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CONFLICT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK (CAF)

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Section I: Why Conflict Analysis

- Introduction
- Purpose
- Strengthening Country Resilience to Conflict
- Other Agency Conflict Analysis/Assessments

Section II: The Conflict Analysis Framework

- Conducting Conflict Analysis: Risk Screening Process
- Overview of Next Steps: Doing the Analysis
- Methodology
- Operational Issues

Section III: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment: Work in Progress

Appendices

- Appendix A: Conflict Assessments By Other Agencies
- Appendix B: Data Sources And Rationale For Factors In Screening Process
- Appendix C: Guide to Variables

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Summary

The Bank's operational policy on Development Cooperation and Conflict mandates the integration of sensitivity to conflict in Bank assistance through analytical work, including conflict analysis. The CPR unit has developed a Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF) to help Bank teams consider factors affecting conflict when contributing to strategies, policies, and programs. Conflict sensitive approaches that take account of problem areas and potential sources of conflict may help to prevent the onset, exacerbation, or resurgence of violent conflict. Working through CAF would help a team identify and analyze the key factors that impact conflict and their links with poverty, to determine how they best can be addressed through Bank assistance. A first step for a team is to ascertain whether or not a country should undertake conflict analysis, and for this purpose a risk screening process, which consists of nine indicators, is developed. If a team determines that conflict analysis is necessary, it moves to the second stage — conducting conflict analysis with CAF. CAF is composed of six categories of variables covering factors that have shown to affect or be affected by conflict, and teams would consider the linkages of these variables to both conflict and poverty for a country. In the future, CAF will also include guidelines for conflict impact assessments to help anticipate the potential impact (ex ante), and assess the effects (ex post) of Bank assisted strategies or programs on conflict.

SECTION I: WHY CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Introduction

Conflict is inherent to all societies. Differences in interests and opinions between groups are natural, but the *method* by which such differences are expressed and managed determine if conflicts manifest themselves in primarily *political* (non violent) or *violent* ways. When significant groups within the society (including the government) pursue their objectives through processes that are in accordance with the specific laws and established norms of the society, conflict is predominantly political in nature.² Political manifestations of conflict are not a subject of concern in CAF. When a group turns to violence to pursue its goals, and the use of violence outweighs the use of political means, the conflict is predominantly violent. Violent conflict takes on a host of forms.³ It is the violent conflict that is of concern to poverty reduction and development, and is addressed in the conflict analysis framework.

Global events in the post-second World War era demonstrate that violent *internal* conflicts pose a major challenge to development.⁴ Moreover, with the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and the diffusion of the international technology of destruction, it becomes even more critical to focus on violent conflict. Conflicts tap resources that could otherwise be used for social and economic development, thus having a negative impact on poverty. In the final analysis, it is important to prevent the occurrence, escalation, and resurgence of violent conflicts, since they constrain development, undermine poverty reduction efforts, and weaken a country's social fabric along with its physical, economic and human capital.

Purpose of Conflict Analysis

In accordance with OP 2.30 on Development Cooperation and Conflict, the Bank will use its instruments to promote economic growth and poverty reduction through assistance that minimizes potential causes of conflict. To achieve this, the operational policy mandates the integration of *sensitivity* to conflict in Bank assistance through analytical work, including conflict analysis. The conflict analysis framework intends to contribute to enhancing the Bank's capacity to support country and regional efforts to analyze and address conflicts in the framework of poverty reduction strategies and other development strategies. This implies a recognition that the probability of success of development assistance is adversely affected without a complementary analytical framework identifying the sources and opportunities for outbreak and escalation of violent conflicts. It also implies the recognition that poverty reduction strategies and development assistance may contribute to ameliorate as well as exacerbate underlying causes of violent conflict. The purpose of conflict analysis is to ensure that Bank support to a country's poverty reduction strategy and development programs enhances sensitivity to conflicts and their sources in the poverty-reducing measures, and thus reinforces a country's resilience to violent conflict.

² In some cases, the state laws themselves are structured in such a way as to promote exclusion and prevent participation, making groups feel that they have no peaceful, political alternatives, and that violence is their only option.

³ While it is difficult to determine when conflicts undergo transformation from being primarily political to being primarily violent, indicators highlighting that conflicts have turned predominantly violent include: political unrest with violent clashes on the rise; clampdown on opposition and violation of rights; lawlessness in the form of armed robberies, street crimes.

⁴ Rudolph Rummel, 1994. In the time period, 1900-1987, deaths from intra-state conflicts were 169.2 million while deaths from inter-state conflicts were 34 million.

The purpose of conflict analysis includes:

- examining the sources and consequences of conflict;
- determining the factors that can be addressed through Bank assisted strategies, and the modalities through which they can best be managed;
- examining a country's resilience to outbreak or escalation of violent conflict, and its ability to de-escalate violent conflict;
- determining how resilience can be strengthened through development assistance.

Strengthening Country Resilience to Conflict

Poverty reduction and development strategies and interventions can have positive as well as negative effects on conflict. In a negative scenario, development interventions may (inadvertently) strengthen underlying causes of conflict, the actors who are pursuing conflict, and/or opportunities for violence. In a positive scenario, development interventions may contribute to weakening such factors, and help violent (or potentially violent) conflict de-escalate. It is important to be aware of the limitations of development interventions in de-escalating conflict and contributing to peace—they can only complement, never replace, direct peace-building measures such as political transformation or preventive diplomacy.

The Bank's focus on the prevention of conflict emphasizes the formulation of strategies that can help countries become more *resilient* to the eruption and escalation of (large-scale) violence. Conflict resilience is understood as a situation where conflict issues are dealt with through political and social processes rather than through the employment of violence. It includes creating and supporting institutions in a country which allow for the management of conflict in a non-violent and inclusionary manner. The key characteristics of a society resilient to violent conflict include:

1. Political and social institutions which are largely inclusive, equitable, and accountable.
2. Economic, social, and ethnic diversity rather than polarization and dominance.
3. Growth and development that provide equitable benefits across the society.
4. Culture of dialogue rather than violence.

Other Agency Conflict Analysis/Assessments

The Bank's increasing emphasis on conflict prevention conforms with developments within other agencies (DFID, USAID, FEWER⁵), who see conflict analysis as a key element in program development. There is an increasing consensus that developmental "business as usual" often exacerbate the situation, particularly in ethnically (broadly defined to include differences in religion, caste, religion, ethnicity) fragile situations. Agencies have come to hold that in a situation of emerging or ongoing violent conflict, assistance as usual is not enough — it is important to develop a strategy which is sensitive to the conflict environment, and takes into account the underlying causes of conflict and how they can best be addressed.

