The impact of conflict on the intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty:
An overview and annotated bibliography

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Please note that the authors’ names are presented in alphabetical order, and do not necessarily represent the weight of their contribution to this paper.
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Executive Summary

This study is a first step in clarifying the causal relationship between conflict and poverty in order to lay the foundations for further research and robust policy recommendations. Commissioned by the Overseas Development Institute and the Chronic Poverty Research Centre, the study reviews the multi-disciplinary literature on the impact of conflict on the intergenerational transmission (IGT) of chronic poverty. It addresses the following issues: the mechanisms by which conflict causes poverty, the duration of the resulting poverty, the likelihood that poverty will be transmitted intergenerationally, the types of conflicts that generate poverty and the households and individuals most affected by conflict-related poverty. In this report we focus on the impact of conflict on civilians; we do not address the recruitment, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants.

Our hypothesis is that the causal chains can be described as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Conflict} & \rightarrow \text{Damage} \rightarrow \text{Transitory poverty} \rightarrow \text{IGT poverty} \\
\text{Conflict} & \rightarrow \text{Damage} \rightarrow \text{Chronic poverty} \rightarrow \text{IGT poverty}
\end{align*}
\]

Many individuals and households will be able to exit the chain at various points, and others who were not directly affected by conflict may enter at later stages.

➢ How does conflict drive households and individuals within those households into poverty?

\[
\text{Conflict} \rightarrow \text{Damage} \rightarrow \text{Poverty?}
\]

The mechanisms through which conflict drives households and individuals within those households into poverty are mapped onto the livelihoods framework.

(a) Human capital
Conflict can impact on human capital by causing physical and mental disabilities and declines in health and nutritional status, as well as in education and training opportunities, which in turn drive individuals and households into poverty. Declines in health and well-being can hinder an individual’s capacity to work, thus constraining the ability to earn an income in both the short-term and long-term.

(b) Financial capital
Conflict can impact on financial capitals at a macro and micro level. In particular, loss of employment and market failure distorts the economy, damaging war-time financial capitals as well as affecting post-war growth. Pre-conflict livelihoods can be replaced by alternative livelihoods from the so-called “grass-roots war economy”. Uncertainty and scarcity of information can lead to increased transaction costs and efficiency losses. Household income shortfalls can be exacerbated by the loss of remittances and the disruption of the agricultural production process.

(c) Physical capital
The destruction of assets including agricultural land due to looting, dislocation, and landmines can severely limit a household’s ability to produce. The breakdown or shrinking investment in public infrastructure and services further diminishes physical capital. Disruptions to the energy supply, communications and transportation infrastructure may also be targeted, thus disrupting social, economic and political relations and increasing transaction costs.
(d) Natural capital
Conflict can impact on natural capital by reducing access to land, security of tenure and the distribution of holdings. Factors that may reduce access to land include the breakdown of customary rights and values of usage, resource depletion and degradation, lack of management of natural resources, land expropriation and increased use of marginal lands.

(e) Political capital
Conflict can impact on political capitals by causing the loss of the state’s monopoly on force, leaving citizens vulnerable to violence, exploitation and discrimination. An individual’s political or social status can make them especially vulnerable.

(f) Social capital
Conflict can impact on social capital by causing displacement, changing household composition, disrupting family networks, breaking down relationships of trust and closing off access to wider institutions of society. When combined with the breakdown in state service provision, vulnerable individuals and households who are dependent on local or family networks can be left with no support networks at all.

- For households pushed into poverty as a result of conflict: is this a transitory experience or are they likely to become chronically poor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Damage</th>
<th>Chronic poverty</th>
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The distinction between transitory and chronic poverty is “[…] the fact that some of the poor are poor for a short period of time (the transitory poor) while others are poor for long periods (the chronically poor). Poverty chronicity is therefore a longitudinal concept, referring to persistence in poverty” (Chronic Poverty Research Centre 2004: 6).

