Conflict and Development

Organisational Adaptation in Conflict Situations

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and
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CONTENTS

Preamble 4

Acknowledgements 5

1 The problem: trends in world conflicts 7

2 The impact of armed conflict 9

3 Understanding conflict 12

4 The political analysis of conflict 14
4.1 State-society conflicts 14
4.2 Poverty and conflict 18
4.3 The political economy of war 20

5 Gender and conflict 25
5.1 The personal sphere 25
5.2 The private sphere 26
5.3 The public sphere 27
5.4 Conflict and power 27

6 The turbulence of change 28
6.1 Different perceptions of change 29

7 Responding to conflict 32
7.1 Aiding conflicts 32
7.2 Beyond the relief model 34

8 Organisational adaptation in conflict situations 36
8.1 Development and conflict 36
8.2 Working in conflict 41
8.3 Post-conflict development: the price of peace 58
8.4 Operational issues 61
8.5 Advocacy and policy reform 65
8.6 Thinking about conflict 65

Notes 67

Bibliography 69

Information on the organisations involved in the workshop 75

PREAMBLE

The growing incidence of armed conflicts in Africa and Eastern Europe, and their devastating impact, has placed conflict at the forefront of policy debates on aid and development. In the last years of the millennium the protection of human rights and livelihoods, the promotion of development in situations of conflict, and the building of 'sustainable peace' are, perhaps, the major challenges facing the global community.

This paper was prepared as a background document for the *Development in Conflict* workshop, held in Birmingham, UK, 1–3 November, 1994. The workshop was convened by ACORD, Birmingham University's School of Public Policy, and Responding to Conflict. Funds for the preparation of the paper were supplied by the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, and the Development Administration Group, Birmingham University.

The theme of the workshop was *Organisational Adaptation in Conflict Situations*. The escalation of armed conflicts since the 1980s, the collapse of governments and the weakening of sovereignty, have created new, often life-threatening, operating environments for non-governmental organisations (NGOs),and bilateral and multilateral agencies working for the alleviation of poverty and the relief of suffering. Many of the agencies working in this new environment are adapting policies, practices, and organisational structures to meet the new challenges. The aim of the workshop was to bring together development practitioners, policy analysts and makers to share experiences and analysis of the current adaptations that organisations and institutions are making when working in situations of armed conflict.

This paper draws together current thinking on the causes and impacts of current armed conflicts. Many of the ideas presented in this paper are unlikely to be new to readers. It was hoped that the workshop would identify the gaps and develop some new lines of analysis.

The paper is illustrated with extracts from case studies on the work of the ACORD in Africa and much of the paper focuses on current NGO experience in Africa.[1] It was hoped that workshop participants with knowledge of other parts of the globe would add their insights and broaden the discourse. In addition, it was intended that the workshop would also move beyond the experience of NGOs to incorporate the strategies of the United Nations, donors, governmental agencies, and human rights organisations working in situations of conflict.

As the debate on aid and conflict cannot be held in isolation from discussion of mainstream development policy, there is a need to broaden the debate on development in conflict beyond the large-scale wars and 'complex emergencies' to the daily conflicts, disputes, and insecurities that people face in 'peaceful' situations.

The workshop suggested a series of questions that aid organisations working in situations of armed conflict need to address. These are found in later sections of the paper. Discussions during the workshop highlighted the uncertainty and doubt

that exist within agencies over recent responses to the growing incidence of armed conflict. As a result, the conclusions were tentative, and it was felt that we are still some way from a full understanding of this new environment.

A conference report is to be published shortly, but it was felt that the theme paper would serve as a timely and useful resource for those grappling with the problems of working in situations of armed conflict. Oxfam has published the paper in its Discussion Paper series, as offering a valuable contribution to the debate on these difficult and urgent issues.