USAID, DFID and FEWER have developed frameworks that assess the level of conflict risk, so that apt peace-building strategies can be formulated, and the impact of development

⁵ FEWER is the acronym for Forum for Early Warning and Early Response.

programs on the dynamics of peace and conflict can be appropriately assessed.⁶ While building on prevailing work on conflict analysis, CAF also includes:

- key variables relating to poverty and conflict are identified in CAF — these cover wide areas such as social and ethnic relations; governance and political institutions; human rights and security; economic structure and performance; environment and natural resources; and external factors.
- CAF attempts to unwrap the factors affecting conflict, and highlight their components. By making explicit the components, CAF allows for replication and consistency.
- CAF is an operational framework — it specifically relates variables to conflict and poverty, to determine linkages and impact. The aim is to arrive at a list of factors that most critically affect conflict and poverty, so that priority areas can be identified.
- CAF focuses on both conflict and poverty. It examines the impact of variables on conflict and their link with poverty.

Conflict analysis is still a fledgling field, and currently, there is no consensus on what good conflict analysis entails. Yet, the fact that organizations have accepted that such analysis is critical is a step in the right direction.

⁶ For details on the main approaches to conflict analysis advanced by USAID, DFID and FEWER, refer Appendix A.

SECTION II: THE CONFLICT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

When to Conduct Conflict Analysis: Risk Screening Process

In general, it is recommended that most countries undertake conflict analysis. Even if a country has not experienced violent conflict in the past, conflict analysis will highlight potential areas of concern, and guide a development strategy that may address potential causes and opportunities for violence. To ascertain whether or not a country needs to undertake conflict analysis, a brief risk screening process is developed. The risk screening process consists of nine main indicators, which aim to capture the deteriorating environment in a country. In general, as the number of indicators checking positive for a country increases, the importance of conducting conflict analysis also increases.⁷

- *Violent conflict in the past 10 years*: If a country has experienced violent conflict in the past 10 years, there is a high possibility of recurrence of conflict.
- *Low per capita GNI*: Countries with low per capita GNIs face a higher risk of experiencing violent conflict.
- *High dependence on primary commodities exports*: Countries with a high dependence on primary commodities exports are more likely to experience violent conflict.
- *Political instability*: It has two components
 - * transformation of the state structure: Restructuring of the state at frequent intervals signals serious instability and the likelihood that violence is being employed to bring about systemic changes.
 - * breakdown of law and order: When the government is not able to maintain control or effective rule (in certain parts or throughout the country), the breakdown of law and order, and hence violence, is likely.For violent conflict, these two factors can occur independently or in tandem.
- *Restricted civil and political rights*: The deliberate and systematic denial of civil liberties and political rights increases the likelihood that groups will express dissenting views through violence, thus increasing the probability of violent conflict.
- *Militarization*: Countries may have a high defense spending as a ratio of their GNI and large armies as proportion of their population. However, a militarized society also highlights the availability of arms among non-state actors. These factors suggest the likelihood of emerging or escalating violent conflict.
- *Ethnic dominance*: When one ethnic group controls state institutions and/or the economy, there is an increasing risk of outbreak of violent conflict.
- *Active regional conflicts*: Regional conflicts are likely to have a cascading effect, such that the internal stability of a country (flow of refugees, arms) is threatened, increasing the probability of violent conflict.

⁷ The indicators were selected by CPR in consultation with DECRG. For details on sources and links to datasets, refer to Appendix B.

- *High youth unemployment:* Youth unemployment can have a critical bearing on the probability of violent conflict. Lack of jobs and opportunities tend to create frustration, making unemployed youth (especially young men) prime candidates for recruitment by militant organizations with funds and arms at their disposal.

While it is likely that each of these factors exacerbate situations thus portending the outbreak, escalation, or resurgence of violent conflict, none of them are individually *necessary* or *sufficient* for violent conflict. Still, *as the number of indicators listed above increase in relevance for a country, the need for conflict analysis becomes correspondingly more important.*⁸ If a team determines that conducting conflict analysis would improve its contribution to a country's PRSP or CAS, it moves to the next stage, i.e. undertaking conflict analysis.

Overview of Next Steps: Conflict Analysis

A framework, consisting of a list of variables that may explain aspects of both conflict and poverty, is developed to guide conflict analysis. The variables are identified through the research and operational experience of the Bank and other development agencies. The conflict analysis framework (CAF) is composed of six categories of variables, and teams need to determine the linkages of these variables to conflict and poverty for a country. This would enable sensitive spots to be flagged so that programs can be designed in an effective fashion, taking into account the major concerns flowing out of the analysis.

The six categories included in the framework are: *social and ethnic relations; governance and political institutions; human rights and security; economic structure and performance; environment and natural resources; and external factors.* Each of these categories consist of several variables, each with corresponding indicators. The indicators are qualitative and serve as a guide in explaining the essence of the variable. With the help of the indicators, the variable's impact on a country's conflict and link with poverty is estimated:

Variable → Impact on Conflict + Link with Poverty → Priority Areas Identified

Conflict Analysis Framework

CAF aims to highlight the key factors influencing conflict and poverty so that countries can address their main concerns effectively. By highlighting the key factors that affect the level of conflict and poverty, teams can ensure that development interventions do not instigate (where no violent conflict exists), exacerbate (ongoing violent conflict), or revive (post-conflict) situations of violent conflict, but that they may – if well designed – help reduce conflict.

The importance of the factors/variables differ across countries—a factor that has a strong impact on conflict in country A might have less relevance in country B. The framework attempts to be both comprehensive and flexible in that it will serve as a guide to analysis in very different country situations. At the same time, it recognizes that each situation exhibits unique characteristics, and that the country knowledge of teams is important in determining linkages. The team conducting conflict analysis should translate the generic variables presented in the framework to its specific situation, and add or delete variables according to their relevance to the

⁸ The team's local knowledge is a critical factor guiding decision-making for conflict analysis—in some cases, one factor alone (e.g. a change in the regime structure) might warrant conflict analysis, while in another case, a factor (e.g. high youth unemployment) may have no bearing on conflict independently, but when combined with another factor (e.g. violent conflict in the past 10 years) may have a potent effect.

country situation. Moreover, in some countries, there may be more than one conflict which may or may not be linked. In a situation of multiple conflicts, it is recommended that analysis is undertaken for each conflict.⁹ Thus, for useful results, countries should adapt and tailor the conflict analysis framework to their particular situation.