There is existing evidence which suggests “that the longer poverty lasts, the more difficult it becomes to escape” and therefore becomes chronic (Moore 2005: 15). As we have shown, conflict can have a negative impact on a variety of different livelihood capitals, causing poverty.

- Is conflict-driven poverty likely to be transmitted intergenerationally? If so, by what mechanisms?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Damage</th>
<th>IGT poverty</th>
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It is likely that conflict is a contributory factor in the intergenerational transmission of poverty. The literature highlights the impact of conflict on the disruption to basic goods and services like food, healthcare and education at vulnerable moments (‘tipping points’) in the life-course of individuals: in utero; before age two; possibly during adolescence; and for women, during pregnancy.

Some of the mechanisms for the IGT of poverty explored in the paper are declining nutrition and health (with special reference to HIV/AIDS); interruptions to education; decline in parental / household income and increased burden on the elderly.

- Which households or individuals are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations?

Households that are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations are rural households; landless, poor smallholders and households that do not pursue subsistence farming; and women-headed households. At an individual level, women and children are
most vulnerable to poverty in the post-conflict location, although men may be more vulnerable to death, imprisonment, displacement or distress migration.

The increase in women-headed households is partly explained by the phenomenon of ‘missing men’ in conflict situations. In many cases women face the same discriminatory social structures as they experienced prior to the conflict (such as customary law-sanctioned dispossession of inheritance, gender barriers to specific economic activities and less education), exacerbating the difficulties created by their new role as primary income-earner of the household.

➢ What kinds of conflict are most likely to generate chronic poverty?

The kinds of conflict most likely to generate chronic poverty are developing country, long-term, intrastate conflicts where no distinction is made between civilians and combatants.

➢ Conclusion and recommendations

We conclude that it is likely that conflict is a contributory factor in the intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty, primarily because it can irreversibly disrupt the provision of basic goods and services like food, healthcare and education at vulnerable moments (‘tipping points’) in the life-course of individuals.

However, the causal chain rests on an assumption that conflict is an exogenous shock on non-poor households, and is therefore a driver of transitory poverty, which over time can become chronic poverty, which may be transmitted intergenerationally. The literature review highlights an endogeneity problem in the study of conflict and chronic poverty: the potential for reverse causality and omitted variables.

In addition to the endogeneity problem, we have identified a methodological constraint: there is a shortage of studies that track the well-being of households that were not chronically poor before a conflict but became chronically poor as a result of the conflict. Furthermore, to prove the intergenerational transmission of poverty the studies need to be longitudinal, covering at least two generations.

We recommend maintaining both the livelihoods framework and the case study approach and a longitudinal research design to collect data prospectively and/or retrospectively considering the already available data, the budget, the ability to track individuals over time and the feasibility of combining different methods.
1. Introduction

Nine of the ten countries with the lowest Human Development Index rankings have experienced conflict since 1990 (UNDP 2005). While there seems to be a correlation between poverty and conflict, the causal relationship is not clear and needs to be analyzed in detail in order to lay the foundations for robust policy recommendations. The aim of this paper is to identify the key issues linking conflict to intergenerational transmission of poverty and to provide a resource for subsequent research examining the long-run impact of conflict. Throughout the paper we have used both households and individuals as the research unit.

We define conflict as collective violence (following the World Health Organisation’s definition): “The instrumental use of [armed] violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic or social objectives” (WHO 2002: 251). Consequently we do not review the literature on individual or unarmed violence including domestic violence. We have focused our research on collective armed violence in conflict zones, and have therefore not explored violence perpetrated by urban gangs and organised crime. There is however a large literature around the relationships between poverty and this type of violence (see McIlwaine and Moser’s 2006 World Development article for a recent Latin American review).

The focus of this paper is to examine whether and how conflict is a driver of poverty. We map the different mechanisms by which conflict drives poverty onto the livelihoods framework – visualised in a table in Appendix 1, ‘Conflict Impact on Livelihoods Table’ and in detail in section two of the paper. We have narrowed the question to the effects of conflicts on civilians, as in recent decades the incidence of civilians killed and wounded has risen dramatically. We have left aside the issue of combatants and their recruitment, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration, which is an important topic with a large literature of its own.

