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EVALUATION REPORT EV 647

Evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools

Synthesis Report

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Foreign & Commonwealth Office

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HM TREASURY

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& Associated Consultants

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PREFACE

P1. The Conflict Prevention Pools (CPPs) are a joint Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), Ministry of Defence (MOD) and Department for International Development (DFID) mechanism for funding and managing the UK's contribution towards violent conflict prevention and reduction. The Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP) covers sub-Saharan Africa while the Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) covers the rest of the world. The CPPs were established by Her Majesty's Government (HMG) in April 2001, following a government-wide review of UK conflict prevention work in 2000. The rationale behind the CPPs is that by bringing together the interests, resources and expertise of FCO, MOD and DFID, greater effectiveness can be achieved. To this end, the CPPs share a joint Public Service Agreement (PSA) target, expressed as follows:

> Improved effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution.

P2. HMG commissioned the first evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools to inform the Spending Review 2004 (SR04). DFID has managed this evaluation through Evaluation Department in collaboration with an Evaluation Management Committee (EMC) that also included the Cabinet Office Defence and Overseas Secretariat (Chair), the FCO's United Nations Department, MOD's Directorate of Policy and Planning, DFID's Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance Department (CHAD) and DFID's Africa Conflict Team (now the Africa Conflict and Humanitarian Unit), situated in the Africa and Greater Horn Department (AGHD).

P3. The establishment of a cross-Whitehall Evaluation Management Committee was an innovative approach to managing an evaluation in DFID, and followed the ethos of the joint working of the CPPs. It allowed for extensive consultation between the various departments and conflict prevention teams. Many thanks are due to the various EMC members who contributed to the management of this evaluation. These include: Chris Chalmers, Benjamin Saoul and Anthea Dolman (Cabinet Office), Clare Barras and Stephen Evans (HMT), Joan Link, Euan Wallace and Karen Wolstenholme (FCO), Bernard Harborne and Malcolm Hood (AGHD), Tom Owen-Edmunds, Catherine Masterman and Ben le Roith (CHAD), Alicia Forsyth, Charlotte Brown and Campbell McCafferty (MOD).

P4. The study was managed by Mary Thompson, Iain Murray and Dale Poad (DFID Evaluation Department) in collaboration with the EMC. It was edited by Caryn Maclean

P5. The evaluation was undertaken by Bradford University, Channel Research Ltd and PARC & Associated Consultants. The Evaluation Team comprised 12 consultants, who together presented high-level experience in government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or academia in conflict prevention, along with the requisite evaluation expertise. They were Dr Greg Austin (team leader), Professor Malcolm Chalmers, Mr Emery Brusset, Ms Juliet Pierce, Ms Kaye Oliver, Mr Paul Bergne, Mr Jonathan Goodhand, Ms Nicole Ball, Dr Jeremy Ginifer, Mr Pierre Robert, Professor Andrew Mack and Dr Owen Greene.

P6. The aim of the evaluation of the CPPs is to assess current government approaches to Conflict Prevention through the GCPP and the ACPP, and to provide an overview of lessons learned and recommendations for the way forward. The purpose of evaluation generally is to examine the design, implementation and impact of selected programmes in order to learn lessons from them so that these can be applied to current and future work, and also to help strengthen HMG's accountability. It should be borne in mind that any programmes or projects examined are the product of their time, and that the policies they reflected and the procedures they followed have often changed in the light of HMG's developing knowledge.

P7. The main findings of the evaluation, reflected in this Synthesis Report, are that the CPPs are doing significant work funding worthwhile activities that make positive contributions to effective conflict prevention, although it is far too early in the day to assess impact. The progress achieved through the CPP mechanisms is significant enough to justify their continuation. Overall, the consultants believe that worthwhile improvements could be achieved through:

a. more consistent approaches to joint assessment and priority setting;

b. more determined pursuit of coordinated international responses;

c. and by allocation of more administrative resources and staff trained appropriately in the associated processes.

P8. The consultants have noted that there is considerable variation in the use of terms in the conflict prevention lexicon[1] and have attempted to set out the parameters of this in order to contextualise their work. The EU and DAC definitions of conflict prevention exclude long term-structural measures that are universally called 'peacebuilding'. This is not the accepted practice in many other governments, including the UK, or in many international NGOs. Given the differences in usage, the CPP evaluation reports use key terms as follows:

> In the term 'conflict prevention', *conflict* is understood to mean 'large scale deadly violence'.
>
> *Conflict prevention* is understood as actions taken to prevent large scale deadly violence from breaking out or, if it has ceased, to prevent its recurrence.
>
> *Structural measures* are long-term in nature and address the underlying or root causes.[2] of a particular conflict and can include democratisation, development assistance, and rule of law programmes.

[1] See International Crisis Group, 'EU Crisis Response Capability: Institutions and Processes for Conflict Prevention and Management', June 2001, p 2 (http://www.crisisweb.org//library/documents/report_archive/A400327_26062001.pdf). This report was commissioned by the UK's Department for International Development.

[2] These are identified variously in different sources. Kofi Annan identified five in his June 2001 report to the Security Council on conflict prevention: inequity; inequality; injustice; lack of representative government; and insecurity. See UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 24. The Carnegie Commission on Deadly Conflict identified security, prosperity and justice as the three core conditions that need to be met to prevent conflict, and noted that these needed to be provided in a political context that involves peaceful settlement of disputes and satisfaction of people's basic social, cultural and humanitarian needs. See George A. Joulwan and Christopher C. Shoemaker, 'Civilian-Military Cooperation in the Prevention of Deadly Conflict: Implementing Agreements in Bosnia and Beyond—A Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict' (New York: Carnegie Corporation, December 1998) p xxviii (hereafter referred to as Preventing Deadly Conflict).

Direct measures[3] are those intended to have a short to medium term effect on the political choices of actors in a particular conflict, and can include such things as special diplomatic measures, preventive deployment, or military threats. As the threat of violence increases or actual violence escalates, structural measures—while remaining important—become relatively less so than direct measures.

Conflict management is understood as actions taken to respond to a crisis that has crossed the threshold into large scale deadly violence, to prevent that violence from escalating and to bring it to a conclusion.

P9. This Synthesis Report is based heavily on the findings of the six case study reports and the Portfolio Review that form the basis of this evaluation and which have been published separately. All reports can be found on the following DFID web-site links:

Evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools

Synthesis Report	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647synthesis.pdf
Security Sector Reform, Nicole Ball	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647ssr.pdf
United Nations, Pierre Robert & Andrew Mack	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647un.pdf
Sudan, Emery Brusset	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647sudan.pdf
Sierra Leone, Jeremy Ginifer & Kaye Oliver	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647sleone.pdf
Afghanistan, Jonathan Goodhand & Paul Bergne	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647afghanistan.pdf
Russia and the FSU, Greg Austin & Paul Bergne	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647russia.pdf
Portfolio Review, Greg Austin & Malcolm Chalmers	www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/files/ev647portfolio.pdf

Evaluation reports can be found at the DFID website:
http://www2.dfid.gov.uk/aboutdfid/performance/

Michael Hammond
Head of Evaluation Department
2 April 2004

[3]'Operational' is another useful term used for 'direct' or non-structural conflict prevention. See Preventing Deadly Conflict, p 37.

EVALUATION TEAM ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Members of the Evaluation Team would like to acknowledge the support of the Evaluation Management Committee (EMC), not least those of its members who were able to accompany the evaluators on their field visits and its two chairs, Mr Chris Chalmers and Ms Anthea Dolman of the Cabinet Office. Dr Mary Thompson, of DFID's Evaluation Department, has played a very influential role in managing this project. The Evaluation Team is also strongly indebted to all of those officials and other interlocutors who gave freely of their time for the interviews. The team is especially grateful to HMG officials working in overseas assignments who were central to organising effective field visits.

The Evaluation Team has been supported effectively by Ms Janet Wilson, the Programme Officer at Bradford University's Centre for International Cooperation and Security. Research assistance has been provided by Mr Todd Krannock, Mr David Newton, Mr Rob Lawton, Mr Nick Robson and Mr Thom Oommen. Mr Ken Berry has provided review assistance for the Synthesis Report and some case study reports, as well as having drafted some background material.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAP	Africa Action Plan
ACPP	Africa Conflict Prevention Pool
ACU	Africa Conflict Unit
AGHD	Africa and Greater Horn Department
AU	African Union
BMATT	British Military Assistance Training Teams
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CHAD	Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department
CoE	Council of Europe
CPI	Conflict Prevention Index
CPN	Conflict Prevention Network
CPPs	Conflict Prevention Pools
CPU	Conflict Prevention Unit
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAT	Defence Advisory Team
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DERA	Defence Evaluation and Research Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
DIS	Defence Intelligence Staff
DOP	Defence and Overseas Policy Committee
DOP (A)	Defence and Overseas Policy Committee (Sub-Committee for Sub-Saharan Africa)
DOP (OA)	Defence and Overseas Policy Committee (Sub-Committee for Outside Sub-Saharan Africa)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Affairs Office
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EMC	Evaluation Management Committee
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy

EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FSU	Former Soviet Union
GCHQ	Government Communications Headquarters
GCPP	Global Conflict Prevention Pool
GFN	Global Facilitation Network
GOF	Global Opportunities Fund
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft fŸr Technische Zusammenarbeit
HMG	Her Majesty's Government
HMT	Her Majesty's Treasury
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMATT	International Military Advisory and Training Team
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IWPR	Institute for War and Peace Reporting
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee
JMC	Joint Military Commission
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
oda	Official Development Assistance
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
ODM	Ministry of Overseas Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organisations for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSA	Public Service Agreement
PSOs	Peace Support Operations
QIP	Quality Improvement Programme

RRP	Russian Resettlement Programme
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Agreements
SALW	Small Arms/Light Weapons
SAM	Strategic Assessment Methodology
SCA	Strategic Conflict Assessment
SDA	Service Delivery Agreement
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service
SITCEN	Joint Situation Centre
SSR	Security Sector Reform
ToRs	Terms of Reference
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USCR	United States Committee for Refugees
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VfM	Value for Money
VMT	Verification Monitoring Team
WHO	World Health Organisation
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

S1. In April 2001, the UK Government established two CPPs, one for Sub-Saharan Africa (Africa CPP or ACPP) and one for outside Africa (Global CPP or GCPP), to enhance the effectiveness of the UK's contribution to conflict prevention and management. The CPPs are funds jointly administered by three Departments of State: the Ministry of Defence (MOD), Department for International Development (DFID) and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). The impetus for the creation of the CPPs came from two cross-cutting reviews, the first on conflict prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1999, leading to the second for the rest of the world.

S2. The reviews assumed that these newly pooled budgets would significantly enhance UK contributions to conflict prevention because they would improve joint priority-setting by the three Departments. Where there was no capacity for the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) to meet additional requirements, a new jointly agreed conflict assessment process would support joint priority setting. The two SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews noted that a great deal of inter-departmental coordination and shared assessments for conflict prevention were already the norm. The main new organisational additions were to be an inter-Departmental steering mechanism in each Pool and a process for joint priority-setting for each conflict. The Sub-Saharan Africa review foresaw the role of its pool steering group as limited to support for Ministers at the strategic level, especially on deciding priorities between countries or conflicts, with only an occasional need to intervene to boost joint priority setting within countries. At the outset, Ministers agreed that the FCO would be the lead on the GCPP and DFID on the ACPP.

S3. Once established, the CPPs brought together budgets for programme spending and peacekeeping costs as indicated in Table S1 below. The table shows both initial estimates at the time of the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews and subsequent allocations by financial year. In addition to money that had already been programmed for conflict prevention before the establishment of the CPPS, in 2001 Her Majesty's Treasury (HMT) allocated an additional 100 million over three years for new conflict prevention measures. This was supplemented in 2002 by an additional provision of 20 million for the Africa CPP in Years Two and Three of that budget cycle to 'enable conflict prevention to play a significant part' in support of the Prime Minister's commitments to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

S4. It was agreed that the CPPs should include spending on peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, except where the scale and volatility of such operations would seriously impact on the funds available for other Pool activities. By supporting more effective conflict prevention efforts the two cross-cutting reviews had hoped to reduce the drain on Treasury resources caused by escalating peacekeeping costs.

Table S1: SR2000 Estimates and Subsequent Allocations

	2001/2		**2002/3**		**2003/4**	
	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 01)	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 02)	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 03)
ACPP						
Peacekeeping (or minor operations)	65	52	60	99	60	86
Programmes	50	45	50	50	50	50
Sub-total ACPP	**115**	**97**	**110**	**149**	**110**	**136**
GCPP						
Peacekeeping (or minor operations)	340	450	380	407	380	378
Programmes	60	55	68	111	78	105
Sub-total GCPP	**400**	**505**	**448**	**518**	**458**	**483**
TOTAL (GCPP +ACPP)	**515**	**602**	**558**	**661**	**568**	**619**

Evolution of CPP Mechanisms

S5. The two Pools have developed different profiles in important respects. The ACPP Steering Group conducts informal meetings in Whitehall to review conflict issues and spending priorities in Sub-Saharan Africa. At country or conflict level, the three Departments do not have an identified country steering group or 'strategy manager'. However, in the case of more important countries, such as Sudan and Sierra Leone, officials at country or conflict level have developed formal conflict prevention strategies, even though these are not a prerequisite for funding under the ACPP. By contrast, the GCPP Steering Group meets every two weeks on a formal basis and keeps more extensive records. It has organised its entire programme spending under formal 'strategies' that are a prerequisite for approval of funding. There are relatively formal 'steering groups' or 'working groups', with a designated 'strategy manager' at country, conflict, or even at regional level. In some cases, such as Indonesia and Nepal, the steering group is located in the embassy, even though the designated 'strategy manager' may be in Whitehall. In other cases such as Russia and the Former Soviet Union, the steering group is located in Whitehall. The GCPP funds thematic strategies that reach into Sub-Saharan Africa, while the ACPP funds thematic strategies that address problems or issues considered uniquely important to its priorities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

S6. The CPPs have continued to evolve over the period that this Evaluation has taken place. This evolution has been visible in processes such as strategy development that are specific to the CPPs, and in changes to departmental mechanisms such as DFID's Africa Conflict Unit and FCO's Conflict Prevention Unit that help shape the decisions for CPPs. These latter mechanisms operate across the full range of UK conflict prevention policy and are not specific to the CPPs. MOD has reorganised its structures dealing with conflict prevention, principally through changes to its organisation of defence diplomacy. There have been advances in work on joint assessment, including early warning systems. The ACPP Steering Group has been instrumental in the appointment of four Regional Conflict Advisers in Sub-Saharan Africa, even though these posts will not be funded by the ACPP. The recent recruitment by DFID of up to 24 conflict advisers for assignment throughout its global network, has the potential shape joint assessment and joint priority setting procedures

profoundly, even though these posts will not be funded by the CPPs. The GCPP Steering Group has launched an extensive review of its formal strategies under a Quality Improvement Programme (QIP).The ACPP Steering Group is considering a similar measure as part of its new strategic approach.

Methodology

S7. The Evaluation has been conducted in three stages. The first addressed the functioning of the CPPs at the macro level, from the Whitehall perspective. It reviewed the processes established by the Pools in order to analyse the internal coherence and functioning logic of the Pools. The second stage involved six case studies to test the performance of the CPPs against five criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, signs of impact and sustainability). There were four country/region case studies (Sierra Leone, Sudan, Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union) and two thematic studies (security sector reform (SSR) and the UN). Together, the six case studies account for around half of total programme spending in the GCPP and the ACPP. The third stage was to compile the synthesis report, drawing together the findings from these case studies and testing the conclusions and recommendations through a series of further consultations in Whitehall. Since the evaluators have not studied other geographical and thematic strategies in detail, it would not have been appropriate to draw upon them in this report. This may limit the extent to which those conclusions, which rest primarily on case study research, can be generalised. This report has been careful to state where this is the case.

S8. It was agreed in the Inception Report that the various questions posed in the Terms of Reference (ToRs) would be addressed under the following four headings:

- CPP effect on preventing new conflicts and containing existing ones;
- CPP effect on international organisations and partnerships;
- CPP influence on inter-departmental collaboration; and
- implications of the above for CPP financial arrangements.

Summary Finding

S9. *The contribution of the CPPs to effective conflict prevention could be improved if they are backed by more consistent approaches to joint assessment and priority setting, by more determined pursuit of the multiplier effects and economies available from coordinated international responses, and by allocation of more administrative resources and staff trained appropriately in the associated processes.*

S10. It has not been possible to come to a definitive judgement as to whether the additional benefits generated by the CPPs as a whole have been worth all or most of the additional money (around £140 million) that has been spent on them since April 2001, compared with the money that might have been spent on conflict prevention activities had the CPPs not been established. The GCPP and ACPP are funding worthwhile activities that appear to have positive effects. The progress achieved through the CPP mechanisms is significant enough to justify their continuation. At the same time, additional development of the analytical framework and joint priority setting foreshadowed by the cross-cutting reviews would further exploit the potential of the CPPs.

Specific Findings

Effect on Preventing New Conflicts or Containing Existing Ones

S11. *The CPPs have funded UK contributions to conflict prevention measures and peacekeeping operations in a large number of locations around the world, and these operations, taken as a whole, have made a tangible contribution to containing conflict* (Finding #1)

S12. In Georgia, a number of well-targeted and appropriately diverse GCPP activities (such as funding for community-based reconciliation, the appointment of a high-level Special Representative, and the work of a senior UK military adviser through an advisory board structure) have provided, sustained support for peaceful approaches to resolution of political conflicts, alongside other measures from the international community,. The GCPP-funded measures were specifically designed, and almost certainly helped, to create the political environment that allowed the recent transfer of power in Georgia to take place without recourse to force by the former government. One of the principal features of the effectiveness of the GCPP in Georgia, as elsewhere, has been its ability to obtain extra leverage through the funding of other actors, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international agencies. This funding deploys human resources to conflict prevention in a way that promotes mobilisation of wider resources, especially ones based in the affected communities, for the task of preventing conflict.

S13. In Sierra Leone, the strong support by the ACPP for security measures and SSR has provided a very strong lead in helping stabilise the security situation. It has put the country's security bodies on the path to reform. This support, together with the reintegration of ex-combatants, has been well-directed. It appears to be making a significant contribution to avoiding a return to the devastation of the civil war experienced between 1991 and 2000.

S14. In Sudan, the ACPP's part funding of peace negotiations and innovative confidence building missions, together with a small group of other donors, has had a positive effect on prospects for an end to the principal violent conflict in the country. Sustained and rapid funding targeted at sensitive areas of the conflict secured the international guarantees. Without these the peace process might well have faltered.

S15. In Afghanistan, the GCPP supports a range of security sector projects that are important to the 'security first' imperative for effective conflict prevention. These include support to the National Security Council. The GCPP is also targeting factionalism and the drug economy.

S16. The cumulative effect of the GCPP projects under the United Nations (UN) thematic strategy has made an important contribution to international attempts to make the UN more responsive to the political environment in conflict-related situations. The SSR thematic strategy has helped the UK maintain a leading role in the international community on SSR issues, in particular through the innovative activities of the Defence Advisory Team.

S17. *In the case studies and other investigations, the Evaluation did not find a consistent set of ideas that officials in Whitehall and UK missions overseas might be able to use as*

guidance on the ways in which the GCPP or the ACPP should be used to have the maximum effects for the lowest cost on preventing particular types of conflicts (Finding #2).

S18. The Evaluation found a diversity of practice and ideas about where the CPPs should sit relative to other UK conflict prevention policies and activities, and relative to actions by other international actors. Broadly speaking, there were three variants of CPP engagement. First, in Georgia, the GCPP had been able to deliver a comprehensive conflict prevention package that positioned the UK with entry points for influence in most of the main leadership groups, institutions and communities at relatively low cost. Second, in Sierra Leone, the ACPP delivered a much more costly package but one addressed to a narrower set of targets, mostly in the essential area of SSR. The GCPP had taken a similar approach in Afghanistan. Unlike the Georgia case, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan were both cases where the country had been ravaged by decades of civil war and where the international community was delivering much larger amounts of assistance. A third variant was where the CPPs were funding a small number of projects, or part-funding highly strategic initiatives by the international community, as in Sudan. Sometimes, the evaluators observed significant gaps. Most notably, the GCPP Strategy on Russia and the FSU had no programmes specifically addressing the conflict dynamics within Chechnya, the location of Europe's most recent and as yet unfinished war.

S19. In some of the case studies, the evaluators found a mismatch between the small amount of financial resources available for the CPPs and the ambitious objectives that the cross-cutting review had established. A large share, about 30 per cent, of GCPP country programme spending in 2003/4 allocations was devoted to Afghanistan. In the ACPP, almost 60 per cent has gone to Sierra Leone. After those slices are taken out, and thematic strategies are funded, the share of CPP non-peacekeeping funds allocated to other types of activities is quite low. For many conflict situations, the CPPs' main function has become that of a seed fund or a mobiliser of action by others, mostly by local actors.

S20. Three questions are raised by these findings. First, what is the appropriate balance within the CPPs between aiming for positions of influence across the target society through a comprehensive package on the one hand, and on the other, strategic concentration of resources on activities like security sector or peace agreements? Second, how can the government ensure that CPP measures are effectively framed as part of an articulated and integrated strategy for achieving certain outcomes, including non-CPP measures? Third, do significantly more resources need to be devoted to training and education opportunities in the field of conflict prevention in order to provide officials with the tools needed to make these difficult judgements? The evaluation concludes that, in the absence of systems to monitor outcomes and re-assess the strategic effects of CPP-funded measures, there can be no quality reference point to answer these questions.

S21. The prevention of conflict depends on a range of factors, most of which are often well beyond the reach of HMG influence. These include the local actors in the conflict, and the interventions of other major powers. Moreover, as only one, often small, component in UK conflict prevention policy, the outcomes of CPP-funded measures also depend on the effectiveness of UK policy in other realms. If HMG wants to be able to assess effectiveness and improve CPP performance, current systems for tracking and reviewing decision-making

are probably inadequate. CPP achievements to date in specific conflicts have depended more on the qualities of the personnel involved, and on the amount of time they can give to the task, than on any system that has flowed from the establishment of the CPPs.

Effect on International Arrangements

S22. *The CPPs have been used to fund a range of effective conflict prevention measures that have been coordinated with other international actors. At the same time, the bulk of the UK's effort in this direction lies outside the scope of regular CPP planning. Officials have therefore continued to look outside the CPPs to achieve the multiplier effects and economies for joint action in specific conflicts that such coordination might bring* (Finding #3).

S23. When the CPPs were established, Ministers attached great importance to the potential of the new mechanisms to mobilise other international actors and their funding and thereby magnify the impact of the CPP spending. The results from the six case studies indicate that HMG has had a generally positive record in coordinating its conflict-related polices with international partners. The UK is working very well with a number of international partners in Georgia, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Sudan to promote better-coordinated responses. The UN Strategy has been successful in fostering improvements in support for UN capacities in New York and in peacekeeping practices in the field. The GCPP is setting the pace internationally for other donors in respect of its small arms strategy and its SSR strategy. There are also examples of effective mobilisation by the ACPP of international partners, especially the UN, the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for peacekeeping. Yet most UK collaborative action and coordination for conflict prevention still takes place independently of the programme spending in the CPPs. For example, the Africa Action Plan, released by HMG in 2003, reflects the active collaboration and coordination that exists within the G8 for addressing conflict. However, the development and monitoring of the Action Plan does not depend primarily on the ACPP as a mechanism, even though the three key officials who coordinate that policy are the three key officials in the ACPP Steering Group. Similarly, GCPP spending in Afghanistan has been well coordinated with other donors and the transitional government of Afghanistan, but the complex and intense coordination process has not depended on the GCPP as a mechanism for its effectiveness.

S24. The most important effect of the CPPs on international partners may be an indirect one. Many interlocutors outside HMG reported that the enhanced profile that the existence of the CPPs has given to the cause of conflict prevention, both in general and for particular cases, was having a positive effect in terms of promoting more effective responses by other actors.

S25. The management mechanisms associated with the CPPs appear to offer further potential for achieving economies, especially through greater coordination with EU actions, or better cooperation with some like minded EU states. To maximise this potential to attract partners or like-minded countries, HMG could consider giving more publicity to CPP-funded measures.

Effect on Inter-Departmental Processes

S26. *A consistent analytical framework for conducting joint conflict assessments (as foreshadowed in the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews) is not yet in place. Nor is there a jointly agreed framework for early warning and rapid response* (Finding #4).

S27. One test of the extent of inter-departmental collaboration achieved by the CPPs is the degree to which the Departments have instituted an agreed analytical framework for conflict assessment and established joint priority setting processes. These were the two main arguments that the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews made for recommending the establishment of the Pools. The reviews described the analytical framework as a 'country conflict profile' which would offer a 'brief analysis of the main elements of the conflict', 'identify risks to local, regional and international interests', and 'identify the level of priority the UK may wish to attach to respond to the conflict and also identify the options for UK intervention'. HMG has not yet put in place an agreed analytical framework along these lines.

S28. So far the main new vehicle for joint assessment has been a 'strategy' document of some sort. A wide diversity of practice exists in both the GCPP and ACPP on what areas of analysis these strategies should cover, what authority they had and whether they were meant to be management tools against which to review resource allocations and policy options.

S29. Some strategies in the GCPP have made use of an analytical framework for conflict assessment developed by DFID: *Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes* (2002). The framework, now known as Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA), is a sophisticated conflict and policy analysis tool, which in many respects mirrors the collective experience of the FCO, MOD, JIC, DIS and Secret Intelligence Service (SIS). Potentially powerful as the SCA is, it has been treated as an experimental tool in DFID itself. It has not been effectively mainstreamed in the three Departments. There have been both good and bad experiences in developing such assessments and then using them effectively.

S30. The ACPP has not relied on the SCA approach for the bulk of its work. There was a view that the process was unnecessarily protracted, very demanding of scarce personnel and financial resources. There is in fact no shortage of conflict analysis from a variety of sources available to personnel engaged in conflict prevention. This includes HMG diplomatic reporting, assessments by other donors, and detailed and regular reporting by NGOs, such as the International Crisis Group. In the case of Nigeria, HMG joined other donors, the Nigerian government and Nigerian non-governmental groups in writing an SCA.

S31. *The effect of the CPPs on inter-departmental processes has been positive but uneven. It does not yet meet the potential for joint priority setting at the country or conflict level envisaged by the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews* (Finding #5).

S32. Officials interviewed shared an almost unanimous view that the CPPs have promoted significantly better interaction and cooperation between the Departments concerned, especially in London. According to several officials, the expanded availability of pooled funds has acted as an incentive for cooperation. Across the CPPs, both in country and in

Whitehall, regular formal and informal coordination and information-sharing has improved.

S33. Without an agreed analytical framework officials have been denied a coherent and consistent method for determining in-country priorities for conflict prevention. This factor may be creating otherwise avoidable tensions between Departments. Many officials saw weaknesses in the joint priority setting process. Some of these do not apply equally to the GCPP and ACPP, but they are listed here without distinction. The issues raised with the Evaluation team included:

- the absence of authoritative guidance on how to set priorities within strategies and who sets them;
- the balance between top-down selection of projects, either from Whitehall or posts, or bottom-up selection from governments or NGOs in affected countries or areas of thematic activity;
- that the CPPs appear to operate more according to bureaucratic interests somewhat removed from Public Service Agreement (PSA) and Service Delivery Agreement (SDA) objectives, rather than to those objectives;
- that the CPPs are limited by what the three principal Departments can agree, even though differences can be, and are on occasion, resolved at Ministerial level;
- the gulf between decision-making for the programme side of CPP spending and the peacekeeping side of CPP spending;
- a concern in some circles that for the bulk of CPP expenditure, the CPPs might represent little more than a new accounting mechanism, a new budget line, for pre-existing departmental programmes, rather than a strategically conceived way of enhancing UK efforts in conflict prevention.

S34. The process of in-country priority setting appears to be tied too closely to the qualifications and experience of key individuals, many of whom reported that they did not have the time to record the basis of their decisions. These findings suggest there may be room for a more standardised approach to the joint assessment process, to provide a process that gives appropriate prominence to the short-term issues and the early warning function. The question also arises as to whether additional personnel resources should be devoted to this function.

Implications for Financial Management

S35. *The relationship assumed in the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews between effective conflict prevention and an eventual reduction in UK peacekeeping costs may not be applicable on a universal basis, and may only be meaningful on a conflict by conflict basis* (Finding #6).

S36. Since the creation of the CPPs, total UK peacekeeping costs have continued to rise. The modest increase in spending under the ACPP has in part been compensated for by a decrease in GCPP peacekeeping spending. However, the total costs to the UK have risen significantly since 2001/2, largely as a result of new war-fighting and peace enforcement

operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. There are therefore strong reasons to question the logic of the narrowly defined 'Spending to Save' approach. A number of factors need to be considered such as the time frame over which programmes can realistically be expected to be effective in this regard; the expectation that most future savings in peacekeeping costs, if realised, will accrue to the wider international community, not just to the UK; the need to take into account savings on non-military accounts, including humanitarian assistance and reconstruction costs. One of the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews indicated the need for additional research on the proposition that preventing is better and more cost-effective than resolving conflict.

S37. The more appropriate reference point for assessing the 'Spending to Save' argument may be conflict specific. At this level, it would be entirely appropriate for the UK, possibly in cooperation with its international partners, to examine the extent to which proposed conflict prevention programmes can reduce the chances of incurring future post-conflict military and other costs. Such an analysis could be used to inform strategies and priorities.

Analysis and Recommendations

S38. Although incremental improvements are occurring and developing in strongly positive directions, this approach is unlikely to enable the CPPs to achieve their full potential. An additional policy development driver is needed with sufficient authority and political will to draw the disparate elements together and to shape and disseminate the missing agreed frameworks.

S39. *This Evaluation recommends that HMG consider establishing a more disciplined, sustained and economical method of conflict analysis and early warning within the CPP system, and consider whether it should be based on the SCA model developed by DFID* (Recommendation #1).

S40. Effective conflict prevention relies on high quality intelligence and analysis. Joined up conflict prevention depends on a shared understanding of the conflict dynamics under scrutiny. This is an area where the Evaluation Team found the Pool strategies to be generally weak. However, the SCA model developed by DFID could be the foundation for whatever new system is jointly agreed by the three Departments. To strengthen the ability of the Pools to fulfil their intended roles, CPPs may increase their demands as customers of the services of HMG's research and analytical organisations, e.g. JIC, DIS, DFID research bodies. These organisations need to be able to respond to such requests, not least in relation to conflicts that may be seen as lower priority.

S41. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider how the thematic strategies can be connected more effectively to country strategies* (Recommendation #2).

S42. The GCPP allocates around 30 per cent of its programme spending (£25.5 million in 2003/4) to its thematic strategies. In the ACPP thematic work for 2003/4, around 10 per cent (£5 million) has been allocated to strengthening regional organisations and peacekeeping capacities (see Annex 1). A large part of GCPP thematic spending is devoted to Sub-Saharan Africa. The ACPP is increasingly developing sub-regional strategies.

Officials could ensure that these are linked to country engagement papers. The two main thematic strategies studied in this evaluation have increased HMG focus on key areas of work, as well as achieving significant success in enhancing the capabilities of the UN and spreading good practice through the SSR. Both case studies showed the potential for greater impact of thematic strategic work in specific conflict situations.

S43. It may also be timely for the CPPs to develop other thematic strategies or functions. Since thematic strategies serve both Africa and the rest of the world, it would make sense to involve both the GCPP and ACPP Steering Groups in working together to consider this, in close consultation with relevant country desks or strategy managers. One possibility would be to develop a cross Pool thematic strategy on the economic and financial aspects of conflict, focusing in particular (as in the case of the SSR Strategy) on spreading best practice and providing technical assistance. This could cover areas such as preventing the domination of economies by armed factions, undermining the incentives to finance war through the predatory extraction of natural resources, and the strengthening UK policies that might help reduce economic and financial incentives to increase conflict. Already the ACPP has a 'thematic focus' on the economic and financial causes of conflict, but there has only been very limited activity so far. The ACPP Steering Group is looking at ways of enhancing this work.

S44. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider a review of the geographic spread of CPP programme spending* (Recommendation #3).

S45. CPP programme spending is already concentrated, with Afghanistan and Sierra Leone taking a large share of country allocations. While some other countries also receive significant allocations of around £3–4 million, most CPP country programmes consist of less than £2 million in annual expenditure. Spending under the thematic strategies is also spread over a large number of partner countries. This indicates that the Pools are spreading their resources too thinly. It also draws attention to the need for regular review to avoid 'commitment creep'. A key criterion in deciding whether to fund activities in a particular country should continue to be whether the UK is particularly well-placed to make a significant contribution to conflict prevention. Consideration of what the EU, or other major international actors, are doing or could do with UK initiative in the particular conflict should be a more conspicuous factor in prioritising CPP spending.

S46. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider whether conflict-specific strategies should be placed ahead of regional or even country strategies as the departure point for setting spending priorities within the CPPs* (Recommendation #4).

S47. The GCPP allocates around 35 per cent of its programme spending (£32.7 million in 2002/3 and £32.1 million in 2003/4) through four regional strategies (Balkans, Middle East and North Africa (MENA), FSU, and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The CEE strategy is being wound down now, but the other three continue to support a significant number of relatively small allocations to individual countries. Some of these regional strategies appear to lack overall coherence and are vulnerable to the criticism that they are ad hoc aggregations of country and thematic projects. The GCPP have found little value in a South Asia strategy and have therefore moved towards strategies for specific countries (Sri Lanka, Nepal) or specific conflicts (India/Pakistan/Kashmir). This Evaluation concluded

that the aggregated Russia and FSU Strategy added little to the development of effective conflict prevention strategies in relation to the diverse specific conflicts in the region. The ACPP does not have formal regional strategies in the same way as the GCPP, and has concentrated its prioritisation much more immediately on specific countries. In most cases, this means that most ACPP funding decisions are based on prioritisation of specific conflicts, not geographical sub-regions. But even in the ACPP work, there may be room to install the principle that conflicts not countries should be the organisational rubric.

S48. A strategy to prevent an outbreak of large scale deadly violence, or to contain it, must be conflict-specific. A conflict may concern events that cross national regional boundaries. Strategies within the CPPs could therefore be usefully expressed in conflict-specific terms, before being aggregated into a regional strategy. Whatever value there is in having wider regional strategies as an organisational tool, the rationale for spending programme money on a specific conflicts must be a prevention strategy for that conflict. There may also be value in having over-arching regional strategies, but their requirements and functions need to be clarified.

S49. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider a review of the geographical and thematic organisation of the CPPs* (Recommendation #5).

S50. The present geographical and thematic organisation of the CPPs should be reviewed to ensure that this is still most effective for overall management, analysis and experience-sharing. One option would be to move towards a number of geographically-based CPPs, as long as one of these remains dedicated to Sub-Saharan Africa as the present ACPP. The other Pools could cover the Middle East and North Africa, including Iraq (involving approximately £12 million annual current programming), Europe and the Former Soviet Union (about £23 million) and South and East Asia, including Afghanistan (around £25 million). Each of these Pools would have responsibility for managing a budget allocation for both programme and peacekeeping spending, and for managing the development and implementation of CPP conflict prevention policy priorities, strategies and activities in the region in question. The introduction of these larger regional CPPs might facilitate the dissolution of some existing smaller regional strategies, such as the FSU strategy, that presently lack overall coherence.

S51. The above option is presented for illustrative purposes. There may be others. All options would need to be systematically reviewed to identify the optimal system for effective management. However, any such review would also have to take into account possible impacts on the operations and roles of the DOP (A) and DOP (OA) Cabinet Sub-committees.

S52. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider the creation of a new standing mechanism, a process not a unit, to link the CPPs to the rapidly developing EU conflict prevention capacities and activities* (Recommendation #6).

S53. The leverage offered by EU resources is potentially substantial, if combined with the UK's leading-edge thinking in key areas of conflict prevention. The UK funds through its contributions to the EU a range of new conflict prevention initiatives and institutions in Brussels, including a 300 person crisis response and conflict management unit established in only 2001 under the authority of the High Representative Javier Solana, and this unit

undertakes work of direct relevance to the agenda of CPPs. Few officials interviewed were aware of these rapid advances in EU capacities in the past three years. The new capability, analyses and responses of EU agencies, and EU member-states, should become a central reference point for most CPP activities. There will be additional transaction costs. The EU has not been not an easy organisation to deal with, but these costs will almost certainly be outweighed by the ability to lever larger EU resources in support of CP agendas supported by the UK. Over time, this process could bring considerable efficiencies and economies not just to UK CPP efforts, but to wider UK conflict prevention policy and to EU responses to conflict. The burden for this may have to fall to the UK mission to the EU in Brussels. There is a need for much better information flow and policy discussion between those in the UK Representation dealing with EU conflict prevention policy and those involved in drafting CPP-related strategy documents. At a minimum, a CPP strategy document should analyse how UK policies will sit alongside EU policies, both at the inter-governmental level and in terms of what other individual EU members are doing.

S54. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider how to articulate more clearly the way in which the CPPs might be used to meet expectations to mobilise key international partners in specific conflicts* (Recommendation #7).

S55. The question of how effectively the CPPs could be used to mobilise other international actors in support of UK conflict prevention measures did not figure prominently in the SR2000 reviews. It has been of growing concern of HMG since then. The UK Government is keen to spread the financial burden of conflict prevention to countries that are able to pay, but seldom advance common interests in this way. Conflict assessment and joint priority setting processes need to show how this can best be achieved.

S56. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider increasing the level of staff resources to be made available for managing the CPP system and activities* (Recommendation #8).

S57. The commitment of officials to the CPPs has been substantial, both in terms of sharing values and delivering effective outcomes. However, current levels of staffing do not permit the CPPs to be used as planned for the integrating and mobilising roles imagined in the initial reviews. If this is to change, the Pools will need appropriate personnel policies for the appointment and support of appropriately qualified people, in recruitment, in initial training and continued staff development.

S58. At present, CPP allocations cannot be used to meet the costs of administering the Pools. HMT has made it clear that Departments are expected to support Pool administration from their own budgets. This arrangement has not been satisfactory. There are two possibilities. The CPPs could be permitted to spend a proportion of their financial allocation on management and administration. Such an arrangement has recently been agreed for the Global Opportunities Fund (GOF). The case for such an arrangement is stronger for an inter-departmental pool than it is for one organised for a single department, given the tendency of Departments to give their own individual requirements a higher priority than contributing to the ‘collective good’ of the CPPs. Alternatively Departments themselves could be asked to agree collectively to provide additional personnel resources for the CPPs.

S59. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG explore the costs and benefits of creating a Joint Conflict Prevention Coordination Unit, staffed by the three Departments, with a permanent representative of the JIC and DIS* (Recommendation #9).

S60. The recent establishment within Departments of new units or investigations dealing with some aspect of conflict (FCO's Post-Conflict Unit, DFID's Development in Difficult Environments Unit, the Cabinet Office review of policy toward failed and failing states, the review of HMG mechanisms for planning complex post-conflict interventions, and the establishment within GOF of a funding stream on relations with the Islamic World) have created a bureaucratic environment that in some respects could potentially duplicate roles that at least in part the CPPs might have filled. This consideration, together with the need to strengthen the ability of the Pools system more generally to fulfil its potential, has led the Evaluation Team to consider the benefits and costs of a new central mechanism, such as a dedicated Conflict Prevention Coordination Unit.