In the framework, six categories of variables closely related to conflict and poverty are included. To aid analysis, each variable has corresponding indicators, showing changes in the *intensity* of the conflict (Appendix C). There are three levels of intensity captured in the indicator table (Appendix C): *warning; increasing intensity; and de-escalation*. Drawing from the framework, the objective is to highlight the variable's effect on conflict, and the nature and strength of its link to poverty. The variables may represent (i) underlying *causes* of violent conflict; (ii) *opportunities* of groups/governments to wage war; or (iii) *consequences* of violent conflict. The factors expressed by the variables may in different ways perpetuate poverty, block poverty reduction, or have limited linkages with poverty.

Methodology

Based on the needs and opportunities of the specific country, conflict analysis can be conducted in several ways along the five following steps. First, existing information on the conflict situation of a country can be reinterpreted along the lines of CAF (brief desk study); second, workshops can be conducted with country specialists to cover each of the six CAF categories; third, if necessary, follow up studies on issues identified in the workshop can be conducted; fourth, if necessary, country consultations with different stakeholder groups can be conducted; and finally, concluding workshops to discuss integration of findings into the poverty reduction strategy, country strategy or other country programs, can be carried out. These five steps constitute a process, and teams might adapt these according to their needs. Thus, there is no “one size fits all” formula for conducting conflict analysis, and teams can make decisions depending on their needs and objectives.

Teams are advised to use the generic variables presented below as a guideline. *Please note:* All variables are not relevant to all countries. If a variable is not applicable in the context of a country, leave it blank and proceed to next variable.

1. In the conflict analysis table, consider each variable. Refer to the *Guide to Variables* (Appendix C), where the indicator for the variable being examined is viewed across the three levels of intensity (*warning; increasing intensity; and de-escalation*), and highlights the components of a variable to ensure consistency.
2. With the help of the guide (Appendix C), “translate” each relevant variable in the conflict analysis table into the local context to make it more specific.
3. Conduct a brief *description/analysis* of the variable being examined in seven areas:
 - a.) history/changes: how the issue has developed/changed over a reasonable time span;

⁹ In general, the framework is for country-level analysis, and in most cases, conflicts which are limited to a particular area may have a large impact at the overall country-level. However, in some cases, localized conflicts may not have a major effect at the country-level, but may significantly impact the local region. We leave it to the discretion of the team to adapt the conflict analysis methodology in a manner that best suits their purpose.

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- b.) dynamics/trends: what is determining the future path of the issue, and how it is likely to develop;
- c.) public perceptions: public attitudes and biases regarding the issue;
- d.) politicization: how the issue is used politically by groups or organizations;
- e.) organization: the extent to which the issue has led to the establishment of interest organizations, and/or influenced political parties and militant organizations;
- f.) link to conflict and intensity: how the factor contributes to conflict and the current level of intensity;
- g.) link to poverty: how the issue relates to poverty

The analysis on each of the seven dimensions above represents a critical component of the conflict analysis. The results from the analyses would comprise the backbone of any meaningful and systematic report on conflict analysis.

4. *Impact on conflict*: Check the box that best defines the impact of the variable on conflict: *high, medium, low, increasing, decreasing, not applicable*. Note that a factor may need two boxes to best capture the situation: for example, high and increasing. If there is no impact, check NA.
5. *Poverty Link*, i.e., the relationship of the factor to poverty: First, check if the factor is related to poverty in a *direct* or *indirect* manner or is *not applicable*. If there is a direct or indirect link, the level of significance of the link needs to be indicated. There are five *degrees* of significance: *high, medium, low, increasing, decreasing*. Here again, note that a factor may need two boxes to depict the situation: for example, high and decreasing.
6. Repeat process for all the relevant variables in each category.
7. After the table is completed, based on results, identify if a country overall is “*at risk*”—high likelihood of outbreak of, or revival of, violent conflict; “*escalation*”—likely that the situation will continue to intensify and exacerbate; or “*de-escalation*”—likely that the situation is under control and the country is on its way to post-conflict recovery. Next, provide a brief analysis to explain the country’s position according to the findings on each category, and its likely future trend.
8. It is useful to develop a prioritized list of factors for conflict and poverty independently according to their degree of impact. The factors having a high degree of impact on both conflict and poverty, and especially if their degree of importance is increasing, should be considered priority areas within a PRSP or CAS, if feasible.
9. Conflict analysis helps to highlight priority problem areas. Based on findings, teams may decide to conduct further (in-depth) studies on selected issues found to be of particular importance.
10. Based on the findings and the descriptions on each category, teams may conduct a stakeholder analysis to identify groups who have the ability to affect political and social change, including violence, and the main groups who are likely to be affected by such changes.

Work in Progress: Further Uses of CAF

Conflict Impact Assessment (CIMA)

The primary purpose of CAF is to identify areas of concern so that teams can set conflict-sensitive priorities in development strategies and interventions. A second use of CAF is to predict the potential impact of an intervention on factors related to conflict and poverty (ex-ante analysis), monitor problematic issues and impacts in the implementation phase, and evaluate the impact of an intervention on conflict and poverty (ex-post assessment) after the intervention is complete. These issues are the subject of discussion in a separate document (to be developed).

CAF: Doing the Analysis

1. Social and ethnic relations:

Variable	Description/analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Social and economic cleavages	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Ethnic cleavages	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Regional imbalances	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Differential social opportunities (e.g. education)		[as above]	[as above]
Bridging/bonding social capital (e.g. inter-group associations)	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Group identity-building	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Myth-making	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Culture/tradition of violence	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]

2. Governance and political institutions:

Variable	Description/Analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Stability of governance & political institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Equity of governance	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Inclusiveness of political institutions	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Equity of law/judicial system	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Links between government and citizens	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]

3. Human rights and security:

Variable	Description/Analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Role of media and freedom of expression	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Human rights' status	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Militarization of society	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Security of civilians	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]

4. Economic structure and performance:

Variable	Description/Analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Economic growth	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Income disparities	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Per capita income changes	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Inflationary trends	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
External debt management	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Reliance on primary commodities exports	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Employment and access to productive resources	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Conflict-induced poverty	(as above)	(as above)	(as above)

5. Environment and natural resources:

Variable	Description/Analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Availability of natural resources	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Access to natural resources (including land)	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
In-country and cross-border competition over natural resources	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]

6. External forces:

Variable	Description/Analysis	Impact on Conflict	Poverty Link
Regional conflicts (including territorial, trade, natural resources, disputes)	<input type="checkbox"/> history/changes <input type="checkbox"/> dynamics/trends <input type="checkbox"/> public perceptions <input type="checkbox"/> politicization <input type="checkbox"/> organization <input type="checkbox"/> link to conflict and intensity <input type="checkbox"/> link to poverty	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> NA	<input type="checkbox"/> High <input type="checkbox"/> Medium <input type="checkbox"/> Low <input type="checkbox"/> Increasing <input type="checkbox"/> Decreasing <input type="checkbox"/> Direct effect <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect effect <input type="checkbox"/> NA
Role of kindred groups outside country	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]
Role of Diaspora	[as above]	[as above]	[as above]

APPENDIX: A

Conflict Assessments By Other Agencies

There is an increasing consensus among development agencies that the long-term effectiveness of development interventions and poverty reduction programs must include conflict analysis as a central component. The details of the initiatives of the conflict assessment strategies of three key development agencies, USAID, DFID and FEWER are outlined.

