

Session 3: The changing nature of fragility, security and development

Training Course on EU External Action: Fragility, Security and Development in a Changing World

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Purpose

Look at key concepts, their evolution and challenges of applying them

1. Security
2. Fragility / Fragile States
3. Core characteristics
4. Conflict and fragility trends
5. Simple responses and sequencing choices?

Set up the next session to look at **responses and practice** for group work.

Method

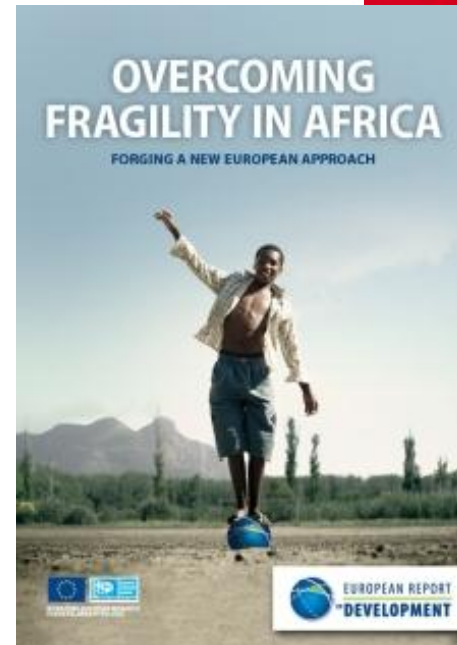
1. Mostly presentation
2. Some quick questions to the audience to answer
3. Video
4. Discussion

Fragility, Development, Security: which relationship?

Fragility, development and security are inextricably linked.

“No security without development and no development without security.”

A truism, mantra/dogma or a trap?



Security and Development in a Fragile State...

Quick personal reflections...
DRC, Sudan, Bosnia



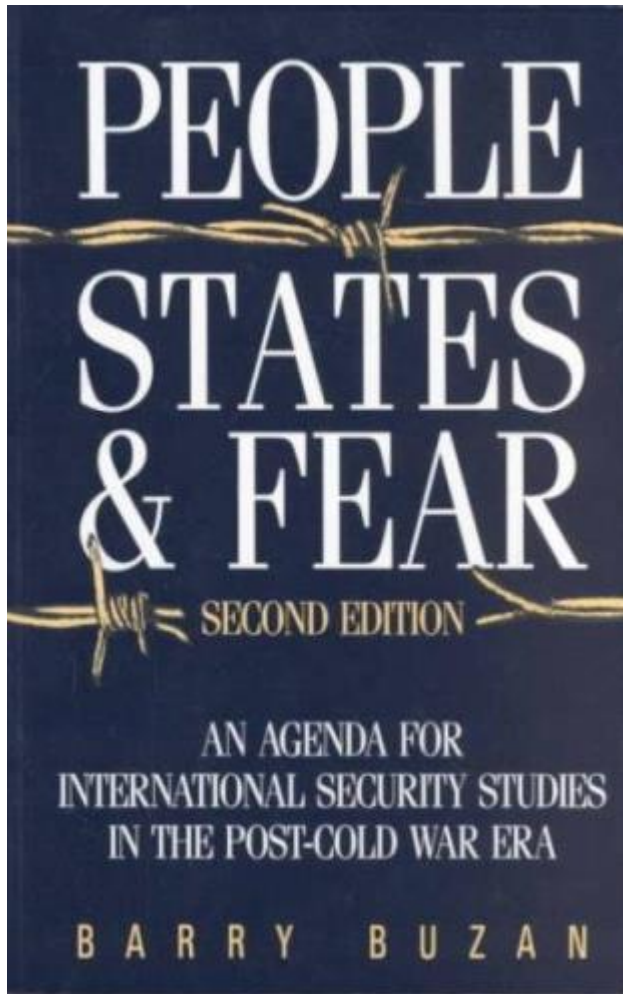
Evolution of the Security Concept

Security: an old concept...

- National security.
- A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war (Lippman, 1944).



... which starts to change...



A more 'holistic' concept incorporating societal security, regional security, environmental security (Barry Buzan, 1981).

... especially after the Cold War.

The 1994 Human Development Report (UNDP) introduces a new concept of human security, which equates security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms.