(a) The causal chain

As we are interested in the likelihood of intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty, we focus on the mechanisms by which the direct and indirect effects of conflict on civilians creates and reinforces poverty which is transmitted from one generation to the next via the transfer of poverty-related assets and capitals.

Our hypothesis is that the causal chain can be described as follows:

Conflict → Damage → Transitory poverty → Chronic poverty → IGT poverty

Many individuals and households will be able to exit the chain at various points, and others who were not directly affected by conflict may enter at later stages.

(b) Analytical framework

We analyse the damage caused by conflict through the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework used by Goodhand and Moser (Goodhand 2001: 13, Moser 1999). The report is structured as follows: in Section Two we examine the mechanisms through which conflict drives households and individuals within those households into poverty. Section Three discusses the nature of the likelihood of the resulting poverty as a transitory or chronic experience. The intergenerational transmission of conflict-driven poverty is examined in section four of this report. Sections Five and Six discuss the kinds of conflict most likely to generate chronic poverty and the types of households most likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations. Section Seven gives research recommendations to further clarify the causal
relationship between conflict and poverty in order to lay the foundations for robust policy recommendations. The paper concludes with the Annotated Bibliography.

2. How does conflict drive households and individuals within those households into poverty?

We use the livelihoods framework to conceptualise the effects of conflict on the following types of capital: human, financial, physical, natural, political and social. We limit ourselves to exploring evidence of the impact of conflict on the various livelihoods capitals listed above in specific contexts, without generalising to develop a theory of a universal causal relationship between conflict and chronic and intergenerationally-transmitted poverty. We particularly reference two case studies for more in-depth analysis: Rwanda and Mozambique. We selected Rwanda and Mozambique because of the incidence and severity of poverty and conflict, and also because good data was available since the conflicts both ended over a decade ago allowing us to explore long-term effects of war on poverty.

Causality is problematic, as Goodhand noted: “Most balanced assessments argue for a two way causality – poor countries have a greater disposition to conflict, and poverty is also a probable outcome of conflict [...] similar configurations of poverty and bad governance may result in conflict in one context and not in another” (Goodhand 2001: 28). In addition to the endogeneity problem, there is the problem of finding panel data that tracks what Goodhand calls “the entitlement configurations” (Goodhand 2001: 42) of households that were not poor before the conflict but became poor after the conflict, and indeed of households that were poor but not chronically poor and had their poverty entrenched through conflict.

(a) Human capital

Conflict can impact on human capital by causing physical and mental impairment, declines in health and nutritional status, as well as in education and training opportunities, which in turn drive individuals and households into poverty. Declines in health and well-being can hinder an individual’s capacity to work, thus constraining the ability to earn an income in both the short-term and long-term.

The physical impairment of civilians and combatants in times of conflict can drive chronic poverty. Children are often more vulnerable to conflict-driven impairment than adults: “During 1998 in the city of Kabul, Afghanistan, roughly 55% of landmine victims and 86% of victims of unexploded ordinances were 18 years old or younger” (Dec and Landis 1998: 6, quoted in Stewart et al 2001a: 151). Impairment can affect children’s ability to gain an education while young and can hinder an adult’s ability to secure employment and care for children (Lwanga-Ntale 2003: 6). Impairment can become disability when stigma and exclusion are experienced.

For those civilians who were already disabled before the conflict, “Conflict also exacerbates the disadvantages experienced by the disabled in more stable settings due to declining state services. The lack of health services contributes to further disability [...] like the elderly, the disabled are most vulnerable to external shocks. They are the least able to move in the event of violent conflict or to find gainful employment. They are also likely to have a greater dependence on basic social services than other sections of the population” (Goodhand 2001: 21). Therefore conflict can both cause disability and exacerbate the vulnerability of the already disabled due to breakdowns in basic social services as a consequence of conflict.