USAID: Conflict Vulnerability Analysis (CVA). The CVA incorporates medium-or-long-term analysis of the likelihood that a country will descend into violent conflict along with a studied judgment of the capacity of that country to cope with risk factors.¹⁰ CVA initiatives are “undertaken in the hope that accurate assessments will lead to policy and program initiatives that would help to minimize or avoid conflict and improve coping capacities.”¹¹

In practical terms, CVAs have three components:

- Significant groups (ethnic, religious, political) are identified, and on the basis of geography, socio-cultural identity, socio economic status, gender-based constraints, the current state of the conflict is outlined.
- Three main sources of conflict are identified, and the country’s level of risk for conflict on each of these factors is determined. The sources of conflict are: structural factors (hard data on opportunities for gain from rebellion, opportunities for successful rebel action and opportunities for rebel recruitment); social tension and fragmentation factors (rank from 1 to 5 on social fragmentation, economic and political inequality, politicization/repression of groups); and viability of the state (rank from 1 to 5 on state viability in terms of state formation, legitimacy, dependency, capacity/stability, abuse of power).
- Based on above assessment, the level of risk of conflict is determined and accordingly conflict prevention and mitigation measures are developed.

DFID: Conflict Assessment. To achieve its goal of poverty alleviation, DFID aims to develop policy and programs that are sensitive to the dynamics of peace and conflict.¹² The main tool created by DFID to increase sensitivity to conflict issues in order “to improve the effectiveness of development and humanitarian assistance programmes in contributing to conflict prevention and reduction,”¹³ is termed *Conflict Assessment*. It is used to predict and assess the potential or actual impacts of development assistance on the dynamics of peace and conflict. DFID discusses the three stages of conflict assessment with the aid of four case studies (Sri Lanka, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal).

Stage one consists of conducting conflict analysis, which itself is composed of four steps:

¹⁰ Conflict Vulnerability Analysis: Issues, Tools and Responses, Africa Bureau, Office of Sustainable Development, Crisis Mitigation and Response, April, 2001.

¹¹ Ibid, 2001.

¹² DFID has produced two papers: Conflict Assessment: A Synthesis of Case Studies, April, 2001; Conducting Conflict Assessment: Guidance Notes (draft), January, 2002.

¹³ Ibid, August, 2001.

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- The demographic and physical features of a conflict, as well as the history of the conflict is outlined.
- The structural sources of conflict are analyzed on four dimensions: security, political, economic and social, so that an assessment of a country's risk of conflict can be made. An analysis of a conflict on these dimensions helps identification of the key sources of tension and violence, and it is determined whether there is a likelihood that conflict will be promoted or mitigated.
- The role of "agency" is analyzed next — what are the interests of the relevant actors, their incentives, capacities, relations, agendas?
- Based on the analysis of structures and actors, the dynamics of the conflict are analyzed — short-term and long-term trends, triggers, potential scenarios — so that conflict sensitive strategies can be developed.

Stage two consists of conducting strategic conflict assessments, which is a means of developing a country or regional contextual analysis. It involves:

- Responses of international actors are outlined in the areas of military/security, diplomacy, trade, immigration, and development. Based on analyses in these areas, the coherence between actors and their impact on conflict is delineated.
- The actions of development actors (DFID, NGOs, IOs) are evaluated, and their approach to conflict is analyzed (work "around", "in", or "on" conflict). Based on their capacities, the potential of development actors to influence conflict, and the effect of conflict on the programs of development actors, is assessed.

Stage three involves identifying policies that will reduce conflict and promote sensitivity to conflict:

- Analyses of the structure — agency sources of conflict are compared with responses by international actors and development agencies.
- The comparison assists in the formulation of recommendations at the international, regional, national and local levels, in the four structural areas.
- The role that DFID should play, arising from the above analysis, is discussed.

FEWER, International Alert, Saferworld: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment.

FEWER et al. have developed the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) tool to assist in analyzing situations of (potential) conflict and identifying strategic opportunities for conflict prevention.¹⁴ FEWER et al. operate on the assumption that since development agencies have the capacity to address the root causes of conflict with a long-term perspective, the PCIA, with the use of qualitative content analysis, will provide directions for early warning of conflict. PCIA has three broad sections:

Stage one consists of conflict analysis, which is divided into three phases:

- The dynamics of the conflict are outlined. This involves addressing the what (factors contributing to conflict and peace), where (location), when and how of conflict (history) to achieve an understanding of the conflict.

¹⁴ Development in Conflict: A Seven Steps Tool for Planners, 2001.

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- The dynamics of conflict (what, where, when) are linked to the root causes of conflict, and then analyzed. There are four main dimensions of the root causes: governance, security, economics, socio-culture, each having a set of indicators.
- Stakeholder analysis is undertaken, wherein the relative importance of different conflict stakeholders and their interrelationships are identified. Based on such analysis, capacities of stakeholders to support conflict prevention and peace-building activities are outlined.

In stage two, there is an emphasis on strategy-building:

- An understanding of the issues of the conflict and stakeholders enables opportunities of a short-term and long-term nature to be distinguished, so that relevant choices can be made. Opportunities for peace are also identified and objectives prioritized.

Finally, in stage three, with objectives clarified, programs are implemented:

- A country strategy and related programs are developed, taking into account factors like the nature of the initiative, quality of program design, local relevance, timing, etc.