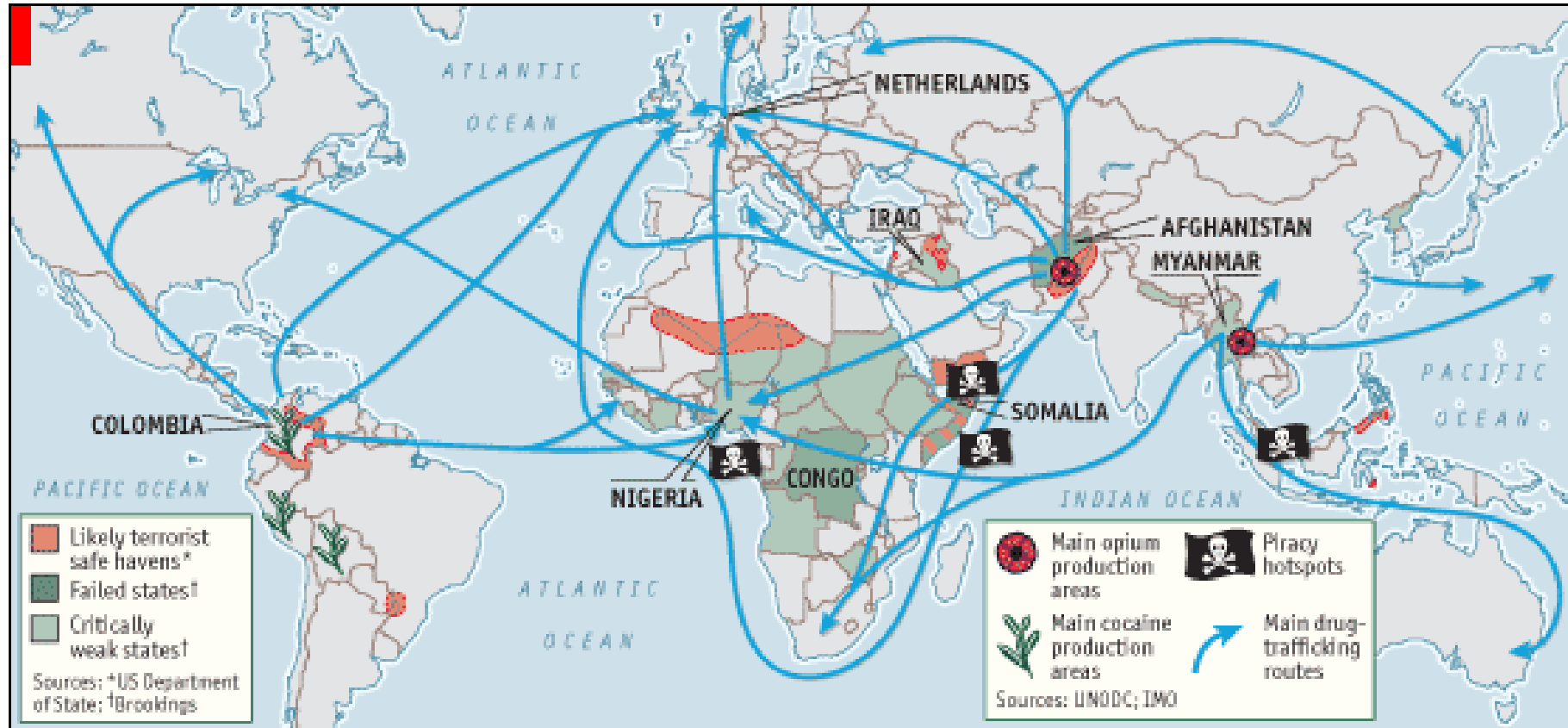


UNDP

Human security different ideas
"freedom from fear" and/or "freedom from want" for all people.

'Human security' as a term lost traction
but ideas around it still quite prevalent
– underpinning thinking on fragility

Whose security are we concerned with in fragile states?



Source: The Economist 2009

Quick question 1 to the audience

At the “end of the day” and on balance globally - European interest in “security” in fragile states is?:

1. About European states and citizens security
2. Predominately about European states citizens security
3. Predominately about people in fragile states
4. All security of people in fragile states
5. Both evenly spread

Fragility and Fragile States



Why fragility?: not a new concept... or phenomena

- Present during and in the post colonial period, namely in academic circles with relation to state formation and socio-economic development.
- Were European states not once fragile or perhaps still are?
- Fragile states and 'security and development' became of interest beyond academia to the Development, Diplomatic and Security communities in the 1990s (but for different reasons).