Conflict also erodes human capital by causing mental impairment and permanent psychological trauma. Mental impairment can result from malnutrition, which can have repercussions for the IGT of chronic poverty: “Children whose cognitive development has been impaired in their early years may find learning more difficult, both at school and in terms
of important life skills. Where this leads to difficulties obtaining skills or qualifications, their future labour market opportunities and thus earning prospects may be constrained” (Harper, Marcus and Moore 2003: 542-3).

One type of mental impairment directly linked to conflict is permanent psychological trauma caused by the exposure to life threatening situations, rape or torture (Luckham et al 2001: 41). The literature indicates that post-traumatic stress has various effects ranging from reduced quality of life; poorer mental and physical health, increased violent behaviour to family problems and greater difficulties in work and education (D’Ardenne 2005; Knežević 2005). The estimated 20,000 children who took part in hostilities during the conflict in Rwanda (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers 2001) have found it difficult to disengage from the idea that violence is a legitimate means of achieving their aims, particularly when they still suffer the frustrations of poverty and injustice (Machel 2001). Studies of civilians that experienced air attacks in Yugoslavia in 1999 show that the level of trauma depends on coping strategies used during conflicts. The importance of stabilised political and social situations for the recovery process is revealed in studies of Vietnamese refugees (Silove 1999).

**Declines in health and nutritional status** are common consequences of war. In Mozambique, daily calorie intake per person dropped during the conflict, from 1,953 in 1980 to 1,680 in 1992 (Stewart et al 2001a: 89). Poor health and nutrition can trigger the intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty as we shall see in chapter four. Conflict can also increase the spread of HIV/AIDS through rape as a weapon of war. Tens of thousands of women were raped in Rwanda during the conflict (Human Rights Watch 2004). In a survey of 1,125 Rwandan rape survivors carried out by AVEGA (Association of Genocide Widows), it was found that some 80% remain severely traumatized, and about 70% of them have tested HIV positive (AVEGA web site, visited 22/02/06).

The **decline in educational and training opportunities** during a conflict depletes human capital formation among the younger generations. In Mozambique, 60% of primary schools were destroyed nationwide during the war (Fozzard 2002: 2). Primary school enrolment dropped from 99 percent in 1980 to 67 percent in 1992 (Stewart et al. 2001a: 89). In Rwanda, 34.1% of chronically poor households have one member who has never attended primary school, and 40.8% have one or more school-aged member who is currently not attending primary school (Howe and McKay 2005: 15). As we shall see in Chapter Four, interrupted education reduces children’s future earning capacity, thus increasing the likelihood that children will remain in poverty. It is important to note here that the extent of the impact of loss of education opportunities and schooling will depend on the quality of schooling provided. If the school system is of low quality, loss of education will have less impact on future earning prospects than the loss of good quality schooling. The former prevails especially in rural areas in developing countries. The mapping of intergenerational transmission of poverty through this mechanism should therefore be qualified by the effectiveness and quality of the school system that is affected by conflict.

**(b) Financial capital**

Conflict impacts on financial capital by causing economic distortion at both a macro and micro level, damaging war-time financial capitals as well as affecting post-war growth. Issues such as capital flight, falling investment level, and loss of credit, savings and transfers, such as pensions, bridge the macro/ micro divide (Brück 2001b). “The greater part of the human costs of war does not result directly from battle deaths and injuries, but rather ‘indirectly’ from the loss of livelihoods caused by the dislocation of economy and society resulting from conflict” (Stewart et al 2001a: 5). Markets can fail due to insecurity, uncertainty and scarcity of information, leading to reduced trading opportunities, higher transaction costs, efficiency losses and reduced incentives to invest for the future (Brück 2001b: 60).
In terms of engagement in the labour force, the number of private traders in Mozambique fell dramatically during the war, from 6,000 in 1975 to 2,000 in 1990 (Howard et al 1998: 6). Employment opportunities declined due to state and commercial farm closures, while the “collapse in rural purchasing power” crippled the market for small-scale entrepreneurs (de Sousa 1999: 4-5). In some cases, individuals developed alternative livelihoods, variously referred to as “barefoot entrepreneurs” and the “grass-roots war economy” (Chingono 2001: 94), such as petty trading of basic survival foods, cooked foods, household utensils from scrap metal, second-hand clothes as well as sex work, piracy and slavery (Chingono 2001: 102).

