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## 1

# The Multi-Dimensional Challenge of Mass Violent Conflict

*Tony Addison and Tilman Brück*

## Introduction

War has become central to the development policy debate in a way that the pioneers of development studies would have found inconceivable. Although struggles for independence were often bloody, there was at least an expectation in the 1950s and 1960s that new countries would eventually consolidate a measure of political stability sufficient to enable them to put effective development plans into action. The mainstream view that war was some kind of exception to the development process persisted right up to the 1990s, when the tragedies in Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and the then Zaire (to name just four major African conflicts) finally pushed civil war onto the centre stage of the development debate and donor activity. Since that time, the donor community has been involved in numerous conflict situations ranging from Afghanistan to Angola to Burundi to Mozambique to Timor-Leste. This activity has not only included efforts at brokering peace and the use of military deployment (under UN auspices or otherwise), as well as coping with the emergency and humanitarian impact, but also what has come to be known as ‘post-conflict reconstruction’: the attempt to rebuild societies and economies after many years of war.

Post-conflict reconstruction is the focus of this book, but we are the first to admit (along with almost everyone who works in this area) that the subject is fraught with ambiguity: Do societies ever become truly ‘post-conflict’? Should we be looking to ‘reconstruct’ societies or to ‘transform’ them? There are also major tensions between goals, not least between the need to establish peace (the absence of large-scale violence) and the need to achieve development (in its broadest sense, as a process that reduces absolute poverty and, perhaps, social inequality). Addressing these issues not only requires us to look to the economics and the politics of conflict and reconstruction, it also forces us to move out of our comfortable disciplinary boxes to address complex ethical dilemmas: the political economy of priority-setting, as well as the international dimensions of rebuilding nations.

None of this is easy, and we would not claim that this book offers easy solutions.

Instead, our aim is to highlight the dilemmas and to indicate paths that can take us forward. The book does this by offering a set of chapters around the main themes of the subject: each chapter addresses a key topic, illustrating the main points with country examples drawn from the range of post-conflict experiences. In this introductory chapter, we set the scene: beginning, in the next section, with a discussion of the nature of modern wars and the implications of the type of conflict with regard to reconstruction strategies and the relationship between the political and economic goals (including attempts to introduce democratization as part of the peacebuilding and reconstruction processes). We term this approach 'peace, participation and prosperity', which we introduce in this chapter and discuss in detail in Chapter 2. We then outline what this volume covers, and what it does not: reconstruction is a very large field, and no single book can hope to give a full and reasonable treatment to every problem. Instead, this book is selective. Accordingly, each chapter of the book is summarized, capturing the flavour of each problem. The chapter concludes by setting out five central lessons and policy recommendations deriving from the volume, especially as they relate to the major policy questions.

## **War and peace in the contemporary world**

War is fundamentally a breakdown in moral values. While, from an economic point of view, war can be defined as organized mass violence aimed at challenging or defending established property rights, war is, at its heart, a degeneration of the individual and common values of a society. Values change during wars, especially during lengthy ones when young children are mobilized and grow to adulthood in a climate of pervasive fear and violence, sometimes involving them in the murder of their own parents and siblings as an initiation right into the forces of warlords (Beah 2007). In this way, war creates a 'moral conflict trap' akin to the economic or developmental conflict traps that have been emphasized in the economics literature on conflict (on the latter, see Collier *et al.* 2003).

War can overturn the old social order, opening up opportunities for people previously at a disadvantage; war is one way to escape poverty (and, exceptionally, to become very rich). But sometimes there is a sharp disjuncture between wartime and post-war values that can lead to the emergence of double standards, as happened in Eritrea where women were valued as independence fighters but were marginalized as post-war economic actors – traditional views of women and their social role reasserted themselves (Brück and Vothknecht 2007). Wartime actors should not only be seen as military or political agents in pursuit of strategic objectives, but also as economic – even moral – agents with complex and shifting motives (Berdal and Keen

1997; Berdal and Malone 2000; Keen 1997). To summarize, at the individual level, participants in war often pursue a mixture of economic, political and social objectives.