Yet fragility more popular since end of Cold War...

- **Early 1990s** - Post Cold War bought space and driver for different kind of analysis and interventions - UN Agenda for Peace 1992, Human Security paradigm; Responsibility to Protect
- **Mid 1990s** – Regional conflicts with global implications - Rwanda genocide, Balkan wars, Somalia, demanded better response in the 1990s
- **Early 2000s** - Perceptions of threat to the international system/security linking weak and failed states with international terrorism and/or organized crime.
- ... but more preeminent after ***the 9/11 attacks***, and heightened international security concerns –
- **Mid to end of 2000s** - Engagement in Iraq, Afghanistan but also across Africa caused more reflection
- **From Mid 2000 to now** - Serious reflection on why development goals had not succeeded in so many countries – fragility/violence providing some of the answer

Quick question to the audience 2

- According to the World Bank what percentage of the total world's population in 2011 lived in situations of repeated cycles of political and criminal violence?
 1. Around 10%
 2. Around 20%
 3. Around 30%
 4. Around 40%
 5. More than 50%

Source: World Bank Development Report 2011 for original figure

'Fragility' in Numbers

- 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by **repeated cycles of political and criminal violence**— causing human trauma and disrupting development – 2011 (World Bank)
- The share of the **world's poor found in fragile states is set to rise to a half by 2018**; of the seven countries that are unlikely to meet a single MDG, six are fragile.
- **Aid remains the largest source of development finance for fragile least-developed countries**, while **remittances** from migrants have outpaced aid in other fragile states.
- **All 30 EU (CSDP) security and defense missions** occurred in fragile / conflict states*
- European Commission's DEVCO officials talk informally around **50 states** where they have an engagement that are conflict/fragility affected

Fragile states... what are we talking about...

US Govt : *Efforts to [define] weak and failing states focus on four major, often overlapping, elements of state function. Factors stressed include (1) **peace and stability**, (2) **effective governance**, (3) **territorial control**, and (4) **economic sustainability***

EC (2007): *Fragility refers to weak or failing structures and to **situations where the social contract is broken** due to the State's incapacity or unwillingness to deal with its basic functions, meet its obligations and responsibilities regarding service delivery, management of resources, rule of law, equitable access to power, security and safety of the populace and protection and promotion of citizens' rights and freedoms.*

OECD DAC (2008): ***States unable to meet their population's expectations** or manage changes in expectations and capacity through the **political process**.*

UNDP (2012): *Countries and territories **experiencing armed conflict, emerging from armed conflict**, or affected by **acute political, social, and economic vulnerability**, and susceptible to chronic forms of organized criminal violence.*

Nigeria – next generation of “BRIC” or fragile state ...or both...

The Mint countries: Next economic giants?



Building an Ikea for the 28 million people living in greater Jakarta

In 2001 the world began talking about the Bric countries - Brazil, Russia, India and China - as potential powerhouses of the world economy. The term was coined by economist Jim O'Neill, who has now identified the "Mint" countries - Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey - as emerging economic giants. Here he explains why.

In today's
Magazine

A rusting
revolutionary hero

Source: BBC News Website (within
one week of each other)

Death toll in Boko Haram attacks 'reach 1,500'

31 March 2014 Last updated at 10:50 BST

Amnesty International says 1,500 people have been killed in north-east Nigeria this year in attacks by Islamist militants.

As well as attacks on schools, the militant group known as Boko Haram, has hit military installations such as the main barracks in the city of Maiduguri.

Will Ross reports on the challenge of fighting Boko Haram, and watches rare footage filmed by the group of a recent attack.

Which countries are fragile? Whole 'industry' - Many indexes covering different things

Table 3: Conceptual dimensions covered by fragility indices

	Security	Political	Economic	Social	Environmental
CIFP Fragility Index	x	x	x	x	x
Index of African Governance	x	x	x	x	
Index of State Weakness	x	x	x	x	
Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger	x	x	x	x	
Failed States Index	x	x	x	x	
State Fragility Index	x	x	x	x	
Country Policy and Institutional Assessment / IRAI		x	x	x	
Political Instability Index		x	x	x	
BTI State Weakness Index	x	x			
Global Peace Index	x				
WGI Political Stability and Absence of Violence	x				

Source: Javier Fabra Mata, UNDP Sebastian Ziaja, DIE Jörg Faust, DIE Joachim Nahem, UNDP – *User's Guide to Measuring Fragility* 2009