Acknowledgements

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Wars and Armed Conflicts in 1993

Estimated Number of War Deaths in 1993

Angola	>100.000
Burundi	>100.000
Liberia	>50.000
Zaire	5-20.000
Tajikistan	>10.000
Georgia	>10.000
Azerbaijan / Armenia	>7.000
Somalia	>6.000
Sudan	>6.000
Afghanistan	>5.000
Turkey	>4.000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	>3.500
South Africa	>3.000
Algeria	>3.000
Rwanda	>2.500
Pakistan	>2.000
Guatemala	>2.000
India (Kashmir)	>1.700
Peru	>1.200
Sri Lanka	>1.000
Colombia	>1.000
India (Hindus/Muslims)	>1.000

Estimated Cumulative Number of War Deaths

Afghanistan	1 - 2.000.000
Cambodia	1 - 2.000.000
Sudan	1 - 1.5.000.000
Mozambique	1.000.000
Angola	500.000
Somalia	350.000
Burundi	200 - 250.000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	200.000
Iraq (Kurds)	180 - 250.000
Liberia	150.000
Guatemala	150.000
Burma	130.000
Chad	100.000
Colombia	90.000
Sri Lanka	78 - 100.000
Croatia	50.000
Peru	30.000
Tajikistan	20 - 50.000
Iraq (Shi'ites)	20 - 50.000
India (Kashmir)	20 - 30.000
India (Punjab)	20 - 25.000
South Africa	20.000
Azerbaijan	20.000
Turkey	11.000
Georgia	10.000
Rwanda	4.500

Lower Intensity Conflicts

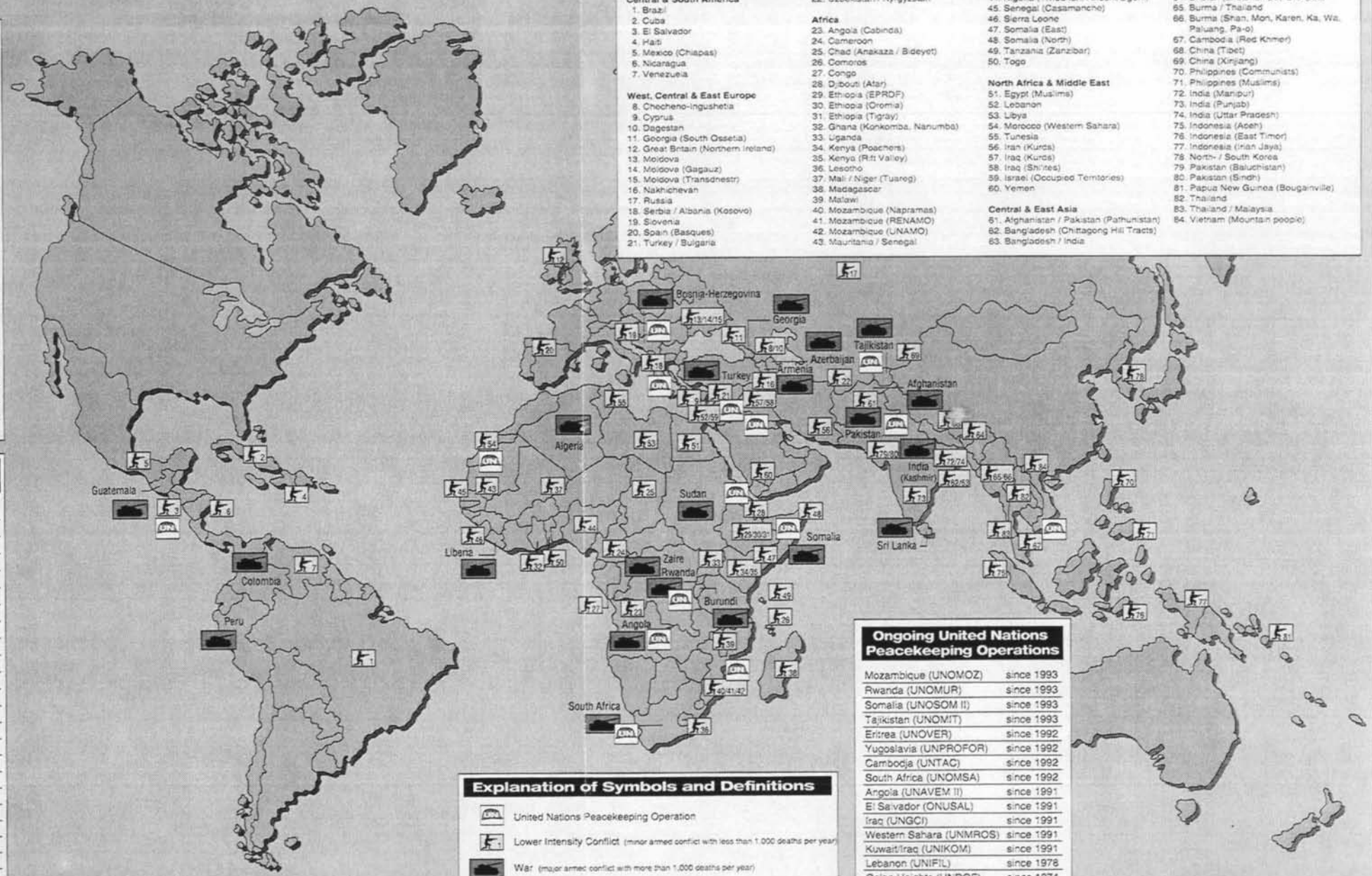
Central & South America
1. Brazil
2. Cuba
3. El Salvador
4. Haiti
5. Mexico (Chiapas)
6. Nicaragua
7. Venezuela