History also matters greatly. Both the causes and the nature of war shape the post-war economy and society – particularly, why war happened, how it ended (if, indeed, it has actually ceased before reconstruction starts) and the prospects for it resuming. This is a vast subject and one with which historians continue to engage (Ferguson 2006; Hobsbawm 1995; Judt 2005). What we wish to emphasize here is that a country's history is central to determining its post-war development potential, and the trajectory that it is likely to take. This is particularly so in the area of social inequality; income and asset inequality generally have deep historical roots, with societies of high-inequality experiencing a large measure of violence in their creation (the slaughter of indigenous people by colonialists in Latin America, for example) and the maintenance of inequality by pervasive state violence (notably South Africa's history of apartheid, for example) (Cornia 2004; Cramer 2006; Gat 2006). An important determinant of a society's propensity to conflict is the degree of inequality – measured either vertically or horizontally (a subject pursued by Frances Stewart in Chapter 7 and set out in her 2001 WIDER annual lecture (Stewart 2001)). Critically, if it is the *absolute* level of income (or wealth) of each group driving the propensity to conflict, then this has weaker implications for peacebuilding policy than if the gap *between* the groups is affecting conflict. In the former case, policies for peace only have to raise each group's level of welfare, as intended in standard donor-supported development programmes. In the latter case, policy must aim for convergence between groups. This is much harder to design and implement (let alone achieve), less commonly supported by international donors, and could even be a cause of conflict if pursued too vigorously (the history of large-scale land reform is a notably bloody affair). This is a subject to which we return throughout the book (and *chronic* poverty is discussed in depth in Chapter 2).

All this takes place in a global economy that is undergoing a relentless (and accelerating) rate of change across all the dimensions of globalization in finance, trade, technology, and migration (Nayyar 2006; Stiglitz 2006b). An African country trying to rebuild itself in the early twenty-first century faces a global economy that would be largely unrecognizable to the planners of Germany's recovery after World War II or to that of South Korea after the Korean War. The largely free movement of capital, the rules of the game as set by WTO membership, and the dominance of China in so many areas of export manufacturing (and its seemingly insatiable demand for primary commodities) are the parameters with which the policymakers of small low-income countries must work. This not only provides opportunities – being a commodity producer is no longer such a dismal story and the sector attracts plenty of private investment – but also constraints: the use of controls over

the allocation of credit that featured in Europe's post-war recovery is not a viable option under open capital-accounts. And that special combination of import substitution, combined with export promotion used by Korea and Taiwan (China), seems now to be unique to the world of the 1960s (the reader is referred to Chang (2007), Collier (2007) and Reinert (2007) for recent and contrasting views on the separate (and long-running) question of whether import substitution is itself a desirable development strategy). We return to this major theme in Chapter 2.

Official development assistance (ODA) has rebounded somewhat from its (post-cold war) low-point in the mid-1990s (when Africa, in particular, was seen as 'irrelevant' to the geo-political interests of the major powers) but the G8, after promising much needed debt-relief at its 2005 Gleneagles summit, now appears to have stalled in its ambitions to raise the volume of aid substantially (see Chapter 2). Again, this is a contrast to the world of Marshall aid to Europe in the 1940s (Sachs 2005). In any case, private capital flows are now, in aggregate, much more important for the developing world (remittance flows alone are three times the volume of ODA) and, while most post-conflict countries remain very aid-dependent, even the finance ministers of the poorest and smallest economies are keen to attract private capital in a way that they were not merely a decade ago (Addison 2007).

In summary, today's conflict economies are well integrated into the world economy, despite the high transaction costs that war imposes on economic activity, including trade with the rest of the world. This is a mixed blessing. On the positive side, it raises the chance for interventions; for example, through trade and investment sanctions, and by using the carrot (or stick) of aid to raise the returns to peace (Addison *et al.* 2002). However, on the negative side, while the growing gap between an underdeveloped war economy and its peaceful peers raises the opportunity cost of conflict (peace is *socially* more profitable, especially when countries trade) the war economy is *privately* profitable. Closer integration of war economies into the global economy provides plenty of scope for the criminal financing of war through the export of 'blood' diamonds and other war commodities, the laundering of the profits in international financial centres, and the recruitment of mercenaries and the purchase of advanced weaponry (with increasing interaction between 'local' wars and global terrorist networks in some cases: see Brück 2007). Chapter 2 returns to these issues.

### **Peace, participation, and prosperity**

A central theme of this volume is that political participation is a key factor for successful post-conflict transition. Political participation has many dimensions; such as constitutional design, electoral politics, human rights protection, the legal and justice system, decentralization, and political culture. Political participation can occur at the individual or the institutional

level and might vary across groups within a country. It is therefore a much broader concept than democracy as represented by national parliamentary elections, which is the element of participation most focused on by the media and many donors (an issue that we develop further in Chapter 2).