S61. Such a Unit could provide a range of services to the geographical Pools: initial training and staff development for conflict advisors; advice on generic issues of conflict analysis and on relations with international organisations; and spreading best practice in conflict prevention. It could be directly responsible for existing thematic strategies (SSR, SALW, UN), as well as possible new ones (economic and financial aspects of conflict, relations with the EU).

S62. The net resource impact of the recommendation need not be great. It could be limited to the commitment of a relatively small number of additional officials from the three Departments, together with a commitment of full-time officials to the early warning function.

S63. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG review the presumed link between increases in programme spending and a reduction in costs to the Treasury Reserve for peacekeeping* (Recommendation #10).

S64. One of the motivations behind the 2000 decision to establish the Pools was a requirement to control peacekeeping spending in the aftermath of Bosnia and Kosovo. As a consequence, both CPPs include budgets for peacekeeping, amounting to 69 per cent of total planned CPP spending in 2003/4. A related initial purpose of the CPPs was to allow a greater trade-off between programme and peacekeeping expenditures. However, there is no adequate working mechanism for managing prioritisation between the two. Given this, one possibility would be to end the provision for the diversion of budgetary allocations between the programme and peacekeeping elements of the Pools, and accept that the attempt to provide effective overall management of these two elements has failed.

S65. An alternative possibility would be to ensure that arrangements for joint financial management of peacekeeping and programme spending are strengthened. The relevant Pool Steering Groups would be asked to explicitly consider trade-offs between peacekeeping and programme commitments in their consideration of CP strategies and spending priorities. Such a role would be consistent with the expectation that the Pools must do more to meet their responsibility to be a mechanism for wider coordination of CP activities across Whitehall including peacekeeping.

S66. It is not possible for the UK to alter the scale of its assessed peacekeeping contributions to the UN and Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) unilaterally. Therefore the ability to trade-off peacekeeping and programme spending is limited. Retaining all minor non-assessed peacekeeping operations within the CPPs, whilst removing assessed UN/OSCE contributions, might be a compromise. Such a solution would help to focus attention on the considerable non-assessed military operations in which the UK is involved. Alternatively, there may be some merit in giving the CPP Steering Groups a more direct role in relation to operations in which the UK is participating.

S67. *The Evaluation recommends a review of the joint Public Service Agreement (PSA) target and the adoption of an agreed 'outline' set of outline performance indicators* (Recommendation #11).

S68. A performance measure for CPP programmes should capture the essence of the objective and identify the contribution that programme activities will make to the desired outcome. HMG is rarely going to be the main influence on conflict prevention or reduction. A joint PSA target should therefore address those other influences, particularly the need to mobilise other essential actors. A possibly useful amendment of the current joint PSA target would be:

> 'To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution *to coordinated international efforts* at conflict prevention and *reduction in conflict,* as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict or the threat of violent conflict and as a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution'.

S69. This would make a clearer linkage with the more powerful other influences on the outcome and identifies more sharply that UK contributions are more likely to be effective if well coordinated with efforts of other key states and organisations. It also deletes the term 'conflict management' and replaces it with 'conflict reduction'. Officials will not have confidence in a joint PSA target unless they can see the relationship between the overall target and the large pyramid of component targets and indicators that must underpin it, and unless they can see the linkages between component activities and indicators of progress.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background on the Conflict Prevention Pools

1. In 2001, Her Majesty's Government (HMG) established two Conflict Prevention Pools (CPPs), one for Sub-Saharan Africa (Africa CPP—ACPP) and one for the rest of the world (Global CPP—GCPP). The CPPs are funds which pooled those monies previously spent in supporting elements of the conflict prevention work of the three main Departments involved: the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Department for International Development (DFID), and the Ministry of Defence (MOD).[4]

2. The impetus for creation of the CPPs came from a cross-cutting review of conflict prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa established in 1999 in response to concerns, especially in DFID, about the lack of appropriate policy instruments for funding conflict prevention activities in the region. A particular and immediate concern was that existing arrangements made it difficult to reach agreement on, and fund, emergency security-related interventions outside Europe. This had been the case in relation to UK involvement in Sierra Leone, where military support for the government of that country had to be funded from the Treasury reserve.

3. The Cross-cutting Review, chaired by the Secretary of State for International Development, reported in 2000, and proposed the establishment of a pooled budget for conflict prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa. The new fund included a programme budget made up of £30 million of current departmental conflict prevention programmes (FCO £5m, DFID £24m, MOD £1m), plus a contingency element funded by new Treasury money. This budget was to be allocated on the basis of joint strategy and priority setting between the three ministries concerned. During the Africa review, it was agreed that a review for the rest of the world would follow on immediately, to be chaired by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. The draft report of this review was agreed in May 2000, and recommended the creation of a Global Conflict Prevention Pool, covering the rest of the world outside Sub-Saharan Africa. The two CPPs became operational in April 2001.

4. Three main considerations appear to have been important in the decision to set up the CPPs: the wish of HMG to bring under control, or at least make more practical the management arrangements for its escalating financial commitment to emergency peacekeeping operations[5]; the increased priority given to preventing conflict as a means of enhancing the strategic impact of UK poverty reduction policies, especially under the newly-created DFID; and the belief that conflict prevention was less costly than the sorts

[4] As discussed later, the Cabinet Office and Her Majesty's Treasury also play a regular and important role in the work of the CPPs. Other Departments, such as the Home Office, are consulted and involved as required on issues such as police and justice reform or counter-terrorism.

[5] The increasing involvement of the UK in peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations during the late 1990s, notably in Bosnia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Iraq (the no-fly zones) and East Timor, had a powerful effect on government approaches to bureaucratic management of financing for these commitments. With the exception of the USA, the UK's commitment to such operations has been greater than that of any other country. The character of these interventions had in turn increased demand for a range of non-military interventions—humanitarian response, security sector reform, post-conflict reconstruction—that could be undertaken with a view to reducing suffering and helping to prevent future conflict.

of interventions needed once large scale deadly violence had broken out. Underlying this was the conviction that large scale organised violence had become a consistent and recurring risk to UK policies and interests worldwide, requiring a combination of actions from all foreign policy Departments. There was a sense that ad hoc response was no longer adequate.

5. An important consideration for Her Majesty's Treasury (HMT) was the hope of reducing the drain on the Treasury from escalating peacekeeping costs, by supporting more effective conflict prevention efforts. For this reason, all peacekeeping costs and peace enforcement expenditure were directed toward the pooled budgets.[6] HMT wanted to 'enable trade-offs between pro-active spending which might reduce conflicts, and the spending which would otherwise take place to manage the consequences'. HMG decided that the CPPs could retain access to the Treasury Reserve, not just for unforeseen peacekeeping operations but also for 'unforeseen but collectively agreed conflict prevention' other than peacekeeping.[7] Provision was made at the time for up to 10 per cent of peacekeeping allocations to be spent on CPP programme activities.[8] To back up its strategy of spending to save, HMT provided an additional 100 million pounds over three years to pre-existing budget projections for pooled activities. This was supplemented in 2002 by an additional provision of 20 million for the Africa CPP in Years Two and Three of that budget cycle to 'enable conflict prevention to play a significant part' in support of the Prime Minister's commitments to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

6. Moreover, through the 1990s, the UK had undertaken new treaty commitments to enhance both global and regional capacities for conflict prevention, not least within the framework of the European Union (EU) and the OSCE. These added commitments were additional to the long-standing responsibility of the UK to make a significant contribution to global peace and security as a result of its permanent membership of the UN Security Council (UNSC). The UK was also concerned to remedy, where possible, the weaknesses in the international conflict management system that had been widely regarded as contributing to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and war crimes in Bosnia in 1995.

7. From the outset, the CPP budgets had two elements: programme spending[9] and peacekeeping costs.[10] HMG decided that the CPPs should include spending on peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, excluding only those operations whose scale and volatility would seriously impact on the funds available for other Pool activities.

[6] Interview with senior Treasury official, corroborated by HMT document, 13 July 2000.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] The programme budget is used to fund a range of different activities with national governments, international organisations, regional and sub-regional organisations, and NGOs. Apart from a caveat that the programme budget would not be used to cover administrative costs of HMG personnel, the funds are used flexibly, with decisions being taken on a case-by-case basis whether to fund a proposal.
[10] The peacekeeping budget is used to pay UK contributions to peace support operations mandated by multinational or intergovernmental organisations of which the UK is a member (principally the UN, EU or OSCE). It also covers the costs of deploying UK personnel in both UN and non-UN peace support operations and the UK contribution to international criminal courts. The budget has two elements—'assessed' and 'non-assessed' or 'voluntary' contributions. The assessed contributions element is used to fund UK contributions over which it has no discretion—they are a consequence of its membership of the organisation. The non-assessed element funds activities that the UK has otherwise 'voluntarily' decided to support financially.

The allocations for the CPPs in SR2000 and actual allocations for subsequent years can be seen in Table 1. ACPP peacekeeping costs include a number of training-related activities that are reported under programme costs in the GCPP.

Table 1: SR2000 Estimates and Subsequent Allocations

	2001/2		**2002/3**		**2003/4**	
	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 01)	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 02)	SR2000 Estimate	Allocation (Feb 03)
ACPP[11]						
Peacekeeping[12] (or minor operations)	65	52	60	99	60	86
Programmes	50	45	50	50	50	50
Sub-total ACPP	**115**	**97**	**110**	**149**	**110**	**136**
GCPP[13]						
Peacekeeping (or minor operations)[14]	340	450	380	407	380	378
Programmes	60	55	68	111	78	105
Sub-total GCPP	**400**	**505**	**448**	**518**	**458**	**483**
TOTAL (GCPP +ACPP)	**515**	**602**	**558**	**661**	**568**	**619**

8. Both the ACPP and GCPP include in their programme costs a reserve fund for contingencies. In 2002/3, these reserve funds were £7 million and £10 million respectively. The GCPP also includes in its Programme allocations a Quick Response Fund, set at £5 million in 2002/3.

9. The two Pools were initially financed by transfers of existing budgets and activities from the three participating Ministries. Additional programme funds were also provided by HMT. Based on planned CPP spending in 2003/4, some 20 per cent of the GCPP total and some 30 per cent of the ACPP total were allocated to programmes. The programme spending is divided into country, regional and thematic elements. In the ACPP, more than 60 per cent of country programme spending in 2003/4 allocations was devoted to a single

[11] The source for SR2000 estimates are ACPP, 'Cross-cutting Review: Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa', 2000 (hereafter referred to as Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa. The sources for other data are various *Africa Pool Quarterly Financial Reports, 2001–2004.*

[12] This figure includes both assessed and non-assessed costs.

[13] The sources for SR2000 estimates is the 'Cross-cutting Review: Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa', 2000 (hereafter referred to as Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa. The source for GCPP allocations (peacekeeping and programme) and outturns (programmes) for 2001/2 is FCO, 'GCPP Outturn as at 31 March 2002, Updated 12 June 2002'. The source for allocations for 2002/3 is FCO, 'GCPP 02-03 Outturn as at 31 March 2003' undated. The source for allocations for 2003/4 is GCO, 'Global Conflict Prevention Pool 2003-04: Outturn/Forecast', undated.

[14] These budget allocations and estimates are provided by the FCO UN Department, and are set out in detail in Annex 1. By contrast, the MOD publicly reports 'MOD peacekeeping costs under the UK's cross-cutting initiative on Conflict Prevention' for 2002/3 (estimated outturn), at 1,636 million. 'Estimates of MOD Peacekeeping Costs 2002-03', Table 1.17, Defence Statistics 2003, http://www.dasa.mod.uk/natstats/stats/ukds/2003/chapter1/tab117.html accessed 11 February 2004. There are two main explanations for these apparently incompatible figures. First, the MOD figures include spending on Afghanistan and Operations in Iraq, both of which were excluded from the CPPs because of their status as 'major operations'. Second, the MOD figures only include five operations (Bosnia, Kosovo, Gulf, Afghanistan and Operations in Iraq), and thus exclude the large number of smaller operations (assessed and non-assessed) to which the UK makes a contribution.

country: Sierra Leone. In the case of the GCPP, some 30 per cent of all allocations for country activities was directed to one country: Afghanistan. In the GCPP, the thematic strategies (UN, security sector reform (SSR), small arms and light weapons (SALW), EU, OSCE) have been much more formalised and more prominent than in the ACPP. For example, the UN Strategy has received 10 per cent or more of all GCPP programme costs in the past three years. In the ACPP, thematic strategies have been funded at significantly lower levels relative to the leading country strategies.

10. The CPPs are funds on which the participating Departments can draw in support of a range of conflict prevention policies whose scope is much wider than the activities funded by the CPPs alone. These conflict prevention policies existed before the CPPs were created and have continued to exist independently of the CPPs. It is reasonable to assume from the original decisions and subsequent developments relating to the CPPs that, by pooling resources under new ministerial and inter-departmental management arrangements, HMG was looking for significantly enhanced outcomes in UK conflict prevention work. The creation of the CPPs implied a need for new policy approaches that could produce new policy initiatives with greater strategic impact from the new money allocated and the associated new, tri-departmental management structure.

11. The foundation documents for the CPPs were two cross-cutting reviews on conflict prevention (one for Sub-Saharan Africa and one for 'outside Africa').[15] These were undertaken in connection with HMG's Spending Review in 2000 (SR2000). But the authors of these documents prepared them in relative haste and, as one of the reviews noted, were 'able to address some important issues only superficially'.[16] That review referred to the need for substantially more policy analysis to confirm some of the assumptions underpinning the arguments being made, and to shape the further development of the CPPs, including subsequent evaluation. The areas identified for further work were:

- lessons learned: what tools have worked and which have not? 'In which circumstances has UK intervention made a real difference to events on the ground, and why?' What is the real trade-off between investment in conflict prevention and in conflict management: 'have we got the balance right, and if not, how can it be improved?';
- drawing on such past lessons to provide 'more specific priorities, objectives and performance measures';
- early warning: developing mechanisms for shared assessment and a common analytical framework;
- decision-making machinery;
- forecasting.

12. Work in some of these areas was undertaken. For example, in January 2001 a strategy for conflict prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa was drawn up[17] and a study on the causes of conflict there was published.[18] The former document is a comprehensive statement of

[15] Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa; Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa.
[16] Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa.
[17] 'UK Strategy for Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa', internal document, January 2001.
[18] 'Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa', FCO, DFID, MOD 2001.

what the UK must do in Sub-Saharan Africa to achieve its conflict prevention goals. Its guidance would have been equally applicable, with only minor modifications, to UK conflict prevention policy in other parts of the world. The latter document, on causes of conflict, did not specify more than general areas of policy response (for example strengthening African peacekeeping capacity or addressing economic causes of conflict). It was translated into foreign languages, and officials used it primarily to disseminate information on the ACPP.[19] A recently concluded study on UK peacebuilding policies within the framework of the Utstein Group, for which its four original members[20] prepared their own national surveys, is another part of the additional work foreshadowed in 2000.[21] Guidelines on conflict assessment were published by DFID,[22] and MOD has undertaken significant work on conflict indicators. A substantial body of further policy analysis of the sort foreshadowed by the SR2000 review has also been undertaken in connection with development of country-specific strategies or thematic strategies.

13. DFID established a Conflict Network coordinated out of the unit dealing with the Great Lakes region. The aim was to maintain linkages and manage knowledge over the honeycomb of conflict activities in Africa. This led to the creation of two conflict-related policy units for Africa in the FCO and DFID, and to increased priority given to Africa in the MOD (although with no comparable increase in capacity). DFID established an Africa Conflict Unit (ACU) and the FCO set up a Conflict Prevention Unit (CPU) to be the focal point of the two Pools, as well as to serve other conflict-related functions.

14. The evolution of mechanisms and support structures related to the CPPs has continued in the year since this Evaluation was launched. This has been visible both in respect of processes specific to the CPPs, such as strategy development, and in changes to supporting mechanisms, such as DFID's ACU and FCO's CPU. MOD has reorganised its structures dealing with conflict prevention, principally through changes to its defence diplomacy organisation. There have been advances in work on joint assessment, including for early warning (through a Conflict Prevention Indicator system). The GCPP Steering Group has instituted a Quality Improvement Programme (QIP). The ACPP Steering Group has been instrumental in the appointment to posts of four Regional Conflict Advisers in Sub-Saharan Africa, even though these posts will not be funded by the CPPs. One recent measure, the recruitment by DFID of up to 24 conflict advisers for assignment throughout its global network, has the potential to profoundly shape the joint assessment and joint priority setting procedures the CPPs were created to promote, even though these posts will not be funded by the CPPs.

15. At the same time, other important aspects of the further analysis foreshadowed in the SR2000 review had not been undertaken by the time this Evaluation had commenced. Some foundation work on the costs and relative advantages of using specific conflict

[19] Interviews with officials.

[20] Germany, Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom. The group has since been joined by Canada and Sweden.

[21] See Simon Lawry White, 'Review of UK Government Strategy for Peacebuilding and Synthesis of Lessons Learned from UK Government Funded Peacebuilding Projects 1997-2001' (London, August 2003) and Dan Smith, 'Getting Their Act Together: Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding—Synthesis Report of the Joint Utstein Study of Peacebuilding', Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) (Oslo, 2003).

[22] See DFID, 'Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes', January 2002. The principal authors of this were Jonathan Goodhand (a member of this Evaluation), Tony Vaux and Robert Walker.

prevention tools was commissioned by DFID in late 2003. Work on common analytical frameworks has been undertaken but is still far from complete. Of some note here is the discussion in the Cross-cutting Review on Sub-Saharan Africa of the need to use the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) where possible, supplementing it with a new mechanism not just for collective assessment, but for common policy setting as well.

16. Officials and documentary sources consulted for this Evaluation confirmed the absence to date of a strategic planning or policy document that sets out for the guidance of officials the way in which they were to handle the relationship between HMG's broader conflict prevention policy and the new CPPs. In interviews with officials, the Evaluation Team identified several streams of practice. For some officials, the CPPs had been used by them, largely on their own initiative, mainly as a challenge fund to support worthwhile projects proposed by outside groups. For others, the CPPs came to be regarded as an instrument to deliver better strategic planning in support of conflict prevention. Between these two poles, other considerations had also emerged. For many officials, the CPPs had become a useful tool for mobilising bureaucratic resources and mainstreaming ideas and practices for effective conflict prevention. In Africa, the ACPP has been used to reinforce the horizontal flow of information between Departments, and to fund innovative activities, particularly those relating to security, that could not otherwise have fitted into departmental guidelines. On occasion, the CPPs became a 'raiding fund' for government when other, higher priority demands arose. This has included the need for counter-narcotics work in Afghanistan and counter-terrorism work generally.

17. The GCPP spends a large slice of its programme funding on thematic strategies. In 2003/4 allocations, the amounts for these strategies were: UN 10 million, SALW 9 million, and SSR 5 million. Some of this funding for GCPP thematic strategies flows to ACPP countries or Africa regional initiatives. As far as specific country strategies are concerned, the GCPP spends around one to two million pounds in programme or non-peacekeeping elements, per country or conflict, sometimes less, and in a few exceptional cases, a lot more. For example, in Afghanistan in 2003/4 the allocation for programmes was 15 million, plus 10 million for counter-narcotics work; and for Nepal 6.8 million. For 2003/4, 7 million has been allocated for Iraq. Some GCPP countries have been allocated under 500,000 per year. A full list of GCPP allocations for 2003/4 is included in Annex 1.

18. The ACPP has thematic and regional strategies or activities: support to regional and national peacekeeping capacities, enhancing the capacities of regional organisations, and 'tackling the economic and financial causes of conflict'.[23] The last two thematic areas have received very small allocations to fund technical assistance. The total allocation to regional and thematic activities over the three years (including military assistance) in the ACPP has been £14.3 million, or less than 4 per cent of the total spend. A full list of ACPP allocations for 2003/4 is included in Annex 1. A large slice of ACPP country programme funds is spent on SSR.

[23] This project was intended to pay special attention to the domination of national economies by political factions, the financing of war through the predatory extraction of natural resources, and the pursuit of inappropriate economic policies by HMG or UK supported actors which create incentives to increase conflict. Unlike two other ACPP themes, there is no corresponding GCPP thematic strategy. It was allocated £174,000 in 2002/3. A new approach to this thematic activity is being prepared for Ministerial approval. An important consideration here is the degree to which work is or has been conducted outside the GCPP or ACPP on the same thematic issues.

19. Except for about five or six countries, each CPP spends only very small amounts of money relative to the magnitude of the conflict prevention demands. In Africa, other countries are targeted with less than £1 million per year each on programme expenditure, i.e. outside peacekeeping. In some cases this is complementary to a country-based strategy to address and reduce conflict, but this is not necessarily the case. Between them, the two CPPs fund programme or peacekeeping activities in 80–100 countries, of which 16 are in Africa.

1.2 Terms of Reference

20. The Terms of Reference (ToRs), summarised in Annex 2, identified two purposes for the Evaluation:

- to assess the effectiveness, coherence and (where possible) impact of the CPPs against the Public Service Agreement (PSA) and Service Delivery Agreement (SDA) objectives[24];
- if the Evaluation recommends that the Pools should continue, it should make recommendations on how to revise or reform the Pools' procedures to improve efficiency and enhance impact, including through the refinement of targets and indicators.[25]

21. The PSA and SDA objectives identified by the ToRs as the reference point for the Evaluation were a joint PSA target shared by FCO, MOD and DFID and the SDA objectives associated with this joint PSA target, as well as one SDA objective from the Cabinet Office PSA and one SDA objective from the PSA for HMT. These objectives are listed immediately below:

<u>Joint PSA Target</u>

- Improve effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict, and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution.

<u>SDA Objectives</u>

- To resolve existing violent conflicts and prevent new conflicts in priority countries and regions.
- To address the national and regional causes of conflict by strengthening local conflict management.

[24] A PSA sets broad objectives for a government department. Each PSA contains several objectives, each of which is backed up with targets that will, if attained, demonstrate significant progress by HMG toward achieving the objective. The objectives are usually aspirational, rather than concrete and immediately achievable. The SDAs, which are to be abandoned by HMG, were used to elaborate lower level operational aspects of working towards achievement of the PSA objectives. The particular PSA targets and SDA objectives involved in this study are dealt with in the next paragraph of the report.

[25] The Evaluation Team regards this last requirement concerning recommendations for enhancing SDA targets as no longer applicable because of the decision of HMG in December 2003 to eliminate their use.

- To improve the international community's response to conflict by strengthening UN conflict management through mobilising and supporting coherent bilateral and international action.
- To effectively coordinate work on cross-cutting issues, thereby helping Departments to meet their own PSA objectives.[26]
- To ensure greater value for money (VfM).[27]

22. The ToRs identified five key (sub) objectives to be met in achieving the two main purposes:

- to consider the effectiveness and efficiency of inter-departmental arrangements in the UK and overseas at their various levels;
- to consider the effectiveness of the inter-relationship between peacekeeping initiatives under the pools and other pool programmes;
- to consider the effectiveness of UK efforts to galvanise international and regional partnerships;
- to identify an outline set of performance indicators for CPP operations; and
- to identify baselines and indicators against which progress can be measured, and key sources of data to verify baselines and indicators.

23. The ToRs then elaborated these requirements in eight indicative questions addressing different aspects of the effectiveness of the CPPs for their intended purposes of conflict prevention, or aspects of the efficiency and effectiveness of the bureaucratic arrangements for delivering those outcomes. These eight questions were not discrete or mutually exclusive, since the efficiency and effectiveness of bureaucratic arrangements in Whitehall and overseas could only be judged on the basis of whether, as the direct result of the new arrangements, enhanced conflict prevention outcomes had been achieved in the targeted country, conflict or area of thematic activity. It was proposed in the Inception Report[28] and agreed by the Evaluation Management Committee (EMC) that these eight questions about the CPPs would be addressed under the following four headings:

- CPP effect[29] on preventing new conflicts and containing existing ones;
- CPP effect on international organisations and partnerships;
- CPP influence on inter-departmental collaboration; and the
- implications of the above for management of the CPP financial arrangements.

24. These four questions correspond directly to the five SDA objectives against which the Evaluation was asked to assess the CPPs.

[26] From Cabinet Office PSA.
[27] From HMT PSA.
[28] See Bradford University, Channel Research, PARC & Associated Consultants, 'Evaluation of the UK Conflict Prevention Pools (CPPs): Inception Report', Revised Version, 30 September 2003.
[29] The term used in the Inception Report was 'impact', rather than 'effect'. It subsequently emerged that the term 'effect' better conveyed the limits of the possible given doubts about how 'impact', especially over the longer term, might be assessed.

1.3 Methodology

25. The Evaluation has been conducted in three stages. The first addressed the functioning of the CPPs at the macro[30] level, from the Whitehall perspective, and was a review of processes established by the Pools. The aim was to analyse the internal coherence and functioning logic of the Pools. The second stage involved six case studies to test the performance of the CPPs against five criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact[31] and sustainability). There were four country/region case studies (Sierra Leone, Sudan, Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union) and two thematic studies (SSR and the UN). Together, the six case studies account for around half of total programme spending in the GCPP and the ACPP. The third stage was to compile the synthesis report, drawing together the results from the case studies and testing these and the conclusions and recommendations through a series of further consultations in Whitehall.

26. Case study authors were asked to contrast the UK strategy with a set of policy proposals for conflict prevention goals in the named country/region or thematic activity that have been devised outside HMG. This independently-derived set of policy proposals was used in each case study as a benchmark for consideration of whether HMG had selected an optimum portfolio of activities and whether the components selected were making, or were likely to make, a significant impact on the conflict prevention goals of HMG. Each case study then compared the CPP-funded portfolio of activities and associated strategy documents against this external or independently derived benchmark. The case study authors relied on a common template of inquiry for their investigation. This is reproduced at Annex 4.

27. The benchmarks against which the Evaluation Team has assessed the CPPs in their totality are those that flow from UK policy documents, primarily the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews. Two documents issued in 2001 on Sub-Saharan Africa in response to the establishment of the ACPP and already mentioned above are important in this respect: 'UK Strategy for Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa', and 'Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa'. The former document in particular identified the following key elements for more effective UK conflict prevention polices, and committed the UK to implementing these strands of policy:

- address the complex international, regional and national dimensions and causes of conflict;
- use the UK's influence, particularly within the United Nations, the EU, the Commonwealth, and within the international business and non-governmental organisation (NGO) communities, to mobilise coherent international action to tackle conflict;

[30] The ToRs use the terms 'macro', 'meso' and 'micro' to refer to three levels of analysis. Respectively, these are the Whitehall decision-making level (including embassies), the country or conflict being targeted, and the projects that make up the full suite of UK conflict prevention activities within that country or conflict.
[31] The assessment or measurement of impact is a controversial subject discussed at more length in the body of the report. The Evaluation recognised the considerable methodological difficulties in assessing impact in all its dimensions in the short term.

- tackle those dimensions of conflict that lie in the international sphere—priorities in this area include improving UN conflict management systems, tackling the international economic and financial causes of conflict, and controlling the spread of small arms;
- address the regional dimensions of conflict—priorities in this area include developing regional approaches to conflict resolution and strengthening regional security structures and conflict prevention mechanisms;
- address the problem of weak and collapsed states by encouraging the emergence of inclusive, democratic governments—priorities here are SSR, constitutional and democratic development, and building the capacity of civil society to participate in conflict reduction; and
- seek to find ways of promoting better and more timely measures to prevent conflict before it breaks out.

28. As the discussion in section 1.1 above suggests, the principal benchmark for assessing the performance of the CPPs was going to be the degree to which they could help the UK achieve better conflict prevention and management outcomes. There was an assumption, which this Evaluation tests, that by setting up the CPPs, the UK was pursuing a 'spend to save' strategy that would result eventually in a reduction in the amount of money being spent on peacekeeping, peace enforcement or post-conflict reconstruction. The CPPs were clearly set up to integrate UK assets for conflict prevention. They were intended to make better linkages with key international partners, especially the UN, but also the EU. The UK funds through its contributions to the EU a range of new conflict prevention initiatives and institutions in Brussels, including a 300 person crisis response and conflict management unit established in only 2001 under the authority of the High Representative Javier Solana, and this unit undertakes work of direct relevance to the agenda of CPPs. Officials have therefore an obligation to ensure that the CPPs do not duplicate the work of the EU effort and, where appropriate, to ensure that maximum VfM is obtained through exploitation of synergies.

29. A number of recent reviews and studies on government peacebuilding and conflict prevention, such as the recent studies on the peacebuilding policies of the four governments of the Utstein group, have also been used as a useful benchmark for this Evaluation. A study completed in 2000 and commissioned by the Swedish International Development Agency, one of the bodies most committed to conflict prevention, found that much of its conflict prevention work in the field is designed on the basis of untested assumptions and without a 'high level or extensive degree of strategic planning'.[32] Substantial research undertaken by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD's) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) also suggests that the link between development cooperation and conflict prevention is more complex than most governments have been prepared to recognise.[33]

[32] SIPU International AB, 'Assessment of Lessons Learned from SIDA Support to Conflict Management and Peace Building' (Final Report), SIDA Evaluation 00/37, 2000, www.sida.se.
[33] The work of the informal task force of the DAC is available on the website, www.oecd.org/dac.

30. Some of these studies reveal a powerful institutional preference for 'projectising' rather than 'strategising' conflict prevention. By this, the authors meant reliance on an assumption that the mere existence of a link between a project and conflict prevention outcomes could justify the project's validity, regardless of how it fitted into an overall strategy to prevent large-scale violence. It is of some note that one of the cross-cutting reviews in 2000 explicitly rejected the notion that the CPPs should fund projects simply because they 'bear in some way' on conflict prevention.[34] The Evaluation sought to test the CPPs on this point: have they been used more to 'projectise' activity or have they been used more to make strong linkages between projects or activities; and have they identified outcomes that are high on the priority list of the communities affected by looming conflict or by use of force against them.

31. The ToRs also required the Evaluation to report on gender issues and the situation of children. The value of testing the CPPs on their activities in this area is that doing so provides a window on the degree to which CPP funds are managed against the background of a comprehensive, holistic and culturally sensitive analysis of conflict dynamics and their effects.

1.4 Structure of the Report

32. The next four sections of this report present the findings of the Evaluation. Each of them addresses one of the four Evaluation questions referred to above in respect of both the GCPP and ACPP. For the sake of conciseness, the analysis refers in some places to the CPPs where it has been appropriate to summarise the analysis because it applies equally to both. Where it has not been considered appropriate to view the two pools in the same light, the report makes a clear distinction. The final section of the report, section 6, provides summary findings, and an analysis of these findings with a view to making recommendations for improving the operation of the CPPs. This section addresses the requirement in the ToRs to propose a set of performance indicators for evaluating the CPPs.

33. The following analysis of findings pays considerable attention to the first of the four questions: impact of the establishment of the CPPs on the prevention of new conflicts or the containment or mitigation of existing conflicts. It is only through the lens of the conflict prevention outcomes and impacts that it is possible to judge the effectiveness or efficiency of the CPPs, either in enhancing international arrangements or enhancing inter-departmental arrangements. As a number of senior officials noted to the Evaluation Team, it does not matter whether officials now talk to each other more or differently if the CPPs fail to provide significant new opportunities for more impact on conflict prevention. Equally, the findings on the financial arrangements must flow from an assessment of the conflict prevention outcomes provided by the CPPs.

[34] Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa.

2. EFFECT ON PREVENTING NEW CONFLICTS OR CONTAINING EXISTING ONES

34. This section begins with a discussion of the tests used by the Evaluation to assess the short-term effects of CPP-funded measures, then collates the results from the case studies against each of these tests. The Section then discusses the issue of whether there have been conflicts that the CPPs did not address but might have.

35. The Evaluation has proceeded on the assumption that there are a number of ways to measure the immediate or short term effects[35] of a conflict prevention measure undertaken by a government. These are the normal tools available to government to assess the impact of its diplomacy, and reside essentially in the diplomatic reporting processes and associated intelligence and policy analysis.[36] The Inception Report identified six specific benchmarks or questions that could be used to test the effect or potential effect of the CPPs on preventing new conflicts, or containing or mitigating existing ones:

- relevance and comprehensiveness of the measures[37];
- tightness of targeting individual leaders or groups[38];
- sustainability[39];
- balance between direct and structural measures[40];
- inclusion of measures addressing gender and children;
- coherence and effectiveness, including responsiveness to change,[41] of CPP packages in light of the above.

[35] The Inception Report described 'impact' as 'changes (positive or negative) in the political environment relating to violence [that are] attributable to the interventions, [and] which extend beyond the output of the project'. The assessment or measurement of impact is a controversial subject. It subsequently emerged that the term 'effect' better conveyed the limits of the possible given doubts about how 'impact', especially over the longer term, might be assessed. The Evaluation team and the EMC agreed that there were considerable methodological difficulties in assessing impact in all its dimensions in the short term. In the light of this consideration, the word 'effect' has been used instead.

[36] It is a fundamental principle of diplomacy that the prospects of success in an effort to influence others to do as you want depends on deploying the right mix of two lines of action: the use of one or several very powerful instruments (incentives or threats) that can influence the key decision-makers in another state; and the deployment of a wider range of instruments directed at the more powerful or most active groups where those instruments directly foster a climate of opinion (domestically and internationally) that is supportive of the external actor's goals. Since conflict prevention by a state is in essence a diplomatic policy supported by a variety of levers, including its military and economic power, then this fundamental principle of diplomacy also applies. Effective conflict prevention depends on some mix of persuasive or decisive incentives or threats directed at key decision-makers on the one hand, and on the other, deployment of a wide range of influencing measures directed at the more powerful or more belligerent groups.

[37] Inception Report: 'the extent to which the objectives of policies, strategies and activities of the CPPs are consistent with the PSA/SDAs, and the highest priority needs of conflict prevention or management in the beneficiary countries'; an 'independently-derived sets of policy proposals will be used in each case study as a base-line for consideration of whether HMG has selected an optimum portfolio of activity and whether the components selected are mutually reinforcing to achieve optimum synergy'.

[38] Inception Report: 'For named targets (individuals, groups or institutions) most likely to affect the prospects for conflict prevention or management, what change were the CPP initiatives in that strategy trying to bring about or promote in the behaviour of the targets'.

[39] Inception Report: 'the extent to which HMG, other donors or local actors will be able to perpetuate similar activities'.

[40] Inception Report: 'As the threat of violence increases or actual violence escalates, structural measures—while remaining important—become relatively less so than direct measures'.

[41] Inception Report: 'the extent to which interventions achieve the purpose and goal of the CPP'.

36. The Inception Report also indicated that the Evaluation would ask a bigger question: have the CPPs been active in the right places, or are there conflicts that were left unaddressed by the CPPs that should have been addressed?[42] This question is raised very briefly at the end of section 2.

2.1 Relevance and Comprehensiveness of CPP Packages and Measures

37. The test of relevance is the 'extent to which the objectives of policies, strategies and activities of the CPPs are consistent with the joint PSA target and departmental SDA objectives, and the highest priority needs of conflict prevention or management in the beneficiary countries'. Each case study used an independently-derived set of policy proposals as a benchmark for consideration of whether HMG has selected an optimum portfolio of activity and whether the components selected are mutually reinforcing to achieve optimum synergy. This approach was informed by the lessons-learned literature in the field of conflict prevention, including a recent study undertaken with part UK funding by the International Peace Academy in New York. This study concluded on the basis of a large number of case studies that conflict prevention was least likely to succeed where only a few measures were deployed and where significant causes of conflict were left unaddressed.[43]

38. On the basis of the independently derived sets for benchmarks for assessing relevance and comprehensiveness, Table 2 below offers a necessarily subjective ranking of the case study subjects according to the degree to which their activities are relevant to the highest priority needs identified by the independent benchmarks. The judgments in the Table are of necessity highly simplistic and reasons for these judgements are given in the Table. It must be emphasised that the Table and associated discussion are not providing an assessment of the effectiveness of the CPP package, merely a description of one indicator: its relevance to highest priority needs identified by an external source. There are many reasons beyond the control of officials involved in each CPP package, especially the availability of financial, personnel and analytical resources, why the situation is as described.

39. The GCPP in Georgia funds a wide range of conflict prevention measures: special envoy, grass-roots reconciliation, mediation at the senior officials level, military reform, provision of high level security advisory support, security dialogues, public debate about economic development and conflict, support for international monitors, and support for an international peacekeeping force. The funding of the UK Special Representative, Sir Brian Fall, is one of the few CPP projects in Georgia operating in the high level political sphere. But it serves to overcome the limitations on diplomats accredited to one country in that it provides for high level contact by one senior UK diplomat with the several governments,

[42] Inception Report: 'are there places (sector, country or region) where the CPPs are not now engaged where the UK might be able to make a more effective contribution than in some of the places where they are currently operating? The corollary is as important: are there places (sector, country or region) where the CPPs are now engaged where the UK is not able to make a more effective contribution through the CPP mechanism?'.

[43] Chandra Lekha Sriram, 'Insights from the Cases: Opportunities and Challenges for Preventive Actors' in Chandra Lekha Sriram and Karin Wermester (eds), *From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003) pp 355–56.

particularly Russia, and non-government groups considered as parties to the conflicts. This opportunity is not normally available to the ambassador accredited to one country. The activities of the CPP-funded International Security Advisory Board, in which a retired senior UK military officer is a principal figure, would appear to be able to provide an important channel for influence on the Georgian government in selected areas of military policy. This sort of contact, involving a senior military officer or officers, is normally a high priority activity in conflict prevention work.

Table 2: Ranking by Extent of Relevance and Comprehensiveness of CPP Package for Most Urgent Conflict Prevention Needs in Case Study Subjects

Case Study Target	Relevance of Package	Relevance of Best	Comments
Georgia	High	High	Addressing political, security and economic causes of conflict
UN	Medium to High	High	Package is highly relevant but has not yet paid as much attention to direct influence on certain key UN institutions or to high-level politics of the UN conflict prevention system
Sierra Leone	Medium to High	High	Emphasis on security sector, but lack of attention to political and economic causes
Afghanistan	Medium to High	High	Emphasis on security sector, but lack of attention to political and economic cause
SSR	Medium	High	Orientation of this (new) package is highly appropriate but there is some dilution by low priority programmes and its relevance is affected by lack of strong relationship with most other CPP strategies
Azerbaijan, Armenia	Medium	High	Good engagement at high political level, big new program addressing economic and political causes, but small number of activities funded, especially in security sector
Sudan	Low	High	Package is narrowly oriented to support of the main peace talks, with subsequent engagement dependent on outcome of peace talks
Kyrgyzstan	Low	Low	Minimal engagement, little attention to main sources of conflict beyond important support for analysis and some work on an independent media
Russia	Low	Medium	Not addressing the main violent conflict in the country (Chechnya), CPP-funded engagement with security sector is narrow but gives some access for influence; does not address key power agencies (especially Ministry of Internal Affairs)

40. The GCPP-funded activities under the UN Strategy have been highly relevant to the reform agenda in the UN as it affects conflict prevention, especially as laid out in the reports by the Secretary General, Kofi Annan,[44] and by the former Under-Secretary General, Lakdar Brahimi.[45] The CPP-funded activities have been most relevant to the needs of the UN Secretariat and of key specialised agencies based in New York, especially United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The strategy also supports a number of NGO initiatives with the same aims. It has not paid as much attention to direct influence on key UN institutions or to high level politics of the UN conflict prevention system as it has to indirect influences and middle level mechanisms for UN conflict prevention. The UN Strategy has conducted a number of activities in other countries and places beyond New York, but most of its effort has been targeted on the UN bureaucracies in New York or on peacekeeping-related activities in a limited number of countries.

