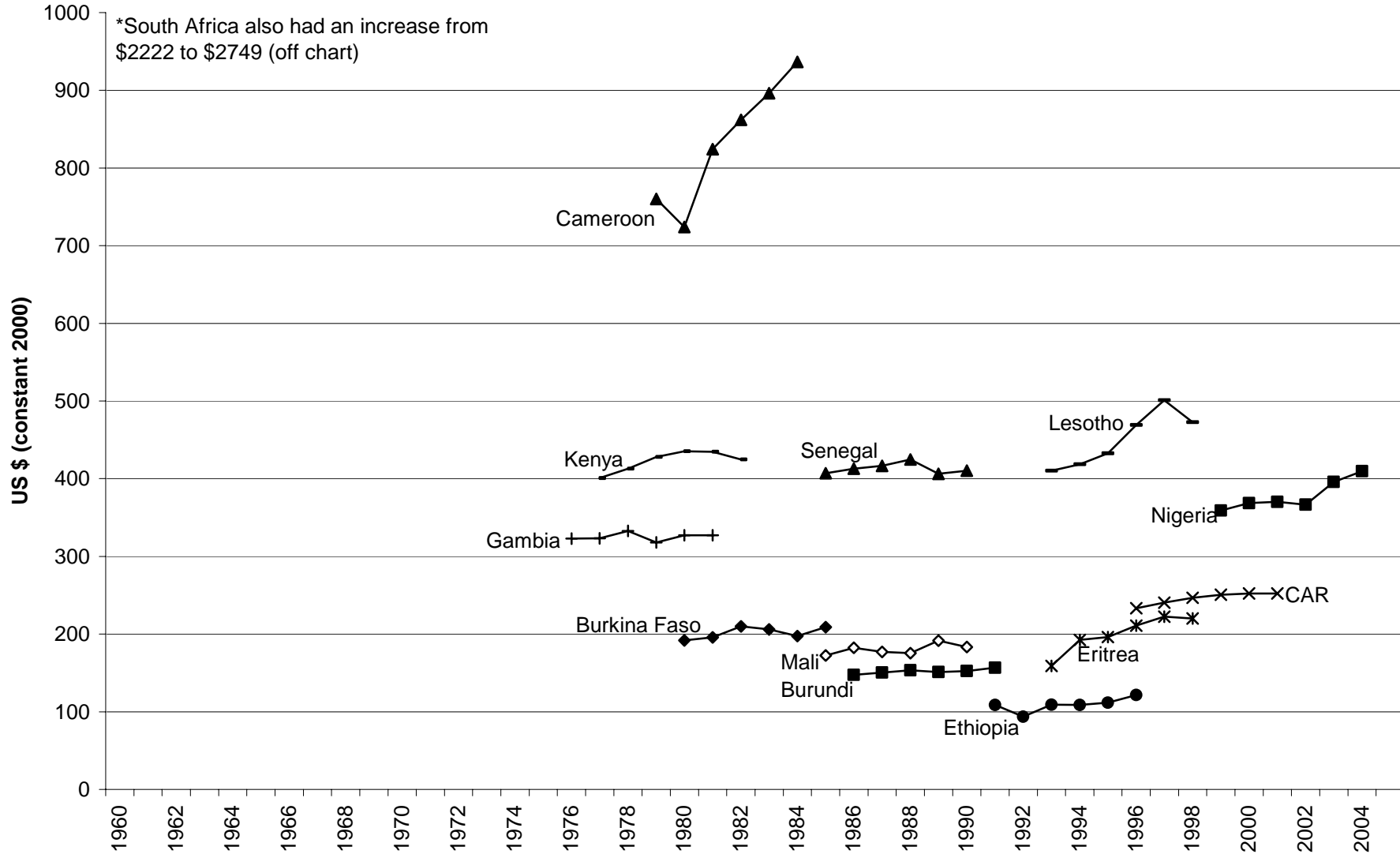
# Poverty

- 32 countries with conflict do not differ from 17 countries without conflict in average GDP per capita, HDI and poverty incidence
- Economic mismanagement and decline as proximate cause: Wars broke out in context of improving economic and social indicators: GDP per capita at onset of war compared with 5 years previously - lower in 13 countries; higher in 13 countries

Figure 5 Per Capita GDP declines 5 years prior to onset of armed conflict



**Figure 6: Per Capita GDP increases during 5th years before onset of armed conflict**



# Natural resource dependence

- Highest risk associated with primary commodity exports above 32% GDP (Collier)
- 11 of 18 countries above 15%
- Cote d'Ivoire at 32%
- Factor in war dynamics in Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia

# Horizontal inequalities

Identity based inequality and exclusion a motivating factor in many countries (Rwanda, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Uganda, Ghana etc.) but not in others where similar conditions exist (e.g. Mozambique, Sierra Leone)

# History of war

- Wars in 32 countries over 1980-2005 involved 154 cessations in fighting including 80 peace agreements (since 1989).
- Only 9 cessations were followed by 10 years of peace.
- 20 additional cessations have held for less than 10 years since 1995

# Policy response: review of PRSPs

- Review of 18 PRSPs available for 32 countries
- 4 made no mention of armed conflict
- none contained analysis of root causes except for Liberia i-PRSP
- structural risk factors (e.g. youth employment, equity and inclusion) not among high priority policy agenda
- No systematic approach to conflict-poverty links in PRSPs

# Summing up

1. Impact of armed conflicts on poverty and development are diverse and complex.
2. Structural risk factors play a role in diverse contexts.
3. Surprising lack of systematic attention to armed conflict as a cause of poverty and to root causes of poverty in development policy
4. Risks of conflict in SSA remain significant; structural risk factors are prevalent, especially history of war, demography and youth unemployment, environmental pressure and horizontal inequality and exclusion.

country with per cap GDP of \$1000 has 3 times the risk of war as country with pc GDP of \$4000

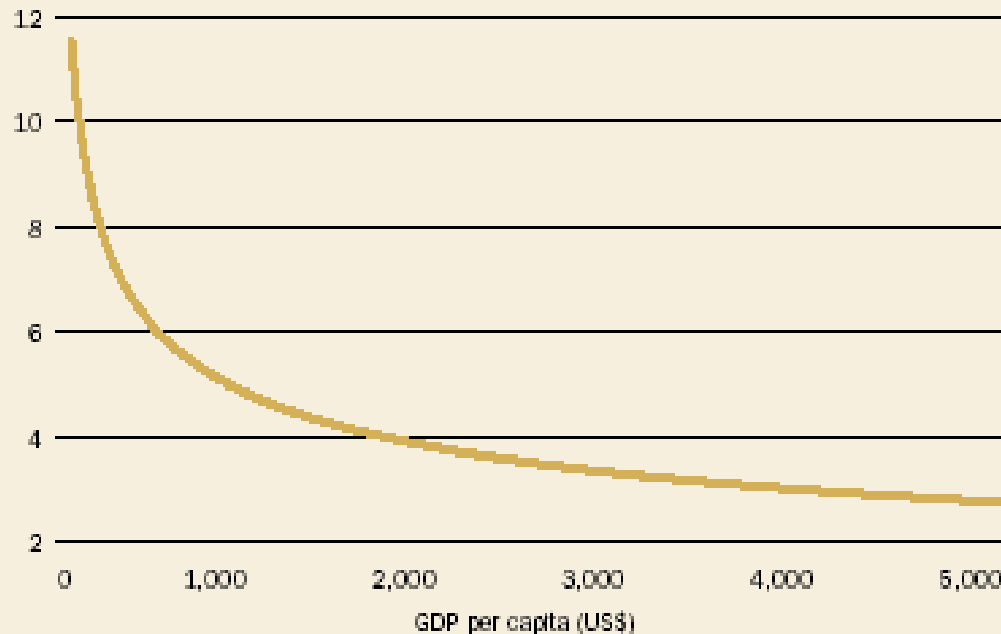
**Figure 1**

**Rising national incomes reduce the risk of civil war**

*Predicted probability of observing a new conflict within five years (%)*

*Note:* Estimated probabilities are derived from the relationship between GDP per capita (constant 1985 US\$) and civil war onset. The figure denotes only average relationships identified across countries and over time and does not imply that for any income levels conflict risks are the same in all places.

Source: Research undertaken by Macartan Humphreys (Columbia University) using data on GDP from World Bank 2004d and on civil war onset from PRIO/Uppsala University 2004.



Source: UN Millennium Project, 2005

# Conflict-development nexus

There is no automatic relationship between poverty and armed conflict. Structural factors play an important role in creating incentives for war but the linkages are complex and diverse. Analysis of root causes of past conflicts and risks of future conflicts should be systematically undertaken in setting development policies in economic, social and governance areas.

# Broader context

Poverty oriented social, economic and governance policies are not enough. Other challenges need to be addressed:

- External economic challenges (debt, trade)
- External resources and actors as incentives and disincentives for peace/violence
- Mineral resources and state fragility
- Governance, human rights and the state