*Household income shortfalls* in Mozambique were exacerbated by the loss of remittances from migrant workers in South Africa (Brück 2001b: 62) and the disruption of the agricultural production process (Brück 2001a: 10), with the result that, “Total private consumption per capita decreased as a result of the war. However, consumption did not fall by as much as output until 1987 reflecting the behaviour of household consumption near the survival threshold” (Brück 2001b:81).

**(c) Physical capital**

The *destruction of assets* in conflict has a significant impact on livelihoods. In Mozambique, “the loss of oxen and difficulties in accessing agricultural inputs, led to a severe contraction in smallholder output in the war-affected areas” (de Sousa 1999: 1). Households that possessed a greater number of tools per capita and other assets at the end of the war had a higher income and greater household welfare than those with fewer assets (Brück 2001a: 27). The war had a lasting impact on marketing systems of agricultural inputs, thereby decreasing farm outputs particularly in remote areas (de Sousa 1999: 6). De Sousa notes that households experiencing the highest welfare in the post-war period were able to accumulate assets during the war (1999: 19).

The breakdown or shrinking investment in public *infrastructure and services* further diminishes physical capital. Social services such as hospitals, clinics and schools can deteriorate due to reductions in government expenditure on infrastructure (Stewart et al 2001a: 16; Fozzard 2002: 2). In Mozambique, the mostly rural central and northern provinces suffered the most damage to infrastructure. “In Zambezia [province in Mozambique] only 12% of primary schools were still operational when the war ended” (Fozzard 2002: 2). The impact on health was also severe. The ratio of doctors to population in Mozambique declined from one doctor for every 36,900 people to one doctor per 50,000 (Stewart et al 2001a: 89). The implications of depleted health and educational resources have been discussed in the human capital section above and will be expanded in chapter four.

Other types of infrastructure may also be targeted in a conflict, such as communications, transportation and energy. This destruction thereby disrupts social, economic and political relations and increases transaction costs of travelling to the markets and other public places. For example, rebels in Mozambique directly targeted the energy supply to disrupt economic activities (Goudie and Neyapti 1999).

**(d) Natural capital**

Conflict impacts on natural capital by *reducing access to land*, security of tenure and the distribution of holdings (Brück 2001a). Factors which may reduce access to land include the breakdown of customary rights and values of usage, resource depletion and degradation, lack of management of natural resources, land expropriation and increased use of marginal lands (Daudelin 2003). The war in Mozambique also disrupted seed production and
preservation activities, leading to a decline in agricultural output by smallholders (Howard et al. 1998: 18-19).

The destruction or loss of agricultural land due to looting, dislocation and landmines can severely limit a household’s ability to produce. Landmines “continue to destroy lives and keep the land useless for years after the ceasefire, extending the war uncertainty way beyond the end of the formal conflict” (Brück 2001b: 70-1). Land-deprivation as an asset loss “is what drives already poor people into deeper and more intractable poverty” (CPRC 2004: 42).

Another aspect of the impact of war on natural capital is the environmental impact of refugees in camps or settlements, which depends on various factors and is a controversial debate in the literature (Jacobsen 1997; Kibreab 1997).