APPENDIX B
Nine Risk Screening Factors
Data Sources And Rationale For Factors In Screening Process

- *Violent conflict in the past 10 years*: An investigation of civil wars in the dataset from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University (1946-2001) shows that the probability of war recurrence is clearly lower after the first six to ten years.¹⁵ Approximately, the same number of civil wars restarted within the first decade after the war as within the next three decades. Hence, ten years covers the period when the risk of war renewal is highest, and also includes the years when there is continuing risk. This conflict dataset is based on the dataset from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, and covers the period 1946-2000. The work has been done in collaboration with the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. To be classified as violent, a conflict has to have at least 25 battle-related deaths per year:
<http://econ.worldbank.org/view.php?type=18&id=18208> → Text version

- *Low per capita GNI*: Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler find that countries with low per capita GNIs are more likely to experience violent conflict.¹⁶ Countries with per capita GNIs less than \$745 are considered low income. Data on GNIs is obtained from the World Bank's dataset, where Bank member countries are classified according to their GNI per capita. Countries are classified into four categories: low income (\$745 or less), lower-middle income (\$746-\$2975), upper-middle income (\$2976-\$9205), and high income (\$9206 or higher). Classification is carried out by using the Atlas Method. The purpose of the Atlas Conversion Factor is to reduce the impact of exchange rate fluctuations in the cross-country comparisons of national incomes: www.worldbank.org/data → country classification → countries classified according to their income groups

- *High dependence on primary commodities exports*: Collier and Hoeffler find that countries with a dependence of 16-48% on primary commodities exports as a proportion of their GDP face a higher risk of experiencing violent conflict.¹⁷ They have created a dataset which merges data from the COMTRADE database (not publicly available) and WDI. For further information on the dataset, refer to:
<http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/library/doc?id=12205>

For figures of a country's dependence on primary commodities exports, refer:
[http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/PrimaryCommodities/\\$FILE/PrimaryCommodities.xls](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/PrimaryCommodities/$FILE/PrimaryCommodities.xls)

- *Political instability*: Political instability has two dimensions:
 - * *Transformation in the state structure*: A complete change of state institutions and systemic transformation of governing structures on a regular basis is a sign of internal instability. These transitional states (including new or unconsolidated democracies)

¹⁵ For details, refer Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler, 2002. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Processed paper, *Development Research Group*, World Bank.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

are at a higher risk of experiencing abrupt or violent change. Moreover, it is likely that violence is being employed to bring about such dramatic changes in state structures. Investigation by the University of Maryland's Polity IV Project, covering the period 1800-2000 (including regime and authority characteristics for all independent states with population greater than 500,000), found countries experiencing a change in regime in 0-3 years (years since regime change) to have unstable regimes. Thus, between 0-3 years, it is likely that violent conflict will erupt; each subsequent year without violence reduces the probability of violent conflict (and increases durability of the state structure). The longer the time period since regime change, the more stable a country is considered: www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity → Country Report → examine variable, "durable," (number of years since regime change)

Additional References:

Data on change in structure of governance can also be found in the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) Project located at Carleton University. Since the CIFP database draws from the Polity IV Project, it is recommended that teams use it mainly for mapping purposes (it develops a world map that ranks countries according to level of stability), which help in comparisons: www.carleton.ca/cgi-bin/cifp/data.pl : Indicator → Regime durability index → Map it (Rank 1 most stable) or see data query (in indicator descriptions).

Since the research on transformation of state structure does not predict the likelihood of state structure undergoing transformation, for users with access to the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG), it may be helpful to examine the historical data on democratic accountability (defined as degree of responsiveness of government to its people) and internal conflict (defined as political violence in a country and its actual or potential impact on governance). The underlying assumption is that less responsive a government is to its people and higher the level of internal violence (arbitrary violence by the government, civil war), the more likely it is that there will be change in government structure. For World Bank users:

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data – Political Risk on Excel → democratic accountability, factor K (0 = high risk; 6 = low risk)

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data – Political Risk on Excel → internal conflict, factor D (0 = high risk; 12 = low risk)

* *Breakdown of law and order*: When the government is not able to maintain control or effective rule (in certain parts or throughout the country), the breakdown of law and order, and hence violence, is likely. At present, there is no global database that captures the weakening of law and order (although these figures may exist locally), and teams should depend on their country knowledge to make determinations.

Users with access to ICRG should examine the historical data on law and order levels. Law (defined as the strength and impartiality of the judicial system) and order (defined as popular observance of the law) are assessed separately, implying that a country can score a high rating on one component with a low rating on the other component. For World Bank users:

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data – Political Risk on Excel → law and order, factor I (0 = high risk; 6 = low risk)

- *Restricted civil liberties and political rights*: The deliberate and systematic exclusion of certain groups from state participation is likely to result in violent confrontations (especially in periods of transitions and in new and unconsolidated democracies). The Freedom House database, covering the period 1972 to present (updated annually), is used to secure data on the level of rights, or their lack thereof. This database is an annual assessment of the state of freedom (average of political rights and civil liberties) of a country or territory. Political rights are defined by Freedom House as free participation in the political process, right of adults to vote and compete for public office, and for elected representatives to be able to decisively influence public policies. Freedom House defines civil liberties as the freedom to develop views, beliefs, institutions, and personal autonomy, independent of the state. In the Freedom House database, countries are classified as “free,” “partly free,” and “not free.” Political rights and civil liberties are measured on a one-to-seven scale, with one representing the highest degree of freedom and seven the lowest degree of freedom. The scores on each indicator are combined, and countries whose combined averages fall in categories “partly free” and “not free” have restricted political and civil rights. These countries are at the risk of experiencing violent conflict, i.e. increasing likelihood that denial of civil liberties and political rights will lead to the expression of dissenting views through violence: www.freedomhouse.org: Country Ratings → Countries classified according to the average of their political rights and civil liberties ratings

Additional Reference:

Data on level of political rights and civil liberties can also be found in the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) Project located at Carleton University. The CIFP database grades’ on political rights and civil liberties are based on the sum of Freedom House scores on these two indicators. Hence, it is recommended that teams use CIFP mainly for mapping purposes (it develops a world map that ranks countries according to a combined political rights and civil liberties score), which help in comparisons: www.carleton.ca/cgi-bin/cifp/data.pl: Indicator → Civil and political rights index → Map it (Rank 1 most stable) or see data query (in indicator descriptions).

- *Militarization*: The motivating factor, for countries spending large amounts on defense as a ratio of their GNI, is usually to ward off internal challenges or combat external actors. A militarized society can also suggest the easy availability of arms such that non-state actors can acquire arms to violently confront the authority of the state. Since it is difficult to obtain accurate data on the flow of arms among non-state actors, we operate on the assumption that the higher the proportion of defense spending as part of GNI, the higher the probability that the state is organizing for violent confrontations, internally or across the borders. Countries spending 4% or more of their GNI on defense expenditures are at risk of experiencing violent conflict.¹⁸ Data on military expenditure as percentage of GNI is obtained from the WB internal GDF and WDI database. This database is the primary World Bank database and obtains data from internationally recognized sources. It covers the period 1960-2001, and is updated on a quarterly basis. For World Bank users:

¹⁸ Conflict-affected countries on average spend 4.6% of their GNI on defense expenditure, which is higher than countries not affected by conflict (3.2% of GNI on defense expenditure). Thus, a threshold of 4% has been chosen to include all countries considered susceptible to violent conflict.