And come out with different answers

Table 5: 2008 worst country rankings

	BTI State Weakness	CIFP Fragility Index	CPIA / IRAI	Failed States Index	Global Peace Index	Index of State Weakness	Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger	State Fragility Index	WGI Political Stability
1	Somalia	Sudan	Zimbabwe	Somalia	Iraq	Somalia	Afghanistan	Somalia	Somalia
2	CAR	Afghanistan	Comoros	Sudan	Somalia	Afghanistan	Iraq	Sudan	Iraq
3	Afghanistan	DRC	Eritrea	Zimbabwe	Sudan	DRC	Niger	Afghanistan	Pakistan
4	Iraq	Somalia	Sudan	Chad	Afghanistan	Iraq	Ethiopia	Myanmar	Afghanistan
5	Chad	Ethiopia	CAR	Iraq	Israel	Burundi	Liberia	Chad	Sudan
6	Côte d'Ivoire	Iraq	Chad	DRC	Chad	Sudan	Sierra Leone	DRC	DRC
7	DRC	Burundi	Guinea-Bissau	Afghanistan	CAR	CAR	Mali	Iraq	Nepal
8	Haiti	Haiti	Afghanistan	Côte d'Ivoire	DPRK	Zimbabwe	Tanzania	Rwanda	Côte d'Ivoire
9	Sudan	Pakistan	Côte d'Ivoire	Pakistan	Lebanon	Liberia	CAR	Burundi	Lebanon
10	Myanmar	Liberia	Togo	CAR	Russia	Côte d'Ivoire	Djibouti	Liberia	Nigeria

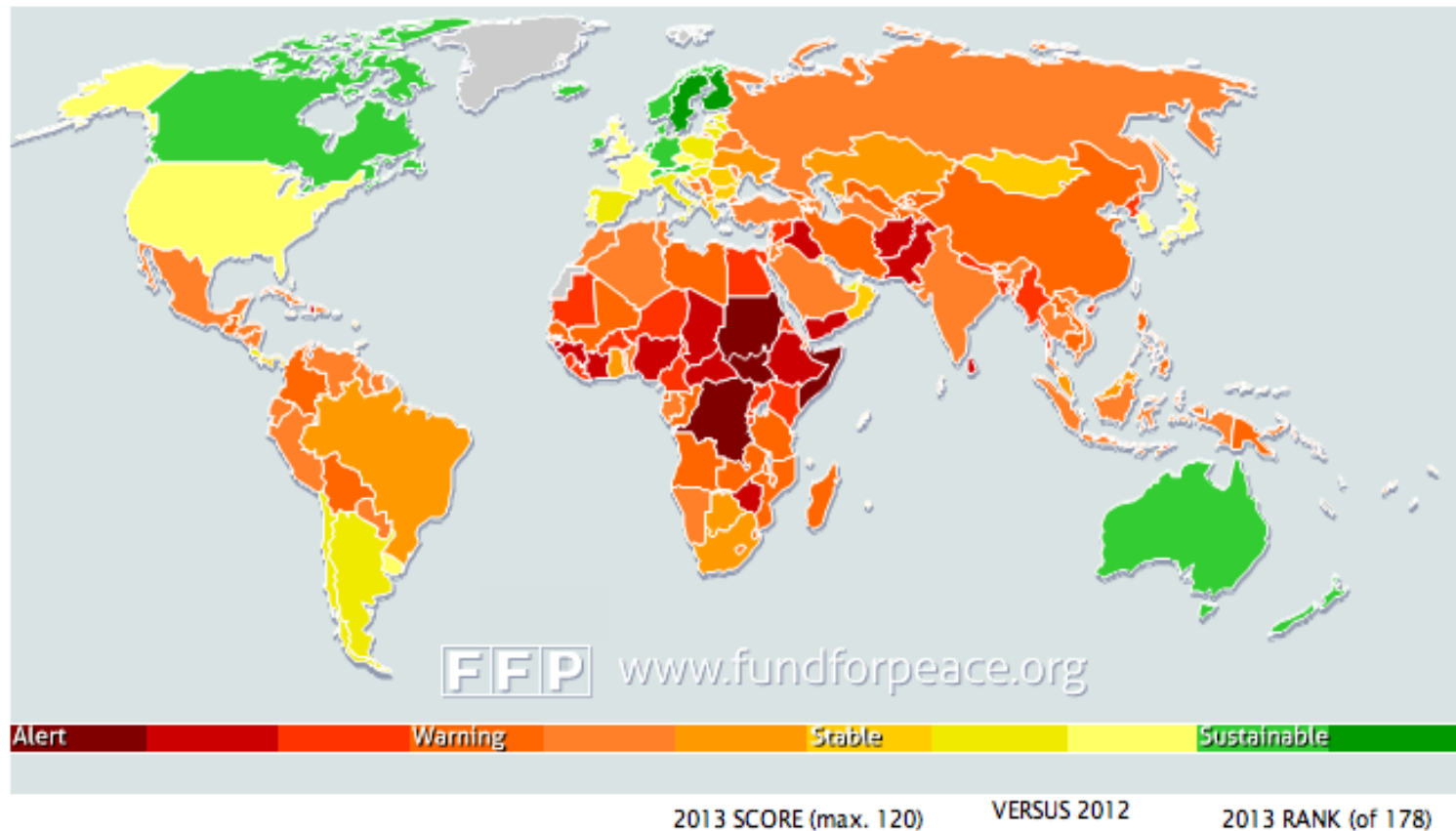
CAR: Central African Republic; DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