41. Both the Russia/Former Soviet Union (FSU) and UN cases show that the GCPP has been able to increase its leverage in a number of conflict situations through part funding of vigorous and capable NGOs such as the International Crisis Group (research and advocacy), Conciliation Resources (community reconciliation), or the International Peace Academy (policy advocacy for best practice in conflict prevention). By funding such groups, the GCPP has extended the reach of its relatively small amounts of money well beyond small groups of people often involved in many other GCPP projects. This relationship is very productive for both parties, but contributes to a sense of mobilisation of assets more generally around the issues of conflict prevention. This sense of mobilisation against use of force is in itself a powerful contributing factor to conflict prevention.

42. In Sierra Leone, the strong support by the ACPP for security measures and sector reform has provided a very strong lead in helping stabilise the security situation and put the country's security bodies on the path to reform. This support, together with reintegration of ex-combatants, have been well-directed and appear to be making a significant contribution to avoiding a return to the devastation of the civil war experienced between 1991 and 2000. The ACPP also provided considerable support to the UN peacekeeping mission: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The ACPP has made a contribution to the Special Court for Sierra Leone to help bring to justice those guilty of war crimes and atrocities and to demonstrate that there will be no impunity. The UK is also seeking by such means to produce a net overall effect of strengthening both the Sierra Leone judiciary and the Special Court's relationship with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

43. In Afghanistan, the GCPP supports a range of security sector projects which are important to the 'security first' imperative for effective conflict prevention in Afghanistan. These include support to the National Security Council. The GCPP is targeting factionalism and the drug economy, but it is not addressing incentives for actors in the drug economy. It is also not targeting the sources of insecurity emanating from regional spoilers or Taliban/al Qa'eda fighters. There may be indirect impacts since, for example, tackling drugs has some limited potential to cut off the revenue streams of spoilers, and addressing factionalism

[44] Report of the UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', A/55/985-S/001/574, 7 June 2001.
[45] United Nations, 'Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations' (Brahimi Report), 21 August 2000, A/55/305-S/2000/809.

may lessen the propensity of neighbouring countries to interfere in Afghan affairs. By and large, the GCPP-funded activities in Afghanistan relate more to post-conflict reconstruction, premised on strong support for the security sector of the central government whose remit is confined largely to Kabul, and do not demonstrate a breadth of coverage across regional, economic and political causes of conflict. Prior to September 2001, the GCPP was not conceived of as a response mechanism to the larger crisis in Afghanistan as it was unfolding.

44. The SSR Strategy is one of the newest in the CPP system. It aims to 'to help governments of developing and transition countries fulfil their legitimate security functions through reforms that will make the delivery of security more democratically accountable, as well as more effective and efficient, thereby reducing the potential for both internal and external conflict'. The SSR Strategy has developed an orientation and mechanisms that position it well to achieve its mission. The development of the SSR Policy Brief, the planned good practice repository, the move toward more integrated UK SSR strategies for individual countries, a trend toward joint scoping missions involving the GCPP-funded Defence Advisory Team, the development of the strategic security assessment for use by partner countries, the support of the Global Facilitation Network for mobilisation and spreading of ideas and resources, and the development of training courses for UK practitioners all indicate that the GCPP SSR Strategy is operating close to an independent benchmark for relevance as far as basic intentions are concerned. The SSR Strategy is beginning to address the question of prioritisation, but the Steering Group and Policy Committee are dependent on the GCPP and ACPP Steering Groups in this. In 2002/3, the Defence Advisory Team (DAT) supported activities in some seventeen countries,[46] providing advice and assistance in: governance and civil military relations, defence reviews, organisation, force structures, financial management, procurement and logistics, human resources management and development, and change management. The linkage between the highest priority conflict prevention needs within these countries and the specific type of DAT support has not always been articulated or obvious.

45. In Azerbaijan and Armenia, with regard to the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, the GCPP is funding a range of activities addressing political and economic aspects of the conflict, including measures directed at the government leadership and the parliament. Notable amongst these is the support of Sir Brian Fall, as UK Special Representative for the Southern Caucasus. The GCPP offers large-scale support for a range of NGO activities in the same areas, including grass-roots mobilisation and policy analysis. The GCPP has had less success in conducting or supporting activities in Nagorno-Karabakh itself, but it has funded a range of low-level reconciliation activities there. The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) has received GCPP funding within the 2003/4 budget for local production in Armenia and Azerbaijan of the newspaper Panorama, until now published in Georgia and Abkhazia, in an attempt to address 'demonising' attitudes towards the perceived enemy. There is little support from the GCPP for matters relating to security or judicial issues affecting conflict in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

46. In Sudan, the ACPP has funded four sets of activities jointly with a core group of donors: the Joint Military Commission (JMC), in existence since February 2002; the

[46] Ethiopia, Ghana, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Guyana, Indonesia, Iraq, Latvia, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

Verification Monitoring Team (VMT), in existence since April 2003; the Sudan Secretariat of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); and seminars on peacekeeping. Most of the ACPP spending has been directed at the JMC and VMT. These two international monitoring mechanisms address the main violent conflicts in Sudan but not all of them. The ACPP activities have been relevant to one of the main obstacles to peace in Sudan: lack of trust among the parties and their unwillingness to honour agreements. However, the ACPP-supported measures in Sudan have addressed only a narrow spectrum of the possible responses to the conflicts there. The ACPP has not engaged with a wide range of actors or addressed the causes of the conflict.

47. In Kyrgyzstan, the GCPP has funded only a limited suite of projects, two of which had a regional focus. These were support for an OSCE Police Adviser Project, training on management of inter-ethnic relations, a small number of MOD military diplomacy activities, a series of boundary delimitation workshops, and a project on international watercourse law. These projects did address important sources of conflict, but only at the margins. Most were of low intensity and limited reach.

48. Russia presents a unique profile in relation to the GCPP.[47] HMG is conducting a complex suite of conflict prevention policies and activities, though the overwhelming proportion of these activities is not funded by the GCPP. The GCPP funds most of the defence diplomacy of the UK in Russia under 'baseline elements', but the nearly exclusive focus of the GCPP programme non-baseline elements in Russia has been the Russian Resettlement Programme (RRP). This programme, which was first devised in 1992 and commenced in substance in 1995, is designed to provide retraining opportunities for retiring military officers in order to reduce the levels of disgruntlement in the Russian armed forces and thereby reduce tension in relations between the Russian MOD and the civilian political leadership. There is considerable room for doubt whether it retains this significance, although the RRP does give the UK some benefits in terms of relations with senior Russian officials. The participation in it of even a handful of relatively senior retiring military officers has important effects on the conduct of UK security relations with Russia. The GCPP funds no significant activities in Russia in respect Chechnya, the largest violent conflict in or near Europe.

2.2 Tightness of Targeting Individual Leaders or Groups and Tracking Opinion Change

49. This test, foreshadowed in the Inception Report, related to named targets, individuals, groups or institutions, most likely to affect the prospects for conflict prevention or management. It aimed to uncover what behaviour changes the CPP initiatives were trying to bring about and what results the tracking of their behaviour change showed the CPP-funded measures had brought about. This approach was informed by the literature on

[47] Russia is the wealthiest, most powerful and most developed country where GCPP programme activities are undertaken. It is also the only member of the P5 of the Security Council of the United Nations in which GCPP programme activities are undertaken on any scale. The bulk of GCPP spending around the world is on the deployment of peacekeeping forces, and this is in most circumstances not conceivable in Russia on any scale. These considerations must inevitably shape the way in which GCPP activities can be undertaken in Russia.

lessons-learned in the field of conflict prevention, including reports by two prominent international commissions. The most important conclusion of this literature is that successful conflict prevention depends on a much more explicit commitment to changing the opinions of leaders and key groups, and the political dynamics and power relationships of a given community or political entity, both in the short and longer terms.[48]

50. As the 1997 Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict put it:

> In the Commission's view, mass violence almost invariably results from the deliberately violent response of determined leaders and their groups to a wide range of social, economic, and political conditions that provide the environment for violent conflict, but usually do not independently spawn violence. [49]

The Commission went on to say:

> Mass violence results when leaders see it as the only way to achieve their political objectives, and they are able to mobilize groups to carry out their strategy. Without determined leaders, groups may riot but they do not start systematic, sustained campaigns of violence to achieve their goals; and without mobilized groups, leaders are unable to organize a fight.

51. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) highlighted a related consideration: if 'responsibility' for the outbreak of conflict is to have any meaning, 'it should ultimately reside in specific places and institutions, and with specific people'.[50] It is one corollary of the establishment of the special International Courts and of the International Criminal Court that individual people must in the end bear the responsibility for initiating the actions for which they are being called to account. In this approach, comprehensive conflict prevention efforts must include measures that address the political choices of leaders and their supporters.

52. Thus, a good indicator of the likely effect of conflict prevention measures is the degree to which they are targeted at specific political leaders or key groups and the degree to which they may change or have changed the attitudes to the use of force of those leaders or groups. The case studies in this Evaluation reported on this to the extent that it was possible. Table 3 below offers a view of whether the CPP-funded activities have been targeted at the most important leaders and groups. It must be emphasised that this is not an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the CPP package, merely a description of it against one indicator. However, there is a close link between this indicator of targeting and the comprehensiveness of a CPP package discussed above, but there are important differences discussed below. It should also be borne in mind that just because a particular group is not targeted by the CPP, that other UK measures or measures by other donors might not be targeting that group.

[48] See for example, Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', p 18, and Owen, 'A Clinician's Caution', p 5.
[49] Preventing Deadly Conflict, Chapter Two. See http://www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/rept97/finfr.htm.
[50] ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background,* p 207.

Table 3: Targeting of CPP Package to Most Appropriate Leaders and Groups

Key Groups	GEO	RUS	ARM	AZE	KYR	AFG	SiL	SUD
Ruling party/parties								Y
Government leaders	Y					Y	Y	Y
Military leaders	Y					Y	Y	Y
Middle-ranking military	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Other Security forces						Y	Y	
Parliamentary leaders	Y		Y	Y				
Main Opposition leaders	Y		Y	Y				Y
Main Opposition party/parties	Y		Y	Y				
Former/potential combatants							Y	Y
Community groups	Y		Y	Y	Y			
NGOs	Y		Y	Y	Y			
Think tanks	Y		Y	Y				
Leading journalists			Y	Y	Y			
IDPs								
Religious leaders								
Provincial/regional leaders[51]	Y							
Major external spoiler	Y		Y	Y				
Major external supporters	Y		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y

53. Apart from noting the extent of targeting of key leaders and groups, it is also important to note the degree to which the changes in attitude of these leaders and groups have been tracked. The Evaluation Team did not attempt to assess in any detail the extent of tracking of attitudes of key leaders and groups by HMG for each of the case studies. The main reason for this was lack of access to classified material. But just as importantly, a study of the diplomatic reporting and other HMG sources for each case attempting to identify when and how the attitudes of particular leaders and groups were assessed, was beyond the resources of the Evaluation. Instead, this indicator was assessed in a more generalised way. Through interviews with officials, including some questioning about the extent of monitoring and reporting by the Joint Intelligence Committee, the Defence Intelligence Staff, and other sources, including diplomatic cables and CPP-funded conflict assessments, the Evaluation Team was able to reach some conclusions on the extent of tracking of the attitude change brought about by CPP-funded measures.

54. The result for the intensity of monitoring change in attitudes can be expressed on a scale of 1–5, with one being highest intensity and frequency and five being lowest intensity and frequency. For a country where a conflict assessment has been issued no more frequently than once per year, and where that assessment has not addressed in detail attitude change of key actors toward use of force, this can be regarded as low intensity and frequency. A score of 1 (highest intensity and frequency) would reflect a situation where there was regular monitoring, at least quarterly, of all key groups on attitudes to use of force and where this was fed into a regular assessment, at least quarterly, of conflict dynamics and how to influence them through CPP measures. The monitoring might take

[51] Includes regional or tribal leaders.

several forms: analysis of media reporting, opinion polling, diplomatic reporting, or review of field reporting from international NGOs or other specialist sources.

55. The testimony of officials and the evidence available in the published record showed that for the CPP-funded measures in the case studies, the tracking was best where the scope of activities was narrowest and where it was concentrated on the highest level political leadership. This was the case for Sudan, which could be scored at '1'. After that, the intensity of tracking and its depth dropped off. The main reason was that as the number of CPP measures expanded, there was proportionately less capacity to monitor changes brought about by the CPP measures. For Georgia, there was reliable evidence of tracking of opinion at the high levels of government by HMG officials for one CPP-funded measure (the Special Representative), and by CPP-funded NGOs for tracking of community attitudes for some other CPP-funded measures directed at grass-roots reconciliation. Georgia might be scored at '2' or '3'.

56. Yet for most case studies in the Evaluation there was little evidence that the tracking of opinions of key leaders or groups on use of force or on the conflict dynamics was being fed into decisions on CPP funding in a consistent, detailed and disciplined way. The question here is not whether there is diplomatic or other reporting that addresses in a synthesised way the conflict dynamics. The question is the degree to which this reporting disaggregates the opinion change of key leaders or groups that might be due to the CPP-funded measures. By achieving systematic monitoring it would be easier to define and improve performance at the level of projects.

57. The Evaluation found only occasional evidence that officials were using the CPPs to respond in time frames of much less than a year to changes in the political attitudes of key leaders and groups. One very good example of such responsiveness was the decision in late 2003 to fund election monitors for a new election in Georgia after the forced resignation of President Shevardnadze. The aim of this measure was to shore up confidence among leaders and main parties that a new, well supervised democratic election was the preferred way ahead and that it would be far preferable to any violent alternatives. A related example can be found in the decision to fund the Nuba monitors in Sudan over three months in early 2002. But the general picture was that once decisions to fund projects were taken, there was little tracking of attitude change that was expected to flow from those measures.

2.3 Sustainability

58. The Inception Report defined 'sustainability' as the 'extent to which HMG, other donors or local actors will be able to perpetuate similar activities'. Research into best conflict prevention practices suggests that measures are more likely to be effective where there is a high intensity of support from outside the targeted country for norms against the use of force, where that support is propagated to all levels of the society, and where there is a strong local capacity to propagandise these norms in the specific political context of each conflict. Kofi Annan has noted that external support can only 'facilitate the creation of opportunities' for local actors.[52] US Agency for International Development (USAID) has noted the same important principle in respect of conflict prevention: 'Rather than engage

[52] UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 24.

in a top-down, "downstream" form of institution-building developed and managed by outsiders, the new vision embraces "upstream" implementation by local actors'.[53] William Zartman, in his so-called 'ripe for resolution test',[54] has embodied the proposition that until local actors are convinced of the relative gains from non-violent approaches, then they will be unlikely to adopt them seriously or on a sustained basis.

59. Sustainability defined in these terms is a normal goal of external interventions of any sort. The findings in the case studies on this point are summarised below.

60. In Sierra Leone, the ACPP does not seem to have delivered as effectively in this respect as might be desirable. This may be partly due to a lack of energy, expertise, and resources on the part of the Sierra Leone government, but it also suggests that the UK strategy may not be fully engaging with all of the key actors in Sierra Leone, including civil society. The time frame and benchmarks associated with HMG support for achieving effective local ownership of CPP-measures are not likely to be met. This raises the issue of whether stricter conditionality should be introduced into UK assistance to bring pressure to bear to meet agreed benchmarks.

61. In Sudan, the sustainability of the ACPP effort is limited since it is narrowly targeted to support of the peace process, and little in addition. Some community-based peacebuilding is funded from the humanitarian aid budget. A larger allocation has been set aside in planned aid packages for demobilisation and reconstruction once a peace agreement is reached. The ACPP effort to date has therefore been dependent upon the outcome of the peace effort. Weaknesses in the effort by all donors have not allowed, to date, the launch of a process of structural change on the ground through the unleashing of a new dynamic for peace based on broad community participation and local capacities.

62. In Russia and the FSU countries reviewed, there were clear examples where the GCPP-funded measures had been effective in supporting the development of local capacity. This was most visible in Georgia, where the GCPP indirectly funded local NGOs whose work took them to the point in November 2003 of orchestrating a process of peaceful overthrow of the government in power and the forcing of new elections. Yet several interlocutors noted the lack of consideration of sustainability and lack of appropriate engagement of local stakeholders in many areas of CPP-funded activity in the FSU. There were some instances of a trickle-down effect where local stakeholders were engaged in ways relevant to promoting conflict prevention, but these were not monitored closely by officials.

63. In Afghanistan, where the GCPP measures are relatively recent, one of the main reference points has been the building of local capacities (MOD, National Security Council,

[53] USAID Conference Report, 'The Role of Foreign Assistance in Conflict Prevention', 8 January 2001 Conference, Jointly Sponsored by the US Agency for International Development and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, http://www.usaid.gov/pubs/confprev/.

[54] Phrase coined by William Zartman describing when the parties perceive the costs and prospects of continued confrontation to be more burdensome than the costs and prospects of a settlement. See I. William Zartman, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). If a conflict does not pass the 'ripe for resolution' test, agreements signed or ceasefires brokered are likely to be continuously and seriously breached.

Interim Human Rights Commission, Judicial Reform Commission). Their sustainability has been affected by the inevitably complex and protracted process of stabilisation of political order in the country. As the substantial delay in disbursing the large amount of money allocated for Afghan Army salaries indicates,[55] their sustainability has also been affected by the sequencing of multi-donor contributions. Payment of these salaries was contingent on the implementation of Afghan MOD reforms to the satisfaction of the US government, which is leading in this area.

64. In the thematic strategies reviewed, the issue of sustainability and empowerment of local actors produces different conclusions from those in the country/region case studies. Both the UN itself, and the GCPP UN Strategy aim to enhance the capacities of a wide range of institutional actors over a fairly long time. In the UN Strategy, for example, the UK puts some effort into building the capacity of some other countries in peacekeeping. This is part of a G8 commitment and associated programme, and it is achieving its pay-off. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the work of the GCPP UN Strategy in support of peacekeeping capacities of other states has been complemented by the ACPP. This effort has enhanced not just the capacities of recipients, but also the confidence and willingness of some African states to take the lead in peacekeeping activities in their own region. However, the demand is far greater than the supply and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. (See discussion in section 3 below on CPP effect on international arrangements for a comparison between UK efforts and that of others.) In other areas funded by the UN Strategy, such as the work of NGOs and think tanks, it would be unrealistic to expect projects to continue without ongoing UK funding. Private charitable foundations—a traditional funding source for organisations like the International Peace Academy—are spending less and less on security issues, and the UK is too big a funding source for alternatives to be easily found. Until about two years ago, HMG often preferred to be the sole funder of projects in its conflict-related institutional reform projects in the UN institutions, thus leading to more dependency than necessary. The emphasis has more recently been on expanding collaborative funding.

65. The SSR Strategy is relatively new and has set itself the goal of enhancing the capacities of local actors. The SRR Strategy is well-positioned to achieve significant gains in this area, but has as yet not penetrated the work of the country/regional strategies on the sort of sustained basis that would be necessary to achieve significant transfer of capacity to local actors.

66. In summary, the CPPs expose themselves as requiring effective implementation and sustained follow-through. For example, the appointment of a Special Representative for the Southern Caucasus, funded from the CPPs, probably implies that the post should be provided with appropriate support. The accompanying appointment of a new Third Secretary post in the Embassy in Tblisi, not funded by the GCPP, is an indication of one type of additional commitment that was provided for. But for a Special Representative to be successful, there is an associated need for considerable analytical resources. It appears that the GCPP has not provided significant additional analytical resources to support the Special Representative's work. Moreover, as the work of the Special Representative begins

[55] A total of US$7.5 million was disbursed to the UN Trust Fund for army salaries out of US$15 million allocated.

to achieve its desired effect, there may well be a growing call on resources. No specific provision has been made within the GCPP for that, nor any consideration given to allocating to the Special Representative budget authority for significant new activities. They could be funded from the GCPP Reserve but there is little indication that the GCPP or ACPP uses 'life cycle cost'[56] management for such activities.

2.4 Balance between Structural and Direct Measures Relative to Phase of Conflict

67. There are two possible sets of conflict prevention policies. *Structural measures* are long-term in nature and address the underlying or root causes[57] of a particular conflict. They can include democratisation, development assistance, and rule of law programmes. *Direct measures*[58] are those intended to have a short to medium term effect on the political choices of actors in a particular conflict, and can include such things as special diplomatic measures, preventive deployment, or military threats. The two domains are not mutually exclusive, but the main area of overlap is in the symbolic or psychological effect that the launch of a structural, long-term measure might have on the short-term intentions and attitudes of key leaders or groups. The SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews and subsequent guidelines specifically required the CPPs to fund measures likely to have a direct influence on preventing conflict. This distinction was never defined, beyond excluding support for such things as governance and human rights measures.

68. Both sets of measures are in principle important for conflict prevention. As the threat of violence increases or actual violence escalates, structural measures—while remaining important—become relatively less so than direct measures. The direct/structural dichotomy is one of the primary means for in-country prioritisation of conflict prevention measures. If an early change to a political situation threatening conflict is needed, then this implies that by definition only direct measures, possibly backed up by promises of support for structural reforms, can lead to such a result.

69. The CPPs have been most active and spend most of their money in addressing structural causes of conflict through peacebuilding, medium to long term strategies for addressing root causes of conflict, and in targeting change in long-term institutional arrangements, primarily in the security sector, in partner countries. Case studies conducted for this Evaluation show vigorous engagement across a comprehensive range of structural prevention activities, demonstrating important contributions in the area of peacebuilding. The GCPP has explicitly identified peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction as its highest priorities.[59]

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[56] That is an estimate of all of the costs over the life of the project adjusted for a variety of risk parameters.
[57] These are identified variously in different sources. Kofi Annan identified five in his June 2001 report to the Security Council on conflict prevention: inequity; inequality; injustice; lack of representative government; and insecurity. See UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 24. The Carnegie Commission on Deadly Conflict identified security, prosperity and justice as the three core conditions that need to be met to prevent conflict, and noted that these needed to be provided in a political context that involves peaceful settlement of disputes and satisfaction of people's basic social, cultural and humanitarian needs. See Preventing Deadly Conflict, p xxviii.
[58] 'Operational' is another useful term used for 'direct or non-structural conflict prevention. See Preventing Deadly Conflict, p 37.
[59] DFID, FCO, MOD, 'The Global Conflict Prevention Pool', 2003, p 8.

70. From the evidence collected for the case studies, the CPPs have not been so active in supporting direct measures or 'preventive actions' such as special envoys, preventive deployments, support for a politically sensitive election, and supporting independent journalists.[60] When the CPPs have entered the domain of preventive action, the results, such as those achieved by the appointment of the UK Special Representative in Georgia, appear to have demonstrated both the virtue of doing so and the ease of using the CPPs to do it. In Africa, HMG has also used special representatives (Great Lakes, Sudan) and though not funded from the ACPP they have been able to access ACPP resources for timely and flexible measures. Within one month of major donors agreeing to set up the Joint Monitoring Commission in Sudan, the UK was able to pledge its financial support from ACPP funds.

71. In Georgia, there have been many examples of important preventive action in political, security, economic and social domains of policy, such as the appointment of a Special Representative and financial support for the OSCE observer activity. The boundary between the CPPs and non-CPP direct HMG measures in conflict prevention is blurred. But the prominence of preventive actions in Georgia and their reach across political, security, social and economic domains, contrasts strongly with their absence in some of the other countries covered by both the GCPP and ACPP. Even within a single regional strategy, the Russia and FSU Strategy, there has been some inconsistency in consideration of use of similar direct measures or preventive actions. The pattern is uneven. In some strategies, like Indonesia, Nepal and Sri Lanka, where conflict levels have been higher in recent years, the GCPP has paid considerable attention to prevention actions, such as mediation and reconciliation. The question that this diverse set of practices raises is why the CPPs do not fund some measures in certain conflicts where they are judged by external observers or stakeholders to be important, yet they do fund them in other cases.

72. According to many officials interviewed for the case studies and documents reviewed, there have been few occasions when the relative virtue of funding direct measures, as opposed to structural measures, has been discussed in the process of in-country prioritisation. There appears to have been a relative lack of strategising over which activities are more likely to have the highest impact on conflict prevention within a short to medium term time frame. It is difficult to generalise across the GCPP and ACPP. One view put to the Evaluation was that a distinction should be made in the case of Africa. This view held that there was a greater preference for direct measures, such as peacekeeping missions and mediation, in the ACPP relative to the GCPP, while the development assistance budget is used to deal more with structural issues. However, this view is somewhat puzzling given the overwhelming share of ACPP resources devoted to SSR of one sort or another.

2.5 Inclusion of Measures Addressing Gender and Children

73. As mentioned in section 1, the TORs required the Evaluation to report on the extent to which the CPPs address gender and children issues. This Report has already noted above the value of doing so to provide at least one indicator of the degree to which CPP funds are managed against the background of a comprehensive, holistic and culturally

[60] In some countries (such as Nepal, Sri Lanka and Indonesia), the CPPs devote much more money to preventive actions as a share of total spend than in others.

sensitive analysis of conflict dynamics and their effects. It is of course the case that communities as a whole should be spared the vagaries of conflict, but if a suite of measures does not address the special needs of women and children in conflict, there is room to believe that the process of devising the suite of measures may not have taken into account all of the needs on a first principles basis.[61]

74. The UN strategy provides support on gender issues on two fronts. The first is a multiyear Women Peace and Security Programme with UNIFEM, which seeks to strengthen approaches to protection and assistance for women affected by conflict, as well as to support women's roles in conflict prevention, resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding. The second involves the development of a strategy with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to mainstream gender throughout peacekeeping operations, including through integration of gender issues in training of peacekeepers. In Afghanistan, the GCPP-funded Interim Human Rights Commission includes in its wide-ranging brief the need to enhance the participation of women in the institutional and political processes, as well as to ensure that the Constitution, legal reform process and the justice system are gender sensitive. In Sierra Leone, the ACPP has not funded significant gender-related programmes.[62] In Sudan, the ACPP has also not funded gender sensitive projects even though the UK has funded significant projects in this area in its bilateral development assistance.[63] The Russia and FSU Strategy and the SSR Strategy have also not funded significant gender projects.

75. None of the CPP country case studies identified the provision of funds for significant projects specifically related to children. In Sudan, the bilateral UK development assistance programme addresses the special needs of children[64] though there is no significant funding for demobilisation of child soldiers, an area of high need where the UN and USAID have been active.

[61] By focusing on restraining violence against non-combatants, on limiting military deployments and visiting outlying communities, foreign intervention will have the most impact on the urgent needs of women and children. There is, of course, an urgent need to reverse the loss of status and continued detrimental traditional practices. However, Save the Children and other organisations are addressing these issues through the use of humanitarian aid funding. Nonetheless, studies have shown that child and gender-focused programming will first need to address the needs of the communities before reaching the beneficiaries (because of the entitlement systems and the importance of complex modes of exchange in social organisation). Limiting and possibly halting the spread of war must be seen as the foremost contribution.

[62] In early January 2003, Human Rights Watch released a report that analysed the widespread and systematic use of rape and other sexual violence in every region of Sierra Leone by the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF), as well as other rebel, government and international peacekeeping forces during the 10-year civil war. The report maintained that the DDR process in Sierra Leone had 'completely overlooked' the protection of women and children. HRW stated that no clear policy or procedural guidelines exist in regard to meeting the needs of women and young girls. However, it should be noted that Human Rights Watch highlighted the UK's efforts to establish a nation-wide system of Family Support Units to deal with cases of sexual and domestic assault. Under the programme, female police officers are employed to interview female victims, while male colleagues interview possible witnesses and suspects. But, at the time of writing, too few female officers have been recruited.

[63] £500,000 to Save the Children for tracing and reunification of abducted women and children; £220,000 support for scholarships programmes, particularly for women.

[64] £300,000 support to UNICEF for schools rehabilitation and teacher training in the Nuba Mountains, and the programme reference in the preceding footnote on tracing abducted women and children.

2.6 Relevance, Coherence and Effectiveness: Summary

76. One of the SDA objectives laid out in the joint conflict prevention PSA target is: 'to resolve existing violent conflicts and prevent new conflicts in priority countries and regions'. This section draws together the conclusions from preceding sections on the specific case studies to make some general observations about the relevance, coherence and effectiveness of CPP-funded measures from the point of view of their contribution to resolving or mitigating existing conflicts or preventing new ones.

77. Georgia is a case that illustrates well the potential coherence and effectiveness of CPP-funded packages. In that country, the GCPP funds a suite of conflict prevention activities that target most key leaders and groups and which are having positive impacts on some dimensions of the conflict dynamics. One of the principal features of the increased impact of the GCPP in Georgia, as elsewhere, has been its ability to obtain extra leverage through funding of other actors, either NGOs or international agencies. This funding deploys human resources to conflict prevention in a way that promotes mobilisation of wider resources, especially ones based in the affected communities, to the task of preventing conflict.

78. In Sierra Leone, the very close attention by the Africa CPP to the security sector, a set of policies that complements UK support policies in other areas, has provided a very strong lead in helping to stabilise the security situation and to start the country's security bodies on the path to reform. The activities conducted to support army and police reform, together with reintegration of ex-combatants, have been well-directed and appear to be making a significant contribution to avoiding a return to the devastation of the period of civil war that was experienced between 1991 and 2000.

79. The SSR Strategy is operating close to international benchmarks for relevance as far as basic intentions are concerned. The GCPP-funded review of the Sierra Leone SSR program in mid-2002 concluded that it was an excellent example of how a thematic strategy can be brought to bear on a specific country or conflict. The UN Strategy is making important contributions to promoting the 'culture of prevention' in the UN system that Kofi Annan called for in his 2001 report to the UN on this subject.

80. *The CPPs have funded UK contributions to conflict prevention measures and peacekeeping operations in a large number of locations around the world, and these operations, taken as a whole, have made a tangible contribution to containing conflict* (Finding #1).

81. The Evaluation found a diversity of practice and ideas about where the CPPs should sit relative to other UK conflict prevention policy. Broadly speaking, there were three variants of CPP engagement. First, in Georgia, the GCPP had been able to deliver a comprehensive conflict prevention package that positioned the UK with entry points for influence in most of the main leadership groups, institutions and communities at relatively low cost. Second, in Sierra Leone, the ACPP delivered a much more costly package but one addressed to a narrower set of targets, mostly in the essential area of SSR. The GCPP had taken a similar approach in Afghanistan. Unlike the Georgia case, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan

were both cases where the country had been ravaged by decades of civil war and where the international community was delivering much larger amounts of assistance. A third variant was where the CPPs were funding just a small number of projects or part-funding highly strategic initiatives by the international community, often in the borderline between civil and security measures.

82. In some of the case studies, the Evaluation found a mismatch between the small amount of financial resources available for the CPPs and the ambitious objectives that the cross-cutting reviews held out for preventing conflict or reducing its scope in ways that might impact on the cost to the UK of peacekeeping. It was noted above that a large share of country programme spending in 2003/4 allocations was devoted to a single country in each CPP. After that slice is taken out, and thematic strategies are funded, the share of CPP non-peacekeeping programme funds allocated to other types of non-peacekeeping activities is quite low.[65] For many conflict situations, the CPPs' main function had become that of a seed fund or a mobiliser of action by others, mostly local actors. Afghanistan and Sierra Leone, where comparatively large amounts of CPP money are spent, are exceptions.

83. In many cases, the ACPP has not engaged with as wide a range of actors or addressed as many of the causes of the conflict as in Sierra Leone. Funding for programmes in most countries other than Sierra Leone, once the peacekeeping related expenditures (discretionary or not) are set aside, remains quite small, not exceeding £1 million. This highlights the importance of the DFID country assistance programmes in conflict prevention, where governance and humanitarian assistance may play an important role. This has the effect of moving the centre of gravity for policy making away from the ACPP Steering Group in favour of broader poverty alleviation priorities in each country.

84. The CPPs have been successful as a seed fund or mobiliser for delivery of individual projects. The Evaluation found many examples of projects that have been effective in reaching the objectives that have been set for them, and in many cases these projects had benefited either in design or delivery from the establishment of the CPPs. For example, in Sudan the ACPP-financed Joint Military Commission has been responsible for monitoring the phased implementation of a peace process, with significant progress having already been made in reducing casualties. In the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, GCPP activities, mainly the support of international NGO work on community reconciliation or collaboration, are slowly but surely beginning to open cracks in the seemingly implacable antipathy between the two sides. The cumulative impact of the GCPP projects under the UN strategy has contributed to making the UN more responsive to the political environment in conflict-related situations. The SSR Strategy has helped the UK maintain its leading role in the international community on SSR issues, in particular through the innovative activities of the Defence Advisory Team. The SSR Strategy is also playing an important role in promoting capacity building through networking in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

85. *In the case studies and other investigations, the Evaluation did not find a consistent set of ideas on the ways in which the GCPP or the ACPP can be used to have the maximum*

[65] Size of spend does not necessarily indicate by itself its effectiveness for conflict prevention, but as discussed later in the report, a few hundred thousand pounds targeted at just one or two groups is in most cases not going to have much impact on conflict dynamics unless it is part of a much bigger international effort.

effects for the lowest cost on preventing particular types of conflicts (Finding #2). More than a few officials believed the approach in both the GCPP and the ACPP to what measures work best in certain circumstances was either lacking transparency, inadequately articulated or simply ad hoc. In some cases, according to certain officials, the decision to fund certain measures was often made at a high political level with only minimal articulation of how they conformed to an agreed conflict prevention strategy.

86. Three questions are raised by these findings. First, what is the appropriate balance within the CPPs between aiming for positions of influence across the target society through a comprehensive package on the one hand, and on the other, concentration of resources more narrowly but nonetheless strategically on activities like security sector or peace agreements? Second, how can the government ensure that CPP measures are effectively framed as part of an articulated and integrated strategy, including non-CPP measures, for achieving certain outcomes? Third, do significantly more resources need to be devoted to training and education opportunities in the field of conflict prevention in order to provide officials with the tools needed to make these difficult judgements? The evaluation concludes that, in the absence of systems to monitor outcomes and re-assess strategic effects of CPP-funded measures, there can be no quality reference point to answer these questions.

87. The prevention of conflict depends on a range of factors, most of which are well beyond the reach of HMG. These include the local actors in the conflict, and the interventions of other major powers. Moreover, as only one component in UK conflict prevention policy, often a small component, the outcomes of CPP-funded measures also depend on the effectiveness of the UK international policy in other realms. If HMG wants to be able to assess effectiveness and improve CPP performance, current systems for tracking and reviewing decision-making are probably inadequate. CPP achievements to date in specific conflicts have depended more on the qualities of the personnel involved, and on the amount of time they can give the task than on any system that has flowed from the establishment of the CPPs.

2.7 Possible Omissions from CPP Coverage: What are the Limits of CPP Coverage?

88. In establishing the CPPs, Ministers had no expectation that the Pools would fund activities in every conflict. For example, in Africa, the ACPP has not always funded significant measures in countries where the USA or France has been more active (such as Liberia). In Sudan, the ACPP has concentrated on the main conflict between the government and SPLM, and not addressed itself to a smaller conflict in the Darfur region. The GCPP was not deployed to support prevention policies for two conflicts outside Sub-Saharan Africa where large scale combat eventually broke out: Afghanistan, and Iraq. Similarly, the GCPP has not been used to fund projects related to the war in Chechnya even though the 2001 ‘Russia and FSU Strategy’ identified this as a priority. Even taking into account the central propositions that HMG usually only has limited impact on external conflicts, that local actors bear primary responsibility, and that the CPPs does not constitute all of the UK conflict prevention efforts, it is important to question whether the GCPP’s operations in the latter cases were even expected to address these conflicts. The exact nature of the intended link between the GCPP and prevention of such conflicts has not yet been made plain by HMG.

3. EFFECT ON INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

89. When the CPPs were established, the Ministers involved attached great important to the potential of the new mechanisms to mobilise other international actors and thereby magnify the impact of the CPP spending.[66] It is of considerable importance to the Government that it is able to spread the financial burden of conflict prevention to countries that are certainly able to pay. Effectiveness in conflict prevention is highly dependent on international cooperation.

90. The results from the six case studies indicate that HMG has had a generally positive record in coordinating its conflict-related polices with international partners. In some specific conflicts, there have been examples of effective CPP promotion of better international arrangements and good coordination with partners and allies. Georgia, Afghanistan and Sudan are three instances where the UK is working very well with a number of international partners to promote better-coordinated responses. The UN Strategy has been particularly important in fostering improvements in UN capacities in New York and in peacekeeping in the field. The CPPs are setting the pace internationally in respect of small arms controls and SSR.

91. The appointment of a UK Special Representative for Georgia, funded by the CPP, is almost certainly having a very strong positive effect on coordination of external actors interested in conflict resolution in Georgia. By contrast, on the ground in Georgia, almost all interlocutors attested to extremely poor coordination among international donors, though there were important exceptions to this, and the UK embassy there was routinely praised as being a leader in consultation with counterparts. An international coordination group has been set up in advance of parliamentary elections in Georgia, and the OSCE office is playing a good coordinating role in respect of South Ossetia. The CPP has almost no discrete relationship with the coordinating activities of these groups. The EU mission in Georgia, arguably one organisation with good potential leverage over Russian policy in Georgia, is widely judged by observers in Georgia to be engaged on priorities apart from conflict prevention, even though the EU has appointed a Special Representative for Georgia who works directly to EU headquarters in Brussels.

92. In Russia, the main positive impact of CPP activities on international arrangements has been the fostering of Europe-wide, common approaches to security problems, especially through support of the OSCE assessed and non-assessed peacekeeping and a range of multilateral military activities, such as international security seminars or multinational military education activities. There has also been some support for enhancing Russian observance of humanitarian law and Russian participation in UN peacekeeping. On the negative side of the ledger, the lack of CPP and overall UK attention in public to the grave breaches of international law in Chechnya, and the relative neglect of the humanitarian crisis, almost certainly undermine much, if not all, of any positive gains for international order from the limited amount on other CPP activities in Russia.

93. In Afghanistan, GCPP funds are being disbursed on projects that have been closely coordinated with other major donors. But even though the UK is seen as an important

[66] Interviews with officials

actor in Afghanistan both in international and Afghan government circles, the GCPP is not seen to be a significant part of the influencing process. For the most part, the GCPP acts as a funding mechanism rather than a mobilizing or policy influencing mechanism. The GCPP is not seen by HMG officials as an instrument for influencing regional players.