(e) Political capital

In a conflict situation the state can lose its monopoly on force: “Many conflict-prone states are unwilling or unable to provide security, creating opportunities for non-state actors to fill the security space” (UNDP 2005: 162). The state can struggle to legally protect vulnerable individuals from violence, exploitation and discrimination if the state has the power and political will to do so. However, state interventions may be targeted to favoured groups. “Power, representation and inclusion in society […] are often determined by ethnic or political identity and affiliation” (Jaspars and Shoham 2002: 7). Furthermore, combatants may target specific ethnic and class groups, as in the conflict in Rwanda. Thus it can be people’s political or social status which can make them vulnerable, and these are specific to the conflict itself.

David Keen (1994) on the ‘war–famine’ which took place in Bahr el Ghazal, Sudan (1983-1989) demonstrates that famine has to be seen in a highly politicized context where government soldiers and government-supported militias were involved in perpetuating and prolonging the famine in collusion with the central government of Sudan. They restricted migration of famine victims as well as the collection of wild foods as substitutes and relief deliveries were blocked. In this context the breakdown of government monopoly of force can be beneficial for vulnerable individuals. Thus, the assumption of an ultimately benign and non-violent state should be carefully scrutinized when evaluating the impact of conflict on state monopoly (Keen 1994).

(f) Social capital

Conflict can disrupt social capital, namely social networks, group memberships, relationships of trust, and access to wider institutions of society. As Brück notes in his analysis of post-conflict Mozambique, “war directly undermines social capital as war dislocates people and institutions thus depreciating contacts, trust, and other components of social capital. This will lead to a further, war-induced reduction in output and thus welfare” (Brück 2001a: 11). Dislocation can occur through the displacement of migratory workers or refugees (Howe and McKay 2005), which can also result in human capital deprivation associated with “loss of access to normal food sources and exposure to hazardous environments – new disease vectors, lack of shelter, use of unsafe water” (Devereux 2000: 5).

Trust operates as the foundation for all civic actions, including market transaction. The complete loss of trust at the local level can lead to the destruction of horizontal forms of “exchange, mutual assistance, and reciprocity […] including also the protection of the vulnerable” (Colletta and Cullen, 2000). When combined with the breakdown in state service provision, vulnerable individuals and households who are dependent on local or family networks can be left with no support networks at all.
Conflict also erodes social capital through changes in household composition, particularly the increase in women-headed households (Chingono 2001: 105). In Rwanda, the changing composition of households directly attributable to the genocide has caused the nuclear family to fail to a degree (Colletta and Cullen 2000), impairing parenting capacity and destroying the most important support network and protection for those in chronic poverty.

3. For households pushed into poverty as a result of conflict: is this a transitory experience or are they likely to become chronically poor?

The distinction between transitory and chronic poverty is due to “[…] the fact that some of the poor are poor for a short period of time (the transitory poor) while others are poor for long periods (the chronically poor). Poverty chronicity is therefore a longitudinal concept, referring to persistence in poverty” (Chronic Poverty Research Centre 2004: 6). The causes for such poverty according to the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) are multi-dimensional, including “[…] the combination of capability deprivation, low levels of material assets, and social or political marginality that keeps people poor over long periods” (CPRC 2004: 6).

Existing evidence suggests “that the longer poverty lasts, the more difficult it becomes to escape” and therefore becomes chronic (Moore 2005: 15). Furthermore, Yaqub (2000) found there is a 90% probability of individuals in the USA remaining poor indefinitely once they have passed the four-year threshold. Tilman Brück’s empirical study of Mozambique supports this notion in a post-conflict setting when he states that “the negative war effects are very difficult to reverse […] Almost nine years after the end of the war in Mozambique, post-war reconstruction and poverty alleviation in northern Mozambique is thus on-going process” (Brück 2001a: 2). He further elaborates that the conflict was a strong cause of poverty traps suggesting that the war has had negative long-term effects on household welfare through “widowhood and asset destruction, and through its effects on household labour and markets” (Brück 2001a: 24).

As we have shown in section two, conflict can have a negative impact on a variety of different livelihoods capitals, causing transitory poverty. Given the empirical evidence from Mozambique that post-war reconstruction is a much longer process than expected (Brück 2001a: 2), we conclude that it is likely that transitory poverty caused by conflict will become chronic poverty for some households and individuals, and possibly also be transmitted across generations. These mechanisms will be explored further in the following chapter.