<http://www-int.worldbank.org/jsp/oldintranet.jsp>: Research databases → SIMA query → Query data → Databases → GDF and WDI central connect → Series → Military expenditure as % of GNI and Armed forces as % of population → Period → Show data OR

Data on military expenditures can also be found on the US State Department's website, which reports military expenditures as percentage of GNP, by region, organization and country. It covers the period 1987-1997:

http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/bureau_ac/wmeat98/wmeat98.html: Main Statistical Tables → Table 1 (Military expenditures, Armed forces, etc.) → Military expenditure as % of GNP.

Additional references:

If users have access to ICRG, the data on military in politics will provide signs of the level of risk of conflict. High military involvement due to actual or perceived internal or external threats; threat of or actual military takeover due to inability of government to function effectively; full-fledged military regime (may provide stability in the short run, but leads to corruption and armed opposition in the medium-term and long run) increase the risk of conflict. For World Bank users:

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data – Political Risk on Excel → military in politics, factor G (0 = high risk; 6 = low risk)

Information is also available on: www.smallarmssurvey.org OR www.nisat.org

- *Ethnic dominance*: Collier and Hoeffler found that ethnic dominance increases the risk of initial war occurrence.¹⁹ When one group is ethnically dominant, it may aim to acquire absolute control of the country and exclude minorities from partaking in the state activities, thus increasing the risk for outbreak of violent conflict. Data on ethnic dominance is taken from Collier and Hoeffler's dataset. Using ethnic-linguistic data from Atlas Narodov Mira (translated by Tomila Lankina), Collier and Hoeffler calculated an indicator of ethnic dominance. According to them, if a single ethno-linguistic group makes up 45-90% of the population, the country is more likely to experience violent conflict. In the dataset, if one group is ethnically dominant, the variable = 1, otherwise the variable = 0:

[http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/EthnicDominance/\\$FILE/EthnicDominance.xls](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/EthnicDominance/$FILE/EthnicDominance.xls)

Additional references:

Users should register and review the Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project developed at the University of Maryland. MAR identifies minority groups as being "at risk" if the country in which they reside has a population greater than 500,000 of which the minority group is more than 1%. Such groups are collectively affected by systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a society, and the group is the basis for political mobilization and collective action in defense or promotion of its self-defined interests: www.minoritiesatrisk.com

In addition to the above, users with access to ICRG should look at historical data on ethnic tensions and religion in politics/religious tensions. Higher the level of ethnic

¹⁹ For details, refer Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler, 2002. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Processed paper, *Development Research Group*, World Bank.

tensions (degree of tensions within a country due to ethnic – racial, nationality, linguistic – divisions) and religious tensions (domination of society/governance by single religious group, suppression of religious freedoms, exclusion of other religious groups from the political and social process), higher the risk of conflict. For World Bank users:

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data – Political Risk on Excel → ethnic tensions, factor J (0 = high risk; 6 = low risk)

<http://jolis.worldbank.org/nldbs.htm#IJ> → ICRG → Historical data Excel → religion in politics/religious tensions, factor H (0 = high risk; 6 = low risk)

- *Active regional conflicts:* Regional conflicts are likely to spill over country borders — refugees, arms, forces not fully demobilized — thus threatening the internal stability of a country. To obtain information on active regional conflicts, the dataset from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, covering the period 1946-2001 is used. The work has been done in collaboration with the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo. To be classified as violent, a conflict has to have at least 25 battle-related deaths per year. The neighboring countries of the country being examined need to be identified, and if there is ongoing conflict in any of those countries, conflicts in the region are considered as “active”:
<http://econ.worldbank.org/view.php?type=18&id=18208> → Text version
- *High youth unemployment:* Youth unemployment may not independently be able to bring about conflict. However, frustrated youth are prime recruitment targets of militant groups. However, data on youth unemployment is often unreliable and not easily available via global sources (although unemployment figures may exist locally). Hence, general unemployment is used as a proxy, with the assumption that high general unemployment suggests high youth unemployment. Countries, where 10% or more of the population is unemployed, have a higher likelihood of experiencing escalation of conflict.²⁰ To obtain data on youth unemployment, the WB internal GDF and WDI database is used. This database is the primary World Bank database and obtains data from internationally recognized sources. It covers the period 1960-2001, and is updated on a quarterly basis. For World Bank users:
<http://www-int.worldbank.org/jsp/oldintranet.jsp>: Research databases → SIMA query → Query data → Databases → GDF and WDI central connect → Series → general unemployment and youth unemployment → Period → Show data

²⁰ In conflict-affected countries, about 11.3% of the population is unemployed, which is higher than countries not in conflict (8.3% of the population is unemployed).

APPENDIX C

Guide To Variables

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Escalation	Indicators of De-escalation
<i>Social and Ethnic Relations</i>			
i. Social and economic cleavages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-existing social and economic divisions causing increasing tension between groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharpening (pre-existing or constructed) social and economic divisions increasingly causing violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fostering cohesion; • Establishing respect and collaboration between groups
ii. Ethnic cleavages ²¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-existing ethnic and economic divisions causing increasing tension between groups • Ethnically, sizable number, economically advantaged or disadvantaged, territorially concentrated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharpening (pre-existing or constructed) ethnic and economic divisions increasingly causing violence • Increasing political consciousness among ethnically, sizable number, economically advantaged or disadvantaged, territorially concentrated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fostering ethnic cohesion; • Establishing respect and collaboration between groups
iii. Regional imbalances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal economic growth along geographical lines (natural or forced); • Economic divisions along local areas/regions (natural or imposed); • Unequal distribution of public and private investment; • Unequal access to social services; • Unequal access to relief and development assistance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing geographical divisions of economic growth (natural or forced); • Increasing economic divisions along local areas/regions (natural or imposed); • Worsening polarization (groups spacially divided: residence, schools); • Increasing unequal distribution of public and private investment; • Increasing inequalities of access to social services • Increasing inequality of access to relief and development assistance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic growth more equitable across country; • Growing incentives to interact and cooperate; • Equitable distribution increasing across local areas/regions • Deliberate effort to ensure increasing equal distribution of public and private investment; • Conscious effort ensuring equal access to social services; • Conscious effort ensuring equal access to relief and development assistance

²¹ In the table, for purposes of simplification, the term “ethnic” is used to broadly include ethnic (differences on the basis of language, race, ethnicity, caste, tribe) and religious differences.