94. In Sudan, the ACPP activities are part of an internationally supported peace process, following the White House inspired Danforth Initiative. This has been followed up by close consultations between the USA, UK and Norway, with the backing of a broader group of nations (Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, Holland and Denmark). British funding is the second largest contribution to both operations after that of the US. It should be pointed out that the Memorandum of Understanding on the VMT was mostly a UK initiative, even if it came in the wake of the revived peace process triggered by the visit of the US Special Envoy.

95. A good balance has been achieved in the two operations between mobilising a significant number of donor countries while preserving the streamlined effectiveness of the mechanism. In both operations the US and UK were the first to make contributions, joined by Switzerland and Norway in the case of the JMC. The ability to make financial decisions quickly for what are hybrid military/civilian programmes has both set the UK apart, and given it a leadership role, openly acknowledged by other donors.

96. In Sierra Leone, the UK's main partner in terms of conflict prevention has been the UN. The UK has cooperated extensively with the UN in: peacekeeping/security; policing matters; on the Special Court; and on disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR). However, whether the ACPP has added value to this collaboration is difficult to determine. Cooperation with UNAMSIL pre-dated the ACPP and may well have followed similar lines regardless of the ACPP. Further, there does not seem to have been an attempt in ACCP programming specifically addressed to further develop cooperation with partners such as the UN. Rather, cooperation has been a feature of normal day to day business.

97. However, the activities undertaken under the ACPP in Sierra Leone do seem to have strengthened UN interest in conflict resolution and peacekeeping there. The UK presence in 2001 did make a major contribution in permitting the UN mission to consolidate the peace and to push ahead with post-conflict peacebuilding. By taking on support for reform of the Sierra Leone army, the ACPP has assisted in creating a force that can operate alongside UNAMSIL peacekeepers in terms of internal and external security. The ACPP will also have a vital role with the withdrawal of UNAMSIL at the end of 2004 in assisting the Government of Sierra Leone to maintain security and peace. It is also understood that the International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT) has played an important role in advising UNAMSIL on security matters.

98. At the thematic or regional level, the ACPP and some of the GCPP thematic strategies have promoted a better focus for efforts to mobilise other international actors. The UN Strategy has a global reach. For example, as the Foreign Secretary noted in September 2003, the UN Strategy has funded:

- a series of civil/military peacekeeping exercises in Buenos Aires, Bangkok and Dakar, with plans for a further exercise in Bangladesh within this financial year;

- seminars on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict and the Brahimi Report;
- UK/India and UK/Pakistan peacekeeping bilaterals;
- development of a UK peacekeeping website (www.peacekeeping.co.uk);
- preparation of a UN handbook on multi-dimensional operations and projects, designed to raise awareness of issues affecting women when UN operations are deployed; and
- design of a logistics project for an improved warehouse management system at the UN logistics base in Brindisi.

99. Enhancing international capacities has been a dominant purpose of other GCPP thematic strategies addressing the EU, OSCE, small arms, and SSR. The work of the EU and OSCE Strategies is discussed later in this section.

100. In respect of Sub-Saharan Africa, the UK committed itself in November 2002 to support the development of a long-term plan to build the conflict management capacity in Africa, and specifically, support an effective African peacekeeping force by 2010.[67] On 7–8 December 2002, the G8 Personal Representatives for Africa met in Accra, for further implementation negotiations on the Africa Action Plan (AAP) that included senior officials from the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre. Participants agreed to .the development of a joint AU/NEPAD/G8/UN peace support operations capacity development program. The FCO web-site notes that the UK has also committed itself to working with the UN, the US, and within the EU to develop an agreed programme of action to support and enhance Africa's peacekeeping capacity.[68]

101. The goals of enhancing African peacekeeping have been translated into support for the regional peacekeeping centres and training of military personnel. The British Armed Forces are also involved in wide range of programs within Africa itself that involve the direct training of African peacekeeping troops by the UK military for current and future peacekeeping operations. These include the British Military Advisory and Training Teams (BMATT) that since the late 1990s have been provided with a new mandate to provide regional training for African peacekeepers. Over £10 million has been spent by the ACPP on various African Union (AU)/Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peacekeeping operations in Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, in the early phase, and Liberia.[69] According to senior officials of DFID, this UK support of peacekeeping capacities and operations of African states and organisations would not have been possible without the ACPP.

102. The ACPP also funds projects under the rubric of 'Strengthening Regional Organisations'. The most strategic of these is working with the AU's Conflict Management

[67] FCO and DFID, 'G8 Africa Action Plan: Towards the 2003 Summit', November 2002, www.fco.gov.uk/Files/kfile/G8africaactionplan.pdf.
[68] FCO, 'Foreign Policy: Regional: Policy on Africa: The UK Conflict Prevention Initiative for Africa', www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1017756005037 accessed 19 January 2004. The posting has been there at least since November 2002.
[69] Information supplied by DFID.

Centre which will provide policy analysis for the AU's peace and security machinery.[70] The UK has provided over £1 million, including funding from before the CPPs came into being. The ACPP also funds an ACCORD Preventive Action Programme looking at quite a wide range of peacebuilding and conflict prevention issues work in a few African countries, including Angola and Malawi. A third project under this rubric is a project on African Civil Military Relations which tends to focus on the fringes of the SSR/Civil Society/academic interface.

103. In spite of these clear HMG achievements for the CPP-funded measures in promoting coordinated international responses to conflict problems at thematic and country levels, there are some important comments to be made about the role of the CPPs in this area. As noted, many of the activities have not depended on any CPP mechanism for their genesis. They either existed before and have been continued since, or the measures were devised by officials not closely involved in the CPP country strategies and simply funded from the CPPs. But more importantly, the norm in the small number of country case studies reviewed by the Evaluation was that the mobilisation of other international actors behind a comprehensive conflict prevention strategy was not seen by most officials interviewed as a function of the CPPs when the Evaluation Team raised the issue with them. Few of the case study conflict strategies identify synergistic cooperation with other states or key inter-governmental organisations like the EU, because few map the contributions of other actors in any detail. This consideration of other actors occurs more consistently at the project level. For example, in the bidding process for individual projects, it is a requirement to identify how the project dovetails with the work of other donors.

104. The Evaluation team found clear signs that the intent of Ministers to see the CPPs produce better coordination with major international partners in synergistic responses to specific conflicts has not, over time, been communicated to officials as they became involved in CPP work for the first time. We found little evidence of officials seeking out ways of using CPP money in this way. Most CPP-funded programmes in specific conflict situations, as opposed to thematic measures, have a distinctly bilateral flavour to them. This message about the purpose of the CPPs appears to have faded. And as mentioned above, many officials interviewed for the Evaluation did not see this as a goal for the CPPs.

105. The fate within the GCPP of both the EU and OSCE Strategies is relevant to this discussion. As noted in the first section of this report, the UK has committed itself to a significant enhancement of the capabilities for conflict prevention of both the EU and the OSCE. But having established formal Strategies within the GCPP for this purpose, both are now to all intents and purposes moribund after only 2–3 years. The OSCE has been 'mainstreamed' and the EU Strategy is inactive. The disjuncture between UK conflict prevention goals for these two European institutions and the original hopes of Ministers for these strategies is stark.

106. Debate about the fate of these strategies might seem somewhat academic, but it does have a potentially significant impact on cost and efficiency, both at home and in terms of achieving conflict prevention outcomes. Many officials interviewed for the country/

[70] Information supplied by DFID.

region case studies had no knowledge at all of the early warning and conflict analysis potential and activities of these two organisations, and few had any detailed knowledge of the rapid evolution of EU conflict prevention policies for their target countries. For example, the EU has built up an early warning and conflict assessment capability addressing a number of the target conflicts covered by the CPPs. Before the year 2000, there was virtually no intelligence cooperation within the EU institutions in the fields of foreign and security policy and defence. By 2003, a system for such cooperation had not only been designed and the design endorsed by all the principal stakeholders, but a brand-new multinational and multi-service intelligence staff was also set up, running and producing intelligence for its entire range of customers.[71] A Joint Situation Centre (SITCEN) was established in 2003 to provide a joint assessment service to Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)/European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) customers.[72] By January 2002, the intelligence division had given its first 'early-warning hotspots' presentation and also, together with the Policy Unit in the office of the EU High Representative, Javier Solana, jointly drafted the first global overview watch list paper for agreement by the EU's politico-military structure. Yet in the case studies reviewed for the Evaluation and in discussion with officials about the development of UK conflict assessments and early warning systems for the CPPs, there was little demonstrated evidence that officials knew much about the EU systems or saw any value in comparing notes to identify a division of responsibility or draw on the EU's early warning product.

107. There are quite sound reasons why these strategies have stalled in the GCPP. One is that there is plenty of money in Brussels for conflict prevention activities, so the GCPP, in so far as it is only a fund, has little to offer Brussels. Other reasons cited include the lack of identifiable partners in DFID for the OSCE Strategy. If the GCPP is to maximise UK leverage in these two European institutions, then the GCPP as a source of ideas may well have something to offer through a continuation of these two thematic strategies. An alternative view could be that UK conflict prevention interests in these two institutions are well enough handled through other mechanisms of UK foreign and security policy.

108. In summary, the results from the six case studies indicate that the CPPs have had a generally positive record in this area, in certain circumstances. However, the larger share of UK collaborative action and coordination for conflict prevention really takes place independently of the CPPs. For example, the Africa Action Plan released by HMG in 2003 reflects the active collaboration and coordination that exists within the G8 for addressing conflict but the development and monitoring of the Action Plan does not depend primarily on the ACPP as a mechanism.[73] Similarly, the GCPP spending in Afghanistan has been well coordinated with other donors and the transitional government of Afghanistan, but the complex and intense coordination process has not depended on the GCPP as a mechanism for its effectiveness. It is worth noting though that in some cases, officials responsible for approving CPP measures took little direct account of EU conflict prevention policy even though HMG is a major provider of funds to EU conflict prevention policy.

[71] Graham Messervy-Whiting, *Global Europe in Action,* speaking notes for Foreign Policy Centre/British Council/Open Society Institute Conference, Goethe-Institut, London, 3 November 2003. The authors would like to thank Mr Messervy-Whiting for making these notes available.
[72] Ibid. Messervy-Whiting is a former British military officer who was the first Chief of Staff of the EU Military Staff.
[73] DFID, 'Africa Action Plan: UK Progress Report', May 2003, http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2003/dfid-afr-30may.pdf.

109. Thus, in practice the CPPs do not appear to have been used to directly articulate better international arrangements for conflict prevention through the CPP country programmes. Few officials saw this as a priority mission of the CPPs. This assessment about the use of the CPPs does not reflect at all the range of HMG activities pursued outside the framework of the CPPs to coordinate international action in support of conflict prevention. In many cases, these efforts are well ahead of those of other states. The most important effect of the CPPs on international partners may be an indirect one. Many interlocutors outside HMG reported that the enhanced profile that the existence of the CPPs has given to the cause of conflict prevention, both in general and in particular cases, was having a positive mobilising effect.

110. *The CPPs have been used to fund a range of effective conflict prevention measures that have been coordinated with other international actors. At the same time, the bulk of the UK's effort in this direction lies outside the scope of regular CPP planning. Officials have therefore continued to look outside the CPPs to achieve the multiplier effects and economies for joint action in specific conflicts that such coordination might bring* (Finding #3).

111. One question that this discussion suggests is whether the management mechanisms associated with the CPPs have unused potential for achieving economies, especially through greater use of EU action, or better cooperation with some like minded EU states? Another question is whether HMG might give more publicity to CPP-funded measures to maximise their full mobilising potential by attracting partners or like-minded countries?

4 EFFECT ON INTER-DEPARTMENTAL PROCESSES

112. The SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews built their recommendations for establishing the CPPs around two proposed innovations in official processes: an inter-departmental steering group at the Pool level (both for the GCPP and ACPP) and a new process for joint priority-setting in specific countries.

113. It was the nearly unanimous view of the officials interviewed for this Evaluation that the CPPs have promoted remarkably better interaction and cooperation between the Departments concerned. The expanded availability of funds also acts as an incentive. Several officials even described the main purpose of the Pools as providing incentives for cooperation. In respect of Sierra Leone, as one official put it, 'we now have scrutiny of each other's activities and have input into them that would not have happened pre-Pools'. Both in the field and in Whitehall there is regular formal and informal coordination and information-sharing. Much of this coordination originated prior to the Pools, but joint planning has been strengthened subsequently. This was more or less the experience reported across the CPPs.

114. Few officials interviewed, however, were prepared to describe the new interaction as genuinely trilateral, though there were a few exceptions for certain areas of activity. The biggest gulf remained between the MOD and DFID, and this gulf manifested itself in lack of direct input by each into the CPP-funded activities of the other in some cases. Underlying this however is a fundamentally different perception of the role of conflict prevention, which is in some cases equated with the creation of goodwill or security, while in others it is seen as a process of structural transformation of a country. In some respects, this separation or difference in emphasis between Departments should not be viewed negatively, and is almost certainly a natural one. After all, each of the Departments does quite different things, and at lower operational levels of all or many GCPP activities, there is relatively little need for time-intensive inter-departmental cross-fertilisation.

115. But whether officials consult more than they did before the CPPs were established cannot be the main benchmark for assessing the ways in which the officials have used the CPPs to enhance their cooperation to achieve better conflict prevention outcomes. After all, it is a standard procedure in HMG that officials consult governmental stakeholders in other Departments appropriately on issues as they arise. The SR2000 reviews noted that a great deal of inter-departmental coordination and shared assessments for conflict prevention were already the norm. The reviews recommended the creation of new mechanisms that would help overcome the primacy of the interests of single Departments in certain areas of activity, that would fill the gaps in existing joint assessment work, and that would deliver more effective conflict prevention outcomes.

116. The reviews saw collective priority-setting by the three Departments as flowing from a new, jointly agreed analytical framework for conflict assessments where there was no capacity for the JIC to meet the additional requirements (JIC only publishes regular assessments with sufficient detail for effective targeting and monitoring of conflict prevention

measures).[74] The analytical framework was described as a 'country conflict profile' which would offer a 'brief analysis of the main elements of the conflict', 'identify risks to local, regional and international interests', and 'identify the level of priority the UK may wish to attach to respond to the conflict and also identify the options for UK intervention'.[75] Both reviews provided a similar outline for this analytical framework.

117. This emphasis in the reviews on conflict assessment, including early warning, is shared by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. It identified 'skilled analysis of developing trends' as a necessary complement to 'early warning' in conflict prevention and management.[76] But much of the literature, while focusing on the need for early warning, has neglected the need for more detailed diagnosis of the exact nature of the conflict (the 'skilled analysis of developing trends').[77] One study of this aspect of conflict prevention revealed serious gaps in analytical practices for conflict analysis.[78] All too many case studies confirm that mis-diagnosis of the conflict is a major cause of the failure of even the best intentioned conflict prevention efforts.[79] In intra-state conflict, for example, there is a common disposition to reiterate or accept the view that communal or ethnic divisions are primordial, rather than politically contingent and contemporary.[80] This is a common cause of the mis-diagnosis of recent conflicts and may actually feed into the hands of the party provoking the violence.

[74] As noted in the Portfolio Review, the UK Government has long recognised strategic conflict assessment to be an immensely difficult, highly complex and resource intensive process which itself demanded deployment of enormous assets and a fairly vigorous system of prioritisation. The UK considerably narrowed its priorities in this sort of conflict assessment work as its strategic priorities narrowed after the collapse of the USSR. Now, in response to the threat of terrorism arising especially from Islamist extremists, and the increased concerns over WMD proliferation, the UK is again in the process of altering its conflict assessment priorities and expanding its coverage, both in terms of geographic scope and the causes of conflict to which it is being forced to respond.

[75] See Annex F, Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa; Table 2, Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa.

[76] Executive Summary of the Final Report, Preventing Deadly Conflict, p 5.

[77] See Luc van de Goor and Suzanne Verstegen, 'Conflict Prognosis: Bridging the Gap from Early Warning to Early Response', Part One (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, November 1999).

[78] Ibid.

[79] See for example, Michael S. Lund, Barnett R. Rubin and Fabienne Hara, 'Learning from Burundi's Failed Democratic Transition, 1993-1996: Did International Initiatives Match the Problem' in Rubin (ed), *Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action,* pp 86–8.

[80] David Keen, 'War and Peace: What's the Difference' in Adekaye Adebajo and Chandra Lekha Sriram, *Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21st Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) pp 6–8. According to another source: the 'primordial' explanation sees the main source of conflict in a deep sense of identity: ethnic conflicts arise when ancient hatreds are unleashed because certain authoritarian controls were removed. The theory attributes conflicts to systemic causes outside the control of group leaders and thus of third parties as well. The other view, 'instrumentalism,' sees such conflicts arising from policies pursued by groups who use group identity as a tool to mobilize people in pursuit of specific gains. Conflict may be fomented by elites who manipulate the symbols dear to their group and who can stir resentment against other groups. They invoke hatred through propaganda, or they take covert actions to provoke violent reactions from their followers. This implies that group emotion does not usually combust spontaneously: it must be whipped up. From this perspective, ethnic conflicts are less subject to unalterable forces and more contingent on the action of elites and individual leaders. See Lund, *Preventing and Mitigating Violent Conflict Conflicts;* http://www.caii-dc.com/ghai/.

118. Diagnosis, moreover, is not a one-off event. And as a conflict evolves, the original diagnosis needs to be updated, and appropriate adjustments need to be made in the choice of tools to be used, a 'rolling process of fine-tuning programs'.[81] There can all too often be a lack of continuing contact between specialists who can diagnose changes in the situation and the policy-makers,[82] with the result that choices about the use of tools are not reviewed or revisited in response to changes on the ground.

4.1 Analytical Framework for Conflict Assessments

119. Within HMG, the initiative for developing a new analytical framework for conflict assessment has been taken by DFID. In a number of steps, it set about articulating a UK conflict prevention policy framework, including through such things as development of its conflict assessment process, *Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes* (2002),[83] and the publication of its 2001 paper on the *Causes of Conflict in Africa.*[84] The conflict assessment process, now known as Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA), is a sophisticated conflict analysis and policy analysis tool, which in many respects mirrors the collective experience of the FCO, MOD, JIC, Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) and SIS. According to one official with extensive experience in intelligence analysis, the virtue of the conflict assessment model was that it contained not just the best elements of a sound intelligence assessment method, but also a very sound approach to mapping the possible responses of the UK in the context of actions by other international actors. The guidelines were written, not with a joint inter-departmental audience in mind, but for DFID, and addressed international development actors and issues more closely than a comprehensive set of other political and security actors.

120. The 51 page guidelines cover three main issues: conflict analysis (structures, actors and dynamics), a mapping and assessment of international responses to date, and the development of future responses (strategies and options). The guidelines, which disavowed their potential as a standard formula, highlighted important points arising from conflict prevention literature that needed to be addressed in any conflict assessment methodology. One of the most important of these is the need for an analysis of both structures and actors, and how the two interact. While this may seem self-evident, the guidelines note that 'actor oriented analysis involves a "fine-grained" analysis of individual incentives and motivations'. The guidelines went on to note the centrality of 'perceptions and the meanings that people attribute to events, institutions, policies and appeals for public support'. The guidelines noted the need for analysis of each conflict at international, regional national and local levels. Most importantly, the guidelines observed that conflict is a dynamic social process in which the root causes can over time become increasingly irrelevant.

[81] David Keen, 'War and Peace: What's the Difference' in Adekaye Adebajo and Chandra Lekha Sriram, *Managing Armed Conflicts in the 21st Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2001) p 88.
[82] Ibid p 89.
[83] See DFID, 'Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes', January 2002. The principal authors of this were Jonathan Goodhand (a member of this Evaluation), Tony Vaux and Robert Walker.
[84] DFID, 'The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa: Framework Document', 2001.

121. Thus, these guidelines provide both a template for joint future conflict assessments of the sort foreshadowed by the SR2000 Reviews and a checklist for reviewing the depth or coverage of such assessments. The checklist of tests might include:

- Conflict analysis:
  Security, political, economic and social aspects;
  Dynamic quality (latest information on changes to causes of conflict).

- Analysis of structures:
  Long-term conflict trends;
  Triggers for increased violence;
  Capacities for managing conflict;
  Likely future conflict scenarios.

- Fine-grained analysis of actors (individuals, governments and other groups party to the conflict):
  Motivations and perceptions;
  Interests;
  Relations;
  Capacities;
  Agendas for war or peace;
  Incentives and disincentives.

- Mapping of international responses:
  Assessment of their effectiveness;
  Assessment of their negative impacts.

- Analysis of UK policy options in response:
  Addresses bilateral responses and UK role in mobilising others;
  Addresses adjustment of current activities;
  Addresses new initiatives.

122. Apart from these specific tests of the comprehensiveness of a conflict assessment, the degree of reliance by officials on the use of appropriate conflict analysis, including early warning, itself becomes a test or indicator of the likely impact of the CPP-funded measures they are implementing or merely considering.[85]

123. DFID's Guidance Notes on conflict assessment were approved by the Secretary of State for International Development for DFID use. By mid-2002, DFID had distributed over 3,500 copies of the Guidance Notes to DFID country offices and policy divisions, and to Whitehall Departments and international partners, including bilateral donors, the EU, UN, and World Bank.[86] In 2002, DFID had commissioned a 'lessons learned' study on previous conflict assessments, but as of January 2004 this work was confined to a short review of lessons learned from a joint conflict assessment on Nigeria, which was the first to involve FCO and MOD, but which also involved other donors and Nigerian governmental and non-governmental actors.

[85] Inception Report: 'Two particular measures of relevance will be timeliness and responsiveness of the CPP measures'.
[86] DFID Memorandum, 17 May 2002.

124. But as potentially powerful as the SCA is, it has been treated as an experimental tool in DFID itself, and has not been effectively mainstreamed in the three Departments. In May 2002, MOD expressed some interest in how the method might be used for conducting joint assessments.[87] Most officials interviewed knew of it, but few were intimately familiar with the methodology. Several officials in key CPP-related positions had quite distorted views of the methodology. As this Evaluation proceeded, some officials in DFID began to look at how the issue of an agreed joint analytical framework could be addressed.

125. DFID has not been alone in advancing the question of analytical frameworks for conflict analysis. The DIS of MOD, in the light of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the linkage made between failed states and terrorism, has developed a global system of conflict indicators. This was an evolution of its pre-existing system of early warning and indicators. The system is based on the production of monthly warnings based on existing information, at little cost to the CPPs, and deals with a reduction in the factors of conflict. It is able to indicate trends, although it is not able to explain how these can be linked to specific UK measures. Its focus is on trigger points that raise the possibility of conflict, and is hence more apt for direct conflict prevention. The system is called the Conflict Prevention Index (CPI). The main failing for the CPPs as currently structured is the absence of a link between the CPI and the review of the conflict prevention strategies. One obstacle is the use of classified information within DFID. The sanitising of classified assessments and information is a major task that cannot be carried out by the steering groups as they are currently equipped.

126. Other analytical frameworks potentially applicable across the CPPs have been developed or reviewed in parts of HMG. One example is the Strategic Assessment Methodology (SAM) developed by the former Defence Evaluation and Research Agency (DERA). This is analytical method has been used by the GCPP for the Kashmir conflict, to help refine the conflict prevention strategy.[88]

127. Officials involved in both GCPP and ACPP programmes confirmed to the Evaluation Team that HMG has not yet put in place an agreed analytical framework for comprehensive conflict analysis that matches the ambitions foreshadowed in the Cross-cutting Reviews for many of the countries where the GCPP is engaged. This was corroborated by the field work in Georgia, a country where GCPP engagement has been significant and effective. It should be noted that the Russia and FSU Strategy in the GCPP has sought to use the SCA framework in several cases, and to good effect. An SCA was also produced for Sri Lanka. The experience of Georgia highlights the inconsistencies in approach that might be redressed easily if there were an agreed framework in place.

[87] DFID Memorandum, 17 May 2002.

[88] This model is based on a preparatory phase, a capture of expert judgement (here from different Departments as well as external resources), collaborative visualisation and modelling in a workshop context, and finishes with a desk level assessment of the options. These options are drawn from the causal chains (arrows connecting factors leading to conflict, some mutually reinforcing). The numbers of links pointing to one node indicates the intensity of the issue, which should be addressed as a priority. The model provides a warning system, and some degree of prediction, as well as a broad scanning of the horizon (expertise from an unlimited range can be brought in to strengthen the model, and so can serve a coordination purpose), and the possibility of regular update. It is however bound by the continuation of overall conditions, and a qualitative change in the conflict would require a new model to be elaborated. Experience has proved that it is difficult to get officials in one room, and the process can be constrained. As such the model would have to be used in an evaluation which makes allowance for workshops, and accepts a certain dependence on the validity of the judgement of those who attend. Another drawback is that it does not include the analysis of intent of key groups.

128. The Embassy in Georgia and the desks in London sought a conflict assessment to try to establish a comprehensive analysis of the causes of conflict, the triggers for conflict, the key actors, and current and prospective preventive policies of HMG and other actors. This request was a result of the view amongst relevant officials that the frequency and depth of JIC assessments on Georgia, the political reporting from the post, and London-based research support were not providing the sort of analysis needed. The GCPP responded to the request by funding a SCA. The process was hostage to a number of processes and events that led to considerable delays and protracted negotiations among stakeholders, and therefore substantial delays in its publication. In the opinion of the Evaluation Team, these delays arose in large part because of the lack of agreement on an analytical framework and associated processes. It is not clear whether, as the draft approached finalisation through the various obstacles and revisions, that officials continued to look for it to provide a 'fine grained analysis of the actors' and to effectively map the preventive actions or structural prevention policies of key actors. This example provides reasonable evidence, corroborated elsewhere in the Evaluation, that there is considerable debate among officials on the basic principles of where to look for the conflict analysis and what it should contain.

129. The absence of an agreed analytical approach has an important, and negative, impact on the capacity of HMG for early warning. There can be no effective early warning if there is no conflict assessment identifying the key actors and the triggers for conflict. This can be also be illustrated rather well by the case of Georgia, where the capacities of the international community for early warning are substantial but where the GCPP, like the wider HMG, does not provide a reliable, systematic approach. A system of early warning cannot depend exclusively on the personal strengths of particular ambassadors or particular staff in the embassy or London as it does at present. In fact, given the nature of the disparate conflicts in Georgia, the small UK Embassy only has limited or irregular contacts with some of the key players outside the capital of Tblisi in Abkhazia, Azharia, South Ossetia. Any deficit in official embassy contact from the perspective of early warning needs can be compensated for in large part through relying on the diversity of other potential sources such as the UK Special Representative for the Southern Caucasus, US Embassy, London-based analytical or intelligence resources, OSCE Mission, staff of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia, staff of international NGOs, and staff of other embassies.

130. It is the accumulated experience of governments that a system for regular review of early warning information available from such sources must also be in place, and that this system must involve people whose sole task is early warning. This need not be based in the government, or in the CPP-funded activities themselves. In fact, in Central Asia, HMG can draw on rather useful early warning systems put in place by a diversity of agencies and organisations (UNDP, OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, and the International Crisis Group.) The GCPP funds in part the work of the International Crisis Group in Central Asia. This raft of UK-supported measures constitutes best practice as far as the individual measures are concerned.

131. The GCPP, like HMG, does not have in place, and does not have access to, a community-based system for early warning in Georgia appropriate to the needs of preventing new outbreaks of conflict in that country. It is beyond the capacity of this

Evaluation to assess the extent of UK or allied early warning reporting for conflict in Georgia. Only a formal audit, emphasising the need for a community-based system of early warning to complement classic international intelligence priorities, could make a reliable assessment of this issue.

132. However, even if such a system with appropriate capacities did exist, one would expect to see regular recourse to it by the GCPP in a formal and systematic way, for example, through a deliberate quarterly or even monthly review of increasing or decreased prospects for renewed violence. A counter to this proposition might be that this is what the embassy does on a daily or weekly basis. This is valid only when the embassy is fully staffed, is not distracted by other affairs, and has full access to information on the key actors.

133. *A consistent analytical framework for conducting joint conflict assessments (as foreshadowed in the SR2000 Cross-Cutting Reviews) is not yet in place. Nor is there a jointly agreed framework for early warning and rapid response* (Finding #4).

4.2 Machinery for Joint Assessment and Collective Priority Setting

134. The SR2000 Reviews foresaw several components of good machinery for joint assessment and collective priority setting:

- Cabinet Sub-Committee determination of policy;
- a standing inter-departmental body for determination and regular review of spending priorities at the pool level (GCPP and ACPP);
- regular (normal) meetings between officials from the three main Departments to review conflict issues in their subject country and appropriate UK responses that might be supported from the CPPs;
- a mechanism for early warning that monitors triggers for a conflict identified in the assessment and then reports them to high level policy makers;
- a mechanism for updating the original assessment with a view to revisiting earlier decisions on priorities.

This sub-section addresses the degree to which this machinery has been established and how effectively and efficiently it has been working.

4.2.1 Cabinet machinery: joint priority setting

135. Decisions on use of funds in the CPPs are made by a sub-committee of Cabinet[89] set up especially for the purpose. The Sub-Committee on Conflict Prevention is responsible to the Defence and Overseas Policy Committee of Cabinet (DOP) and sets broad priorities, approves all spending in gross amounts, and bears responsibility for the appropriate use of the funds against the PSA objectives. It assumes different names in official documents

[89] Though all meetings are chaired by a Minister, the other portfolios are not always represented at Ministerial level.

according to its main area of focus: thus, the Sub-Committee on Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa, and its associated acronym DOP (A), or the Sub-Committee on Conflict Prevention outside Africa, and its associated acronym DOP (OA). For matters relating to the GCPP, the Sub-Committee is chaired by the Foreign Secretary. For matters relating to the ACPP, it is chaired by the International Development Secretary. Other members of the Sub-Committee on Conflict Prevention include Ministers or junior Ministers from the portfolios concerned: FCO, MOD, DFID and HMT. The involvement of Cabinet reflects the high priority HMG attaches to the CPPs, while the delegation of CPP funding in most cases to a sub-committee of a Cabinet Committee reflects the subordinate or instrumental role that CPP funding plays in overall HMG conflict prevention policy.

136. Below Ministerial level, the structures and resources dedicated exclusively to management of the CPPs are relatively limited, with most of the officials involved working on other conflict issues or other policy issues outside the remit of the CPPs and most of the conflict strategy papers addressing UK conflict prevention policy in the broader context, not just what may be funded by the CPPs. Beneath the Ministerial sub-committees, there are corresponding steering groups of officials for each CPP. These officials exercise delegated authority on behalf of Ministers in certain areas of spending. The ACPP Steering Group is chaired by a DFID official and the GCPP Steering Group by an FCO official. It is worth noting that Ministers had originally agreed that the Steering Groups of officials for both CPPs should be chaired by a Cabinet Office official,[90] although it was subsequently agreed that Cabinet Office would delegate day to day management responsibility to a lead department.

137. The criteria used to decide on the relative priority of strategies, the creation of new ones, and the termination of old ones, have developed significantly since the establishment of the CPPs. Both Pools inherited significant number of 'legacy' commitments, and it has been a continuing challenge to determine the criteria by which to decide whether these should continue, not least because Departments may be highly supportive of some of the programmes because of their contribution to non-CPP objectives. Both CPP steering groups advise Ministers on priorities on an annual basis, when gross CPP allocations are divided between various country and thematic strategies. This formal advice is tempered by the Ministers' consideration of broader issues of policy that may or may not be included in the formal written advice from the Steering Group.

138. Ministers have approved a broad set of guidelines for preparing advice to them on relative priorities between countries, regions or thematic strategies. They are supported in this by the work of the two Steering Groups which, based as each is around a small group of officials whose principal duties are related to the CPPs,[91] have the potential to provide the main strategic direction to the work of the CPPs in their entirety. Their role was limited initially to the support of ministers and the DOP sub-committees in setting broad spending priorities. The two steering groups review these priorities on both a quarterly and annual basis.[92] For programme funding, at the beginning of each year, the steering groups call for

[90] Interview with a senior official, corroborated by FCO Minute of 12 May 2000.

[91] In FCO, this is the Conflict Prevention Unit, where the Chair of the GCPP Steering Group is located. In DFID, this is the Conflict Unit in Africa Policy Division.

[92] The GCPP Steering Group normally meets every two weeks to review priorities. The Steering Group for the Africa CPP meets formally on a less frequent basis, usually every few months, but the members maintain close informal contact.

country and thematic bids, according to priorities set by Ministers. The steering groups are responsible for reporting to DOP on peacekeeping spending but do not manage the allocation of peacekeeping funds. For the GCPP, both the peacekeeping and programme elements are at least managed by the UN Department of the FCO, the same administrative unit in which the Chair of the GCPP Steering Committee is located. For the ACPP, the two elements are managed by separate Departments, with DFID (Africa Division) being responsible for the programme side and FCO's UN Department responsible for the peacekeeping side.

139. For programme spending,[93] the Steering Group for the GCPP operates through a highly developed process of country, regional or thematic strategies. In the GCPP, the rubric 'strategy' refers either to the organisational mechanism for managing the assigned CPP funds and devising new projects, or to the over-arching policy document that has been prepared as the jointly agreed HMG strategy to prevent, contain or mitigate the target conflict. The organisational mechanism is usually a joint team of officials from the relevant Departments coordinated by a Strategy Manager from the lead department for that strategy. The Strategy Manager is normally from the FCO or DFID (the latter being the case for the SALW, SSR and EU strategies) and that person and the strategy team might be based in Whitehall or overseas, as in Indonesia.[94]

140. In the ACPP, the process operates closer to the consultation arrangements foreshadowed in the SR2000 reviews. . The Sub-Saharan Africa review saw the steering group as having a role limited to support of Ministers at the strategic level, especially in deciding priorities between countries or conflicts, with only the occasional need to intervene to boost inter-departmental cooperation.[95] The country desks and their line managers in DFID's Africa Division take the lead in coordinating the decision-making of the three Departments under the Africa Pool. For some countries, such as Sierra Leone and Sudan, there are formal conflict prevention strategies, jointly agreed policy documents, while for others the ACPP conflict prevention policy is reflected in the DFID country engagement papers addressing UK development assistance to the target country.[96] The papers are developed on the basis of UK policy toward and objectives in the particular country.

141. In the ACPP, the process has been considerably streamlined. Many officials have praised the existence what they term 'a permissive PSA', which enables different task managers to intervene in different ways to a situation. The ACPP provides additional resources for activities of a hybrid nature (civil/military, political and programme related), which could not have been undertaken well by a sole Department. As mentioned in the foundation document for the ACPP,[97] the decision about which resources and policy instruments the UK will use in response to any particular conflict situation depends on consideration of a wide number of factors: an analysis of the conflict situation and entry points, the scope for UK influence and the nature and complementarity of the interventions of other actors'. This has been interpreted as requiring very light structures merged within existing capacities, as opposed to parallel and formalised structures.

[93] The management of peacekeeping spending under the CPPs is discussed in section 5.
[94] The Indonesia Team in Jakarta includes representation from the British Council.
[95] Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa.
[96] Information provided by DFID.
[97] Conflict Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa.

142. On the basis of the guidelines approved by Ministers, the GCPP has developed a 'scoring table' for assisting in the allocation of resources between geographical and thematic strategies. This allocates points on the basis of 14 questions, relating to the importance of the conflict (UK and international interests, numbers of people affected, public concern), international efforts (activity of other donors, potential for UK contribution, value-added of Pool funding), existence of joint analysis, shared objectives, sound management and clear focus. As a consequence, the GCPP has been able to determine which strategies were high, medium or low priority.[98] A similar scorecard approach was also used in the early days of the ACPP, but was eventually rejected on the grounds that it was too schematic and inflexible. Prioritisation in the ACPP is now loosely based on a brief and regularly updated overview of each conflict.

143. At the time of 2003/4 initial allocations, the highest GCPP geographical priorities were Afghanistan and the Balkans. Medium priority was assigned to Russia and the FSU, India/Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Middle East and North Africa, Indonesia/East Timor and Nepal. Among the thematic strategies, highest priority was accorded to the SSR and SALW strategies. For 2003/4, for ACPP programmes, ministers approved areas and themes on a priority basis. These are Sierra Leone, Nigeria, the Great Lakes region,[99] Sudan, Angola, South Africa, SSR, Building African Peacekeeping Capacity, and tackling the economic causes of conflict.[100] Other work included development of a strategy for Somalia and building conflict management capacity in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa. Pan-African and regional initiatives and institutions (principally the African Union, NEPAD and regional economic communities) remained an important area of engagement.

144. As intended in the SR2000 reviews, the system of prioritisation by both the GCPP and ACPP Steering Groups is used largely to divide up the available funds. It does not provide any further management guidance that may point officials to what specific activities or outcomes might be assigned priority over others. This is done at the strategy or country level.

145. Apart from setting broad priorities, in the nearly three years they have existed, ministerial decision-making on the CPPs has paid considerable attention to the limits of eligibility of activities for pool funding. There have been questions about the use of the CPPs to fund military equipment or military operations. The position as of May 2003 was as follows:

- The supply of military equipment will only be funded if essential to the success of strategies. Weapons and ammunition will only be provided on an exceptional basis, subject to Ministerial agreement.
- Major military operations will not be funded from the Pools.
- Humanitarian and mine-clearance operations will not be funded from the Pools.[101]

[98] 'GCPP Bids 2003/2004', undated unsourced document.
[99] DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda.
[100] DFID AGHD Memo, 'Update on the Functioning of the ACPP', 10 July 2003.
[101] Information supplied by an official.

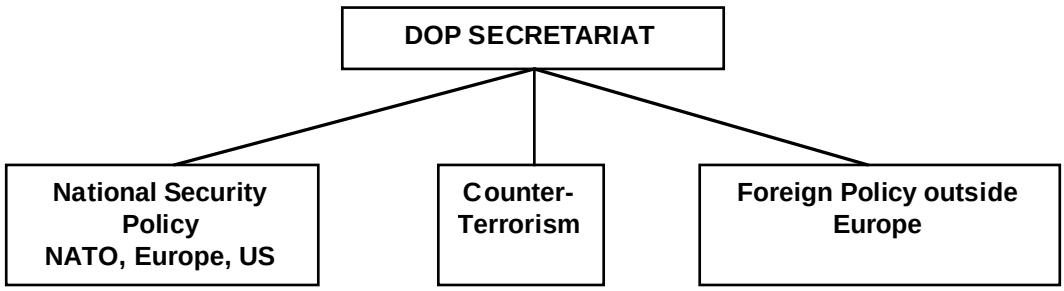
- Only minor military operations of a peace-support type will be considered for Pool funding. Until SR2004, Peace Support Operations (PSOs) will be assessed for Pool funding by Ministers. A decision will be made at the time of the Spending Review on whether borderline operations should be funded by the MOD or by the Treasury reserve.
- There will be no counter-terrorism strategy under the Global or Africa Pools. Similarly, activities driven by the War on Terrorism will not be eligible for Pool funding. Certain 'counter-terrorism' activities may be permitted under other strategies if incidental to conflict reduction and focused on the country concerned (not 'defence of the realm').[102]

146. There will clearly be continuing questions about how to interpret these guidelines. For example, there will often not be a clear dividing line between 'defence of the realm', defined elsewhere as 'defence of the UK and UK national interests', and conflict prevention.[103]

147. The recent decision to use the Afghanistan GCPP to fund counter-narcotics work, up to a value of £10 million, also raises questions about future limitations on eligibility. The funding decision appears to have originated with the separate FCO PSA that requires it to aim to reduce Afghanistan's poppy cultivation by 70 per cent over five years and to eliminate it within 10 years. This GCPP investment is part of a larger £70 million UK allocation over three years to a broad-ranging Afghan National Drug Control Strategy covering law enforcement, capacity building, alternative livelihoods and demand reduction. The GCPP share of this strategy appears to focus primarily on the law enforcement element.