As the chapters of this volume demonstrate, the interaction between peace and prosperity is well documented analytically and empirically (Collier and Hoeffler's (1998) finding that the probability of conflict declines as per capita income rises is robust). The relationship between peace and participation is less clear; the absence of conflict should help to build participation but participation certainly does not lead to peace in a linear fashion (and elections themselves can be a flash point for conflict, as Angola and Kenya demonstrated in 1992 and 2007 respectively). The link between prosperity and participation is quite unclear, and continues to be debated; both dictatorship and democracy can be associated with economic success as well as failure. Perhaps three findings are starting to emerge in this debate. First, conflict and state failure are highly correlated. Second, peace might be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for early democratization. Third, participation is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for peace or for prosperity, although long-standing democracies tend to be more peaceful than authoritarian regimes: the issue is therefore how to sustain initial democratic success long enough for its consolidation.

Democratization could lead to conflict for a variety of reasons. With an intermediate number of political groups, politics might become very divisive; for example, by emphasising ethnic or religious divisions. Furthermore, the political changes implemented to achieve greater democracy could trigger violence, which then stalls democracy's consolidation. Rising prosperity provides scope for accumulation outside the realm of politics. As Peter Burnell writes in Chapter 4, 'A prospering *market* economy should mean that political power would be less highly sought after simply as a passport to wealth.' Therefore, fragile democracies might be the worst form of state governance for preventing conflict. As Collier and Hoeffler find, democratization has more uncertain effects on conflict than on growth (Collier and Hoeffler 2004b). And, ultimately, as Huntington (1991) pointed out, democratization is historically a very uneven process of change.

However, there is a large degree of variation of experience across countries and across time. A number of positive experiences of peace and participation might help to guide policymakers in how to avoid a conflict-ridden path to participation. Mozambique, Botswana and India all serve as evidence that stable democracy can be attained, even for low-income countries (see Guha (2007) on India, for instance). The cautious hypothesis of this volume is that ultimately peace, prosperity and participation are mutually reinforcing, even if we do not yet fully understand how these processes work together.

## The scope of this volume

In any war economy, there are two types of economic activities: those driving the conflict and those driven by conflict. Important recent research has focused on the former; for example, by analysing blood diamond and other extractive industries (Cooper 2002; Le Billon 2001a), illegal arms and timber trading (Craft and Smaldone 2002), or the trafficking of women and drugs (Cornell 2005), illicit financial flows (FitzGerald 2004), corruption (Rose-Ackerman 1999), or military employment opportunities (Blattman 2006). These activities are particularly harmful where they create conflict traps, such as rebel movements living from looting, or conflict zones that breed and harbour terrorists. To the extent that these activities are self-perpetuating, international policies such as sanctions might be quite helpless. To the extent that these activities shape the war economy and its actors, neither must they be overlooked in the post-war period (hence the extensive focus in UN operations on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)).

In a similar vein, post-war economic activities might also emerge that benefit from the cessation of violence and its opportunities. The emergence of Lebanon or Cyprus as financial centres of their regions or, on a smaller scale, the service industries arising around UN peacekeeping bases indicate the importance of institutions being created by war-related processes (UN 2004a).

Yet, the majority of economic activity during war will include other economic sectors; such as farming, trading, and services. These are affected by conflict to varying degrees, depending on their vulnerability to the circumstances of war (Bundervoet 2006; Ibáñez and Moya 2006; Keen 2001a). Smallholders often modify their coping strategies based on their expected encounter with rebel and government troops and their respective behaviour towards the peasants. Depending on the nature of the risks that smallholders face during war (such as looting, abduction, or the draft), households have adapted by changing production or storage techniques, or by fleeing their villages.

This book focuses more on activities affected by war than on the activities driving war. It argues that we must recognize the diverse motives of all actors and the effects that the legacy of war has on people, firms, and institutions. It is important to study the transformations induced by conflict and state failure, as they often harm development; such as the spread of HIV/AIDS by soldiers, the dislocation of millions of people from their livelihoods as they become refugees, or the emergence of new arms trading networks and other conflict-related entrepreneurship.