The different answer become more pronounced you move 'up the index' away from the 'worst' countries

Source: Javier Fabra Mata, UNDP Sebastian Ziaja, DIE Jörg Faust, DIE Joachim Nahem, UNDP – *User's Guide to Measuring Fragility* 2009

Scale of Fragility most and least fragile

The Failed States Index 2013



Quick question to the audience 3

Which 5 countries appeared on the **World Bank's Fragile State** Consolidated List in 2013 and which did not?:

List A

Angola
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Kosovo
Syria
Togo

List B

Egypt
Mali
Mauritania
Pakistan
Rwanda

World Bank and OECD-DAC

Institutional reasoning behind classification?

World Bank Harmonised List of Fragile Situations (2013)	<p>Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, DRC, Congo, Rep, Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Kiribati, Kosovo, Liberia, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Myanmar, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Timor-Leste, Togo, Tuvalu, Yemen, West Bank & Gaza, Zimbabwe.</p> <p><i>Middle Income Countries:</i> Iraq, Libya, Syria.</p>
OECD DAC List of Fragile States (2013)	<p>Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Korea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Federated States of Micronesia, Georgia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Haiti, Iraq, Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Kiribati, Kosovo, Kyrgyz Republic, Liberia, Malawi, Marshall Islands, Myanmar, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Republic of Yemen, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor-Leste, Togo, Uganda, West Bank & Gaza, Zimbabwe.</p>

Arab spring countries were absent from a high negative ranking on almost all fragile states indexes until after 2010... leading to some to question the utility of such indexes... Where are **Ukraine and Egypt in these indexes?**

Some critiques of 'fragility and fragile states paradigm'

Too narrowly focused on the state capacity and institutions

Biased, disregards the role played by external actors and policies

Reductionist, based on the notion of a valid state model

Reflects unrealistic and largely northern [Western] expectations that young and mostly southern states can avoid the violence of state formation in the European and American contexts

May lead to "securisation of development"

Rejected and resisted by many 'fragile' countries – seen by some as justifying unwanted/unhelpful intervention

Too general, not appropriate for providing policy guidance to country specific interventions