148. On behalf of the cabinet sub-committees, the Cabinet Office coordinates the operation of the CPPs at a strategic level. This role is performed by the Secretariat of the DOP Committee, which has a staff of about 30, several of whom are engaged regularly with CPP matters. As of early August 2003, the DOP Secretariat was divided into three sections with responsibilities as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: DOP Secretariat Organogram



[102] Briefing by CHAD, May 2003.
[103] Note by officials, DOP(OA)(02), second meeting, 18 June 2002.

149. While the main DOP involvement with CPP programmes has been from the section dealing with Foreign Policy outside Europe, other sections have also been involved as appropriate. The section responsible for Foreign Policy outside Europe is small, and in early August 2003 comprised only three people. For the most part, the DOP Secretariat is not engaged in day to day oversight of specific programmes or strategies. One exception to this is that a member of the DOP Secretariat chairs one of the Global CPP strategies (Balkans), but the exception can be explained by the importance to UK strategic interests of conflict in Europe relative to most other parts of the world. The DOP Secretariat forms the primary link between the broad decisions of the Cabinet Sub-Committee and the CPPs. Ministers' contributions to the DOP and the work of the CPPs are also supported directly, without Cabinet Office mediation, by officials in their own Departments.

150. One example of the role of the DOP Secretariat in giving strategic direction to the work of the CPPs can be found in the review in December 2002 of CPP bids for 2003. The Secretariat sought to induce additional critical thinking from CPP officials on prioritisation of projects and consideration of where the UK could add significant value relative to other international actors such as the US or UN. The DOP Secretariat also played an important coordinating role in the Sub-Committee's review over more than a year of the eligibility of certain types of projects for funding by the CPPs.

151. One fundamental principle of conflict prevention that the DOP Secretariat seems to grasp very well is that the potential of a country like the UK, or indeed even the US, to intervene in the domestic politics of other countries in ways that materially reduce the prospect of conflict, is quite limited. One challenge for the DOP Secretariat has been to translate that strategic reality into the work of the CPPs as they strive to find a balance between a little bit of good work in lots of places and more concentrated effort in places where, by concentrating its effort, the UK might make a bigger difference to the political choices of key actors.

152. The DOP Secretariat is joined in the role of strategic policy setting by HMT, whose representatives are committed to the enhancement of the CPPs' work and who have consistently pressed for greater accountability and greater adherence to strategic objectives of the CPPs, especially the PSA and SDA objectives. HMT officials sit on the steering groups of both the GCPP and the ACPP.

4.2.2 Collective setting of priorities within country or thematic strategies

153. The collective process of setting priorities within a country or thematic strategy is in considerable flux. The ACPP is operating closer to the model foreshadowed in the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews: regular (normal) meetings between officials from the three main Departments to review conflict issues in their subject country and appropriate UK responses that might be supported from the CPPs. In support of this activity, the officials involved in ACPP decisions at country level, the DFID Africa Conflict Unit and the FCO's Pan-African Policy Unit have, in cooperation with other relevant officials, developed formal conflict prevention strategies for the more important countries, such as Sudan and Sierra Leone. The GCPP has organised all of its programme spending under formal 'strategies' which have an associated policy document—the strategy itself, which has been prepared by officials from the three Departments.

154. At the outset of the CPPs, however, there were a large number of legacy projects, and officials have testified that there was a strong compulsion to write the early version of the strategies around existing projects, rather than from first principles based on comprehensive conflict assessment. As the CPPs have evolved, the purpose of the 'strategy' has shifted from justifying pre-existing programmes from a conflict prevention perspective to recommending new projects that might better meet the conflict prevention needs of the particular country.

155. The initiative for projects which make up the concrete manifestation of the strategies still lies principally with individual Departments, which might develop ideas in coordination with posts, NGOs and/or consultants. When the ideas have matured sufficiently, they go through the Departments' own mechanisms for the approval of public expenditure, as well as a subsequent, formal approval process by the Steering Group of the relevant strategy (for GCPP) and by the country desk or team (for ACPP). There is also significant provision in some strategies for approval of new projects as they arise throughout the financial year. According to officials, the bids for projects in the CPPs vary in style and approach. There is often little reference to a clear set of priorities for conflict prevention work in the particular country. And the content of bids will also be influenced by the scale and type of HMG representation in the country.

156. Almost all officials interviewed by the Evaluation Team have registered strong satisfaction with the enhancement in inter-departmental consultation achieved through the CPP mechanisms, both at the Steering Group level and at 'strategy' levels. Few officials interviewed, though, were prepared to describe the new interaction as genuinely trilateral, with only a few exceptions for certain areas of activity. The widest gulf remained between the MOD and DFID, and manifested itself in a lack of direct input by each department into the GCPP-funded activities of the other. In some respects, this separation should not be viewed negatively and is almost certainly a natural one. After all, each of the Departments does quite different things, and at lower operational levels, for many, if not all, GCPP activities, there is relatively little room for inter-departmental cross-fertilisation.

157. The conclusions of the case studies on the impact of the CPPs on inter-departmental collaboration are presented below. It should be noted that in almost all cases where these assessments of inter-departmental collaboration were negative, the findings by the Evaluation Team have been contested by some of the officials involved. The generality that these assessments present about the CPPs as a whole is not contested by the majority of officials interviewed. Following the presentation below of the case study findings, the report returns to a discussion of what officials have conveyed with some consistency to the Evaluation Team about their view of shortcomings within the CPP system.

158. Georgia is one of the CPP successes identified in the case studies. The UK achievements there appear to have been boosted by the creation and modus operandi of the CPPs. It is the near unanimous testimony of officials that the CPP process for Georgia has improved consultation among FCO, DFID and MOD, though this coordination is not yet as trilateral as it could be. The main gain from the CPPs' work in Georgia appears to have been a stronger engagement by the FCO in the work of international NGOs in Georgia previously funded by DFID. The existence of the CPP appears to have provided the opportunity for, and subsequent greater confidence in, actual implementation of the FCO

proposal to appoint a Special Representative for Georgia and the Southern Caucasus. However, the achievements can probably be put down to the personnel involved, both in Whitehall and the field rather than to the inherent quality of the formal GCPP processes. The GCPP projects in Georgia has so far been built largely on bureaucratic structures and activities that would have existed had the GCPP not been created. Even in this rather successful case, there was some disconnect between Whitehall and the Embassy in deliberations on CPP matters, and little trilateral consultation within the Embassy on CPP matters.

159. In CPP work on Afghanistan, it is clear that the three Departments bring distinct comparative advantages, including DFID's approach to institution building and development issues, MOD's understanding of and links to military actors, and FCO's political leverage. However, there continue to be tensions between the three Departments in terms of their understanding of conflict prevention and how they should work together. Currently, the GCPP's Afghanistan decision-making tends to be more integrated in London than in Afghanistan. A lack of UK capacity on the ground in-country means that project appraisal, monitoring, evaluation and coordination processes in relation to conflict prevention are at best rudimentary.

160. In the UN Strategy, the Evaluation found regular, intense and effective consultation between FCO and DFID. Like its counterparts in other parts of the CPPs, the UN Strategy is in transition—from a collection of existing projects brought under the Pools in 2001 by the participating ministries to a more integrated, better planned and therefore more strategic programme. However, the Strategy does not include a well-developed set of intermediate objectives, risk assessments, or timelines for achieving its objectives. The Strategy has not been the object of a wide discussion and dialogue across the ministries concerned, or across the Pools system. MOD has so far had little input into the UN Strategy. Input from posts and officials with specialist knowledge of UN agencies based outside New York seems to have been limited. The UN Strategy, like its other CPP counterparts, has also been affected by unclear procedures and by the absence of proper training or guidelines for staff on the CPPs' objectives and project management processes.

161. The setting of priorities for thematic strategies poses particular challenges. Two of the thematic strategies within the GCPP—SALW and SSR—have both produced comprehensive strategy documents that form the starting point for their funding priorities. Many officials interviewed noted that there was little direct linkage between the thematic strategies and the priority needs of the country strategies.

162. During the first 18 months of its existence, the SSR Strategy has sought to promote a joined up approach to SSR within Whitehall. In consequence, there is now a better idea of what a joined up approach to SSR might be and a growing recognition that a joined up approach can add value to UK SSR work. There also seems to be a growing recognition that there is considerable overlap between democratic civil–military relations (MOD's Defence Diplomacy work) and SSR (DFID), as well as DFID's work on safety, security and access to justice. At the same time, considerable impediments to joined up work remain. There is a view among some officials that the DFID lead in the SSR Strategy has been less able to bridge the gulf between the three Departments, which are still seen to be

addressing SSR from different perspectives. There is room to consider whether the growing demands on the SSR Strategy can be satisfied by current bureaucratic arrangements.

163. The CPPs are engaged in a process of self-review and development. The Global CPP, for example, has initiated a QIP which has been reviewing a number of the strategies, including the Middle East and North Africa Strategy. A number of officials have expressed the view that this review and improvement process is still in its early stages.

164. In the ACPP cases, the existence and operation of the Pool have introduced a new form of responsiveness in the Departments by allocating money to broad areas of intervention, and maintaining a secure reserve for sudden requirements. This was much in evidence in the reaction to non-UK priority areas such as Côte d'Ivoire and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The ACPP has clearly opened windows of cooperation. The availability of new money under the ACPP in a trilateral mechanism has led to more strategic thinking, for example concerning regional priorities, e.g. to spend on a UN operation in Côte d'Ivoire or in Burundi, or an African or a UN force in that country. The once automatic turn to UN peacekeeping contributions is being replaced by more clear sighted analysis of the relative virtues of UN or African peacekeeping. Such thinking has only begun to take place, and could go much further, given adequate support.

165. The decision to appoint four regional Conflict Advisers to diplomatic posts in Sub-Saharan Africa has the potential to be an important organisational innovation in joint priority setting for conflict prevention, even though these appointments have not been funded by the ACPP. The appointments should lead to more regional analysis, which could be particularly useful in Africa, and better advice on technical fields. According to a senior FCO official, these appointments compare favourably with the Human Rights Advisers fielded by the FCO in Africa, who have much less access to the resources of other Departments.

166. In the Sierra Leone case, officials in Whitehall have good formal and informal links for coordination of ACPP work. In Sierra Leone itself, UK stakeholders are coordinating their activities more effectively than was the case before the Pools were set up in 2001. As one official put it, 'we now have scrutiny of each other's activities and have input into them that would not have happened pre-Pools'. Both in the field and in Whitehall, there is regular formal and informal coordination and information-sharing. Some of this coordination originated prior to the Pools, but coordination has been strengthened subsequently. Nevertheless, there is still scope for further improvements in terms of more regular dialogue with international and local NGOs across Departments, and in-country dialogue. The DFID office for legacy reasons is small and the Strategy has been led from Whitehall. DFID has only limited staff to implement its considerable bilateral and Pool programming and to cooperate with UK stakeholders such as IMATT, which are considerably better resourced. Plans are afoot to considerably strengthen the DFID office. Existing interim measures, such as the appointment of a Social Development Advisor, and a Senior Governance Adviser early next year, will help, but the strengthening of the capacity of the DFID office to coordinate in-country should be a key priority. The new Country Office is not to be fully established until the end of 2004, and this timing appears out of step with the priority the ACPP, and HMG as a whole, attaches to Sierra Leone.

167. The Sudan case reveals excellent coordination between the three Departments as appropriate for the implementation of conflict policy, but almost none of this owes anything to the existence of the CPP. UK involvement in the two observer initiatives was proposed to the joint FCO/DFID Sudan unit in London by Her Majesty's Ambassador and the UK's Special Representative for Sudan after a diplomatic consultation in Khartoum. MOD was invited to participate in the joint unit on a formal basis, but declined because of staff constraints. There has been close contact between the MOD and the Sudan Unit on relevant issues. A Sudan conflict strategy was not developed by the ACPP in advance of the initiative, but drawn up in December 2002. This was essentially forward looking, and premised on the use of considerable funding (£5.5m) to expand upon existing activities once peace was reached. The decision by the Sudan Unit to recommend the use of the ACPP to fund UK involvement was based on the view that the ACPP was a good mechanism for rapid and flexible funding. Coherence and truly joined up decision-making emerged more from the operation of the Joint DFID/FCO Unit than from any nominal ACPP cover.

168. In these two cases, the main weakness is to be found in the area of developing the ACPP as a tool for strategy, and not just as a coordination mechanism. While the DFID preparation of papers has led to a wide number of strategies being drawn up, their link to country strategies (on which larger funding allocations are based) has been ambiguous at best. The Evaluation found a widespread perception that the formal strategy documents for Sub-Saharan countries were written more to satisfy a formal requirement than to inform subsequent policy or decisions. A number of senior officials were, for example, not prepared to credit the extant version of the Sierra Leone strategy as having much currency at all in terms of informing their approach.

169. The role of the ACPP strategies has declined over the life span of the Pool. This decline should not be read as a decrease in inter-Departmental cooperation. It reflects instead a growing agreement on priorities and the strength of informal consultations. This has led to a downgrading of baseline documents, needs assessments, and risk profiles

170. As mentioned above, the generality that the findings of the case studies present about the CPPs' impact on inter-Departmental processes for joint priority setting have been confirmed by the consistent testimony of officials. Officials interviewed by the Consultants have identified the following organisational problems in CPP management processes:

- the absence of authoritative guidance on how to set priorities within strategies and who sets them;
- a lack of access to qualified and experienced personnel for continual advice and monitoring of the more sensitive programmes;
- the balance between top-down selection of projects (either from Whitehall or posts) or bottom-up selection (from governments or NGOs in affected countries or areas of thematic activity);
- that CPPs appear to operate more according to bureaucratic interests which are somewhat removed from the identified PSA and SDA objectives, rather than to those objectives;

- that CPPs are limited by what the three principal Departments (FCO, MOD and DFID) can agree, even though differences can be, and are on occasion, resolved at Ministerial level;
- that there is a significant gulf between decision-making for the programme side of CPP spending and the peacekeeping side of CPP spending;
- for the bulk of CPP expenditure, that the CPPs represent little more than a new accounting mechanism (a new budget line) for pre-existing programs of involved Departments, rather than a way of enhancing UK efforts in conflict prevention; and
- that the two CPPs are organised differently and have different organisational cultures.

171. A number of officials interviewed saw some of these problems as arising from the difficult initial negotiations over what each Department would put into the CPP three years ago. Others saw the main problems arising more as the result of subsequent disputes about eligibility for CPP funding. Yet other officials were not inclined to such a dramatic view. Some saw the main constraint as prioritising time to the task at hand. They noted that for all but a few officials, the CPPs were just one of their preoccupations, and that as individual work priorities changed under the pressure of events, choices were being made, consciously or unconsciously, to let the CPP take care of itself. A number of officials felt that the transaction costs of simply being party to the CPP process were already high enough, so that they could only go along with what other Departments were proposing most of the time. They felt they could not afford more time, or more political capital, either to challenge the projects of other Departments or to work towards shaping a much more studied and deliberate genuinely joined up approach.

172. The sorts of solutions offered by officials to the range of problems some of them identified included:

- New mechanisms for bringing conflict prevention expertise to bear on the work of CPPs and other policy processes—mainstreaming.
- A need to train officials involved in CPPs in conflict prevention.
- A need to assign conflict advisers to posts, on either a regional or a country basis.
- Ways of reducing the size of under-spends.
- Recognition of the lack of an automatic link between higher amounts of money and greater impact.
- Need to penetrate high levels of policy making on strategic issues, like the Israel/ Palestine or Persian Gulf issues.
- Need for a re-focussing of the PSA targets and performance assessment of the CPPs at the level of conflict or thematic activity.
- Need for the CPP Steering Committees to be more demanding and to reject poorly prepared and under-resourced plans.
- Need to deliver more effective management through better resourcing of staff in Whitehall and in posts from CPP money.

173. The consistent view was expressed that either the CPPs should be allowed to assign administrative costs to its activities from its own funds, as the Global Opportunity Fund (GOF) does, or the situation of highly constrained inter-Departmental cross-fertilisation would continue. An alternative view, though one rarely articulated by officials, is that more resources are not needed, and that a significant narrowing of the scope of the CPPs and a more disciplined approach to their management might release more resources for more penetrating inter-Departmental collaboration.

174. *The effect of the CPPs on inter-departmental processes has been positive but uneven. It does not yet meet the potential for joint priority setting at the country or conflict level envisaged by the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews* (Finding #5). This has a negative impact on the consistency of in-country priority setting when determining why one set of measures should be funded ahead of others. The process of in-country priority setting appeared to be tied too closely to the qualifications and experience of key individuals, many of whom reported that they did not have the time to record the basis of their decisions. These findings suggest there may be room for a more standardised approach to joint assessment process, particularly a process that is able to give appropriate prominence to the short-term issues and the early warning function. The question also arises as to whether additional personnel resources should be devoted to this function.

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

175. This section addresses two questions posed by the ToRs: the effectiveness of the relationship between the implementation of peacekeeping initiatives and other Pool programmes; and whether the CPPs represent VfM.

5.1 Could the CPPs Deliver a 'Spend to Save' Outcome by Reducing Peacekeeping Costs?

176. The relationship, or at least presumed relationship, between peacekeeping costs and the costs of conflict prevention measures apart from peacekeeping, was that an increase in the latter, if well targeted, could bring about a reduction in the former. As explained in section 1.1, this was one of the central premises of the two SR2000 reviews which hoped to reduce the drain of escalating peacekeeping costs on the Treasury, by supporting more effective conflict prevention efforts. HMT wanted to 'enable trade-offs between pro-active spending which might reduce conflicts, and the spending which would otherwise take place to manage the consequences'. When Ministers agreed to set up the CPPs, provision was made for up to 10 per cent of savings on peacekeeping allocations to be spent on CPP programme activities. To back up its strategy of spending to save, HMT provided an additional 100 million pounds over three years to pre-existing budget projections for pooled activities. This was supplemented in 2002 by an additional provision of 20 million for the ACPP in Years Two and Three of that budget cycle to 'enable conflict prevention to play a significant part' in support of the Prime Minister's commitments to NEPAD.

177. Since the creation of the CPPs, total UK peacekeeping costs have continued to rise. The modest increase in spending under the ACPP has in part been compensated for by a decrease in GCPP peacekeeping spending. But the total costs to the UK have risen significantly since 2001, largely as a result of new war-fighting and peace enforcement operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 1999, the cost of UK peacekeeping operations in Kosovo was between £400 million and £500 million.[104] For 2002/3, MOD was estimating the operating costs of its peacekeeping and peace enforcement contributions in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans at around £1 billion.[105] There are therefore strong reasons to question the logic of the narrowly defined 'Spending to Save' approach given the time frame over which programmes could realistically be expected to be effective in this regard, the expectation that most future savings in peacekeeping costs, if realised at all, would accrue to the wider international community, not just to the UK and given the need to take into account savings on non-military accounts, including humanitarian assistance and reconstruction costs. Moreover, by taking on the conflict prevention mission more vigorously, HMG was laying itself open to more engagement, and hence higher outlays on peacekeeping, at least in the short term. It is often the case that peacekeeping costs spike each time that HMG takes on an unexpected new commitment. One of the SR2000 reviews foresaw the need for additional research on the proposition that preventive measures are better and more cost-effective than resolving conflict.

[104] See UK Parliament, Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, Memorandum submitted by the FCO, www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm199900/cmselect/cmfaff/28/0031603.htm.

[105] This figure is described by MOD as peacekeeping operational costs, and extends well beyond that covered by UK contributions (assessed or discretionary) to UN or OSCE peacekeeping normally funded under the GCPP or ACPP. See Table 1.17: Estimates of MOD Peacekeeping Costs 2002/3, www.dasa.mod.uk/natstats/stats/ukds/2003/chapter1/tab117.html.

178. Prima facie, therefore, the experience of almost three years of the CPPs might suggest that the original presumption of spending to save through conflict prevention was wrong if it is measured in aggregated global terms. The claim that preventive measures are better and more cost-effective than resolving conflict through such measures as the use of peacekeeping units or through peace enforcement actions, is certainly under-researched.[106] There is little evidence in the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews that this relationship was researched seriously before the decisions were made.

179. It may be unfair to the CPPs, however, to assess efficiencies on a global scale. The more appropriate reference point would be the specific conflict and the sorts of indicators used in section 2 of this report to assess the impact of conflict prevention measures. This means that even though the UK has spent large amounts of money on peacekeeping in Afghanistan or Iraq, and the total cost to the Treasury Reserve of peacekeeping world-wide has continued to rise, the situation may be quite different in some countries where HMG has delivered well-targeted conflict prevention measures or packages. To reap the economies potentially on offer from the 'spend to save' approach, there needs to be strategic management, a concentration of resources, and associated political capital and diplomatic effort.

180. *The relationship assumed in the SR2000 Cross-cutting Reviews between effective conflict prevention and an eventual reduction in UK peacekeeping costs may not be applicable on a universal basis and may only be meaningful on a conflict by conflict basis* (Finding #6).

181. If the more appropriate reference point for assessing the 'Spending to Save' argument is conflict specific, it may be appropriate for HMG, possibly in cooperation with its international partners, to examine the extent to which proposed conflict prevention programmes can reduce the chances of incurring future post-conflict military and other costs, and to use such an analysis to inform strategies and priorities.

182. It is also important to note the tension in UK policy on this point. On the one hand, HMG set up the CPPs with 'spend to save' as one of its purposes. On the other hand, the SR2000 reviews anticipated continuing volatile demand for high cost interventions. Moreover, the UK's acceptance of new international commitments to do better at conflict prevention in less 'strategic' or forgotten conflicts, is conducive to an expansion of commitments and an increase in costs, and not likely to lead to reductions in the short term.

[106] Existing studies on the cost-effectiveness of prevention tend to point to cases where *ex post facto* the cost of inaction considerably outweighed the cost of hypothetical conflict prevention. However, the results of such analysis can often be misleading, as the results of inaction can never be known in advance, and so the *estimated* costs are likely to be very different from the *actual* costs. Conversely, the benefits of prevention are also unknown. Preventative actions may be unsuccessful or may simply delay the onset of violence. Alternatively, even without preventive action, conflict may not have taken place. While the general argument for more resources for prevention and peace building has considerable attraction at first sight, therefore, a more rigorous approach to estimating its cost and benefits is needed in order to be able to operationalise the concept.

5.2 Do the CPPs Represent Value for Money?

183. A firm judgement on whether the CPPs represent VfM cannot be made without a careful audit in the case of each Strategy of its conflict assessment and the policy options it considered as possible responses. Indications from preceding sections of this report are that there may be serendipities in the way CPP measures are selected for funding. Much has been left to the judgement of the officials involved, with only minimal written justification of why a particular measure had been chosen over others. There are additional issues that arose:

- the ability to supervise spending in a genuinely strategic way (the relationship between the formulation of an over-arching Strategy and the spending of money under the CPP);
- the decision on precisely how to use resources has often not resided with the department in charge of implementing those activities[107] (concerns were raised about the unevenness of the degree of scrutiny to which the requests from different departments have been subjected);
- the sustainability of the CPP measures may be diminished as a result of lack of management capacity in-country;
- more careful financial management may be achieved if the key strategy document made more explicit reference to intermediate objectives, incremental steps and timelines for achieving outcomes;
- large under-expenditures in some cases may suggest that additional money could still be made available for other worthwhile projects.

[107] This practice can be contrasted with that of the SALW Strategy where the representatives of the three departments appear to be jointly involved in determining priorities and shaping projects/programmes so that they meet the SALW priorities. See, for example, Global Pool, Small Arms Steering Group, Minutes of meetings held on 30 April 2002, 9 September 2002, 9 October 2002, 12 June 2003 and 6 August 2003.

6. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary Finding

184. *The contribution of the CPPs to effective conflict prevention could be improved if they are backed by more consistent approaches to joint assessment and priority setting, by more determined pursuit of the multiplier effects and economies available from coordinated international responses, and by allocation of more administrative resources and appropriately trained staff to the associated processes.*

185. On balance, the gains from the CPPs have been substantial, and the efforts of officials to improve the CPPs through incremental reform are likely to bring further gains. Beyond their role as a funding mechanism, however, there continues to be some uncertainty as to the other functions of the CPPs. As a consequence, the CPPs have not realised their planned potential as a mobilising instrument.

186. It is not possible to come to a definitive judgement as to whether the additional benefits generated by the CPPs as a whole have been worth all or most of the additional money (around £140 million) that has been spent on them since April 2001, compared with the money that might have been spent on conflict prevention activities had the CPPs not been established. The GCPP and ACPP are funding worthwhile activities that appear to have positive effects. The progress achieved through the CPP mechanisms is significant enough to justify their continuation. At the same time, additional development of the analytical framework and joint priority setting foreshadowed by the SR2000 reviews could exploit the potential of the CPPs further.

187. The Evaluation has presented findings that appear somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, the GCPP and ACPP are funding worthwhile activities that appear to have positive effects. On the other hand, the sort of agreed analytical framework and joint priority setting indicated by the SR2000 reviews, which seem essential for more effective outcomes have not been put in place. From this one might conclude that good conflict prevention outcomes can be achieved without these additional support processes, and therefore without the CPPs themselves.

188. That is not our conclusion. The difference between the two approaches is substantial. On the economic or financial front, even though the decision-making for allocation of spending priorities between countries or conflicts may be appropriate, the absence of a disciplined and documented approach to the allocation of funds within each country can still result in inefficiency and waste. The funding of good projects is not the same as funding an effective strategy which has analysed and documented the constraints, risk factors, alternative options, and opportunities for economies presented by working with other actors. In terms of actually preventing conflicts, money spent by the CPPs will only be a contribution. However, it is more likely to have been a wasted contribution if the other actors, on whom the positive outcomes at a strategic level depend, have not been mobilised adequately. This presents a choice about allocation of CCP money: what proportion should be spent on relatively self-contained projects or measures, and what proportion should be spent on ensuring that all key actors are being mobilised in the desired direction? The final

consideration is that of accountability. Performance assessment of the CPPs, both to satisfy Parliament and the British public, and to give officials confidence that their work is proceeding effectively, can only be undertaken if there is a clear and well-documented statement at country or conflict level of how the CPP measures fit within an overall strategy for preventing violence.

6.2 Implications for the Joint PSA Target

189. The ToRs request that if the evaluation finds that the CPPs should be continued, recommendations should be made on how to clarify the relevant targets (both PSA and SDA) to make them more measurable. Section 2 of the ToRs on key objectives for the evaluation specifically mentions the need to devise:

- An outline set of performance indicators relating to all levels of the operation (micro or project, meso or country, and macro or international) and stages of implementation (process, output, impact).
- Baselines against which progress can be measured, and key sources of data to verify baselines and indicators.

190. Our analysis of this requirement proceeds below in two parts, discussion of the joint PSA target and a discussion of indicators. It concludes with a general recommendation which is supported by Annex 5, which gives a detailed presentation of an outline set of indicators and baselines that can be used for measuring progress.

191. Taking the joint PSA target first, it is important to emphasis that the scope of the joint target extends to all UK conflict prevention policy, not just that funded by the CPPs. In seeking to deliver on the joint target, all three Departments responsible for delivering against the target (DFID, FCO and MOD) can draw on a wide range of instruments, only a small proportion of which are funded jointly through the CPPs. Moreover, other PSA targets of the individual Departments indirectly address conflict prevention. These are listed in Annex 6.[108]

192. The SR2000 Cross-cutting Review on conflict beyond Sub-Saharan Africa did not envisage a specific PSA or SDA 'for this or any other cross-cutting review', since the contributions envisaged by government Departments were already set out in their PSAs.[109] For convenience, the review set out suggested targets for joint action in PSA/SDA form. As a result of subsequent discussions, however, a joint PSA was agreed in July 2000 that was based largely on these targets. It reads as follows:

'To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management, as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and by a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution'.

[108] The formulation of the relationship between the joint conflict PSA target and departmental objectives is a little problematic in the case of DFID, where the joint PSA target is presented as of relevance only to poverty reduction in Sub-Saharan Africa. There is no reference to the joint PSA target under the objective of reducing poverty in Asia.

[109] Conflict Prevention beyond Sub-Saharan Africa, draft report, May 2000, p 27.

193. Further discussions subsequent to the establishment of the CPPs resulted in a Technical Note (23 November 2000) which established two types of measures of progress towards the PSA target:

- at a high level, using data from International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the incidence of conflicts, conflict-related displacement and war-related casualties in all countries and regions where activities are funded by the Pools. Change in the risk of future conflict will also be assessed; and
- at an intermediate level, against the objectives for programmes funded from the Pools.

194. A further Technical Note was issued on 31 March 2003 that elaborated these targets. In particular it was agreed that:

- targets for 2000–06 changes in fatalities and refugees would only apply to selected countries (presumably chosen because of substantial Pool programme involvement, but more information is required on this). These are: Afghanistan, Nepal, Macedonia, Georgia, Israel/Occupied Territories, Sri Lanka for the GCPP; Sierra Leone, DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Angola, Nigeria for the ACPP; and
- these numerical targets would contribute 50 per cent to PSA targets. The other 50 per cent would be 'Conflict Level Assessment Tool sub-targets' (this is a new product, called the Conflict Prevention Index, which estimates changes at country level in risk of violent conflict. The Technical Note is yet to be revised to reflect its use).

195. In seeking to deliver on the joint target, all three Departments can draw on a wide range of instruments, only a small proportion of which are funded jointly through the CPPs. Conflict prevention has always been an important objective in much of the FCO's diplomatic work, as it has been for many MOD policies, combat operations[110] and operational deployments. A large part of DFID work is, or should be, implicitly informed by conflict prevention objectives, and a major attempt is now being made to ensure that its official development assistance (oda) programme becomes more 'conflict sensitive'.

196. Responsibility for delivery of the joint conflict PSA target is shared by DFID, FCO and the MOD. According to a number of officials whom we interviewed in both HMT and the Cabinet Office, however, the only mechanism through which reporting against the joint PSA takes place is through those officials centrally responsible for the GCPP and ACPP, who are in turn overseen and directed by DOP (OA) and DOP (A). An examination of the records of the discussions on the CPPs by these Ministerial committees suggests, however, that neither the ACPP nor the GCPP has seen it as their task to report on the integration of overall UK policy-making on conflict prevention. This is despite the fact that a recent GCPP policy document noted that its role is 'to integrate UK policy-making so that the three Departments can develop shared strategies for dealing with conflict'.[111]

[110] On occasions, a limited use of military force is an important tool to prevent escalation of one conflict or the possible outbreak of others.
[111] 'The Global Conflict Prevention Pool: a joint UK Government approach to preventing conflict', 2003.

197. Instead, this reporting has focused primarily on the contribution which programmes funded from the CPPs have made. The level of analysis of peacekeeping spending under the two Pools has been more limited, despite the fact that such spending accounts for around 70 per cent of total CPPs' spending, and the attention given to reporting on peacekeeping impacts under the joint PSA target, has declined since early 2002. There has been little attempt to report on the extent to which Departmental activities funded from non-CPP budgets contribute to the joint conflict PSA target. Nor have Departments reported against the joint PSA target in their own delivery plans except by reference to the achievement of programmes under the CPPs.

198. The 2003 DFID Annual Report noted that the joint conflict PSA target, as laid out in the Technical Note, was 'on course' to be met. This assessment was based in large part on the reduction in conflict-related deaths in DRC from 16,000 to 4,000 between 2000 and 2001, in Angola from 6,000 to 1,000, and in Sierra Leone from 3,000 to less than 50 (according to IISS data). The Annual Report gave little assessment of how the joint target was met in other conflict zones. Other Departments did not report against the joint target in these terms.

199. One of the main purposes of the joint PSA target was to enshrine conflict prevention as an independent objective in its own right, standing alongside other PSA targets. Yet there has been a clear tendency for individual Departments to view the joint target as subordinate to other higher-level Departmental objectives (poverty reduction in Africa in the case of DFID, achieving success in military tasks in the case of MOD). Moreover, in practice the joint target is only seen as a relevant cover, at least in PSA terms, for spending carried out from the CPP budgets. This has significantly weakened the pressure on officials to operate the CPPs in ways that would meet their stated objective of progressively integrating UK conflict prevention policy-making across the three Departments.

200. The Evaluation found that most officials regarded the target as having no meaningful impact on how they organised their work, either for decisions on CPP measures or more broadly. Many officials praised the existence of what they term 'a permissive PSA', which enables task managers to react in different ways to an, often rapidly evolving, situation on the ground. In terms of internal coherence, the joint PSA target and its associated mode of quantitative assessment contained in the Technical Note were seen to be irrelevant to day to day decisions. Both are discussed below, but it is more likely that weaknesses in the joint PSA target and its Technical Note are not the main reason for the officials' lack of confidence in them.

201. Officials regularly discussed with the Evaluation team their unease at not knowing how to assess the impact of the conflict prevention measures they were implementing. Other officials expressed unease at the absence of appropriate conflict assessments which would have set a basic baseline against which the conflict prevention measures could be devised and assessed for impact over time. Some of these officials expressed frustration at not knowing which prevention measures work better than others. There was also a certain confusion about the relationship between the CPPs and other UK conflict prevention policies. These circumstances all relate to each other, and all have contributed to the lack of confidence in the joint PSA target.

202. Confidence in the current joint PSA target is unlikely to improve until the linkages between the component targets and indicators and the overarching target are clear. The SR2000 Cross-cutting Review on Sub-Saharan Africa devoted two pages to what a set of indicators might look like for CPP work. It identified three groups of indicators: higher level (like the current joint PSA target), country level and other indicators (relating to process). It noted correctly that success of the policy objectives 'at an operational level ... would most easily be captured by targets directed at individual countries (or conflicts)'. It discussed indicators and objectives together, and noted that setting objectives depended on joint assessment and priority setting.

203. The SR2000 Cross-cutting Review on Africa did not share the view that it is difficult to devise meaningful conflict level performance indicators. The review mentioned several easily quantifiable indicators.

204. In reporting under the joint PSA target, HMG would more easily establish credibility for its claims if it could show it has measured performance at the country/conflict level on a systematic basis. A clear corollary of this is that HMG should move away from funding strategies for the CPP programmes that do not demonstrate clear links to the joint PSA target and its component, country-level, indicators and targets.

205. Provided that HMG moves toward a systematic and comprehensive approach to conflict-specific indicators and targets, the Evaluation team recommends that the current joint PSA target should be retained in a slightly amended form. Based on the new agreed system of indicators and targets, both CPPs could budget for a rolling program of country-level or conflict-level evaluations focusing on the effectiveness of the CPP measures for specific conflicts. It may only be through a sustained programme of such evaluations across a wider sample of countries that the question of cost-effectiveness can be answered.

206. The amendment proposed is necessary to redress the current weaknesses in the joint target's failure to deal adequately with attribution and the attenuated link between the UK contribution and conflict prevention outcomes. At present, the quantitative measurement outlined in the Technical Note (in Annex 7) directly links assessment of the success of UK conflict prevention policies and specific measures to outcomes and impacts over which the UK has no direct control. Yet the Technical Note also states that it is difficult to isolate the UK's distinct contribution from other international—or for that matter domestic—actors, especially as the UK cannot control the policies of other actors. In almost every one of the 14 countries to be used as the baseline (with the *possible* exception of Sierra Leone), the UK is not the most influential external actor, as measured either by funds disbursed or military personnel deployed. In any case the success or otherwise of conflict prevention efforts cannot be adduced simply to the role of external governments. Intervening factors make it impossible to relate the impact of specific HMG measures to a rise or fall in the number of deaths. In the case of Nepal for example, the UK conflict prevention strategy should not be held accountable for the increase in civil war dead over the 2001–03 period. In Angola, by contrast, the number of battle fatalities has been reduced sharply over the 2001–03 period. However, the main reason for this may have been the death of the rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, and this was arguably due more the result of increased international military and intelligence assistance to the Angolan government than of the relatively small

UK programme of reconciliation work funded by the CPPs. DFID's Annual Report acknowledges that the quantitative assessment underpinning its positive report against the joint PSA target is problematic because of difficulties in isolating the UK's distinct contribution from that of other international actors. The Government also recognises the problems of data quality that are involved, given the difficulty involved in collecting accurate information on conflict-related deaths.[112] Other statistical choices also create concern. There is the issue of which baseline date is used, and what is the appropriate time period for measuring the effectiveness of the UK contribution.

207. The Technical Note provides for a qualitative measurement of reduction of potential sources of future conflict. This measure was introduced precisely to mitigate the weaknesses of the quantitative targets. The use of such an assessment as a performance measure of government policy would be quite reasonable if HMG could document which specific causes of conflict its policies were expecting to address or pre-empt. According to the Technical Note, the use of this qualitative assessment of performance against the joint PSA target was to be based in part on a proposed new 'Conflict Level Assessment Tool'. The qualitative measure was also to be based in part on an assessment of the UK success in mobilising an effective international response. As reported in section 3 of this report, the CPPs have neglected this area, and officials do not generally monitor it.

208. A performance measure for CPP programmes must capture faithfully the essence of the objective in a way that describes the contribution which programme activities will make to the desired outcome. There is a shared understanding of how actions may impact on the desired outcome, but since the UK may not be the main influence, its relationship to these other influences must also be addressed.

209. In light of the foregoing, one possibility for useful improvement of the current joint PSA target would be to amend it so as to clarify the attribution issue. This concern could be addressed by choosing one of the three minor re-wordings of the current joint PSA target below, with changes indicated in italics:

(1) 'To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution to *coordinated international efforts* at conflict prevention and *reduction,* as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict or the threat of violent conflict and as a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution'.

Advantage: This would make a clearer linkage with the more powerful other influences on the outcome and identifies more sharply that UK contributions are more likely to be effective if well coordinated with efforts of other key states and organisations. It also deletes the term 'conflict management' and replaces it with 'conflict reduction'.

[112] Conflicts generate inherently contentious streams of information. The Technical Note as it is currently formulated requires use of the SIPRI, IISS, and UNHCR data. This data is not necessarily up to date, and is in some instances guided by institutional bias. For example, even in the relatively measurable issue of repatriation figures for Burundi refugees from Tanzania back to Burundi in 2002 UNHCR has provided diverging figures from its Branch Office in Bujumbura and that in Dar Es Salaam.

(2) 'to improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and reduction, where the UK can make a significant contribution'

Advantage: This would delete the language about how conflict prevention and reduction is measured and leave that to the Technical Note.

(3) 'To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution *to coordinated international efforts* at conflict prevention and *reduction,* where the latter is *defined as* a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict or the threat of violent conflict and as a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution'.

Advantage: This would change 'as demonstrated by' to 'is defined as'. It would clarify that 'a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected' is intended to be a definition of what is meant by 'conflict prevention and management' rather than a measurement of it. Alternatively, this change could be made in a revised Technical Note, obviating the need for a revised wording of the target.