The analyses offered in this volume deliberately emphasize the moral and the social aspects of post-war transformation. Our authors deal with topics where there are not necessarily any hard and fast solutions that apply in all circumstances in all countries. Instead, the normative dimensions of the hard choices involved are emphasized. In that sense, this volume is not a

blueprint for post-war reconstruction. It might, however, be a guide to some of the most important issues of reconstruction policy.

Finally, we must state what we do not cover in depth in this book, because important work has already been undertaken in those fields. We do not discuss in detail the design of sanctions (Cox and Drury 2006; Davis and Engerman 2003; Hansen and Borchgrevink 2006) or of military interventions (Fetterly 2006; Parai 2006; Sambanis 2007), macroeconomic policies for reconstruction (Addison and Murshed 2005; van Gennip 2005), security sector reform and DDR operations (Collier and Hoeffler 2006; Kingma 2000), the problems facing refugees (Engel and Ibáñez 2007; Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006), humanitarian interventions, especially by NGOs (Nafziger *et al.* 2000), and the analysis of the war activities discussed above. These are all major and central issues, but one book alone cannot be all-encompassing.

## Summary of the chapters

In this section, we summarize the main points of each chapter, drawing out some of the linkages between the chapters and the overarching issues of the book.

In Chapter 2, the editors, Tony Addison and Tilman Brück, identify the cross-cutting themes of the volume, organizing their discussion around three major goals: 'peace', 'political participation', and 'prosperity'. They identify the main actors typically involved in conflict, and the various issues that must be overcome for belligerents to organize themselves (thereby overcoming their problems of collective action). The importance of dealing with 'spoilers' is discussed, together with the efforts of the international community in peacekeeping and monitoring illegal financial flows, as well as tackling corruption. They find that while progress has been made, much remains to be done to achieve effective collective action at the international level (including peacekeeping as a global public good). In the second part of the chapter, policy issues are addressed and a framework for policy analysis is set out. The chapter asks whether there is an alternative to current reconstruction policies, and whether we can effectively prioritize to move beyond the present (and unachievable) wish lists that often characterize present efforts at reconstruction. The chapter also looks at the role of aid donors, and the debate around the effectiveness of aid in the post-conflict setting. It argues that too little attention is still given to building the institutions, especially the fiscal institutions, necessary for aid to be really effective.

In Chapter 3, David Malone and Heiko Nitzschke analyse the complex dynamics of civil war economies and identify areas for policy development critical for improved conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and the post-conflict building of peace. Developing the earlier, polarized debate around the 'greed' versus 'grievance' dichotomy, Malone and Nitzschke outline how economic dynamics can influence the onset, character, and duration

of armed conflicts. Furthermore, they provide a preliminary assessment of policy efforts to address the economic dimensions of conflict and conflict transformation, and suggest some issues for further research and policy action.

Malone and Nitzschke emphasize the effects of globalization on development and reconstruction policies, indicating how this has created not only new challenges but also new opportunities. The twin forces of the fall of the Soviet empire and of globalization have not only spawned new wars, but have also led to a new focus on war (Berdal 2003; Newman 2004). One positive consequence of globalization has been the increased international policy interest in dealing with war and underdevelopment (UN 2004a). An important contribution of Chapter 3 is the discussion and critique of the greed versus grievance debate, and how it has created artificial and misleading distinctions in the analysis of individual and group behaviour. The persistence of some conflicts could even be exacerbated if policies trying to deal with these are too simplistic.

Democratization has been central to recent endeavours in post-conflict reconstruction, but democratization has been problematic, as we noted earlier in this chapter. In Chapter 4, Peter Burnell asks how synergies between making peace and building democracies can be obtained. He challenges the widely held assumption that peacebuilding and democratization in post-conflict situations are virtually synonymous, leading to simple policy prescriptions. While he accepts that state failure and conflict commonly go hand-in-hand, he doubts that democracy and peace necessarily form a virtuous circle.

Burnell warns that the reality might be very different: choices have to be made between peace and democracy and between the different forms of peace and democracy. In doing so, institutional crafting and matters concerning civil society and political culture are important. Sequencing also matters. Burnell confirms the political economy findings of Malone and Nitzschke: that the problem of the collective action of the democrat is more challenging than that of the spoiler of peace. It is therefore encouraging that Burnell points out that multi-ethnic or broadly based parties are common in many heterogeneous African countries that have avoided conflict.