Source: Various
including OECD and
www.peacebuilding.no

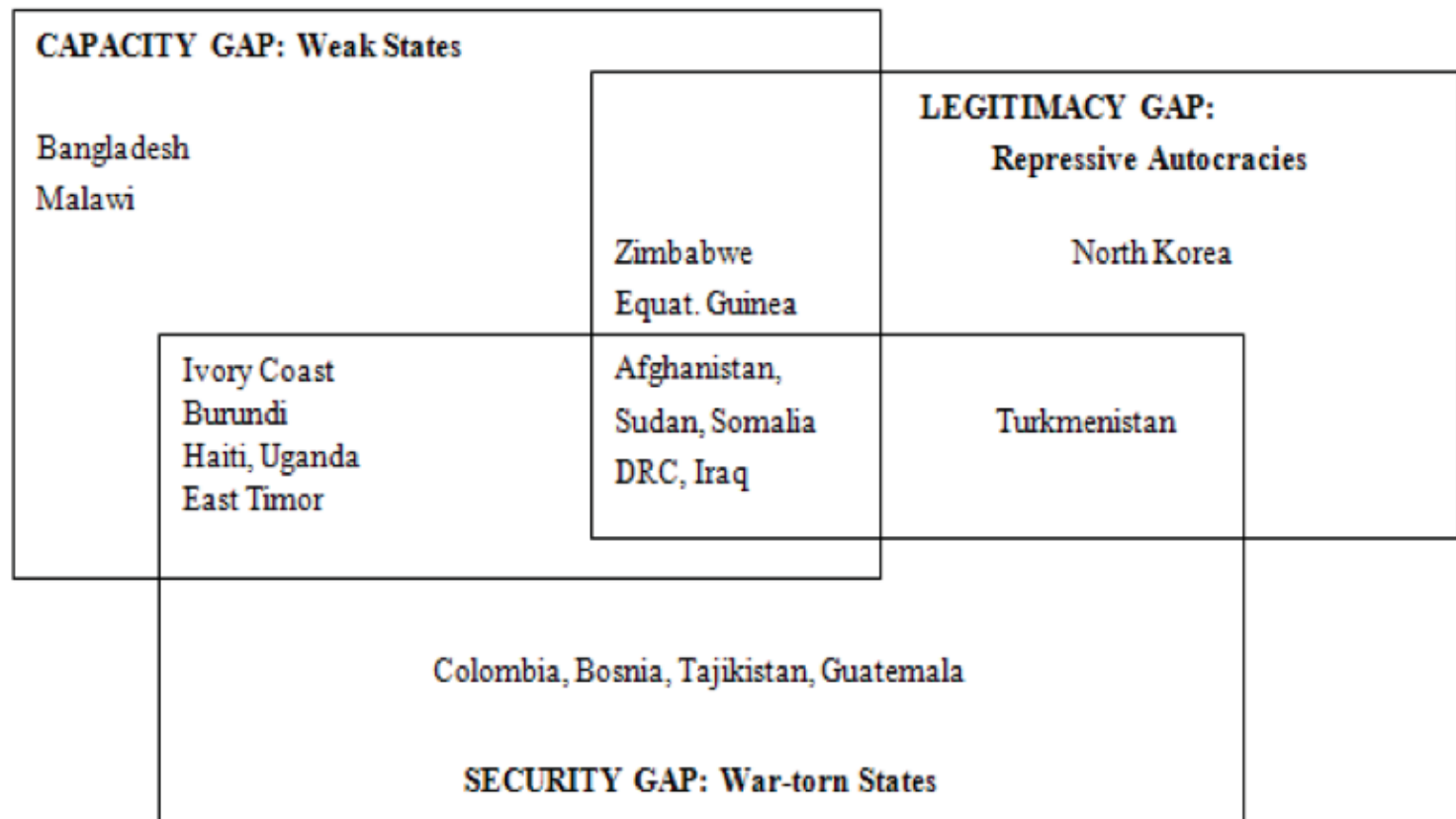
Can we break down fragility, conflict and security challenges – address some of the critiques?



Some further conceptualisations...