210. The three alternatives have been listed above in preferred order. The first is arguably the better and easier revision, provided that a revised Technical Note takes into account the definition/measurement point underlying alternative 3.

211. One additional comment needs to be made. It could be argued that a revision of the current joint PSA target along the lines suggested above does not meet the requirement to identify verifiable outcomes. The Evaluation Team's preference would be to meet this requirement at the level of individual conflicts, not at a global level. To the extent that it is thought necessary to do so at this level, however, a possible alternative joint PSA target might be as follows:

'To create and promote new incentives and opportunities where they matter most for conflict prevention'.

212. This proposed PSA target would allow for an incremental, and measurable, approach by HMG to contributing to the outcome, an approach which may be judged successful even when in the final event a conflict does occur or grow, for reasons which are outside the control of the UK and its partners.

6.3 Analysis and Recommendations

213. The Evaluation has identified six broad areas that warrant consideration as possible areas for improvements to the current situation:

- lack of an agreed analytical framework for assessing conflict and weighing policy responses;
- no agreed benchmarks on what constitutes effective and efficient conflict prevention;
- widely differing views of the purpose of the CPPs;

- inconsistent in-country priority setting;
- incomplete or inconsistent institutional arrangements in Whitehall; and
- limited additional coordination within the CPP framework for mobilisation of international partners.

214. It is unlikely that these apparent shortcomings can be overcome through incremental change within existing systems. There needs to be a driver of policy development with sufficient authority and political will to draw the disparate elements together and to shape and disseminate the missing agreed frameworks and commonly agreed benchmarks.

215. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider establishing a more disciplined, sustained and economical method of conflict analysis and early warning within the CPP system, and consider whether it should be based on the SCA model developed by DFID* (Recommendation #1).

216. Effective conflict prevention relies on high quality intelligence and analysis; and joined up conflict prevention depends on a shared understanding of the conflict dynamics under scrutiny. This is an area in which the Evaluation Team found the Pool strategies to be generally weak. The SCA model developed by DFID could be the foundation for whatever new system is jointly agreed by the three Departments. In strengthening the ability of the Pools to fulfil their intended roles, the Evaluation would anticipate that the CPPs should increase their role as a direct 'customers' for the services of those HMG organisations charged with providing relevant analysis (e.g. JIC, DIS, DFID research). It will be important that these organisations are able and willing to respond to such requests, not least in relation to conflicts that may be seen as lower priority.

217. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider how the thematic strategies can be connected more effectively to country strategies* (Recommendation #2).

218. The GCPP allocates around 30 per cent of its programme spending (£25.5 million in 2003/4) to its thematic strategies. In the ACPP, around £5 million has been allocated to strengthening regional organisations and peacekeeping capacities.[113] A large part of GCPP thematic spending is devoted to Sub-Saharan Africa. The ACPP is increasingly developing sub-regional strategies. Officials should ensure that these are linked to country engagement papers. The two main thematic strategies studied in this evaluation (UN and SSR) have increased HMG focus on key areas of work, as well as achieving significant success in enhancing the capabilities of the UN and spreading good practice in relation to SSR. Both case studies showed the potential for greater impact in specific conflict situations from the work of thematic strategies. This has been recognised within the ACPP. Officials are now looking at the possibility of appointing an Africa-specific SSR adviser, though the post would not be funded from the ACPP.[114]

[113] See Annex 1, Tables 1 and 2, for a comparison between GCPP and ACPP programme spending on thematic or functional activities

[114] Interview with DFID official.

219. It may now be timely to consider whether the CPPs should prioritise the development of other thematic strategies or functions. Since the thematic strategies serve both Africa and the rest of the world, it would make sense for both the GCPP and ACPP Steering Groups to work together on this, in close consultation with relevant country desks or strategy managers. One possibility would be to develop a thematic strategy on economic and financial aspects of conflict, focusing in particular, as in the case of the SSR Strategy, on spreading best practice and providing technical assistance in areas such as preventing the domination of economies by armed factions, undermining incentives to finance war through the predatory extraction of natural resources, and the strengthening of UK policies that might help deter the economic and financial incentives to increase conflict. The ACPP already has a 'thematic focus' on economic and financial causes of conflict, but there has only been very limited activity in this regard, and the ACPP Steering Group is looking at ways of enhancing this work.

220. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider a review of the geographic spread of CPP programme spending* (Recommendation #3).

221. CPP programme spending is in some cases already concentrated, with Afghanistan and Sierra Leone taking a large share of country allocations. While some other countries also receive significant allocations of around £3–4 million, most CPP country programmes consist of less than £2 million in annual expenditure. Spending under the thematic strategies is also spread over a large number of partner countries. This may mean that the Pools are spreading their resources too thinly and emphasises the need for regular review in order to avoid 'commitment creep'. A key criterion in deciding whether to fund activities in a particular country should continue to be whether the UK is particularly well-placed to make a significant contribution to conflict prevention. An assessment of what the EU, or other major international actors, are doing in the particular conflicts, or could do with UK support, should also be a much more conspicuous part of CPP thinking.

222. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider whether conflict-specific strategies should be placed ahead of regional or even country strategies as the departure point for setting spending priorities within the CPPs* (Recommendation #5).

223. A strategy to prevent an outbreak of large scale deadly violence or to contain it must be conflict-specific. Since this often concerns events that cross national and regional boundaries, strategies within the CPPs must first be expressed in conflict-specific terms, before being aggregated into regional strategies.

224. The GCPP allocates around 35 per cent of its programme spending (£32.7 million in 2002/3 and £32.1 million in 2003/4) through four regional strategies (Balkans, MENA, FSU, and Central and Eastern Europe: CEE). The CEE strategy is being wound down now, but the other three continue to support a significant number of relatively small allocations to individual countries. Some of these regional strategies appear to lack overall coherence and are vulnerable to the criticism that they are ad hoc aggregations of country and thematic projects. The GCPP have found little value in a South Asia strategy and have therefore moved towards strategies for specific countries (Sri Lanka, Nepal) or specific conflicts (India/Pakistan/Kashmir). This Evaluation concluded that the aggregated Russia

and FSU Strategy added little to the development of effective conflict prevention strategies in relation to the diverse specific conflicts in the region. The ACPP does not have formal regional strategies in the same way as the GCPP, and has concentrated its prioritisation much more immediately on specific countries. In most cases, this means that most ACPP funding decisions are based on prioritisation of specific conflicts, not geographical sub-regions. But even in the ACPP work, there may be room to install the principle that conflicts not countries should be the organisational rubric.

225. Patterns and dynamics of conflicts, and risks of conflict, generally have important regional or trans-national dimensions. There is therefore value in having over-arching regional or sub-regional strategies, once the requirements and functions of the regional strategies have been clarified. They could provide a number of benefits, including: enhancement of conflict prevention and reduction efforts by taking appropriate account of the cross-border and regional dimensions of the conflict processes; improvement in the exchange of information and lessons-learned across similar conflict prevention and reduction activities in the region; facilitation of support for relevant cross-border or regional cooperation; enhancement of cost-effectiveness and efficiency by facilitating the pooling of resources for conflict prevention or reduction by the UK and other partners in the region; and strengthening the engagement with relevant regional and sub-regional organisations and networks.

226. Within a large region, such as Sub-Saharan Africa or South and East Asia, it could be appropriate to develop several sub-regional conflict prevention strategies to address distinctive conflict complexes.

227. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider a review of the geographical and thematic organisation of the CPPs* (Recommendation #5).

228. The present geographical and thematic organisation of the CPPs should be reviewed to ensure that it is most effective for overall management, analysis and experience-sharing. One option would be to move towards a number of geographically-based CPPs, as long as one of these remained dedicated to Sub-Saharan Africa—the present ACPP. The other Pools could cover: the Middle East and North Africa, including Iraq (involving approximately £12 million annual current programming); Europe and the Former Soviet Union (about £23 million); and South and East Asia, including Afghanistan (around £25 million). Each of these Pools would have responsibility for managing a budget allocation for both programme and peacekeeping spending, and for managing the development and implementation of CPP conflict prevention policy priorities, strategies and activities in the region in question. The introduction of these larger regional CPPs might facilitate the dissolution of some existing smaller regional strategies, such as the FSU strategy, that presently lack overall coherence.

229. The above option is presented for illustrative purposes. There are several other possible options for reorganising the CPPs, each with its benefits and drawbacks. They should be systematically reviewed to identify the optimal system for effective management. Any such review would also have to take into account possible impacts on the operations and roles of the DOP (A) and DOP (OA) Cabinet sub-committees.

230. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider the creation of a new standing mechanism, a process not a unit, to link the CPPs to the rapidly developing EU conflict prevention capacities and activities* (Recommendation #6).

231. The leverage offered by EU resources, if combined with the UK's leading-edge thinking in key areas of conflict prevention, is potentially substantial. Few officials interviewed by the Evaluation were aware of the rapid advances in EU capability in the past three years. But the rapidly developing capacity, analyses and responses of EU agencies, and EU member-states should become a central reference point for most CPP activities. There will be additional transaction costs. The EU has not been an easy organisation to deal with. These costs will almost certainly be outweighed by the ability to lever larger EU resources in support of CP agendas supported by the UK. Over time, this process can bring considerable efficiencies and economies not just to UK CPP efforts, but to wider UK conflict prevention policy and to EU responses to conflict. The burden for this may have to fall to the UK mission to the EU in Brussels. There is a need for much better information flow and policy discussion between those in the UK Representation dealing with EU conflict prevention policy and those involved in drafting CPP-related strategy documents. At a minimum, a CPP strategy document should analyse how UK policies will sit alongside EU policies, both at the inter-governmental level and in terms of what other individual EU members are doing.

232. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider how to articulate more clearly the way in which the CPPs might be used to meet expectations that they can be used to mobilise key international partners in specific conflicts* (Recommendation #7).

233. The question of how effectively the CPPs had been used to mobilise other international actors in support of UK conflict prevention measures did not figure prominently in the SR2000 reviews. It has been of growing concern of HMG since then. It is of considerable importance to the Government that it is able to spread the financial burden of conflict prevention to countries that are certainly able to pay, but only seldom step forward to advance common interests in this way. The way this can best be achieved in both conflict assessment and joint priority setting processes needs sharper emphasis.

234. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG consider increasing the level of staff resources to be made available for managing the CPP system and activities* (Recommendation #8).

235. The commitment of officials to the CPPs has been substantial, both in terms of sharing its values and delivering effective outcomes. However, current levels of staffing do not permit the CPPs to be used for the integrating and mobilising roles for which they were created. If this is to change, the Pools will need appropriate personnel policies and practices to recruit, train and support appropriately qualified people.

236. At present, CPP allocations cannot be used to meet the costs of administering these Pools. HMT has made it clear that Departments are expected to support Pool administration from their own budgets. This arrangement has not been satisfactory. There are two possibilities. One would be for the CPPs to be permitted to spend a proportion of their financial allocation on management and administration. Such an arrangement has recently

been agreed for the GOF. The case for such an arrangement is stronger for an inter-Departmental pool than it is for one organised for a single department, given the tendency of Departments to give their own individual requirements a higher priority than contributing to the 'collective good' of the CPPs. An alternative possibility would be for Departments themselves to be asked to agree collectively to provide additional personnel resources for the CPPs.

237. Drawing on suggestions from a number of senior officials interviewed, there may be a requirement to ensure that there is a strategy manager for each conflict with the experience and qualifications to understand the nature of conflict, and the authority to shape inter-Departmental and Cabinet Office responses to conflict.

238. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG explore the costs and benefits of creating a Joint Conflict Prevention Coordination Unit, staffed by the three Departments, with a permanent representative of the JIC and DIS* (Recommendation #9).

239. The recent establishment within Departments of new units or investigations dealing with some aspect of conflict (FCO's Post-Conflict Unit, DFID's Development in Difficult Environments Unit, the Cabinet Office review of policy toward failed and failing states, the review of HMG mechanisms for planning complex post-conflict interventions, and the establishment within GOF of a funding stream on relations with the Islamic World) have created a bureaucratic environment which could duplicate certain CPP roles. To avoid this and to strengthen the ability of the Pools system in order to realise its full potential, the Evaluation Team recommends an analysis of the benefits and costs of a new central mechanism, such as a dedicated Conflict Prevention Coordination Unit.

240. This unit could provide a range of services to the geographical Pools, such as staff development and training for conflict advisors; advice on generic issues of conflict analysis and on relations with international organisations; and spreading best practice in conflict prevention. It could be directly responsible for existing thematic strategies as well as possible new ones mentioned above.

241. One of the responsibilities for the new unit could be to report on the progress of the jointly developed conflict prevention strategies for each country. At present, at least in the GCPP review in 2002/3, strategy managers focused their reports mainly on activities and projects within the remit of the CPP and not on the progress of the jointly agreed strategy. For the ACCP, the Evaluation found little evidence of dedicated, detailed reporting or review of funded measures. The main formats for reporting were either subsumed into broader reporting arrangements or reported in brief in the ACPP quarterly financial reports.

242. There are three main reasons for suggesting that the JIC and DIS could post officers to the new unit. The first would be to ensure that there is an effective 'panic button' response for early warning. A dedicated Early Warning Officer could even be appointed within the proposed unit. That Officer would be responsible for regular review of all available sources of early warning data and, more importantly, for drawing the attention of relevant officials to developing crises requiring immediate attention. Close relationships with the units responsible for early warning in the UN and EU, as well as other national governments

and NGO's, would be key. The second reason is that good conflict assessment is highly unlikely to be produced by officials if they do not have appropriate guidance from others experienced in intelligence sources and methods, and assessment processes such as JIC and DIS officers. A third reason is that the JIC and DIS officers would be able to exploit existing intelligence assessments, especially from allied sources, such as the USA, Canada, France, and Australia, and thereby eliminate the need for a lot of new work that might otherwise be funded by the CPPs.

243. Another intelligence issue that needs to be addressed is the use of classified information in support of the CPPs, especially within DFID. The sanitising of classified assessments and information is a major task that cannot be carried out by the steering groups as they are currently equipped.

244. The net resource impact of the recommendation need not be great. It could be limited to the commitment of a relatively small number of additional officials from the Departments concerned, together with a commitment of full-time officials to the early warning function.

245. *The Evaluation recommends that HMG review the presumed link between increases in programme spending and a reduction in costs to the Treasury Reserve for peacekeeping* (Recommendation #10).

246. One of the motivations behind the 2000 decision to establish the Pools was a requirement to control peacekeeping spending in the aftermath of Bosnia and Kosovo. As a consequence, both CPPs include budgets for peacekeeping, amounting to 69 per cent of total planned CPP spending in 2003/4. A related initial purpose of the CPPs was to allow a greater trade-off between programme and peacekeeping expenditures. However, there is no adequate working mechanism for managing prioritisation between the two. One possibility to improve this would be to end the provision for the diversion of budgetary allocations between the programme and peacekeeping elements of the Pools, and accept that the attempt to provide effective overall management of these two elements has failed.

247. An alternative possibility would be to ensure that arrangements for joint financial management of peacekeeping and programme spending are strengthened. The relevant Pool steering groups would be asked to explicitly consider trade-offs between peacekeeping and programme commitments in their consideration of CP strategies and spending priorities. Such a role would be consistent with the expectation that the Pools must do more to meet their responsibility to be a mechanism for wider coordination of CP activities, including peacekeeping, across Whitehall.

248. It is not possible for the UK to unilaterally alter the scale of its assessed peacekeeping contributions to the UN and OSCE. The ability to make a trade-off with other peacekeeping and programme spending is limited. A compromise might therefore be to retain all minor non-assessed peacekeeping operations within the CPPs, but to remove assessed UN/ OSCE contributions. Such a solution would also help focus attention further on the considerable non-assessed military operations in which the UK is involved. On the other hand, there may also be some merit in giving the CPP steering groups a more direct role in relation to operations in which the UK is participating.

249 *The Evaluation recommends a review of the joint PSA target and the adoption of an agreed 'outline' set of outline performance indicators* (Recommendation #11).

250. This would make a clearer linkage with the more powerful other influences on the outcome and identifies more sharply that UK contributions are more likely to be effective if well coordinated with efforts of other key states and organisations. It also deletes the term 'conflict management' and replaces it with 'conflict reduction'. Officials will not have confidence in a joint PSA target unless they can see the relationship between the overall target and the large pyramid of component targets and indicators that must underpin it, and unless they can see the linkages between these component targets and indicators.

251. A performance measure for CPP programmes should capture the essence of the objective so that it encompasses the contribution that programme activities will make to the desired outcome. Since HMG is rarely going to be the main influence on conflict prevention or reduction. A joint PSA target should therefore address those other influences, particularly the need to mobilise other essential actors. A possibly useful amendment of the current joint PSA target would be:

> 'To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution *to coordinated international efforts* at conflict prevention and *reduction in conflict,* as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict or the threat of violent conflict and as a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution'.

ANNEX 1: GCPP AND ACPP PROGRAMME ALLOCATIONS AND PEACEKEEPING ESTIMATES 2003/4

Table 1: GCPP Programme Spending Allocations 2003/4[115]

Country/Region	
Afghanistan	15,100,000
Afghanistan: Counter-Narcotics	10,200,000
Balkans	11,500,000
Russia & FSU	11,500,000
Iraq	7,500,000
MENA	5,000,000
Nepal	6,000,000
Indonesia/ET	1,480,000
India/Pakistan	2,000,000
Sri Lanka	1,100,000
CEE	4,800,000
Belize/Guat	1,790,000
Thematic	
SSR	5,050,000
SALW	9,450,000
UN	10,690,000
EU	0
OSCE/CoE	1,000,000
SUB-TOTAL	**104,160,000**
QIP + Eval'n	1,150,000
Reserve	10,000,000
Quick Response Fund	5,000,000
TOTAL	**115,310,000**

[115] FCO, 'Global Conflict Prevention Pool 2003/4. Outturn/Forecast', undated.

Table 2: ACPP Programme Spending Allocations 2003/4

Geographical priorities	
Sierra Leone (DFID)	10,135,000
Sierra Leone (MOD)	13,135,000
Sierra Leone (FCO)	85,000
DRC (DFID)	2,980,000
Rwanda (DFID)	255,000
Burundi (DFID)	425,000
Uganda (DFID)	1,030,000
Uganda (MOD)	75,000
Nigeria (MOD)	255,000
Nigeria (DFID)	298,000
Nigeria (FCO)	662,500
South Africa (MOD)	765,000
South Africa (FCO)	425,000
Angola (DFID)	596,000
Somalia (DFID)	255,000
Sudan (FCO/DFID)	4,685,000
Kenya (DFID)	340,000
Kenya (MOD)	210,000
Ethiopia (DFID)	850,000
Ethiopia (MOD)	115,000
Functional/Thematic priorities	
Peace Support East Africa (MOD)	2,460,000
Peace Support West Africa (FCO)	2,267,500
Peace Support West Africa (MOD)	170,000
Pan-Africa Regional (DFID)	511,000
Total	**43,000,000**

Table 3: GCPP and ACPP Discretionary Peacekeeping & Peace Support Operations: 2003/4 First Quarter Estimates[116]

	Assessed	Discretionary	TOTAL
Africa Pool	79,331,199	6,378,971	86,626,793
Global Pool	64,756,560	228,206,328	292,962,888
Total	144,087,759	234,585,299	379,589,681

[116] Figures supplied by FCO, 17 September 2003. Note: The information in this Table and Tables 4–7 regarding peacekeeping costs are February 2003 estimates. They are different from the figures for 2003/04 allocations provided in Table S1 in the Executive Summary and Table 1 in the body of the Report.

Table 4: GCPP Discretionary Peacekeeping & Peace Support Operations: 2003/4 First Quarter Estimates

COUNTRY/REGION	PROGRAMME/ACTIVITY	£
ALBANIA (FCO)	ECPAPA	0
ALBANIA (FCO)	OSCE	219,000
BOSNIA (FCO)	UNMIBH/ITPF	0
BOSNIA (FCO)	OSCE	982,000
BOSNIA (MOD)	PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS	81,667,000
BOSNIA (FCO)	EUPM	4,347,113
CROATIA (FCO)	OSCE	416,000
CYPRUS (FCO)	UNFICYP (MOD)	17,355,000
CYPRUS (FCO)	UNFICYP (CIVPOL)	393,630
EAST TIMOR (FCO)	UNMISET (MOD)	0
EAST TIMOR (FCO)	UNMISET (CIVPOL)	449,500
GULF (MOD)	PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS	0
GEORGIA (FCO)	UNOMIG (MOD)	636,000
GEORGIA (FCO)	OSCE	818,000
IRAQ (FCO/MOD)	UNMOVIC (FCO/MOD)	270,000
IRAQ/KUWAIT (FCO)	UNIKOM (MOD)	998,000
KOSOVO (FCO)	UNMIK (CIVPOL)	5,350,740
KOSOVO (FCO)	OSCE	2,392,000
KOSOVO (MOD)	PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS	59,145,000
MIDDLE EAST (FCO)	JERICHO MONITORING MISSION (MENA)	1,200,000
MIDDLE EAST (FCO)	EU MONITORING GROUP (MENA)	700,000
MIDDLE EAST (FCO)	UNMEPP	0
MIDDLE EAST (FCO)	QUARTET VERIFICATION MISSION (MENA)	3,400,000
NAGORNO-KARABAKH (FCO)	OSCE	55,000
WESTERN SAHARA (FCO)	MINURSO (MOD)	0
YUGOSLAVIA (FCO)	EUMM (OTHER)	442,800
MACEDONIA	EUPOL Proxima	0
IPU	CivPol mission costs	0
Sub-total		**181,236,783**
OSCE (Former Programme Activity)		
MACEDONIA (FCO)	OSCE	1,204,000
KAZAKHSTAN (FCO)	OSCE	0
KYRGYSTAN (FCO)	OSCE	99,000
UZBEKISTAN (FCO)	OSCE	0
TAJIKISTAN (FCO)	OSCE	99,000
MOLDOVA (FCO)	OSCE	55,000
BELARUS (FCO)	OSCE	0
AZERBAIJAN (FCO)	OSCE	55,000
ARMENIA (FCO)	OSCE	65,000
MONTENEGRO (FCO)	OSCE	0
FRY includes Montenegro (FCO)	OSCE	361,000
OSCE SECRETARIAT (FCO)	OSCE	391,000
Sub-total		**2,329,000**
FUNCTIONAL/THEMATIC		
KHMER ROUGE TRIBUNAL (FCO)	KRT	500,000
TOTAL—DISCRETIONARY		**184,065,783**

Table 5: GCPP Assessed Peacekeeping & Peace Support Operations: 2003/4 First Quarter Estimates

COUNTRY/REGION	PROGRAMME/ACTIVITY	£
ALBANIA (FCO)	OSCE	260,683
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (FCO)	OSCE	1,363,194
BOSNIA (FCO)	EUPM	2,375,000
BOSNIA (FCO)	EUPM	2,375,000
BOSNIA (FCO)	UNMIBH/ITPF	793,418
CROATIA (FCO)	OSCE	657,322
CYPRUS (FCO)	UNFICYP	985,909
EAST TIMOR (FCO)	UNMISET	7,816,952
GEORGIA (FCO)	UNOMIG	1,355,829
GEORGIA (FCO)	OSCE	1,409,069
GOLAN HEIGHTS (FCO)	UNDOF	1,743,055
IRAQ/KUWAIT (FCO)	UNIKOM	2,385,984
KOSOVO (FCO)	UNMIK	13,826,360
KOSOVO (FCO)	OSCE	3,739,455
LEBANON (FCO)	UNIFIL	4,204,855
NAGORNO-KARABAKH (FCO)	OSCE	137,261
WESTERN SAHARA (FCO)	MINURSO	1,658,651
FRY (FCO)	EUMM (includes carry over from 2001/2)	653,195
MACEDONIA	OP CONCORDIA	786,419
Sub-total		**46,152,611**
OSCE (Former Programme Activity)		
MACEDONIA (FCO)	OSCE	1,098,674
KAZAKHSTAN (FCO)	OSCE	69,859
TURKMENISTAN (FCO)	OSCE	57,912
KYRGYSTAN (FCO)	OSCE	93,028
UZBEKISTAN (FCO)	OSCE	64,175
TAJIKISTAN (FCO)	OSCE	181,710
CHECHNYA (FCO)	OSCE	28,500
ESTONIA (FCO)	OSCE	0
LATVIA (FCO)	OSCE	0
MOLDOVA (FCO)	OSCE	73,510
BELARUS (FCO)	OSCE	57,701
ESTONIA MIL PENSIONS (FCO)	OSCE	8,374
UKRAINE (FCO)	OSCE	64,032
AZERBAIJAN (FCO)	OSCE	81,584
ARMENIA (FCO)	OSCE	69,584
FRY includes Montenegro (FCO)	OSCE	642,676
Sub-total		**2,591,319**
FUNCTIONAL/THEMATIC		
YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL (FCO)	ICTY	5,181,495
ICC (FCO)	CRIMINAL COURT	2,863,676
Sub-total		**8,045,171**
TOTAL—ASSESSED		**56,789,101**

Table 6: ACPP Discretionary Peacekeeping & Peace Support Operations: February 2003/4 Estimates

COUNTRY/REGION	PROGRAMME/ACTIVITY	£
SIERRA LEONE	UNAMSIL MOD COSTS	2,144,000
SIERRA LEONE	UNAMSIL CIVPOL COSTS	466,630
DRC (UN)	MONUC MOD COSTS	665,000
DRC (UN)	MONUC CIVPOL COSTS	296,578
SUDAN	NUBA MOUNTAIN MONITORS + VMT	555,960
ETHIOPIA-ERITREA	UNMEE MOD COSTS	112,000
COTE D'IVOIRE	UN PKO MOD COSTS	138,803
DRC (EU)	OP ARTEMIS	0
LIBERIA	UNMIL MOD COSTS	0
Sub-total		**4,378,971**
FUNCTIONAL/THEMATIC		
SIERRA LEONE	SPECIAL COURT	2,000,000
BRINDISI	STRATEGIC DEPLOYMENT STOCKS	0
Sub-total		**2,000,000**
TOTAL—DISCRETIONARY		**6,378,971**

Table 7: ACPP Assessed Peacekeeping & Peace Support Operations: February 2003/4 Estimates

COUNTRY/REGION	PROGRAMME/ACTIVITY	£
SIERRA LEONE	UNAMSIL	23,197,063
BURUNDI	UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION	4,200,000
SUDAN	UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION	1,000,000
COTE D'IVOIRE	MINUCI	7,754,481
DRC (UN)	MONUC	31,189,225
ETHIOPIA-ERITREA	UNMEE	8,836,976
DRC (EU)	OP ARTEMIS	0
LIBERIA	UNMIL	0
Sub-total		**76,177,745**
FUNCTIONAL/THEMATIC		
RWANDA TRIBUNAL	ICTR	4,070,077
Sub-total		**4,070,077**
TOTAL—ASSESSED		**80,247,822**

ANNEX 2: TERMS OF REFERENCE AND INCEPTION REPORT: KEY POINTS

According to the ToRs, the Evaluation of the CPPs has two main purposes: to provide an assessment of their effectiveness, coherence and impact; and to make practical recommendations on how their effectiveness can be enhanced.

PURPOSE #1: EVALUATE THE CONFLICT PREVENTION POOLS

The first purpose of the Evaluation is to assess the effectiveness, coherence and impact of the CPPs against the objectives set out in a joint PSA and its related SDA shared by the FCO, DFID and the MOD. This is reproduced in Annex 5, but the main elements are set out below. The Evaluation was also required to assess the CPPs against one SDA from the PSA for HMT and one SDA from the Cabinet Office PSA. These two SDA objectives are included in the list immediately below:

Joint PSA Objective

- To improve the effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management, as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and by a reduction in potential sources of future conflict (PSA).

SDA Objectives

- To resolve existing violent conflicts and prevent new conflicts in priority countries and regions.

- To address the national and regional causes of conflict by strengthening local conflict management.

- To improve the international community's response to conflict by strengthening UN conflict management mobilising and supporting coherent bilateral and international action.

- To ensure greater VfM (from HMT PSA).

- To effectively coordinate work on cross-cutting issues, thereby helping Departments to help meet their own PSA objectives (from Cabinet Office PSA).

PURPOSE #2: RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENHANCE THE CPPS

The ToRs require the Evaluation to make recommendations on whether the Pools should continue. If the Evaluation recommends that the Pools should continue, it should make recommendations on how to revise or reform the Pools' procedures to improve efficiency and enhance impact. In that case, the Evaluation should make recommendations on how to clarify the PSA/SDA targets and 'make them more measurable', 'notably through the identification of clear baselines and better indicators'.

The Terms of Reference require the Evaluation to recommend methodologies which can be used in the future for quality enhancement. The TORs require the creation of an 'outline set of performance indicators', including process indicators, output indicators and indicative impact indicators for three levels of activity: macro, meso and micro. These will be associated with a set of baselines against which progress toward gross performance targets can be measured. This work will include information on sources of data by which the baselines and indicators can be verified.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

The ToRs identified Indicative Key Questions. The Evaluation addressed them under four simple headings as indicated below in bold, with the corresponding key questions from the ToRs in italic:

- **impact of the CPPs on targeted countries and regions:**
  How far, and in what ways, have the CPPs added value to UK and international efforts to resolve existing conflicts and prevent new conflicts' in priority countries and regions? (Q5)
  How far does the portfolio of activities supported through the CPPs help to address the root causes of conflicts, particularly, the 'economic and financial causes' as specified in the joint PSA? (Q6)

- **impact of the CPPs on international arrangements and organisations:**
  In what ways have the CPPs effectively promoted greater involvement of the international and agency partners in shaping UK priorities for conflict prevention? Have the CPPs strengthened international and regional partnerships in dealing with conflict? (Q7)
  In what ways have the CPPs contributed to improving the performance of the United Nations, and other regional organisations, in addressing conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations? (Q8)
  How do the CPPs affect peacekeeping operations, and vice versa, where they may both be operating? (Q4)

- **effect of the CPPs on relevant inter-departmental processes:**
  Have the CPPs created greater coherence in UK policy and practice, in the UK and at regional and country levels? (Q3)
  Are the CPPs structured in a way that is appropriate and coherent for the achievement of the objectives specified in the joint PSA, Technical Note and relevant departmental SDAs? (Q1)

- **consequences of the CPPs for financial management.**
  To what extent do the outputs of the pools represent good VfM? (Q2)

However, at the outset it was agreed in the Inception Report that the indicative questions focus a little too heavily on impacts and arguably do not give enough discrete emphasis to other important criteria for evaluation. The TORs require the Evaluation to assess the CPPs against four other important criteria apart from impact that are used by the DAC of

the OECD. These are: relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability. Having addressed the indicative questions, which mostly address impact, these additional criteria need to be addressed to determine VfM.

The issue of the financial arrangements for the CPPs (how allocations are made each financial year, and which department is assigned management and fiduciary responsibility for certain programmes and spending) was understood to be an implicit part of the question about 'consequences for financial management'. But at the micro- and meso-level, the issue of financial arrangements was not canvassed in this way. This was mainly an issue at the macro-level. The main aspect of 'financial arrangements' discussed at the country and project level was a review of the mechanism for determining whether CPP-funded activities had been subject to a VfM test relative to other possible activities not funded by the CPPs.

METHODS USED: EVIDENCE BASE AND BENCHMARKS

The methodology for the analysis of the CPPs has been to assess changes made or achieved against objectives over their two and a half year life-span and where these changes can be reasonably attributed to the existence of the CPPs. This Evaluation is not so much about the efficacy of policies supported by the CPPs, though this is an important part of the Evaluation. The requirement is rather more about whether the CPPs as a mechanism enhance or constrain the delivery of those policies.

The Evaluation took a two-pronged approach in its methodology. The first addressed the functioning of the CPPs at the macro level (from the Whitehall perspective) and was a review of processes established by the Pools. The aim was to analyse the internal coherence and functioning logic of the Pools. The second prong of the approach was to undertake six case studies, to test the performance of the CPPs against the sorts of considerations discussed above (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, sustainability). There were four country/region case studies (Sierra Leone, Sudan, Afghanistan and the Former Soviet Union) and two thematic studies (SSR and the UN).

The Evaluation was based substantially on evidence collected in the case studies (the meso level): the effect of CPP interventions on a given conflict or a given set of conflict dynamics. This analysis drew, of necessity, on the micro level (individual projects) only to the extent that this reflected on the meso and macro levels.

A fundamental reference point for the Evaluation has been the following general question, for reasons outlined later in section 4 on causes of conflict and appropriate UK policy responses:

> For named targets (individuals, groups or institutions) most likely to affect the prospects for conflict prevention or management, what change were the CPP initiatives in that strategy trying to bring about or promote in the behaviour of the targets.

Case study authors were asked to contrast the UK strategy with a set of policy proposals for conflict prevention goals in the named country/region or thematic activity that have been devised outside HMG. This independently-derived set of policy proposals was used in each case study as a benchmark for consideration of whether HMG had selected an optimum portfolio of activity and whether the components selected are mutually reinforcing to achieve optimum synergy to promote conflict prevention.

ANNEX 3: OPERATIONAL RESPONSES TO THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT

As indicated in the Inception Report, the Evaluation's interest in the causes of conflict is not in giving yet another summary of the issues, but in how the CPPs utilise existing work on the causes of conflict and frame policy actions to address them. The UK Government is primarily interested in the causes of conflict in terms of how to develop appropriate responses. In the words of three ministers: 'The challenge is to increase our understanding [of causes of conflict] and to translate this into more effective action to prevent and reduce conflict'.[117] Most governments in the developed world, including the UK, have now recognised their weaknesses, not in understanding the causes of conflict, but in shaping appropriate responses to it.[118]

The study of the causes of conflict is as old as philosophy itself, even if through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, understanding of these causes has deepened immeasurably. The question for HMG departments of state has not been to understand anew these causes, but rather to ensure that their staff and their international partners share a comprehensive and common understanding of them as a basis for their work on conflict prevention. Indeed one of the key justifications of the inception of the CPPs was to help ensure that the separate departments did much more to ensure that they were operating off a common understanding of the causes of conflict, using the new trilateral (joined-up) arrangements to do so.

When the CPPs were established, the three main departments (FCO, MOD and DFID) had quite distinct primary missions. Respectively, these were securing the UK and its interests within a more peaceful and stable world, providing and directing effective military forces, and international poverty alleviation. According to numerous officials interviewed, and our own observations, these three missions were supported by the quite different orientations of each department toward the causes of conflict, about how to analyse those causes and about how to respond to them.

HMG decided that these missions as expressed in the respective PSAs (and supporting policy processes) of individual departments did not capture the totality of objectives of the government's new aspirations for more effective conflict prevention, Accordingly, HMG devised a new PSA that might better and more comprehensively capture the totality of this new aspiration and devised a new joint PSA—the 'conflict PSA' referred to above. The distinct feature of this PSA is its commitment to preventing deadly conflict as an HMG objective in its own right, not simply a means towards the ends of departmental PSAs.

[117] DFID, FCO and MOD, 'The Causes of Conflict in Africa', September 2001. Foreword by Clare Short, Jack Straw and Geoff Hoon.

[118] The lessons of conflict prevention have yet to be fully learned by states and by international organisations. Where lessons have been exposed, these have yet to be significantly recognised, boiled down and utilised to inform decision-making', and 'reconnected to the actual routines and established processes of decision-making and implementation'. See Michael Lund, 'Operationalising Lessons from Recent Experience in Conflict Prevention', in *Lessons learned on Peacebuilding,* Working Document, International Conference on Prevention and Management of Violent Conflict and Building Peace, Gripsholm, 1–4 May 2001.

This was one of several indications that the establishment of the CPPs was intended to encourage the three departments to revisit their previous individual approaches to analysing, and responding to, the causes of conflict. In this regard, it is helpful to distinguish between two distinct operational cultures. They are more mutually reinforcing, at least potentially, than some practitioners credit, but the balance between the two cultures has not yet stabilised. The policy challenge for the government, and for the CPPs in particular, is to get the best from each of these two approaches: one deriving from a 'classic threat-driven foreign and security policy' and the other deriving from a 'security and development' approach.

I. CLASSIC FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The first operational culture is what might be termed 'classic foreign and security policy', and has traditionally been the remit of the FCO, the armed forces, the MOD, and other intelligence and security services. In the traditional diplomacy of a state, the goal of preventing—and if necessary winning—wars of national survival was a key plank of policy. Preventing deadly conflicts involving other states in strategic locations, where the state's vital national interests of a geopolitical and economic kind were perceived to be involved, also occupied a central position in the traditional diplomacy of a state.[119] This threat-driven approach constitutes the classic foreign and security policy approach to the causes of conflict and appropriate policy responses. In the UK's case, in the period since 1945, this area of policy has played itself out in many conspicuous ways, including involvement in the foundation and operations of the UN and its Security Council, involvement in the formation of defensive military alliances (NATO, SEATO), joining of the EC and support of its subsequent transformation into the EU, with its common foreign and security policy, and the shaping of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) agreement and its subsequent transformation into the OSCE.

Contrary to a commonly stated belief in much of the conflict prevention literature, the classic diplomacy of states like the UK not only addressed inter-state war, but it also involved internal war. In the UK's case in the period since 1945, this has been evident in UK involvement in violent conflicts arising as part of the decolonisation process, its participation in anti-communist counter-insurgency conflicts, and its experiences in the Northern Ireland anti-terrorist conflict.

The classic diplomacy of the UK addressed issues of economic and social development on a global basis, not least because of strategic necessity associated with decolonisation and counter-insurgency. Humanitarian motives for pursuing international development were also evident in the UK's classic diplomacy, as can be seen from the prominent role the UK played in the formation of the UN and its development and welfare agencies (UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO), the formation and operations of international development banks (World Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)), and in the UK's active program of international development cooperation over many years, including multi-donor coordination through such agencies as the OECD's Development Assistance Committee.

[119] In cases where national interests as classically defined are served by preventing war, as it was for the USA in the NATO-Warsaw Pact confrontation until 1989 or as it is for Japan and the USA in the China-Taiwan confrontation, then the goals of conflict prevention impinge much more on policy and the practices of conflict prevention begin to resemble those of classic foreign policy.

The importance attached by the UK to addressing the economic and social causes of conflict in 'classic foreign and security policy' is evident in the close institutional relationship between the FCO and the arm of the UK government involved in international development, sometimes as a sister department of state, such as the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) and (since 1997) DFID, and sometimes as a separate wing within the FCO (as with the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), in 1979–97). The role of this sister organisation was, however, seen as administering development assistance in pursuit of poverty reduction objectives. Characteristically, it did not involve itself in issues of conflict and security policy, except insofar as the aid budget was sometimes used to support strategically important bilateral relationships.

In conducting its classic foreign and security policy, the UK developed a comprehensive and for the most part effective mechanism for analysing the causes of conflict and appropriate policy responses: the process that the conflict prevention community now would call conflict impact assessment or Strategic Conflict Assessment. The agencies principally involved in this process include the Joint Intelligence Committee, the FCO (including embassies), the DIS, intelligence arms of the single military services (such as Naval Intelligence), MI5, MI6 and GCHQ. In the work of these agencies on strategic conflict assessments, the UK government has relied on numerous other agencies and organisations, including allied intelligence agencies, other cooperating governments, academic specialists, NGOs and even private citizens.