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
iv. Differential social opportunities (e.g. education)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited access to or exclusion in education, employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing differential treatment with systematic biases in education and employment (reservation of seats/jobs for one group, language of dominant group needed for govt./civil service jobs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introducing reforms wherein disadvantaged groups receive equal (and even increased) access to education and public service (govt./civil service jobs)
v. Bridging/bonding social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Associations increasingly formed within groups rather than across groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Across-group associations increasingly negatively sanctioned 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encouraging associations across groups and cross-cutting cleavages e.g. supporting womens groups across ethnic lines, community projects across conflict groups
vi. Group identity-building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organizing along ethnic/social lines and signs of violence (we-they syndrome); Politicizing ethnic/social issues; Anti-minority/majority speeches; Limited intermixing (schools, businesses, friends, marriage, cultural events) Lack of common language and/or religion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing coalescence of social and political organizations along ethnic lines, and adopting violence to advance cause (we-they syndrome); Highlighting and politicizing differences; Escalating anti-minority/majority crimes (hate crimes); Growing segregation (schools, businesses, friends, marriage, cultural events) Language/religion as a tool of division 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focusing on commonalities Increasing willingness of dominant opposition group/faction to talk peace; Punishing hate crimes and anti minority/majority actions; Encouraging intermixing of groups (schools, businesses, friends, marriage)
vii. Myth-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Negative stereotypes; Contrary renditions of history in curricula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worsening negative stereotypes; Increasing contrary versions of history in curricula (denigrating other groups) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amending untrue history versions so that negative stereotypes diminish; Correcting historical untruths/myths and focusing on shared history in curricula
viii. Culture/tradition of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History of tensions; Historically, disputes dealt-with through violence; Carrying of arms seen as a cultural tradition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History of violence; Violent historical events receive group praise Carrying of arms increasingly glorified and encouraged 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History of cordial relations between groups (and current situation is an aberration); Use of social/political processes, not violence, to deal

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> with disputes; Discouraging the carrying of arms
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Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
<i>Governance and political institutions</i>			
i. Equity of governance & Political Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One group tending to dominate governance and military; Groups systematically excluded from government institutions Restricting constitutional rights; Limited minority/majority rights (political, socio-cultural); Weak and hurried political transitions Systematic restrictions on social, cultural practices; Rigging elections Political institutions cementing or exacerbating cleavages and/or biases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing dominance or absolute control of one group of military, state; Increasing systematic exclusion of groups from government institutions, and social/economic cleavages and/or political biases becoming rallying points for groups; Denying constitutional rights on ethnic/social grounds; Eliminating minority/majority rights (political, socio-cultural); Incomplete political transitions, with limited focus on democratization Systematic repression of freedoms in social, cultural, economic spheres; Rigged or no elections Political institutions exacerbating cleavages, and increasingly serving as an active tool in ongoing (mainly political) conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing political institutions with increased representation and power-sharing; Encouraging an inclusionary govt.; Granting political power (autonomy in internal affairs), reserving seats for disadvantaged groups (in government and military); Non-violent and inclusive political transitions; Ensuring free and fair elections; Strengthening minority/majority rights (freedom of practice in social, cultural and religious spheres) Political institutions deliberately designed to overcome cleavages and bridge differences
ii. Stability of political institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weakening democratic system (electoral system, parliamentary organs, district/local levels of governance) or increasingly unstable autocratic systems; Widespread corruption accepted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Failing democratic systems and increasingly severe autocratic systems; Escalating corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moving to consociational democracy (power-sharing) or federalism (regions move to devolution of power); Releasing political prisoners and returning of exiles; Addressing issues of corruption;
iii. Equity of law/judicial system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic and social cleavages tend to be reflected in the rule of law, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic and social cleavages increasingly reflected in the rule 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening the judicial system; Ensuring adherence to laws;

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> making for inequitable rights • Gap between laws (legal system) and their implementation; • Perception of political or social biases among the public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> of law, making for inequitable rights • Rising disregard for laws on paper and oppressive practices; • Perception of political or social biases increasingly entrenched among the public; • Instituting special laws (special powers act, etc.) outside the constitution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerted effort to remove and correct perception of biases prevalent among the public
iv. Links between government and citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of accountability of political leaders and institutions; • Excluding groups in political sphere (not included in consultations, views not taken into account in decision-making) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing lack of accountability of political leaders and institutions; • Increasingly disregarding certain groups in the political sphere, excluding them in consultations, and dismissing their opinions in decision-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging an inclusive govt. with accountable leadership; • Serious attempt to build trust in government, involve stakeholders (groups) in consultations, consider views of communities in decision making

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
<i>Human Rights and Security</i>			
i. Role of media and freedom of expression	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media increasingly politicized on ethnic/political lines (pro or anti government); • Media reinforcing negative attitudes towards other groups; • Limited press freedom (inability to travel/publish without restrictions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing media censorship: No freedom of press, and media sharply divided along ethnic/political lines and acts as propaganda tool (pro or anti government); • Media reinforcing negative stereotypes of other groups; • Increasing restrictions on media to travel/publish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging neutral and fair media; • Media serving as tool of reconciliation (inter-ethnic television programs); • Strengthening freedom of press (media allowed to publish/travel without restrictions)
ii. Human rights' status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abusing human rights, particularly along ethnic/political lines (arrests, rapes, disappearances, army brutality) • Restrictions on civil rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Escalating human rights violations: (political murders, arrests, child-soldiers, rapes, disappearances, landmines, army brutality) • Increasing abuse of civil rights and clamp down on civil liberties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing Human Rights Committees; • Prosecuting war criminals • Implementing laws protecting civil rights
iii. Militarization of society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing power to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military controlling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signing peace

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> military; • Increase in armed forces (particularly from select ethnic groups); • Political leadership subservient to military; • Increasing number of non-state military actors (armed groups, private militias); • Increasing availability of small arms; • Increasing military budgets • Deliberately excluding groups in armed forces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> political decision-making; • Increasing number of armed forces (particularly from select ethnic groups); • Increasing number of non-state military actors, and private armies/militia; • Cheaply available small arms and easy flow of arms; • Financing operations via drug trade; • Increasing military budget and mobilizing military • Army acquiring new, sophisticated arms • Increasing recruitment to militant groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> agreements • Division of powers between state and military (professional military); • Increasing accountability of politicians and military forces; • Increasing restrictions to prevent the availability and flow of arms; • Reducing military expenditures, and priority to acquire new arms falling • Encouraging ethnic/social diversity in armed forces
iv. Security of civilians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sporadic acts of violence (threats to move) • Armed robberies on the rise and inability to protect civilians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing cases of systematic violence (forced expulsion, gender exploitation) • Rising number of armed robberies and increasing inability to protect civilians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlling the law and order situation • Increasing determination to protect civilians