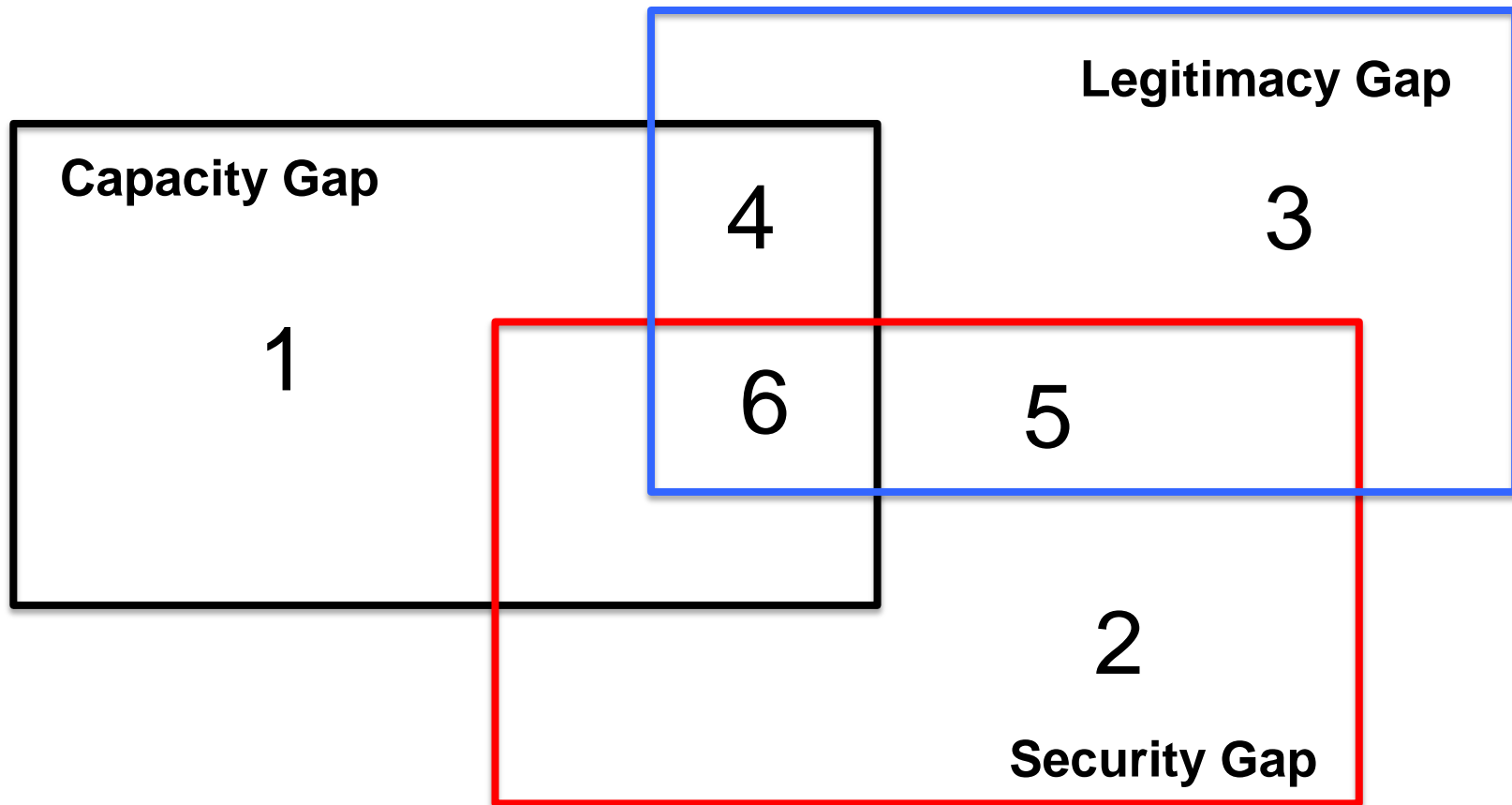
- A state is fragile when it is **unable to provide basic human security** and/or create the public goods and conditions needed for a minimum of **human development** (ISS – Jakkie Cilliers & Timothy Sisk, 2013)
- Fragility: lack of three distinct, though interrelated, dimensions: state **authority**, state **capacity** and state **legitimacy** (DIE - Jörn Grävingholt, Sebastian Ziaja, Merle Kreibaum, 2012)
- Fragility: three interdependent “gaps” of statehood: **capacity** gap, **legitimacy** gap, **security** gap (Charles Call, 2010).

1 Figure 1: Intersecting gaps of statehood according to Call



Source: Call (2010).

Quick Question to Audience 4 – Where would you place states like: A. Ukraine and B. Libya?



What about violence, conflict and fragility trends?

- **Decline** in inter-state conflicts since 1990s **but increase** in intra-state conflicts in the past few years (WDR 2011).
- **Fragmentation and different actors is post-Cold War period:** rebels, warlords, communal groups, transnational organised crime, at times terrorist organisations. (ISS – Jakkie Cilliers & Timothy Sisk, 2013).

Potential reemergence of Cold War trends...

Border seas disputes in South East Asia – confrontation over Ukraine...

Recurring violence/conflict a key dynamic in fragility

Violence often recurs

Few countries are truly “post-conflict.” The rate of violence onset in countries with a previous conflict has been increasing since the 1960s, and every civil war that began since 2003 was in a country that had a previous civil war.

Decade	Violence onsets in countries with no previous conflict (%)	Violence onsets in countries with a previous conflict (%)	Number of onsets
1960s	57	43	35
1970s	43	57	44
1980s	38	62	39
1990s	33	67	81
2000s	10	90	39

Sources: Walter 2010; WDR team calculations.