However, to answer the question satisfactorily it would be necessary to conduct studies that track the well-being of households that were not poor before a conflict but became transitory and chronically poor after the conflict. Jonathan Goodhand noted that, “There is however, to our knowledge, no research linking poverty and conflict, which distinguishes between chronic and transitory poverty. More work is required to differentiate between types of conflicts that are more or less likely to lead to chronic or transitory poverty” (Goodhand 2001: 23). This gap in available data is reflected in our recommendations in the concluding chapter.

4. Is conflict-driven poverty likely to be transmitted intergenerationally?

If so, by what mechanisms?

While the intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty can be defined in multiple ways, most authors agree that it refers to a series of processes and factors including “poor nutrition and healthcare, low levels of education, depletion of the environment, insecure livelihoods, indebtedness, cultural norms, traditions and social practices” (Bhargava, Mathur and
Rajagopal 2005: 1) that affect the transmission from one generation to the next via the transfer of poverty related assets and capitals. Concepts of IGT of poverty try to capture the dynamics of poverty over a period of time instead of assessing the poverty status at a single point in time. Harper, Marcus and Moore (2003) further distinguish that IGT of poverty can involve both the private transmission of poverty (between individuals, often within the family) and the public transmission of resources across generations.

One of the most important mechanisms by which conflict can drive the IGT of poverty is the disruption to basic goods and services like food, healthcare and education at vulnerable moments (‘tipping points’) in the life-course of individuals: in utero; before age two; and for women, during pregnancy (Harper, Marcus and Moore 2003: 542-3). This should not be confused with an absolute fall in government social spending. As Stewart et al note: “[…] governments can sustain social expenditures during conflict, even in the face of falling per capita income and rising military expenditures […] The simple model of military expenditure squeezing out social expenditure frequently does not apply” (Stewart et al 2001a: 89). The question of whether conflict causes the erosion of infrastructure and government services is an empirical one; much depends on the political will of the rulers to sustain social spending. Maintaining the public transmission of resources through effective government control and social spending during and after conflict is likely to reduce the impact of conflict on the IGT of poverty.

(a) Declining nutrition

There is a strong relationship between war and famine (Devereux 2000: 257). Even without a famine, food supply can be severely interrupted at crucial points, with serious repercussions for the IGT of poverty. “Child and maternal nutrition and health status are often cited alongside the timing of shocks and interventions as the critical factors in determining the irreversibility of poverty transfers” (Smith 2005: 5). Harper, Marcus and Moore demonstrate how early childhood malnutrition can have a long-term impact on productivity, educational attainment and poverty: “The intergenerational transmission of poverty via nutrition can begin in utero, as the child of an inadequately nourished mother is likely to grow less rapidly than that of an adequately nourished mother” (Harper, Marcus and Moore 2003: 542-3). The incidence of infant mortality and childhood stunting is much greater among low birth weight babies, with long-term implications. “Stunting is […] largely irreversible” (Smith 2005: 38); and can impair children’s “[…] ability to fight disease and thus increase their chances of ill-health and death in the early years […] and possibly in later life” (ibid).

Malnourishment can also hinder a child’s cognitive development; if this occurs “before age two, the impairment may be irreversible regardless of a later improvement in their nutrition and circumstances” (ACC/SCN 2000, as quoted in ibid). Girls who grow up with inadequate nutrition face greater health risks during pregnancy, thus completing the cycle of maternal and child malnourishment and mortality. Stunted girls “are more likely to be underdeveloped for childbirth, and face higher risks of […] low birth weight and stunting among their own children” (ibid).

In a long-term panel study Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey found that preschool malnutrition in rural Zimbabwe impacted on human capital formation. Malnutrition caused stunting, delayed schooling and reduced work experience opportunities which led to “a loss of lifetime earnings of about 14 percent […] such estimates are likely to be lower bounds of the true losses” (Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey 2004: 1-3).