This work on the causes of conflict in the service of classic foreign and security policy has had four characteristics relevant to our understanding of the place of similar work in support of the CPPs. First, the work has rarely been undertaken by reference to a single manual on the general causes of conflict or best practice in addressing those causes. Rather, the government has relied heavily on the education, training and experience of thousands of committed staff operating in a time-tested system of competitive analysis, contested ideas, and critical review of assessments. In this work, the full diversity of possible causes of conflict identified by social scientists (especially economists), historians, psychologists, psychiatrists and philosophers was given considerable play. Few governments in the developed world have felt it either desirable or possible to write manuals on the causes of conflict for the purpose of providing in one book guidance for officials on understanding those possible causes. From time to time, attempts at generalisations of this sort have been made in order to crystallise common threads between particular conflicts or forms of violence. But explicit assessments at a general level on the causes of conflict have classically been regarded as the work of political philosophers or social historians, and good ones at that, and not the operating domain of officials or consultants. This reliance on unstated generalisations may have tended to reinforce conservatism amongst analysts.

Second, the strategic conflict assessment work has for the most part been specific to a country or specific to a locality inside a country. From time to time, transnational issues did arise because of cross-border problems. With less frequency, regionally oriented conflict assessments might have appeared in response to a problem common to several countries. With even less frequency, strategic conflict assessments have addressed transcontinental or global phenomena. When this has occurred, there has usually been a very specific single reference point, such as Soviet military assistance, the proliferation of nuclear

weapons, or the impact of HIV/AIDS. One very clear implication of the time-honoured UK system of conflict assessment in support of classic foreign and security policy is that it has for the most part addressed the causes of conflict from a specific issue perspective: a locality, a country, an actor, or a threat.

Third, the UK's conflict assessment in support of classic foreign and security has always accorded politics a clear position of supremacy over the structural underpinnings of conflict, be they economic, social or military. It is for this reason that the Cabinet Office and the FCO have traditionally played the central role in coordination of strategic assessments before the emergence of the new conflict prevention agenda.

Fourth, the UK Government has long recognised strategic conflict assessment to be an immensely difficult, highly complex and resource intensive process which itself demanded deployment of enormous assets and a fairly vigorous system of prioritisation. The UK considerably narrowed its priorities in this sort of conflict assessment work as its strategic priorities narrowed, first after the military withdrawal from Asia and the Middle East in the 1960s and 1970s and then after the collapse of the USSR. Now, in response to the threat of terrorism arising especially from Islamist extremists, and the increased concerns over weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation, together with the enlargement of the EU and NATO, the UK is again in the process of altering its conflict assessment priorities and expanding its coverage, both in terms of geographic scope and the causes of conflict to which it is being forced to respond.

It is this system of strategic conflict assessment, and this system of analysing the causes of conflict, which underpins the bulk of spending by the CPPs. As discussed below, the lion's share of spending by the CPPs is taken by peacekeeping, an activity that engages the MOD and the FCO much more than DFID, and one that relies heavily on the classic modes of UK conflict assessment that reside in the UK intelligence community broadly defined, and which are not for the most part revealed in the public domain in much detail. But even for Programme spending in the CPPs, the bulk of the analysis on which funding decisions are made derives more from broader UK foreign policy and security interests than from a discrete effort to identify policy priorities for conflict prevention work within the framework of the CPP goals or any CPP system. As discussed in this report, this poses significant problems when seeking to establish what the distinct roles and functions of the CPPs are.

II. SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

The second operational culture might be termed the 'security and development approach', which in the UK has developed recently largely as a result of initiatives by DFID. Its main feature has been realisation that the best efforts of donor governments and international organisations to promote development in poorer countries were all too open to reversal if violent conflicts could not be prevented or contained. Another prominent feature of this operating culture is the importance it attaches to grass-roots politics, to civil society and to the structural causes of violence. There has been a high degree of bureaucratic determinism at play because development agencies, such as DFID, have been the main advocates of the need to address the causes of conflict where the UK's classic (geopolitical and economic) foreign and security interests were not seen to be in play.

One feature of the security and development approach has been its emphasis on 'human security', the need to protect people, not just at group or state level, but also at an individual and personalised level, from the depredations of violent conflict. The genocide in the former Yugoslavia and in central Africa in the 1990s, and the need for a variety of humanitarian interventions, gave special prominence to these issues and took them well beyond the preserve of the development agencies. New humanitarianism or human security approaches have been reflected in policy shifts by most donor governments, including the UK. The establishment of the International Criminal Court, following on the establishment of other special tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia, is evidence of even wider acceptance of the need to complement classic foreign and security policies with human security approaches.

III. HARMONISING THE TWO APPROACHES

Within HMG, to some appearances, the initiative for the harmonisation of the two approaches has remained with DFID, which in a number of steps set about articulating a UK conflict prevention policy framework, including through such things as development of its conflict assessment process[120] and the publication of its 2001 paper on the *Causes of Conflict in Africa.*[121] The conflict assessment process, now known as SCA, is a sophisticated conflict analysis and policy analysis tool, which in many respects mirrors the collective experience of the FCO, MOD, JIC, DIS and SIS. But as potentially powerful as the SCA is, it has been treated as an experimental tool in DFID itself, and it has not been effectively mainstreamed in the three departments. Most officials interviewed knew of it, but few were intimately familiar with the methodology.

However, as suggested above, the lack of published documents from either the FCO or MOD that resemble the DFID research and analysis effort should not give the impression that these two departments had no interest in or no appreciation of the causes of conflict or appropriate responses. It was more the case that the FCO and MOD were the beneficiaries of a pre-existing system attuned to UK policy responses in areas of perceived high strategic priority to the UK's foreign and security policy. As indicated above, however, the geographical scope of these priority areas has widened considerably in recent years (with the Balkans and Afghanistan, for example, graduating from being areas of primarily humanitarian interest a decade ago to being seen as areas of vital strategic concern).

The participation of the UK in the recent Utstein group's review of peacebuilding policies discussed above, and the associated publications, have the potential to bridge this gap between understanding the causes of conflict and framing policies that respond to them. But it is the persistence of this gap between recognition of the problem and effective response that has forced actors such as DFID to continue to rely on processes of strategic conflict assessment and analysis of the causes of conflict that sit somewhat outside of and independent from the main conflict assessment processes of HMG that reside in the Joint Intelligence Committee and its participating agencies. The world of classic foreign policy, now replaced by a broader vision, had been able to live without comprehensive conflict assessments for many countries. A government aspiring to effective conflict prevention in

[120] See DFID, 'Conducting Conflict assessments: Guidance Notes', January 2002. The principal authors of this were Jonathan Goodhand (a member of this Evaluation), Tony Vaux and Robert Walker.
[121] DFID, 'The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa: Framework Document', 2001.

a large number of countries around the world, no matter how small these countries are, cannot conduct such a policy effectively without high-quality conflict assessments for each conflict where it seeks to engage one of its principal preventive tools (in this case, the CPPs).

IV. TOOLS FOR PROMOTING CONFLICT PREVENTION[122]

In conflict prevention and management, there are many different instruments in the toolbox—diplomatic and political; legal; financial and economic; and ultimately military. Table 1 provides a checklist of the main conflict prevention and management tools. Significant international experience of failure and success in their use has now accumulated and case-studies of lessons learned are multiplying. It has become very clear that using the tools of conflict prevention is a far more complex operation than some of the earliest studies suggested.

Timing in the use of one tool or another can be everything,[123] and not all tools are available at each stage of the conflict cycle.[124] Some tools may not be appropriate either for the type of conflict or the specific circumstances of each conflict.[125] Moreover, the tools available to a national government or other local actors who are direct parties to a dispute are not the same ones available to external actors, such as great powers, leading donors, or international organisations (non-parties).[126] As an eminent practitioner has noted, 'if one intervenes to correct one factor, an imbalance will often appear somewhere else. The good clinician can never diagnose or treat any symptom in isolation'.[127] He believed that improved international conflict prevention efforts would only come after better harmonisation of the combined use of disparate tools.

Very useful checklists of tools have been created in a variety of forms, two of the most notable being the draft *Practical Guide* prepared by the Conflict Prevention Network (CPN) in 1999[128] for the European Union (EU) and a guide for practitioners prepared for the US Government (1997).[129-130] (US researcher Michael Lund, one of the most prolific and insightful authors on this subject, had a large part in both.)

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[122] This work draws heavily on earlier research work of one of the authors for the International Crisis Group.
[123] See Michael Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996) pp 86–90.
[124] This is a common theme in the literature. For a useful and brief treatment of it, see Preventing Deadly Conflict, p 330.
[125] See Michael Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', in Lund and Guenola Rasamoelina (eds), *The Impact of Conflict Prevention Policy: Cases, Measures, Assessments,* Nomos verlagsgesellschaft, Baden Baden, 2000, p 13; Report of the UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', A/55/985-S/001/574, 7 June 2001, p 17.
[126] For the general conclusion that the appropriate mix and application of measures varies according to the conflict and the circumstances, see International Peace Academy Workshop Report, 'From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict', 2001, p 3.
[127] David Lord Owen, 'A Clinician's Caution: Rhetoric and Reality', in Kevin M. Cahill (ed), *Preventive Diplomacy: Stopping Wars before They Start,* revised edition (New York: Routledge, 2000) p 5.
[128] Conflict Prevention Network, *Peace-Building & Conflict Prevention in Developing Countries: A Practical Guide,* (Draft) (Brussels and Berlin, June 1999) 282pp.
[129-130] Michael S. Lund, *Preventing and Mitigating Violent Conflict Conflicts: A Revised Guide for Practitioners* (Creative Associates International, April 1997) 357pp + appendices.

TABLE 1: LIST OF TOOLS FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT

(FOR INTRA-STATE AND/OR INTER-STATE CONFLICT)

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC

Representative, Responsive and Accountable Government
Commitment to Peaceful Resolution of Disputes
Mediation
Indirect Contacts, Special Envoys, Contact Groups
Fact-Finding Missions, Special Commissions
Diplomatic Sanctions
Political Sanctions
Support to a new civic agreement
Peace Treaty and Other Treaties
Regional Organisation Consideration and Action
UN Consideration and Action
Ending hate speech

MILITARY AND SECURITY

Provision of Security Guarantees
Confidence-Building
Professionalisation of Military Forces
Restructuring of Military Forces
Demobilisation
Disarmament
Military Alliance
Military-to-Military Programmes
Preventive Deployment
Arms Embargo
Show of Force
Punitive strikes
Peacekeeping Missions
Peace Enforcement

ECONOMIC

Balanced and Equitable Economic Development
Development Assistance and Institutional Reform
Fiscal Support, Structural Adjustment Programmes
Regional Integration
Humanitarian Aid
Sanctions
Inducements

LEGAL

Rule of Law
Treaty-Making
Professionalisation of Law Enforcement
Monitoring and Investigative Regimes
Independence of the Judiciary
Judicial Transparency
Legislative Review and Challenge
Truth Commissions and Tribunals for Grave Offences
Independent Complaint Mechanisms
Quasi-judicial Bodies
Arbitration and Adjudication

As comprehensive checklists go, it is impossible to do better than these, especially the latter product which extends over 350 pages, describing a large array of tools in detail, including lessons learned in particular conflicts. This report is available on the internet[131] and analysts interested in a more detailed treatment of any single tool can usefully consult that source. In December 2001, the CPN published a revised version of its guide on an interactive CD-Rom[132] which allows users to compile a list of tools (measures) according to the phase of conflict and the specific problems being experienced. Each measure has some description of what it involves.

But the toolbox inventory approach to conflict prevention, however important and useful, presents a somewhat disaggregated view of the conflict prevention agenda. There is a high degree of unanimity among writers on conflict prevention that the variety of available tools must be shaped to respond to the specific circumstances, and that there is a high degree of political art in applying the right combination of tools in the right sequence and at the right time.[133] Without this art, some conflict prevention efforts can provoke violence, rather than dampen it.[134] An inventory of tools that does not make basic distinctions for the type of actor (parties and non-parties), for the type of conflict (inter-state or intra-state), or for the phase of conflict may by itself be more misleading than useful.[135]

In going beyond the checklist literature to understand the art of conflict prevention, there is an even more voluminous literature comprising general guides and case studies. A Swedish government handbook, *Preventing Violent Conflict,* provides a useful guidebook of a more integrated kind than the exhaustive checklists.[136] The 1993 book, *Cooperating for Peace,*[137] by then Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, provides useful discussion of tools according to various phases of conflict within its broader analysis of the international system's response to the prevention agenda. Apart from the work by Lund mentioned, he has also undertaken seminal work of a broader qualitative kind. His shorter articles summarising the lessons learned are among the best qualitative guides available,[138] and his book, *Preventing Violent Conflicts,* is an excellent overview of the use of conflict prevention tools.[139]

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[131] http://www.ccii-dc.com.

[132] CPN, *Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building: A Practical Guide,* Stiftung fur Wissenschaft und Politik (Berlin, 2001).

[133] A colourful description of this problem using a cooking metaphor was provided by Gareth Evans in discussing the importance of political will in conflict prevention: 'we tend to talk about it as a single missing ingredient - the gelatine without which the dish won't set. The trouble with this metaphor ...is that it understates the sheer complexity of what is involved. To mobilize political will doesn't mean just finding that elusive packet of gelatine, but rather working your way through a whole cupboard-full of further ingredients.' Public Lecture, Centre for Study of Human Rights, London School of Economics, 2 February 2001.

[134] Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', p 18.

[135] For example, in 2001, the European Commission published a Communication on Conflict Prevention which on first reading makes it appear that the EU is using most of the tools on the composite check-list in Table 1. Closer examination however shows that this is not the case, and that the EU has a lot of work ahead in institutional and policy development before it begins to use many tools more appropriate for phases of conflict other than the peace-building phase. For a discussion of the phases of conflict see Appendix A. For discussion of EU approaches, see ICG Issues Report No. 2, EU Crisis Response Capability: Institutions and Processes for Conflict Prevention and Management, 26 June 2001.

[136] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Preventing Violent Conflict—A Swedish Action Plan* (Stockholm: Government Printing Office, 1999), 69pp.

[137] Gareth Evans, *Cooperating for Peace: The Global Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993) 210pp.

[138] See in particular, Michael Lund, 'Improving Conflict Prevention by Learning from Experience: Issues, Approaches and Results', in Lund and Rasamoelina (eds), *The Impact of Conflict Prevention Policy,* pp 63–88.

[139] Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts.*

Work by Barnett Rubin[140] and the Centre for Preventive Action in the US Foreign Relations Council, by the International Peace Academy in New York, and by counterparts in Europe (Conflict Prevention Network, European Platform for Conflict Prevention, International Alert), also provide a substantial body of highly focused work relevant to composing an annotated checklist of available tools or broader guides to conflict prevention practice. These are just some examples of the voluminous literature (hundreds of books and thousands of articles) drawing out the lessons for conflict prevention in the last decade or two.

V. DISTINGUISHING CAUSES AND TRIGGERS

In a number of recent publications issued by DFID, the causes of conflict in Africa have been identified as including:

- Weakening or collapsed state institutions, themselves frequently caused by abuse of political power, corruption, and the misuse of state sovereignty to serve narrow leadership, class or ethnic interests.
- Weakening, or absence, of state infrastructures—either physical (roads, trade) or social (services, judiciary), or the abuse of such infrastructures, such as the armed forces and law enforcement agencies.
- Economic collapse related to violence itself (destruction of crops, disruption to trade) and feeding the continuation of violence (where joining an armed force becomes a key means of livelihood).
- Historical (including colonial) factors have left a legacy of conflict in many countries, which may have reasserted themselves as an indirect effect of post-Cold-War disengagement by major powers.[141]

These sources have also identified other more secondary causes of conflict, including those related to poverty, ethnicity, arms proliferation, and lack of conflict mediation/arbitration processes. This approach emphasises the structural causes of violence. It has been entirely appropriate for development agencies to examine these underpinnings of violence since they are best equipped to address structural causes of violence.

Analyses such as these serve to mobilise support for and give direction to the CPPs in addressing structural causes of conflict where DFID is working. But HMG, through establishing the CPPs, is interested in other causes of conflict as well and how to develop appropriate responses.

The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, and a number of other sources, approach the causes of conflict somewhat differently from the emphasis on structural factors classically pursued by development agencies and push these structural factors into a secondary position. As the Carnegie Commission put it:

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[140] Two works in particular are worthy of mention: Barnett Rubin (ed), *Cases and Strategies for Preventive Action* (New York, NY: Century Foundation Press, 1998) and Barnett Rubin, *Blood on the Doorstep: The Politics of Preventive Action* (New York: Century Foundation, 2002).

[141] See for example, DFID, 'The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa', October 2001.

> In the Commission's view, mass violence almost invariably results from the deliberately violent response of determined leaders and their groups to a wide range of social, economic, and political conditions that provide the environment for violent conflict, but usually do not independently spawn violence.[142]

The Commission went on to say:

> Mass violence results when leaders see it as the only way to achieve their political objectives, and they are able to mobilize groups to carry out their strategy. Without determined leaders, groups may riot but they do not start systematic, sustained campaigns of violence to achieve their goals; and without mobilized groups, leaders are unable to organize a fight.

The recently concluded International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty highlighted a related consideration: if 'responsibility' for the outbreak of conflict is to have any meaning, 'it should ultimately reside in specific places and institutions, and with specific people'.[143] It is one corollary of the establishment of the special International Courts and of the International Criminal Court that the individual people must in the end bear the responsibility for initiating the actions for which they are being called to account. In this approach, comprehensive conflict prevention efforts must include measures that address the political choices of leaders and their supporters.

On the one hand, therefore, there is a set of policies to be directed at structural causes of conflict (factors shaping underlying attitudes of whole communities or other groups) and, on the other, a set of policies to be directed at people who take political decisions to exploit underlying structural potential for organised violence in preference to mobilising peaceful or nonviolent resolution of conflicts. It is to the structural causes of violence that one looks to locate the groups that these leaders command.

VI. RESPONSES TO DIRECT AND STRUCTURAL CAUSES

For the purposes of adjusting policy responses to the phases or stages of an evolving conflict, the distinction between 'structural' or 'direct' causes of conflict and the matching tools is very important. Structural measures are long-term in nature and address the underlying or root causes[144] of a particular conflict and can include democratisation, development assistance, and rule of law programmes. Direct[145] measures (often also called

[142] Preventing Deadly Conflict, Chapter Two. See http://www.wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ccpdc/pubs/rept97/finfr.htm.

[143] ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background,* p 207.

[144] These are identified variously in different sources. Kofi Annan identified five in his June 2001 report to the Security Council on conflict prevention: inequity; inequality; injustice; lack of representative government; and insecurity. See UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 24. The Carnegie Commission on Deadly Conflict identified security, prosperity and justice as the three core conditions that need to be met to prevent conflict, and noted that these needed to be provided in a political context that involves peaceful settlement of disputes and satisfaction of people's basic social, cultural and humanitarian needs. See Preventing Deadly Conflict, p xxviii.

[145] 'Operational' is another useful term used for 'direct' or non-structural conflict prevention. See Preventing Deadly Conflict, p 37.

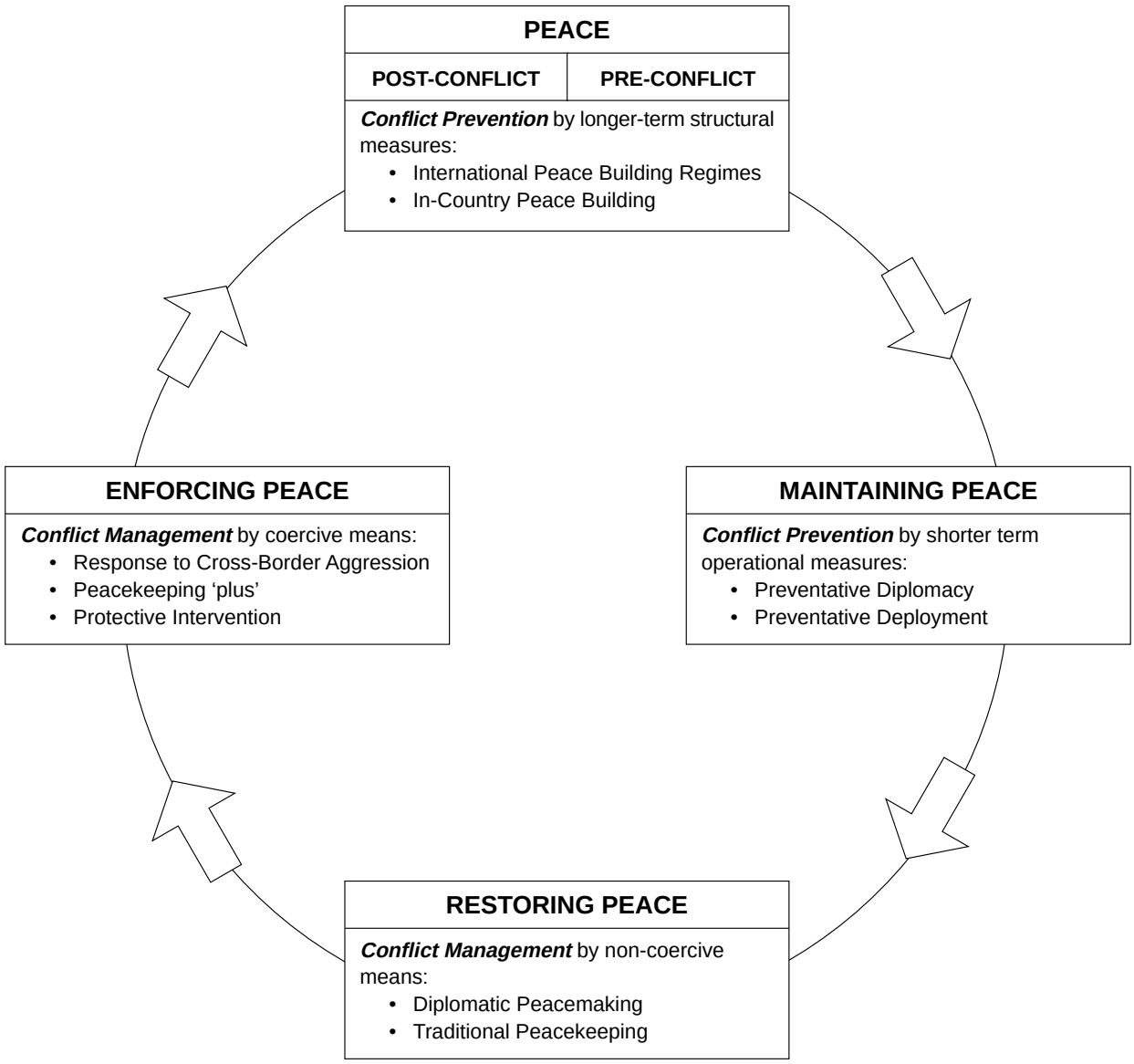
'preventive actions') are those intended to have a short- to medium-term effect on the political choices of actors (usually leaders, but sometimes groups) in a particular conflict, and can include such things as special diplomatic measures, political dialogues and mediation, preventive deployment, or military threats. As a conflict escalates, structural measures—while remaining important—become relatively less so than direct measures. The particular strategies or measures available to policy makers do group themselves fairly naturally into these categories, as shown in the accompanying Figure 2.[146]

The divide between structural measures and direct measures is not always clear-cut, since commitment of resources to long-term programmes can have profound short-term effects. The delivery of structural measures can also be an important way of keeping a foot in the door until the opportunity presents itself for more direct action. But acceptance of this blurring does not alter the fundamental importance of making this distinction. As conflict escalates or increases in likelihood, delivery of structural measures must be given lower priority than delivery of preventive action (direct measures). One important test of the effectiveness of the CPPs will be the importance attached to this principle and the degree of their responsiveness to the need to adjust from structural to direct measures.

Thus, there are two domains for conflict prevention: the root causes of conflict and the proximate causes. Direct measures address proximate causes; and indirect (structural) measures address root causes. A comprehensive conflict prevention policy for any conflict should address both domains, and it should demonstrate the capacity to alter the balance between the two according to the phase of the conflict.

[146] This chart is reproduced from the ICG report referenced above: 'EU Crisis Response Capability', June 2001.

Figure 2: The Crisis Response Cycle: Conflict Prevention and Management



International organisations and governments, either of parties or non-parties to a conflict, are in the normal course of affairs better suited to using structural tools. Experience of the last decade shows that there can be a considerable time lag in government resort to direct prevention tools[143] and a clear preference for emphasising the continuation of structural measures when their effect is dubious at best or, as in many cases, inappropriate to the evolving crisis. As far as this affects economic development, the outbreak of violence itself can in many cases be taken as a repudiation of previous development patterns, and can oblige parties and non-parties alike to change the direction of development plans.[148]

These considerations have informed the decisions of major governments (EU, US, UK, Sweden, Canada, among others) and international organisations (UN, UNDP, World Bank), and some regional or inter-governmental organisations (OSCE, EU), to create various types of conflict prevention units in their policy agencies (foreign ministries, development bureaux, or other headquarters units). The purpose of creating these units has not been simply to better coordinate conflict prevention response, but to help overcome the in-built institutional lack of responsiveness to rapidly changing events before a conflict produces a grave humanitarian crisis.[149]

The institutional bias toward structural prevention is so great and the bias against direct prevention equally powerful, that any recommendations for improvement must address how to reduce both biases. In this context, it is worth noting that the CPPs were initially intended to 'pursue policies and activities that *directly* contribute to conflict prevention, reduction and management', and excluded 'activities that *indirectly* contribute to conflict prevention, such as human rights work, election monitoring, humanitarian and governance work'. This word 'direct' has to have had (then at least) some meaning beyond 'conflict prevention'. As George Soros said, if international interventions (non-military) are going to rely on the cooperation of partner governments, as most structural prevention does, then in many cases, the interventions will be supporting the principal instigator or potential instigator of the large scale deadly violence (the recipient government). This is what he calls the 'intergovernmental straight-jacket'.

The incapacity of the donor community to shift from structural prevention to direct measures as a crisis escalates may have been one of the main features of the lack of prevention outcomes in Bosnia and Rwanda according to those who have analysed those cases closely (this must be qualified of course by Marc Weller's point in respect of Kosovo that maybe nothing from outside could have prevented that course of events).[150]

[147] Most governments and international organisations only swing their conflict prevention capacities into full gear at late stages of a crisis rather than before it erupts. They are more likely to engage in conflict prevention where there is a visibly large-scale humanitarian cost. See Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', p 12; and UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', pp 11–12.
[148] Keen, 'War and Peace: What's the Difference', p 14.
[149] The same sentiment is reflected throughout the Report of the UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', but especially p 8, where he talks of the organisational changes needed in the UN and by other actors to shift to a culture of prevention (as opposed to peacebuilding or post-conflict reconstruction).
[150] Marc Weller, 'Missed Opportunities for Conflict Prevention in Kosovo: 1987-1999' in Luc van de Goor and Martina Huber (eds), *Mainstreaming Conflict Prevention: Concept and Practice* (Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002).

VII. RECOGNISING THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF PREVENTION

The most important conclusion of the existing literature is that successful conflict prevention depends on a much more explicit commitment to altering the political dynamics and power relationships of a given community or political entity, both in the short and longer terms.[151] When local actors seek to prevent others in their community from resorting to force, they thereby seek to deny those considering or using force the political advantages that might be obtained by it. When external actors aspire to change a balance of political forces even where they do so in the interests of conflict prevention, such actions are political interference. Thus, the first lesson of using conflict prevention tools must be to understand the process as one that is politically driven, and not as some technical activity (concluding new treaties, reducing the size of military forces, or improving national economic performance).

To occur in the first place, all large-scale deadly violence depends on political organisation regardless of the multiplicity of causes that over time led to the acceptance of an agenda of violence. Avoiding war (conflict prevention) must be about the use of incentives and disincentives to encourage the parties to continue using only nonviolent means. Defeating political forces intent on violence is no less a battle of wills than war itself.

As politics, conflict prevention policy cannot be the primary responsibility of departments of state whose main concerns are broadly technical in nature. Such departments lack the political weight necessary for effective conflict prevention. As the work of the ICISS emphasised, if 'responsibility' is to have any meaning, 'it should ultimately reside in specific places and institutions, and with specific people'.[152] Conflict prevention efforts must have political leadership and a specific political strategy. As politics, conflict prevention measures will encounter resistance and thereby create a new political dynamic. As politics, conflict prevention cannot afford to be occasional, half-hearted or drop-in/drop-out since in politics, those who take their eyes off the game, generally do not succeed.

Recent trends in perceptions in the less developed world show a greater realisation that all conflict prevention, even of the structural type, has as its aim the influencing of national or local politics. What was once a strong suspicion in the developing world that even acceptance of development cooperation programs not specifically aimed at conflict prevention[153] might be the start of the slippery slope to more intrusive political interventions, has now become an accepted fact of life.

A related consideration is that conflict prevention is always normative, imposing on or at least holding out to the contesting parties a specific vision of right and wrong.

These two considerations (prevention as a political intervention and a normative prescription) raise contradictions for one of the central assumptions of much conflict prevention policy—that local parties should have near total 'ownership' of the policy

[151] See for example, Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', p 18, and Owen, 'A Clinician's Caution', p 5.
[152] ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research,* Bibliography, Background, p 207.
[153] Many EU cooperation programs for example, and even EU trade agreements, now set explicit goals for democratisation and human rights observance that in the traditional view would have been regarded, and are in essence, an external interference.

agendas. It is beyond dispute that it is much better for local actors ('sovereign states and communities within them') to take the primary responsibility to prevent deadly conflict, and to be allowed to do so. But it is also increasingly the case that when local actors fail in this responsibility, many actors support moves by the international community to prevent conflict when local actors have failed to do so on their own.[154] Moreover, one premise of structural conflict prevention is that weak states need to be helped to build the capacity to prevent conflict even when the local actors do not necessarily see a strong need.

Thus, there is a strong, persistent and pervasive tension here: in any situation, the political aspect of conflict prevention as intervention ('shared responsibility') needs to be reconciled with understandable sensitivities or demands regarding observance of the international legal norm of non-interference in the internal affairs of states.[155]

A third important consideration is that all-powerful international or regional actors who may appear on first glance to be non-parties to a deadly conflict are inextricably involved, even if asserting disinterest. The reason for this is that one or more parties to deadly conflict will rely on the non-action of powerful actors as an indication of indifference to or even implicit consent for resort to force. A most important political aspect of conflict prevention may therefore be consistent articulation and propagandising of norms. One way of doing this unobtrusively is through low-level projects of a structural kind that hold up the norm of conflict avoidance as their primary purpose.

VIII. NEED FOR PRIORITIES

At different times, because of different international and domestic circumstances of the day, the capacity of the UK to pursue its conflict prevention goals will fluctuate considerably. The political, financial and social resources available to the government will always be seriously constrained. For this reason, the most important features of the operational policy domains of UK conflict prevention policy will be:

- the need to prioritise between conflict problems;
- the ability to transfer effort quickly and flexibly from one problem to another as priorities change; and
- the need to prioritise operational responses within one conflict problem.

For conflict prevention policies to work, they must make a demonstrable difference in the lives of the affected people,[156] with a view to their suspending, and then ending, participation in or political support for violence. This is a tall order in many conflict situations, but this simple test reveals both the limits of conflict prevention policies and the need for humility in understanding and anticipating the limits of such policies. But the implication of this awareness need not be surrender, but rather acceptance of an extremely rigorous approach to priorities.

[154] The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty 'strongly believes that the responsibility to protect implies an accompanying responsibility to prevent'. ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect,* p 19.
[155] ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect,* p 69.
[156] United Nations, 'Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations' (Brahimi Report), 21 August 2000, A/55/305-S/2000/809, p 7.

And these priorities must be conceived in the most simple terms, rather than in elaborate plans. When there is large-scale violence, the first priority must be to stop the violence. When there is a threat of deadly violence, the first priority must be to cajole or contain the potential perpetrators. When there is escalating tension, the first priority must be to defuse the tension. The simplicity criterion is often ignored, and many actors in seeking to make a demonstrable difference conceive of it in overly complex ways and with time horizons so long as to be irrelevant. The failure to prevent the genocide in Rwanda can be put down in part to the lack of recognition of the relative simplicity of the highest priority task. It was as if the possibility of genocide could only be thwarted once the external powers had an elaborate and agreed plan for the political and economic future of the country that satisfied all of their domestic neuralgias about intervention, guaranteeing in particular that any intervention could be short and inexpensive. As if a complex plan satisfying their domestic neuralgias was at all relevant in the face of the immediate threat of mass murder. Instead, it could be argued, that a simple plan of preventive action addressed directly to cajole or contain the perpetrators, or a simple plan of supervised exodus away from the threat, was what was needed. However impractical these might have been in that particular case, the obvious requirement illustrates that the test of 'demonstrable difference' may actually be a highly contingent one and may be defined more by the politics of the moment and the short-term than by the politics of national economic and political development over the longer term. One of the main obstacles to quick reaction may also be the international community's understandable concern about exit strategies that leads to a focus on sustainable peace through structural measures to the neglect of urgent preventive action.

This has the implication that peace-building strategies may need to be front-end loaded, not far-end loaded. The pay-off or the promise of pay-off from peace-building strategies has to affect the short-term disposition of the affected people toward violence. In many cases, such impact may need to be felt more at the psychological or symbolic level than in any material way. Or it can be acceptable by way of a guaranteed commitment for change rather than the clear evidence over time of implementation.

The potential offered by economic development programs supported by the international community to make a 'demonstrable difference' in the lives of people and thereby prevent the emergence of large-scale deadly violence may need to be re-evaluated against this consideration of the short-term contingent aspect of resort to violence. It is certainly time to end what the ICISS background studies called the 'lack of certainty among developmentalists about what works and what does not' and the consequent ability to know in any precise way the link between enhanced development and a reduction in violent conflict.[157] At the very least, the Brahimi test of 'demonstrable difference', which is a very appropriate one, needs to be subject to considerable elaboration as to how development assistance or any other conflict prevention tool can be considered to meet it.

In the long-term, conflict prevention will only be effective if it succeeds in eliminating the causes, potential or real, of conflict. In those cases where political grievances are the underlying cause of the conflict, this of necessity will entail significant advances in social justice (such as poverty reduction, reduction/elimination of human rights abuses, better governance) and, in many cases, the application of punitive justice against those who

[157] ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background,* p 28.

committed crimes during the conflict. However, this longer-term goal may often interfere with, or render more difficult, measures aimed at dealing with immediate crises in the short-term.[158] Conflict prevention policy in the latter situation may thus need to focus on short-term measures to end violence and leave justice to a later stage. And the relationships between short-term prevention and justice are often more attenuated and context-specific than is often assumed.

In addition, there are many cases of deadly violence (arguably the majority even) where structural grievances are not the primary cause. As recent literature on the economic causes of conflict has made plain, resort to deadly violence is often (arguably more often) caused by leaders' calculation of individual gain. This lesson is as important in considering the political causes of resort to deadly violence. In such cases, conflict prevention strategies premised on ameliorating grievance among a community or an entire national population through efforts to promote justice and democratisation will be of little effect. The most appropriate strategies will be those targeted at removal from office or neutralisation of leaders bent on resort to violence. This would appear to have been the case in Yugoslavia under Milosevic after 1992, Rwanda under military rule after the assassination of the President in 1994, and East Timor under Indonesian military rule after the UN-sponsored plebiscite was announced in 1999.

In those cases where the resort to violence is often not provoked by structural grievance but by political calculation for gain or profit, the chances that the political leaders involved will have any respect for human rights will be very low. On the one hand, this dictates keeping the norms of human rights protection at the very top of the political agenda. In achieving a short-term cease-fire, truce or halt in violence actors should not be blinded to the consideration that while some transformations are possible, a leopard probably cannot change its spots—once a mass murderer, always a mass murderer. Once the army in Rwanda had planned in some detail and then commenced its genocide, expectations among key external actors, even in the Security Council that the army leaders were partners who could be dealt with, were desperately naïve.

On the other hand, the high priority task of stopping deadly violence will always give rise to the need to have contacts with the perpetrators. This need will always co-exist with a pressing need to protect the victims. This coexistence will be permanent and complex, and present moral and political dilemmas at many stages. The dilemma cannot be resolved in any academic or absolute way, but only on a case by case basis, with key actors needing to accept the moral responsibility of the choices they make in this direction.

In working for the defence of human rights while pursuing urgent goals of preventing deadly violence, external actors may not be able to offer much protection. But this should not mean resignation to realpolitik resulting in abandonment of the loud and regular articulation of the norms. In the early stages of the genocide in Rwanda, few external actors even took this step.

The sheer mechanical aspect of implementing international policy can be one of the biggest brakes on effective conflict prevention efforts. A related consideration is the cost—there is

[158] See Keen, 'War and Peace: What's the Difference', pp 11–14.

simply not enough money in the bank for conflict prevention when it has to compete with other issues on the international agenda. Since these two constraints will remain permanent features of the landscape for the foreseeable future, there is an important implication to draw from this in setting priorities in conflict prevention efforts. Questions of mechanics and cost add to the pressure created by the underdeveloped institutional base referred to above to dictate what should be a pervasive awareness that all is not possible. Therefore, very tight priorities need to be set. Policy recommendations in support of conflict prevention should, in broad terms at least, be costed and analysed for feasibility. They should concentrate on selected high priority areas of policy, not attempt to be comprehensive. They must have a highly strategic aspect, and must detail the ways in which broad strategic goals can be implemented. This detail should not be in a long list of goals for political reforms or elements of a peace settlement, but need to address cost and logistic aspects, especially timing and responsible agencies within the administrations of key actors.

IX. OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

One of the particular focal points of the ToRs in requiring the work on causes of conflict as part of this Evaluation was the economic causes of conflict. The centrality of this issue in current UK approaches to conflict prevention is evident in a host of ways, one example of which is the 2001 DFID publication on *The Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa.* This report identified the need for governments to use oda to target the 'root causes of conflict'. Oda is widely used over the longer-term to address structural causes of conflict (such as poverty or inequitable development). Its effect is mostly indirect and long-term although it can have important political effect (for its symbolic value) in the short- to medium-term. Oda can help to provide a better material opportunity than would otherwise exist for states and other local actors to build, maintain or restore peace.

Apart from the longer-term impacts of aid, the timely commitment of resources through oda can play an integral part in other conflict prevention or management work: confidence building during peace talks; undergirding stable democratisation; mitigating the effects of sanctions or structural adjustment on vulnerable groups; offering carrots in a peace negotiation; or keeping peace agreements on track.[159] Financial assistance in the peace-building phase can include positive incentives—to encourage the parties to stay committed to a process or settlement and avoid a re-escalation of the dispute (this is discussed later under incentives). Examples of peacebuilding through long-term development assistance include US and EU oda to Egypt in support of the first Camp David agreement (1978) and subsequent peace processes[160]; and the European Union's Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAA) for the countries of the Western Balkans.[161]

[159] See Prendergast, *Frontline Diplomacy,* p 111.