West, Central & East Europe
8. Chechens-Ingushetia
9. Cyprus
10. Dagestan
11. Georgia (South Ossetia)
12. Great Britain (Northern Ireland)
13. Moldova
14. Moldova (Gagauz)
15. Moldova (Transdnestr)
16. Nakhichevan
17. Russia
18. Serbia / Albania (Kosovo)
19. Slovenia
20. Spain (Basques)
21. Turkey / Bulgaria
22. Uzbekistan / Kyrgyzstan

Africa
23. Angola (Cabinda)
24. Cameroon
25. Chad (Anakaza / Bideyet)
26. Comoros
27. Congo
28. Djibouti (Afar)
29. Ethiopia (EPRDF)
30. Ethiopia (Oromia)
31. Ethiopia (Tigray)
32. Ghana (Konkomba, Nanumba)
33. Uganda
34. Kenya (Poachers)
35. Kenya (Rift Valley)
36. Lesotho
37. Mali / Niger (Tuareg)
38. Madagascar
39. Malawi
40. Mozambique (Napramas)
41. Mozambique (RENAMO)
42. Mozambique (UNAMO)
43. Mauritania / Senegal
44. Nigeria (Tiv/Jukun, Andoni/Ogoni)
45. Senegal (Casamanche)
46. Sierra Leone
47. Somalia (East)
48. Somalia (North)
49. Tanzania (Zanzibar)
50. Togo

North Africa & Middle East
51. Egypt (Muslims)
52. Lebanon
53. Libya
54. Morocco (Western Sahara)
55. Tunesia
56. Iran (Kurds)
57. Iraq (Kurds)
58. Iraq (Shi'ites)
59. Israel (Occupied Territories)
60. Yemen

Central & East Asia
61. Afghanistan / Pakistan (Pathunistan)
62. Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts)
63. Bangladesh / India
64. Bhutan (Lhotshampas/Drukpas)
65. Burma / Thailand
66. Burma (Shan, Mon, Karen, Ka, Wa, Paluang, Pa-o)
67. Cambodia (Red Khmer)
68. China (Tibet)
69. China (Xinjiang)
70. Philippines (Communists)
71. Philippines (Muslims)
72. India (Manipur)
73. India (Punjab)
74. India (Uttar Pradesh)
75. Indonesia (Aceh)
76. Indonesia (East Timor)
77. Indonesia (Irian Jaya)
78. North- / South Korea
79. Pakistan (Baluchistan)
80. Pakistan (Sindh)
81. Papua New Guinea (Bougainville)
82. Thailand
83. Thailand / Malaysia
84. Vietnam (Mountain people)



Explanation of Symbols and Definitions

UN — United Nations Peacekeeping Operation

1 — Lower Intensity Conflict (minor armed conflict with less than 1.000 deaths per year)

War (major armed conflict with more than 1.000 deaths per year)