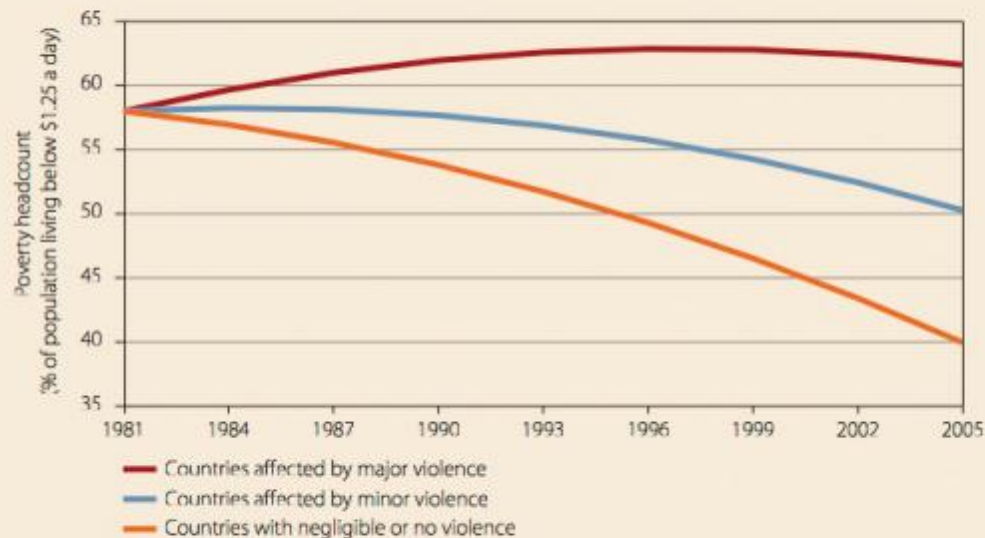
Note: Previous conflict includes any major conflict since 1945.

- Every civil war that began since 2003 was in a country that had a previous civil war. (WDR 2011).

Developmental consequences of violence

The gap in poverty is widening between countries affected by violence and others

New poverty data reveal that poverty is declining for much of the world, but countries affected by violence are lagging behind. For every three years a country is affected by major violence (battle deaths or excess deaths from homicides equivalent to a major war), poverty reduction lags behind by 2.7 percentage points.



Sources: WDR team calculations based on Chen, Ravallion, and Sangraula 2008 poverty data (available on POVCALNET (<http://iresearch.worldbank.org>)).

Note: Poverty is % of population living at less than US\$1.25 per day.

Source: World Development Report. 2011 World Bank

Fragile States – some consensus?

Main common features in what is understood by **'fragile states'**:

- Failure to **perform core state functions**
- Weak **social contract** = lack of legitimacy and authority; limited trust or mutual obligations between State and citizens.
- **Vulnerable to** (internal and external) shocks and the effects of climate change, natural disasters and regional or international economic crisis
- **Vulnerable to** violent conflict (cause and effect)

Not Proven / Not Clear

- Always generate security threats for the West
- Always are the poorest countries
- Consensus on where countries sit on indexes of fragility

Final thoughts for this session

- Fragility and conflict not going away (none of the indexes predict dramatic reductions – but large difference on predictions on future based how 'success' the response is)
- Fragility and 'security and development' describe complex phenomena – contested terms and concepts – some emerging consensus?
- Evolution in this debate has often been driven by geopolitical environment but also policy needs – high chance it will continue to evolve
- Given the diversity and complexity what should be the response?...

Simple responses and sequencing?

1. From violent conflict to peace
 - Policy response is **conflict prevention and peacebuilding**

2. From fragile state to a effective states
 - Policy response is **statebuilding**

3. From fragile situation to a resilient situation
 - Policy response is **promoting resilience**

Security and development has role in all three and all three issues above are related

In next session we will look at 'models' 'principles' and 'approaches' of action to respond to these and discuss how effective these

are in group work

Questions of clarification?

Before we watch the video

Video Presentation

“Local Voices on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding”

Why this video:

1. You must be getting bored with me
2. To hear perspectives from people themselves
from fragile states
3. Get away from the conceptual discussion
- take about real situations
4. Lead onto discussions of responses

N.B. Video in two parts

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LavV9Ej6UHI>
part I

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XW6CNcjbsIA>
part II

12 minutes long

Discussion arising from Video and First Session (in/if time remaining)

Thank you

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