[160] Egypt and Israel have been the largest single recipients of US ODA since 1978. See OECD DAC statistics, www.oecd.org/dac. Egypt is the country which received the largest amounts of EU external assistance in the 1990s, a priority deriving in large part from the EU's desire to underpin the Camp David peace agreement between that country and Israel. See Aidan Cox and Jenny Chapman, *The European Community External Aid Programmes: Policies, Management and Distribution* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1999) Appendix 1.

[161] For analysis of the SAP see *After Milosevic: A Practical Agenda for Lasting Balkans Peace,* ICG Balkans Report N¡ 108, 26 April 2001.

Peace-building aid can include activities not always prominent in oda: justice-packages to provide a framework for the reinstatement of law and order[162]; deployment of civil administration personnel with the relevant mix of skills and expertise capable of making a difference on the ground;[163] or a combined civilian and military implementation mission.[164]

At the same time, a highly nuanced view of the role of oda in conflict prevention is essential. oda can only 'facilitate the creation of opportunities' for local actors.[165] Oda is at best going to be a small external contribution to peace on which local actors must build. After all, the conflict-related share of funds allocated for existing development cooperation programs with countries at risk of or experiencing violent conflict is small relative to those allocated for poverty eradication and national level economic development.[166]

To be effective as peacebuilding, aid must make a 'demonstrable difference' in the lives of the affected people, preferably through the provision of 'quick impact' projects.[167] This is most often going to be practicable in the case of localised violence, where programs can be set up to address gang violence, small arms availability or simply provision of paid jobs for unemployed young men.[168] Yet for most donors, approval processes are slow and protracted. For example, in Macedonia in Spring 2001, EU High Representative Javier Solana considered that one measure to calm escalating tensions could be rapid reconstruction of houses damaged in fighting in villages near Tetovo. In the subsequent internal EU discussions, Commissioner Nielson reportedly declined to use ECHO for this project, opting instead to concentrate on caring for those refugees from the fighting who had fled across the nearby border into Kosovo—a worthy and obvious, but classically humanitarian mission. The Commissioner for External Relations, Chris Patten, agreed in principle to undertake the project with the new Rapid Reaction Mechanism created just for such time sensitive interventions. But the EU was not able to rebuild the houses in the time frame that Solana had hoped. Funds were identified, contracts were negotiated, and plans were drawn up, but discussions stalled for some time on whether it was sensible to rebuild houses until there was more assurance that they would not be demolished in new fighting.[169]

[162] Mark Plunkett, ' Reestablishing law and Order in Peace-Maintenance' in *Global Governance,* Vol 4, No 1 Jan–Mar 1998.
[163] David Last, 'Organising for Effective Peacebuilding', *International Peacekeeping,* Vol 7, Spring 2000, No 1, pp 80–97.
[164] Preventing Deadly Conflict.
[165] UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 24.
[166] In the case of the EU, for example, the aims are laid down in the Treaty on European Union (Article 130) as sustainable economic development of the recipient, smooth and gradual integration of the recipient country into the world economy, the fight against poverty, and the observance of human rights.
[167] United Nations, 'Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations' (Brahimi Report), 21 August 2000, A/55/305-S/2000/809, p 7. This observation was made about peacebuilding in general, rather than ODA specifically.
[168] Manuela Leonhardt, 'Improving Capacities and Procedures for Formulating and Implementing Effective Conflict Prevention Strategies', International Alert, December 1999, p 4.
[169] See ICG Briefing Paper, 'The European Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO): Crisis Response in the Grey Lane', 26 June 2001.

Even in the long-term, for many recipient countries, oda on a per capita basis too low[170] to make any difference without significant political and economic reform by the national government.[171] And that is even before considering that a country needs some 'comparative economic advantage' on which to base new trade and new economic growth.

Current research is virtually unanimous that traditional development cooperation activities can in some circumstances provide incentives for conflict as easily as they might provide disincentives.[172] At its most simple, this dilemma has been manifested in several ways. In some cases, a new hospital in an area controlled by one belligerent group has become the target of a raid or attack by another, either to destroy the credibility of the opposing side that has attached to the acquisition of the new hospital or to acquire the medical supplies in the hospital. In general, large amounts of development cooperation assistance distort the normal economic relationships, and therefore alter the power relationships. In respect of the international financial institutions (IFIs), this finding has been expressed as follows: 'IFI efficacy cannot make a process [for peace] but IFI inefficacy can break one'.[173]

Sustainable and equitable development (one goal of development cooperation) and conflict prevention are mutually sustainable, as Kofi Annan among many others have pointed out.[174] But there is a growing body of literature that suggests that oda is a very blunt instrument in the conflict prevention toolbox. The arguments for and against this proposition cannot be resolved adequately within the framework of this Evaluation. As one specialist observed, 'there is an urgent need for a fundamental and public debate' on the role of oda in 'countries facing chronic political emergencies' because it is in these environments that 'aid is failing'.[175] That author noted, as the Utstein and Swedish studies referred to above, that much oda in support of conflict mitigation is 'projects not policy'. The author concluded that development assistance may be 'poorly equipped to play this new political role'.[176] One especially strong reason why the influence of aid on conflict prevention is weak at best are that it needs the consent of and is channelled through the recipient government.[177]

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[170] For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1999, ODA was only 2 per cent of GNP, and was valued at two to three dollars per person in that year. In Indonesia in the same year, ODA represented 1.5 per cent of GNP, but yielded a higher figure of six dollars per person for that year. See OECD On-line Database.

[171] As in the case of Bosnia, even considerable dollar commitments may fail in breaking the cycle of ethnicised politics. As long as the obstructionists remain in positions of power, international development assistance may serve to perpetuate as opposed to break the power elites.

[172] ICG interviews in UNDP, November 2000. See also Peter Uvin, 'L'influence de l'aide dans des situations de conflict violent', OECD DAC, Paris, September 1999, p 4.

[173] Jonathon Stevenson, 'Preventing Conflict: The Role of the Bretton Woods Institutions', *Adelphi Paper* 336, IISS, (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

[174] UN Secretary General, 'Prevention of Armed Conflict', p 2.

[175] See Joanna McRae, *Aiding Recovery? The Crisis of Aid in Chronic Political Emergencies* (London: Overseas Development Institute, Zed Books, 2001) p.160.

[176] Ibid, p 171.

[177] See the DAC policy statement, 'Development Partnerships in the New Global Context', 1995 and the 1996 report, 'Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation'. These reports are available on the DAC website, www.oecg.org/dac.

The existence of actors which are either subversive of or hostile to the normal practice of government in many countries experiencing civil war or facing its outbreak has constrained not only the manner of donor involvement but also their basic framework for analysing appropriate policy responses.[178] Since the economic interests of these non-state actors (variously described as sub-state actors, shadow-states, warlords or criminal gangs)[179] can make them significant spoilers in efforts to prevent, manage or end a civil conflict, then it will be necessary to have policies that address these non-state economic interests as part of efforts to contribute to prevention or management of such a conflict.

This has not been the realm in which traditional oda, either bilateral or multilateral, has operated. The majority of funds allocated for oda to all countries are designed to address the economic interests of the state or the interests of balanced national development, not those of the shadow state or rebel groups. Where oda has been directed to non-government actors, the recipients have usually been peace-loving or peace-building NGOs, not the rapacious and bandit-like, rent-seeking types or unofficial economic interests of government leaders.

The influence of oda on the economic causes of war will remain very weak as long as provision of oda is based on the broad principle of non-conditionality.[180] The international actors with most success in applying conditionality in the economic sphere in ways that affect the structural underpinnings of conflict (state failure) may be the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), working together through formalised processes of conditionality in the framework of multinational Consultative Groups.[181] Their roles are discussed further below, but the realm of their impact is relatively narrow[182] and is directed almost exclusively at governments and national legislative (or legal) processes. And the principal operating domain of World Bank and IMF leverage is always the legal economy, not the shadow economy or illicit trades.

[178] Berdal and Malone, 'Introduction', *Greed and Grievance,* p 10.

[179] See for example Reno, 'Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil War', pp 43–68. Of these terms, one of the most interesting is probably shadow state, though it certainly does not apply to all situations. The term 'shadow state' captures the strong dichotomy between the interests and obligations of donors to deal with a recognised state recipient and the practical political realities on the ground. A 'shadow state' is one where officials have used the coercive power of the state, usually in a system of personal rule, to construct a network of personalised political and economic interests. According to this very useful hypothesis, rulers of a shadow state seek to make life less secure and more materially impoverished for their subjects. (The reason for this is that the rulers' goal of gradually escalating state kleptocracy not just creates insecurity for citizens, but depends on the lack of organised and secure political opposition, either at the national level or at the very basic level of community.)

[180] See the 1995 DAC policy statement, 'Development Partnerships in the New Global Context', and the 1996 report, 'Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation'. These reports are available on the DAC website, www.oecd.org/dac.

[181] See Geske Dijkstra, 'Programme Aid Policies and Politics: Programme Aid and Conditionality' (Stockholm: Swedish International Development Agency, 1999) pp 3–4.

[182] Conditionality rarely works outside the narrow 'technically economic' realm, and may do so best when it is applied in terms of rewards rather than as an effort to buy good behaviour. Dijkstra, 'Programme Aid Policies and Politics', pp 38–39. This is also the conclusion of work conducted by the OECD and UNDP.

The foregoing suggests that it may no longer be appropriate for governments to say in the general that 'we address the economic causes of conflict through provision of oda, especially where it is directed at governance, capacity building and democratisation'. There may simply be too many constraints in the way. To take account of Collier's greed hypothesis, as well as da Soysa's hypothesis of state failure, there are—and must be—more specific criteria to be applied.[183]

As da Soysa has suggested, a listing of these more demanding criteria might include the following tests:

- Does oda significantly discourage rent-seeking (in layman's terms, living off the fat of the land)?
- Does oda significantly enhance better fiscal policy by national and regional governments?
- Does it significantly reduce the inequitable privileges of the urban elites?
- Does it build institutions that protect property rights and personal security?
- Does it create significant technology transfer in areas of comparative economic advantage (in order to reduce dependence on primary resources)?
- Does it promote innovation and entrepreneurship in the private sector?
- Does it represent a significant investment in human capital?[184]

But even this list does not directly address the issue of how oda might be used to create new incentives for 'bandit like' rebel groups.

At the very least, whether oda promotes peace depends in large part on the domestic balance of power between coercive forces (the 'internal organisation of violence').[185] There needs in particular to be an 'agency that can enforce an autonomous notion of legality'.[186]

If we want to evaluate the effect of oda on the economic causes of conflict we probably have to understand it from the norm setting perspective—does it promote a commitment from the sub-state or shadow state parties to abandon rent-seeking through informal or illicit networks, and to pursue balanced and equitable economic development within the framework of rule of law.

[183] The conclusion of recent research that ODA can only work for the purposes of poverty alleviation and broad-based economic development if the national government has the right policy settings must be used as the test of whether donors are addressing through ODA the economic causes of conflict (see World Bank, *Assessing Aid: What Works, What Doesn't and Why?* (Washington DC, 1999)). Thus governments wanting to claim that this is so must look not so much at their inputs, but at the overall trends in governance, the legal system and sector-based micro-economic development in the recipient country relative to total donor assistance from all sources.

[184] This list is suggested by the conclusions in de Soysa, 'The Resource Curse', p 126.

[185] Reno, 'Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil War', p 64.

[186] Ibid, p 58.

Until such time as donors undertake conflict impact assessments of their individual development cooperation programmes, or at least harmonise the content of their development cooperation policies with the international experience of conflict prevention, then the positive effect of their aid on conflict prevention may in many cases remain more a hope rather than confirmed reality.

X. ENTRY POINTS

The above discussion of politics and priorities exposes the need to be able to identify with some degree of reliability the most appropriate entry point for using conflict prevention tools. The only reliable way to identify pressure points is to undertake sustained and consistent study and analysis of them. Conflict prevention policy analysis should therefore, at least in the first instance, subordinate description of an evolving political situation to identification of the entry points for changing the calculation of key players about resort to violence.

One of the overwhelming lessons of the international inaction in the face of the Rwanda genocide is that there was no shortage of warning and no shortage of focussed policy attention in major capitals, but no external actor could find the right pressure points for action. Too little policy attention seems to have been focussed on this requirement. And the Rwanda experience suggests that the analytical or conceptual device for finding the pressure points (or at least beginning to look for them) is to re-humanise and re-personalise the problem.[187] The victims must be appreciated more as people (good or bad). Some of the most effective conflict prevention policies may be person specific, not systemic. This is the lesson of targeted sanctions, but it has not been applied more broadly to the political and security domains of policy as it might be.

Good conflict prevention reporting must, therefore, provide not only analysis of the conflict dynamics and consideration of the full range of available conflict prevention tools (political, economic, legal and military). It must also offer recommendations that concentrate on proposals likely to have a direct effect on the most pressing problems; and it must identify pressure points in respect of each of the parties (named individuals or organisations and their assessed vulnerabilities) so that policy measures can be brought to bear in a targeted fashion. To do this, the motivations of key actors have to be well-documented and conspicuously so, in a way that is quite separate from the narrative of events.

It would be wrong to imagine that a good picture can be formed of the motivations of most of the key players in all conflict situations. In many cases, there is little information available. But an effort has to be made. In the absence of hard evidence, some informed speculation has to be offered. But another constraint is that motivation should not be conceived exclusively in strategic or enduring terms. There needs to be some accounting of how motivations can shift according to the unfolding dynamics of a conflict.

[187] See Samantha Power, 'Bystanders to Genocide', The Atlantic Online, September 2001, www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm.

Continuing evaluation of conflict prevention efforts (what for any policy would simply be a normal process of review) is now recognised by a number of intergovernmental declarations and scholarly studies as an essential element of effective conflict prevention.[188]

[188] Reports from the World Bank Chiclayo pilot court project and other pilot court projects within the USA, reveal that the evaluation of such projects should be done by outside parties. Findings show that while evaluations by internal actors indicate improvements in the systems, external reports will often find none. Also, the correct subject of evaluation must be chosen. It's necessary not to only evaluate if funding is being appropriately used, but it is also important to judge the impact of the new projects on the community. These impact evaluations can be more costly than standard funding evaluations. However, on a grander scale, they minimize the amount of money being spent on projects with a limited, or no impact at all. Evaluations should be continuous, through out the construction of the project. See Maria Dakolias and Javier Said, 'Judicial Reform: A Process of Change Through Pilot Courts', International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank, May 1999, p 15.

ANNEX 4: TEMPLATE FOR CASE STUDY INVESTIGATIONS

Process

Membership of Strategy Steering Group:

a) people and positions;
b) experience of 'conflict prevention';
c) principal sources of advice on CP best practice;
d) normal processes of consultation.

Membership of any lower level working group:

a) people and positions;
b) experience of 'conflict prevention';
c) principal sources of advice on CP best practice;
d) normal processes of consultation.

Initiative for Strategy Development:

a) who (Whitehall-originated or field-originated);
b) justification (assessments of relevance, sustainability, effectiveness, efficiency and impact);
c) assessment of significance of UK contribution;
d) engagement of UK-based NGOs;
e) engagement of in-country NGOs;
f) engagement of other major powers or int'l organisations;
g) reactions of partner officials or other recipients from CP perspective;
h) reactions of affected communities from CP perspective;
i) plans for monitoring and evaluation;
j) officials' views on appropriate performance indicators;
k) any lesson learning;
l) bid structures;
m) financial planning (overspend/underspend).

Delegation of decision making within the strategy (what priority or authority if any to UK diplomatic missions; roles of UK officials abroad).

Are there mechanisms for the review of the whole CPP portfolio at the strategic level and if so are these working well? Any Whitehall reviews/revisions of strategy since inception—mapping these against a timeline so that issues are assessed in relation to relevant objective changes.

Funding Level by Fiscal Year and Project

Project details (select an appropriate number of specific projects which reflect the diversity of operations of the Strategy, preferably both successes and 'failures', if the latter exist):

a) origin of bid (Whitehall-originated or field-originated)
b) justification (assessments of sustainability, effectiveness, efficiency)

c) assessment of significance of UK contribution
d) engagement of UK-based NGOs
e) engagement of in-country NGOs
f) engagement of other major powers or int'l organisations
g) reactions of partner officials or other recipients from CP perspective
h) reactions of affected communities from CP perspective (especially NGOs, and effectiveness of media coverage of the project)
i) who approved the project bid
j) plans for monitoring and evaluation (perhaps by grouping the projects)
k) officials' views on appropriate performance indicators
l) any lesson learning
m) project management structures
n) financial planning (overspend/underspend)

What Ministerial consideration and review

Transparency

Publicity or public information initiatives?

Outputs

Relevance: the extent to which the objectives of policies, strategies and activities of the CPPs are consistent with the PSA/SDAs, and the highest priority needs of conflict prevention or management in the beneficiary countries. Two particular measures of relevance will be timeliness and responsiveness of the CPP measures.

Efficiency: the relationship between the objectives achieved and the inputs used. It can be summed up as achieving maximum results with a given level of inputs. A subordinate measure of efficiency will be the coherence of the set of measures undertaken by the CPP, or between CPP measures and other HMG policies or the policies of other major actors.

Sustainability: the extent to which HMG, other donors or local actors will be able to perpetuate similar activities

Predictability: the extent to which CPP measures represent a predictable pattern, therefore reflecting a consistent set of policy approaches by HMG

Impact

Baseline: what is an appropriate baseline for assessing the impact of UK CPP measures in the conflict?

Impact: changes (positive or negative) in the political environment relating to violence attributable to the interventions, which extend beyond the output of the project.

Effectiveness: the extent to which interventions achieve the purpose and goal of the CPP

ANNEX 5: OUTLINE SET OF PERFORMANCE INDICATORS AND BASELINES

This annex provides an outline set of performance indicators for UK conflict prevention policies. The material here is an output of the Evaluation required by the Terms of Reference. The outline set of indicators was not used in the actual Evaluation. A simplified set of benchmarks was agreed in the Inception Report for use in the Evaluation. Performance indicators flow from objectives and the character of an activity.

Objectives and Character of UK Conflict Prevention Policy

The objectives of the activity (in this case UK conflict prevention policy) are twofold:

- for HMG to intervene in a conflict, and encourage others as well, to prevent the escalation of violence, to reduce the level of violence or end it completely; and
- for HMG to mobilise systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by its agencies, by key international partners, and by key international organisations to problems of conflict prevention.

The character of both objectives is political and they are a normal part of foreign policy (this is discussed in the Portfolio Review). It is to the idea of conflict prevention as foreign policy, and its highly evolved practices, that one must look to find the most reliable set of performance indicators. The performance measure must not only capture faithfully the essence of the objective, but do so in a way which describes the contribution which programme activities will make to the outcome.

The most important conclusion of existing literature is that successful conflict prevention depends on a much more explicit commitment to altering the political dynamics and power relationships of a given community or political entity, both in the short and longer terms.[189] When local actors seek to prevent others in their community from resort to force, they thereby seek to deny those considering or using force the political advantages that might be obtained by it. When external actors aspire to change a balance of political forces even where they do so in the interests of conflict prevention, such actions are political interference. Thus, the first lesson of using conflict prevention tools must be to understand the process as one that is politically driven, and not as some technical, value free activity (concluding new treaties, reducing the size of military forces, or improving national economic performance).

There is an inevitable tension between recognition of the external intervention as interference on the one hand, and on the other hand, the need to work with local actors who are party to the dispute. It will only be through recognition of the aspirations and circumstances of the parties, and through helping them to accept alternative non-violent approaches that external conflict prevention efforts will be enduring. It is also the only way in which the interventions can ultimately be justified.

It is self evident that another essential characteristic of conflict prevention is that it is highly time sensitive. If tensions or conflict is escalating, then the urgency of taking steps will increase.

[189] See for example, Lund, 'Introduction and Overview', p 18, and Owen, 'A Clinician's Caution', p 5.

Thus, the nature of the activity and its goal can be characterised in some more detail. It is the sustained, strategic application of foreign policy resources, including military and economic resources, in a timely and efficient fashion to shape the current and near-term political choices of key actors or groups in a conflict and, where possible over the longer term, to support a shift in their underlying attitudes to use of large scale deadly violence for political gain. Overall performance in this field cannot be reliably measured in numbers. It can only be assessed by narrative description of changes over time supported by an analysis of likely causes of the change.

Matching Indicators to the Objectives and Character of the Activity

An outline set of performance indicators for UK conflict prevention policy could flow from the four component aspects of the goal, the activity and its character:

- sustained, strategic application of foreign policy resources, including military and economic resources;
- apply those resources in a timely fashion;
- apply those resources in an efficient fashion;
- apply those resources to shape the current and near-term political choices of key actors or groups in a conflict;
- where possible, apply resources over the longer term to support a shift in their underlying attitudes to use of large scale deadly violence for political gain;
- mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by its agencies to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention;
- mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by key international partners to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention;
- mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by key international organisations to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention.

Each of the above elements of performance becomes a useful rubric under which specific performance indicators can be identified. The following table provides an outline set of three important indicators under each rubric. The list is not exhaustive.

Table 1: Representative Indicators for HMG Conflict Prevention Polices

	REPRESENTATIVE INDICATORS
CONFLICT SPECIFIC GOALS	
sustained, strategic application of foreign policy resources, including military and economic resources	1. depth of review on a quarterly basis of changes in the conflict 2. comprehensive collection and analysis of conflict related information 3. evidence of consideration of a range of alternative polices
apply those resources in a timely fashion	1. regular consideration of early warning reports 2. evidence of change in policy or measures in response to change 3. time taken to respond to change (it should be almost immediate)
apply those resources in an efficient fashion	1. costings of the strategy and measures are reviewed regularly 2. external review of the strategy and measures, both forma and informal 3. regular comparison with alternative cost options, especially those undertaken by other international actors
apply those resources to shape the current and near-term political choices of key actors or groups in a conflict	1. comprehensiveness of targeting of the strategy to key political actors 2. regular review and analysis of the political plans and perceptions of key actors, looking for evidence of change 3. suitability of time parameters for achieving specific changes
where possible over the longer term, apply those resources to support a shift in their underlying attitudes to use of large scale deadly violence for political gain	1. results of public opinion polls and focus groups on attitudes to conflict issues 2. results of public opinion polls and focus groups on attitudes to use of violence 3. depth of engagement with mass media or other important forms of social communication (e.g. religious or tribal leadership councils)
GENERIC OR THEMATIC GOALS	
mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by its agencies to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention	1. intensity of training of relevant officials in conflict prevention issues 2. quality of documentation on key issues 3. intensity of strategic review of activities
mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by key international partners to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention	1. depth of coordination of measures with key partners (other states, international mass media, NGOs, churches, business interests) 2. regular review of information sharing 3. monitoring of outcomes against initial time parameters
mobilisation of systematic, effective, efficient and well-informed responses by key international organisations to generic or thematic problems of conflict prevention	1. quality of initial assessment of the needs of the international organisations 2. depth of knowledge within HMG of the needs of the international organisations 3. frequency of joint assessment between HMG and leaders of the international organisations

Use of the indicators outlined above flows normally from the operation of a strategic management system of the sort already in existence in FCO, MOD and DFID. Above all, it depends on the pre-existence of the baseline documents which provide the necessary detail in the conflict analysis and policy response. For maximum impact, these documents need to be fine-grained and elaborate. They need to identify sub-goals specific to individual targets, identifying risks, providing costs of alternative policies and setting time frames for achievement o sub-goals or review and change of direction.

In a complex political environment, where HMG wants to monitor the performance of a relatively small contribution, there will need to be documentation of the intermediate objectives it is trying to achieve and these will need to be linked to the policies of other actors.

The above approach concentrates on the incentives and opportunities that can most effectively shape attitudes, intentions and behaviour. It is oriented toward the people and institutions who are specifically targeted. The associated strategies would be based on detailed exposition of the political agendas of individual leaders or groups, and on targeted changes in their attitudes over specified time periods. The environment would be divided into three categories: the leadership groups (not necessarily in official positions), members of armed groups or those who could potentially be mobilised as such, and the potentially active population (broadly the population in the areas concerned).

Baselines

Performance indicators for a specific policy measure aimed at supporting conflict prevention flow from the detailed objectives and intermediate objectives laid out in a comprehensive conflict assessment that is regularly updated. In the management review stage (performance assessment), the analytical categories and reference points that appear in the conflict assessment provide the bedrock from which the indicators are derived. The data collected an analysed to inform policy is the data that itself is used as the baseline to measure the changes over time that result from the UK policy intervention. Thus, the baselines for measurement of performance in conflict prevention are the same ones that are researched and documented for the devising of policy.

The outline for a typical conflict assessment in support of conflict prevention exists in DFID's guidelines for conflict assessment. These were referred to in the body of this report. Each of the main headings listed there is an appropriate topic of research and documentation for establishing the baselines of performance. These headings are listed below in the first column of Table 2. The second column identifies the sources of information on which a performance assessment would draw.

Table 2: Baselines to be Studied for Deriving Performance Indicators and Corresponding Sources of Data

Area of Activity	Source of Data
CONFLICT ANALYSIS	
Security, political, economic and social aspects	Diplomatic reporting, NGOs in the field, intelligence agencies, academic specialists, media monitoring
Dynamic quality (latest information on changes to causes of conflict)	Diplomatic reporting, NGOs in the field, media monitoring
ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURES	
Long term conflict trends	Diplomatic reporting, NGOs in the field, intelligence agencies, academic specialists, media monitoring
Triggers for increased violence	Diplomatic reporting and intelligence assessment
Capacities for managing conflict	Specialist assessment (desk-based) supported by diplomatic and intelligence reporting
Likely future conflict scenarios	Specialist assessment (desk-based) supported by diplomatic and intelligence reporting
FINE-GRAINED ANALYSIS OF ACTORS	
Motivations and perceptions	Intelligence assessment
Interests	Intelligence assessment
Relations	Intelligence assessment
Capacities	Intelligence assessment
Agendas for war or peace	Intelligence assessment
Incentives and disincentives	Intelligence assessment
MAPPING OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES	
Assessment of their effectiveness	Specialist assessment (desk-based) supported by diplomatic and intelligence reporting, and by NGO assessments
Assessment of their negative impacts	Specialist assessment (desk-based) supported by diplomatic and intelligence reporting, and by NGO assessments
ANALYSIS OF UK POLICY OPTIONS IN RESPONSE	
Addresses bilateral responses and UK role in mobilising others	Conflict Strategy Groups in HMG diplomatic missions and in Whitehall; Independent studies
Addresses adjustment of current activities Conflict Strategy Groups in HMG diplomatic missions and in Whitehall;Independent studies	Conflict Strategy Groups in HMG diplomatic missions and in Whitehall; Independent studies
Addresses new initiatives	Conflict Strategy Groups in HMG diplomatic missions and in Whitehall; Independent studies

ANNEX 6: DEPARTMENTAL PSA AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND THE JOINT PSA TARGET[190]

FCO	MOD	DFID
AIM		
Promote internationally the interests of the UK and contribute to a strong world community.	Deliver security for the people of the UK and the Overseas Territories by defending them, including against terrorism, and act as a force for good by strengthening international peace and security.	Eliminate poverty in poorer countries in particular through achievement by 2015 of the Millennium Development Goals
OBJECTIVE I		
a secure UK within a safer and more peaceful world	achieve success in the military tasks that we undertake at home and abroad	reduce poverty in Sub Saharan Africa.
TARGETS under Objective I		
1. Reduce the threat to the UK from international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Reduce international crime, drugs and people-trafficking affecting the UK, measured by Whitehall-wide targets. Contribute to the reduction of opium production in Afghanistan, with poppy cultivation reduced by 70% within 5 years and elimination within 10 years. 2. Reduce tension in South Asia, the Middle East, Balkans and elsewhere through action with our international partners, paying particular attention to regions at risk from nuclear confrontation. 3. Strengthen European security through an enlarged and modernised NATO, an effective EU crisis management capacity and enhanced European defence capabilities. Joint target with MOD 4. *Improve effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant impact. Joint target with MOD and DFID*	1. Achieve the objectives established by Ministers for Operations and Military Tasks in which the UK's Armed Forces are involved, including those providing support to our civil communities. *2. Improve effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution. Joint target with DFID and FCO*	1. Progress towards the MDGs in 16 key countries demonstrated by - sustainable reduction in the proportion of people living in poverty from 48% across the entire region - an increase in primary school enrolment from 58% to 72% and an increase in the ratio of girls to boys enrolled in primary school from 89% to 96% - a reduction in under- 5 mortality rates for girls and boys from 158 per 1000 live births to 139 per 1000; and an increase in proportion of births assisted by skilled birth attendants from 49% to 67%; a reduction in the proportion of 15-24 year old pregnant women with HIV from 16% - *improved effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution. (Joint Target with FCO and MOD)*

[190] All information is extracted verbatim from the web-site of HMT, accessed on 20 December 2003: http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/documents/public_spending_and_services/publicservice_performance/pss_perf_table.cfm.

		- effective implementation of the G8 Action Plan for Africa in support of enhanced partnership at the regional and country level.
OTHER OBJECTIVES		
II. enhanced competitiveness of companies in the UK through overseas sales and investments; and a continuing high level of quality foreign direct investment	II. be ready to respond to the tasks that might arise.	II. reduce poverty in Asia.
III. increased prosperity and a better quality of life in the UK and worldwide, through effective economic and political governance globally.	III. build for the future	III. reduce poverty in Europe, Central Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa
IV.a strong role for the UK in a strong Europe, responsive to people's needs.		IV. **increase the impact of key multilateral agencies in reducing poverty and effective response to conflict** and humanitarian crises
V. international decisions and actions which advance UK objectives and interests. **Authoritative advice and support to the whole of Government on international issues.** Positive foreign perceptions of the UK and the Government's policies		V. develop evidence based, innovative approaches to international development
VI. high quality consular services to British nationals abroad.		
VII. secure and well-governed British overseas territories enjoying sustainable development and growing prosperity		
VALUE FOR MONEY: year on year efficiency gains of 2.5%.		

ANNEX 7: JOINT PSA TARGET: TECHNICAL NOTE

1. Joint PSA Target

Improved effectiveness of the UK contribution to conflict prevention and management as demonstrated by a reduction in the number of people whose lives are affected by violent conflict and a reduction in potential sources of future conflict, where the UK can make a significant contribution (Joint Target with FCO and MOD).

2. Assessment indicators

- AHEAD—four out of four sub-targets must be either MET or AHEAD.
- ON COURSE—three out of four sub-targets must be judged to be ON COURSE.
- SOME SLIP—two out of four sub-targets judged as ON COURSE.
- MAJOR SLIP—only one out of four sub-targets judged to be ON COURSE.

3. Progress against the PSA Target in 2000–06 will be measured using:

(a) Global Pool sub-targets on Afghanistan, Nepal, Macedonia, Georgia, Israel/Occupied Territories, Sri Lanka, contribute 25% to PSA target:

(i) a 10% reduction in fatalities from a SIPRI baseline of 7,800 in 2000 to 7,000 by 2006;

(ii) a 10% reduction in fatalities from an IISS baseline of 19,000 in 2000 to 17,000 by 2006;

(iii) a 10% reduction in refugees from a UNHCR baseline of 3,800,000 in 2000 to 3,400,000 by 2006;

(iv) a 10% reduction in internally displaced persons from a United States Committee for Refugees (USCR) baseline of 1500,000 in 2000 to 1,350,000 by 2006.

(b) Africa Pool sub-targets on Sierra Leone, DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Angola, Nigeria, contribute 25% to PSA target:

(i) a 20% reduction in fatalities from a SIPRI baseline of 6,500 in 2000 to 5,200 by 2006;

(ii) a 20% reduction in fatalities from an IISS baseline of 48,000 in 2000 to 38,000 by 2006;

(iii) a 20% reduction in refugees from a UNHCR baseline of 2,400,000 in 2000 to 1,900,000 by 2006;

(iv) a 20% reduction in internally displaced people from a USCR baseline of 10,300,000 in 2000 to 8,200,000 by 2006.

(c) Conflict Level Assessment Tool sub-targets contribute 50% to PSA target (25% in each Pool)—a new product measuring variations in potential sources of future conflict is being created. Targets and baselines will be set by April 2003.

4. Definitions

(a) The Conflict Prevention Pools

(i) The Global and Africa Pools were created in April 2001, as policy mechanisms to improve UK conflict prevention policy and impact using a joined-up approach between FCO, MOD and DFID. HMT and Cabinet Office also play an important coordinating role. The Pools bring together peacekeeping and programme budgets, for the first time.

(ii) FCO manage the Global Pool—the Foreign Secretary chairs the cabinet committee and DFID manage the Africa Pool—the International Development Secretary chairs the cabinet committee.

(b) PSA Target

(i) The PSA contains two distinct elements requiring measurement: the number of people whose lives are affected by conflict and a reduction in the potential sources of future conflict. Fatalities, refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) will measure the first element and the new Conflict Level Assessment Tool on variations in the level of conflict will measure the second element.

(ii) Conflict defined by SIPRI is 'the use of armed force between the military forces of two or more governments, or one government and at least one organised armed group and the incompatibility concerns control of government and/or territory'.

(iii) 'Where the UK can make a significant contribution' defines the countries/regions where the UK can make an important input to reducing or preventing conflict.

(c) Sub-Target Indicators

(i) Fatalities according to SIPRI refer to 'total battle related deaths, civilian and military caused by warring parties which can be directly connected to the conflict'. IISS use a similar definition.

(ii) A Refugee is defined by the1951 Convention as 'a person who owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside their country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return'.

(iii) IDPs defined by UN Guiding Principles are 'people who are forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border'.

5. Issues

(a) Assessing Progress

(i) An overall assessment of progress will be based not only on data but also on a narrative assessment, to compensate for the weakness of data sources on fatalities, refugees and IDPs, e.g. a major outbreak of conflict in one country could increase numbers significantly, distorting progress made in other countries. The UK's diplomatic achievements contributing to reduced conflict will be cited e.g. mobilising an effective international response.

(ii) Progress will initially be measured separately for each Pool, including the impact of programmes/strategies in each Pool, before a joint overall assessment is made against the PSA Target.

(iii) The PSA relates to 2003–06, however baseline data relates to 2000. A time lag of one-year exists before data is available in each year. All baseline data relates to 2000. A final assessment will be made in 2007 using 2006 data.

(iv) The countries selected for assessing fatalities, refugees and IDPs is a specific group—it does not include every country covered by each Pool.

(v) Isolating the UK's distinct contribution from international and other actors is difficult, and the target is subject to high risks e.g. the UK cannot control the policies of other actors, small arms proliferation etc.

(b) Data Limitations

(i) Accurate data on fatalities, refugees and IDPs is not available but is taken from the best available sources. For example SIPRI state the figures represent a minimum indicator but real figures may be much higher.

(ii) Both SIPRI and IISS use the starting marker of 1000 battle-related deaths each year for major conflicts—an arbitrary starting point. To provide a more accurate assessment, additional data from IISS and the States in Armed Conflict 2000 Report is included to capture data on fatalities below 1000—included in the 2000 baseline.

(iii) SIPRI and IISS utilise different sources in collecting data and produce significantly different fatality statistics for the same conflicts, we will therefore use their data to assess overall trends.
(iv) Attributing what proportion of refugee/IDP displacement is caused directly by conflict is acknowledged as problematic. Refugee data is based on the number of refugees from each country and not in each country.

6. Sources

(a) Fatalities

SIPRI Yearbook data and IISS Military Balance data will be used to measure conflict fatality numbers above 1000. To include fatalities below 1000, data from the States in Armed Conflict Report, University of Uppsala (who produce SIPRI's data) and the IISS Small Conflicts Database (to be launched publicly in January 2003) is also included in the baseline/targets.

(b) Refugees

The UNHCR are mandated to deal with refugees and compile annual data on refugee numbers in 'Populations of Concern to UNHCR'.

(c) Internally displaced persons (IDPs)

USCR data is used for 2000 baseline data because it is the only source available. However all future assessments will use Global IDP project data from the Norwegian Refugee Council—because it is now recognised as the best IDP data source combining data from all the main IDP agencies.

(d) Potential sources of future conflict

The new Conflict Level Assessment Tool will be available in April 2003.

ANNEX 8: LIST OF KEY DOCUMENTS AND OTHER WRITTEN MATERIAL CONSULTED

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ANNEX 9: LIST OF PEOPLE CONSULTED

Abbot-Watt, Thorda: HMA Armenia
Abdullaeva, Arezu: Helsinki Citizens' Assembly
Adams, Lt. Colonel David: Regional Programmes, Defence Diplomacy Directorate, MOD
Ahmed, Mustaque: CARE Assistant Country Director, Sudan
Ali, Mousa: Program Development Advisor, Save the Children Fund US
Aliev, Arif: Yeni Nesil
Alieva, Leila: Centre for National and International Studies
Andrews, Colonel Rob: Chief of Mission, VMT
Aptsiauri, Dr David: First Deputy Minister, MFA Georgia
Armitage, Rachel: International Poverty Reduction Team, HM Treasury
Armon, Jeremy: Asia Directorate, Governance Advisor, FCO (formerly UK High Commission, Kampala)
Atajanov, Sabir Sadykovich: Deputy Head, Osh Regional Administration
Awad, Mr: Programme Manager, NRRDO
Bakradze, Dr David: Director, Centre for International Security and Conflict Management
Ballentine, Karen: IPA, New York
Balm, Lt Col Steve: Royal Marines, Defence Diplomacy Directorate, MOD
Baly, Dick: Senior Sector Adviser, Security Policy Team, CHAD, DFID
Barlow, Gavin: Director of Policy Planning, MOD
Barnes-Jones, HMA Deborah: British Embassy, Georgia
Barras, Clare: Head of Aid Branch, International Poverty Reduction Team, HM Treasury
Bates, Nick: Political Analyst, Great Lakes, AGHD, DFID
Batiashvili, Irakli: Committee for Defence and Security, Parliament of Georgia
Baugh, Matthew: First Secretary, Aid, UK Embassy, Sudan
Baumann, Charley: Program Manager, CPMT
Bellemans, Marc: FAO Representative, Khartoum
Benomar, Jamal: United Nations Development Programme, New York
Betrand, Catherine: Representative, UNHCR, Georgia
Bevan, James: political Director, Africa Directorate, FCO
Bilikava, Natalia: Don Women's Union
Blair, Dennis: Deputy Regional Representative, UNHCR
Blake, Oliver: Governance Adviser, DFID, Sudan
Blell, Ambassador Joe C.: Deputy Defence Minister, MOD, Sierra Leone
Bowden, Mark: Office for the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs
Branch, Nick: Desk Officer, Conflict Prevention Unit, UN Department, FCO
Brearley, Stuart: Defence Advisory Team, MOD
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The Department for International Development (DFID) is the UK Government department responsible for promoting sustainable development and reducing poverty. The central focus of the Government's policy, based on the 1997 and 2000 White Papers on International Development, is a commitment to the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals, to be achieved by 2015. These seek to:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

DFID's assistance is concentrated in the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, but also contributes to poverty reduction and sustainable development in middle-income countries, including those in Latin America and Eastern Europe.

DFID works in partnership with governments committed to the Millennium Development Goals, with civil society, the private sector and the research community. It also works with multilateral institutions, including the World Bank, United Nations agencies, and the European Commission.

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