The belief that the well-known theory of a democratic peace in international relations has its complement in a democratic domestic peace is found to be plausible by Burnell, but 'getting there' after conflict will be challenging in his view. Issues of strategy and policy are most problematic where peace, prosperity and participation have all been deficient – a situation common in many developing economies studied in this volume.

The ethical dimensions of conflict have been much discussed (particularly the concept of the 'just war') but far less attention has been given to the ethics of post-conflict reconstruction. In Chapter 5, Sirku Hellsten highlights the role of the social contract in post-conflict reconstruction. To the extent that

grievance is a cause of conflict, the restoration of justice is an important goal of reconstruction. However, current policy approaches, social movements, and theoretical models for conflict resolution do tend to look at justice from a narrow point of view; in effect, equating 'justice' with 'law and order'. In contrast, Hellsten cautions that the concept of justice in the context of conflict has wider moral dimensions, in particular with respect to local social values and to the public ethics required to achieve impartiality and social cohesion. This is especially true to the extent that war can be defined as a breakdown (or, at least, as a transformation) of moral values or of institutions, more broadly speaking.

Hellsten emphasizes the importance of peace agreements as incomplete social contracts with objectives imposed top-down or by outsiders. For reconstruction to be sustainable, peace agreements also have to consider local values, including reconciliation. The resulting trade-offs are a key concern of her analysis: 'The dilemma of post-conflict reconstruction is thus in finding a balance between formal frameworks of justice and local values, and commitments to various traditional ethical frameworks.' The analysis of justice is a common theme of this book. For Malone and Nitzschke (Chapter 3), justice includes order and security. For Burnell (Chapter 4), it includes issues of political justice while, for Stewart (Chapter 7) and Waters *et al.* (Chapter 9), it concerns distributive and social issues. Hellsten adds reconciliation as the fourth dimension of justice.

In Chapter 6, Marcia Greenberg and Elaine Zuckerman examine the gender dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction. They discuss three connected gender dimensions – namely, women-focused activities, gender-aware programming, and gender role transformation – using evidence from a variety of World Bank and other donor projects. The authors conclude that gender programming enhances the returns to post-conflict aid and improves the stability of the peace settlement. Greenberg and Zuckerman identify the critical role of gender-specific issues and gender relations in post-conflict reconstruction. In doing so, they give an example of how conflicts can create inefficiencies, market distortions, and inequities, connecting to the analysis by Hellsten in Chapter 5.

Post-conflict donor assistance might also create further imbalances between men and women, or within these groups, by ignoring the gender-specific dynamics of conflict. For example, none of the World Bank projects reviewed by Greenberg and Zuckerman addressed male issues such as violence, while demobilization programmes often 'short-change economic growth by missing opportunities to involve productive women in reconstruction'. Where demobilization programmes do support female ex-combatants, they typically do not consider the role of the wives of ex-combatants, thus enhancing divisions between women. Overall, Greenberg and Zuckerman provide evidence for the claim that the gender effects of war are the strongest indirect social effects of war. In Chapter 6, they demonstrate a central

conclusion of this volume; namely, that good post-conflict reconstruction policies are also good development policies.

As we noted earlier in this chapter, there has been much discussion of inequality's role as a cause of conflict, but much less discussion on the relevance of inequality in relation to post-conflict reconstruction. In Chapter 7, Frances Stewart investigates how inequalities between groups in their access to economic, social and political resources (that is, horizontal inequalities) shape conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction. In particular, Stewart questions how horizontal inequalities are accounted for in policies relating to group access to assets and incomes, to social services and to political participation. Stewart thus addresses the distributive dimension of justice (building on Hellsten in Chapter 5).

Stewart finds considerable discrepancy between the important role of horizontal inequalities in causing and shaping conflict, and the lack of attention paid to these factors by the development policy community. The cases of Mozambique and Guatemala illustrate her general finding. The low level of understanding of detailed conflict dynamics (as also argued by Greenberg and Zuckerman in Chapter 6) prevents policymakers from integrating considerations of horizontal inequality into their programming. Given that 'the normal economic policy package of liberalization and market forces is not generally sufficient to reduce horizontal inequalities', Stewart suggests that new policy approaches are required. Yet, improving processes – rather than quotas or other quick fixes – appears most suited for a reduction of horizontal inequalities.