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Ongoing United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Mozambique (UNOMOZ)	since 1993
Rwanda (UNOMUR)	since 1993
Somalia (UNOSOM II)	since 1993
Tajikistan (UNOMIT)	since 1993
Eritrea (UNOVER)	since 1992
Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR)	since 1992
Cambodja (UNTAC)	since 1992
South Africa (UNOMSA)	since 1992
Angola (UNAVEM II)	since 1991
El Salvador (ONUSAL)	since 1991
Iraq (UNGCI)	since 1991
Western Sahara (UNMROS)	since 1991
Kuwait/Iraq (UNIKOM)	since 1991
Lebanon (UNIFIL)	since 1978
Golan Heights (UNDOF)	since 1974
Cyprus (UNFICYP)	since 1964
India/Pakistan (UNMOGIP)	since 1949
Israël (UNTSO)	since 1948

1 THE PROBLEM: TRENDS IN WORLD CONFLICTS

The end of the Cold War, symbolised in the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, offered hopes for a 'new world order' based on cooperation rather than fear.[2] These hopes have not been met, despite negotiated settlements to several proxy wars (Namibia, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Africa, Cambodia). Instead, the Gulf War, the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and the Republics of the former Soviet Union (Armenia-Azerbaijan, Tadzhikistan, Georgia), the continuation of long-running wars in Asia (Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Burma and East Timor) and in Africa (Angola, Sudan), and the outbreak of new wars (Liberia, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda), have ushered in a new period of regional instability, global fragmentation, and deepening poverty. The policies and activities of development agencies need to be re-appraised in the light of continuing and probably increasing levels of political violence.

Aggregate statistics on armed conflicts reveal some disturbing trends in the extent and nature of armed conflicts in the 1990s. While the numbers of wars and exact numbers of casualties are surprisingly still open to interpretation, there is a clear upward trend in both the number of wars and the number of people affected by war. In 1960 there were 10 major wars; by 1992, there were 50, 10 of which had started since 1985 (Gantzel, 1994). Not all wars are on this scale. In 1993, for example, 84 wars causing casualties of less that 1,000, and 60 disputes causing under 100 casualties, were recorded (see map NCO, 1994).[3]

The character of warfare is changing. While primitive weaponry when organised (as in Rwanda) can be devastating, the proliferation of small arms, the use of landmines, and the tactics of modern counter-insurgency operations and low-intensity warfare,[4] such as the clearance of land and manipulation of food supplies, have increased the incidence of civilian casualties. In World War II, 52 per cent of war-related deaths were of civilians; in today's wars, civilian deaths make up 90 per cent of deaths (Summerfield, 1990).

Historically, most wars have been associated with interstate relations and state formation. Today, interstate wars appear to be diminishing while internal, domestic, or intra-state wars are on the increase; with the formation of newly independent states this may change.[5] The increase in 'internal' wars is reflected in a growth in war refugees, from 2.5 million in 1970 to 17.5 million in 1992, with a further 24 million displaced persons (USCR, 1993). Of these, 45 per cent are found in Africa and over 80 per cent are women and children. Unless the conflicts which have produced these refugee flows are contained the number of refugees could rise to 100 million by the year 2000 (Rupesinghe, 1992a).

Most of the current internal wars are taking place in the South. In 1993, of 79 countries experiencing war and political violence recorded by UNDP (1994) in 1993, 65 were in the South.[6]

In Africa, in particular, armed conflict and political instability appear to be on the increase. While the end of the 1980s saw reduction in conflict in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Morocco, and Ethiopia, and democratic elections in several countries, the 1990s have brought new wars in Liberia, Rwanda, and

Burundi, a return to war in Angola, and the intensification of conflicts in Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti.

Patterns of refugee flows suggest a changing geography of political instability. Refugee populations have declined in East Asia and Latin America, while political instability in Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia has led to increased refugee flows in those areas (Suhrke, 1993).

Wars are also tending to last longer. The war in Angola, for example, has been running for 19 years; there has been war in Mozambique for 13 years, in Sudan for 10, Somalia 5, Liberia 4, Sri Lanka 14, East Timor 19, Afghanistan 15, and Peru 14 years. For the millions of refugees and displaced persons, and the generations who have grown up in the midst of war, conflict has become the daily reality, and development a process of adaptation to insecurity and a state of permanent crisis (El Bushra and Piza-Lopez, 1994a; Duffield, 1994b).