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
<i>Economic Structure and Performance</i> (quantitative indicators: data-base being developed)			
i. Economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slowing economic growth rates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative or falling economic growth rates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising economic growth rates
ii. Income disparities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disparities along ethnic/regional lines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing disparities along ethnic/regional lines 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lowering disparities along ethnic/regional lines
iii. Per capita income changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Falling per capita income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing income per capita
iv. Inflationary trends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inflationary trends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncontrollable inflation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inflation control
v. External debt management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing debt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncontrollable debt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing debt
vi. Reliance on high-value primary commodities exports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependence on primary commodities and/or natural resources of high value (diamonds, timber, oil); • Primary commodity export finances political activity; • Fall in international commodity prices, affects production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing dependence on primary commodities and/or natural resources of high value (diamonds, timber, oil) • Rising competition over primary commodities so as to acquire control of political activity; • Fast declining international commodity prices, leading to loss of livelihoods of producers (thus becoming a cause of violence) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lowering dependence on primary commodities and/or natural resources (including primary product exports); • Encouraging production of alternate commodities (in place of falling international prices); • Settling grievances over falling international commodity prices in a non-violent manner
vii. Employment and access to productive resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limitation in access to employment along ethnic/social lines; • Exclusion with a mismatch between education and available opportunities; • Control of businesses along ethnic/regional lines • Systematic limitation in access to productive resources such as land, fishing rights, etc. • Development programs (inadvertently) favor one group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deliberate discrimination with an increasing mismatch between education and available opportunities (esp., high unemployment among educated along ethnic lines); • Control of businesses along ethnic/regional lines • Increasing restriction and inability to access productive resources such as land, fishing rights, etc. • Development programs (inadvertently) favoring one group, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reforms so that disadvantaged groups receive equal (and even increased) access to govt. jobs; • Demobilization programs wherein demobilized combatants have equal access to education and employment (irrespective of the army served in); • Encouraging employers to hire ex-combatants and hire across ethnic lines • Ensuring equal access to productive resources such as land, fishing rights, etc.

		leads to resentment and clashes between groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development programs systematically ensure that programs do not alienate any groups
viii. Conflict-induced poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population movements (forced or due to no opportunities to participate in economic life) • Disruption of productive activity • Lack of access to markets and loss of means of production • Increases in child malnutrition • Increases in female-headed households 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising population movements (expulsion or forced internal displacement or threats to move to avoid killing) • Increasing disruption of productive activity and rising lack of opportunities to participate in economic life • Increasing child malnutrition • Increasing number of female-headed households (men at war, widows, gender exploitation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fostering resettlement, reintegration • Ensuring the resumption of productive activity and increasing incentives for groups from all sides to participate • Introducing health-care programs to reduce child malnutrition • Increasing number of programs to assist victims of war, esp. female-headed households

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
<i>Environment and natural resources</i>			
i. Availability of natural resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resource scarcity (land, natural resources such as water, fertile soil) leading to population movements and environmental pressures; • Exploitation of resources leading to environmental stress • Deforestation • Rapid population increases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worsening resource scarcity (land, natural resources) leading to population movements and environmental pressures; • Increasing exploitation of resources (and undervaluing them) leading to worsening environmental stress • Increasing deforestation • Rapid population increases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing incentives for investment in unfavorable environments to discourage population out-migration • Introducing policies to prevent deforestation and exploitation of resources
ii. Access to natural resources (including land)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural or imposed uneven distribution of land (e.g. land tenure system); • Unequal access to natural resources • Existence of high value natural resources (diamonds, oil, timber); • Politicization of resource scarcity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural or imposed uneven distribution of land along ethnic lines; • Increasing inequality of access to natural resources • Control of high value natural resources along ethnic lines or conflict fault lines (e.g. diamonds controlled by government while 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of interdependencies among actors • Introducing policies for equitable access to natural resources

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		<p>oil by opposition so abundance of funds)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political movements increasingly organized on issues of scarce resources 	
<p>iii. In-country and cross-border competition over natural resources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competition over natural resources by population groups and/or organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing conflict over natural resources by population groups and/or organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resolving issues of scarce natural resources without resorting to violence

Category—Variables	Indicators of Warning	Indicators of Increasing Intensity	Indicators of Situation De-escalating
<i>External factors</i>			
i. Regional conflicts (including territorial, trade, natural resources, disputes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volatile neighborhood with internal conflicts (political and violent) in neighboring countries; • Contested and unresolved disputes over territory, trade, natural resources; • External alliances; • Refugees from neighborhood • Demonstration effect (autonomy for neighboring area generates frustration and dissatisfaction with present status) • End of violent conflict leads to outflow of drug and arms to neighboring areas, i.e. search for new markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing violent conflict in neighborhood; • Worsening of unresolved disputes over territory, trade, natural resources; • Military intervention; • External assistance: base, funds, training, arms; • Increasing influx of refugees from neighborhood, and issues of gender exploitation emerge (prostitution, rape) • Increasing problems created by demonstration effect (autonomy or sovereignty for neighboring area produces rising aspirations and similar demands) • End of violent conflict in an area breeds increasing violent conflict in neighborhood, i.e. new havens for criminal activities, criminalization of conflict with flourishing drug and arms trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining cordial relations with neighbors and refusing to interfere in internal affairs; • Violent conflicts (over territory, trade, and natural resources) in neighborhood being resolved; • Regional organizations facilitating resolution and cooperation; • Returning refugees • Confronting the demonstration effect problem with political negotiations and concessions • Addressing legitimate problems with sincerity to avoid the entrenchment and spread of drug and arms trade (which are facilitators of conflict)
ii. Role of kindred groups outside the country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising political support from kindred groups (similar to government or opposition) in neighboring countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing material and political support from kindred groups (similar to government or opposition) in neighboring countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kindred groups supporting political, economic (trade), social (cultural), interactions; • Resettling refugees
iii. Role of Diaspora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro- and anti-government Diaspora; • Diaspora increasingly organized with strong networks abroad and close links with native country: • Diaspora politicized on issues of home-country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rising pro- and anti- government propaganda and political voices abroad; • Increasing funding of conflict; • Diaspora actively raising funds and remitting money to government/rebels to attain political goals (usually, the latter, but caution here since money also sent for legitimate purposes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing number of associations across ethnic lines committed to peace and reconciliation; • Diaspora reducing funding of activities for political causes (imposed or voluntary); • Diaspora serving as economic and political power-brokers: encouraging investment,

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		to native country)	political negotiations, and stability
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