Furthermore, horizontal inequalities are an expression of the deep causes of economic underdevelopment, thus indicating that overcoming such inequalities will require profound structural reform. Certainly, overcoming entrenched horizontal inequalities might not necessarily be Pareto-optimal (to use economists' terminology), requiring policies and consistent donor support, which could challenge entrenched rights and privileges.

Public spending and taxation are central to state-building. In Chapter 8, Sanjeev Gupta, Shamsuddin Tareq, Benedict Clements, Alex Segura-Ubiergo, and Rina Bhattacharya review the challenges and experiences in rebuilding fiscal institutions in post-conflict environments, based on advice previously provided by the IMF to selected countries. The analysis indicates how the advice differed due to the conflict environment, resulting in simpler than usual policies and transitional measures that were not first best from an efficiency standpoint.

The chapter provides interesting examples of priorities and sequencing. Some measures, such as introducing an income tax, were brought into effect soon after the conflict, as otherwise they would never have been politically feasible. The authors note that unique windows of opportunity exist as the guns fall silent: 'The immediate post-conflict period provided an opportunity to put in place major improvements in policies and institutions relative

to the pre-conflict era.' Furthermore, the authors find that complementary reforms in the statistical services and in the banking sector are necessary for fiscal reform, thus requiring both a co-ordinated and extensive push on these policy fronts.

Yet, limited state capacity in the client countries drives much of the advisory agenda. Low fiscal capacity is therefore a bottleneck for delivering the peace dividend, which could lead to disenchantment within the peace process. In many post-conflict countries, the authors find that budgets were not executed and available funds for reconstruction were simply not spent. Weak state capacities also required simple initial policies. 'Budget and tax laws, for example, were made very basic and short. Over time, these were expanded. This allowed for greater local ownership as the details of these laws were fleshed out over time and as capacity improved.'

Health could constitute a quick 'win' area in which the state can begin to build accountability and a sense of trust in the populace by providing key basic services (see Chapter 2). In Chapter 9, Hugh Waters, Brinnon Garrett, and Gilbert Burnham assess the impact of conflict on health and public health systems, drawing lessons for post-conflict health system rehabilitation. Some of the most important direct and indirect costs of conflict occur in the area of health, making this sector an important case study of post-conflict policy design. Waters *et al.* present a framework for the analysis of inputs and policies: this consists of an immediate response to health needs, the subsequent provision of a package of essential health services, and the long-term rehabilitation of the health system itself. These three aspects should operate synergistically and as part of a continuum.

However, in practice, as Waters *et al.* demonstrate for a variety of case studies, neither synergies, coherence, nor critical capacity can be achieved. Hence, their chapter illustrates a key theme of this book; namely, that policy wish lists are impossible to implement and that, instead, prioritization and sequencing are at a premium in the post-conflict environment. Furthermore, delivering health systems is intricately tied in with building capacity and delivering effective state services generally. This links the chapter by Walters *et al.* very well to those by Gupta *et al.* (Chapter 8) and Anand (Chapter 10), which emphasize other dimensions of state capacity and its financing.

In Chapter 10, P.B. Anand identifies the key challenges for infrastructure sectors in post-conflict reconstruction. While Waters *et al.* address a key sector for human development, Anand focuses on an important aspect of economic recovery from conflict. With the quality of infrastructure being an important determinant of the transaction costs of an economy, the level of post-war development potential is driven, in part, by the degree of rehabilitation of the infrastructure. Furthermore, infrastructure encompasses not only physical assets, but also the state's or the private sector's ability to provide and maintain these assets. Hence, the analysis of infrastructure requires the consideration of the institutional aspects of development. Consequently, Anand

explores infrastructure from the related perspectives of governance and the rebuilding of the state, conflict prevention and peace, and poverty reduction.

Drawing upon evidence from several country case studies, Anand discusses whether infrastructure should be 'reconstructed', when that should be done, and how it should be done. Anand reminds us that post-conflict infrastructure policy is dominated by 'hard' investments, while the role of crucial 'soft' institutions is played down. In particular, local institutions – and, hence, local participation in rebuilding infrastructure and institutions – are important for sustaining peace and prosperity. Despite their rhetoric on participation, donors need to do more to increase that participation.

In Chapter 11, Wim Naudé suggests that entrepreneurship might not automatically improve peace, prosperity, and participation. While entrepreneurship is a ubiquitous quality in post-conflict states, it can be unproductive and destructive, so the establishment of peace might not automatically result in development. Entrepreneurship could even cause a relapse into conflict. As Naudé notes: "entrepreneurship" is not necessarily intrinsically good or bad, but depends for its effects on the structure of incentives that a particular time and society offers'. To prevent unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship from derailing peace and prosperity, efforts to increase the supply of entrepreneurship itself might be less important than efforts to change the allocation of entrepreneurial effort into productive entrepreneurship.

Several factors can contribute to the support of peaceful, participative, and prosperous entrepreneurship. The relationship between war, institutions and entrepreneurship, and the evolution of institutional reform need to be better understood in the post-conflict context. Post-conflict governments and donors should remove barriers to business development, provide support on the input side of the entrepreneurial process, and decentralize the provision of support measures and economic decision-making as much as possible. Naudé suggests that: 'a precondition for productive entrepreneurship in post-conflict societies is therefore that governance and transactional trust be restored'. In that sense, good pro-entrepreneurial policy in the post-conflict period is simply good development policy.

Furthermore, particular characteristics of entrepreneurship in poor and conflict countries need to be taken into consideration, especially the role played by ethnic, immigrant, and minority entrepreneurs and their networks (for example, 'entrepreneurial migration' induced by war). Human and financial capital requirements are also critical inputs into the entrepreneurial process, though the nature of requirements cannot easily be transplanted from other contexts or countries. Having identified these factors for constructive entrepreneurship in reconstruction, Naudé cautions that our understanding of entrepreneurship in such circumstances remains limited. Entrepreneurship in developing countries and post-conflict states in general, and the impact of entrepreneurship on poverty in particular, is an under-researched topic. The related lack of data places a significant constraint on policy

design, including the urgent need to generate more livelihoods through an expansion of the private sector.

## Summary of lessons and policy recommendations

We end with five key messages from the book. The first concerns the tensions between the goals of development and of peacebuilding. In principle, these are mutually supportive and certainly, in the long run, it is difficult to conceive of development being successful without society being relatively free of major violence. But, in the short term, what needs to be done to achieve peace might involve de-activating the spoilers (actual and potential) and this can take resources away from more worthy goals, including poverty reduction. Yet, it is a matter of social justice to help the poor and the vulnerable, irrespective of whether they are important in conflict generation. Hence, tensions between objectives abound.

The second message, related to the first, is that we need to understand very clearly the motives for conflict, if we are to build a successful and sustainable peace. Where these motives are mainly grievance-based, there are prospects for reducing (but never eliminating) the potential for conflict by reducing the gap between contending groups. In that sense, horizontal inequality – as emphasized by Frances Stewart and others – matters greatly. And such horizontal inequality can occur across many dimensions, not only income but also the non-income dimensions of well-being. Each has different policy implications that need to be clearly thought through (livelihood development versus basic service delivery, for example). In addition, gender inequality must also be tackled, and reconstruction provides opportunities to do this in ways that incorporate women into the growth process (and thereby raise growth itself).

Third, implementation and delivery are crucial. Peace agreements can, and often do, contain many fine words promising to redress the grievances of the past. This is to be expected, since belligerents must commit to working to resolve the differences between them. But cynicism quickly sets in when promises are not followed up by actions. Unfortunately, post-conflict countries often have the weakest capacities of all to implement successfully, especially when action is needed to reduce the spatial (and other horizontal) inequalities that often underlie conflict. Central government, let alone local government, is often not up to the task, and much needs to be done to build the necessary capacity.

Fourth, related to the third point, we cannot over-emphasize the need for prioritization; a great number of reconstruction programmes become swamped by too many (often well-meaning) objectives, projects, and programmes. A contributory factor is the aid community (both large and small donors) and its rush to help, but national policymakers can also have very unclear priorities. This arises from the fact that prioritization entails very hard

choices; we should not underestimate the practical, political, and ethical dilemmas that arise in making those choices.

Fifth, much of what could be done to afford real help to conflict and post-conflict countries needs more effort at the global level. This includes the mobilization of diplomatic and military efforts to enforce peace settlements; the control of the flow of arms, mercenaries and finance to conflict countries; and the urgent need to address climate change that could have profound effects on the propensity of poor countries to overcome conflict. Considerable effort is needed to reform the UN to make it more effective and to provide essential global public goods that can underpin peace, participation and prosperity for all.

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