(b) Declining health

The spread of disease worsens during conflict. Diseases such as tuberculosis, measles, malaria and cholera can reach epidemic proportions during wartime, especially among
refugee populations. In Rwanda, as “society collapsed completely: [...] the infrastructure was purposefully destroyed, and government operations, including legal, educational, and health activities completely dissolved” (Colletta and Cullen 2000). In Rwanda 59.2% of the chronically poor households had one or more ill or injured members that did not consult a practitioner (Howe and McKay 2005), with long-term implications for morbidity and mortality from untreated illnesses and injuries.

HIV/AIDS can be contracted by victims of rape as a weapon of war. In addition to impaired earning capacity from protracted poor health (Smith 2005: 45), HIV infection of parents may result in mother to child transmission and orphanhood (AVEGA; Goodhand 2001; Macrae and Zwi 1994; Luckham et al 2001: 40), with children being raised by grandparents or other relatives if they are lucky, and left to fend for themselves if they are not. One direct impact is thus that the dependency ratio in families worsens. In addition to the health impact, “rape has poverty implications for women who may be ostracised by their society” (Luckham et al 2001: 44, quoted in Goodhand 2001: 20).

(c) Interrupted education

In Rwanda, education played a key role in preventing households falling into poverty as opposed to providing them with an opportunity to escape (Justino and Verwimp 2006). Therefore interruption to the education system during conflict can leave households more vulnerable. It is important to note that the same factors that affect the interruption to the education system during conflict also impact upon the employment market. There the interruption is not only likely to trap people into poverty by reducing potential income earnings as an adult (Smith 2005: 5), but as well as reversing the time and resources invested in education, also make it harder for young people to find employment (Moore 2005: 7).

Interruptions to education can be gendered. While Goodhand notes that: “Boys suffer more than girls from reduced schooling during conflict” (Stewart et al 2000, quoted in Goodhand 2001: 21), Shemyakina’s regression results suggest the opposite: exposure to the conflict in Tajikistan from 1992 to 1998 had “a significant negative effect on the enrolment of girls of age 14 - 16, and, little or, no effect on enrolment of boys and younger children” (Shemyakina 2006: 1). Shemyakina interpreted her findings “as indicating that households viewed older girls as more vulnerable to danger and/or harassment during the conflict or the return on investment in education of girls was lower in the war affected areas. It appears that the households in the condition of uncertainty were more inclined to invest in the education of boys” (Shemyakina 2006: 25).

De Sousa notes how in Mozambique, the interruption to education was prolonged beyond the duration of the conflict, even with the rebuilding of schools and increased supply of education. The opportunity cost of education is too high for poor households, whose main priority is to rebuild livelihoods which is heavily labour intensive. Her conclusion that demand for education will increase in line with income growth in households means that chronically poor households will suffer extended periods of interrupted education, which are very difficult to break (de Sousa, 1999).

Maternal education is significant as well, both in terms of making appropriate nutrition decisions for children as well as impacting on the timing of childbearing.

Education “is demonstrated to be a significant pathway for the breaking of IGT poverty cycles, and potentially for the ‘catching-up’ of bad starts in life due to poverty” (Smith 2005: 5). However, Tilman Brück argues, based on his research in Mozambique, that “in the immediate post-war period, rural households are likely to have a low demand for education. Instead, government and donor policies should aim to create markets destroyed by the war
and lower transaction costs in the rural economy” (Brück 2001: 2). We hope that it is not an either-or situation and that the provision of education does not only depend on demand generated by impoverished households. That a lack of access to education can impair children’s future prospects of escaping poverty remains true, even if it is not prioritised by their households in a post-conflict context.

(d) Decline in parental / household income

Conflict can cause the erosion of insurance, pensions, inheritance, bequests and employment opportunities, all of which can reduce household income. Women are particularly vulnerable to dispossession, and this is explored in detail in chapter five. Insofar as income is necessary to purchase essential goods and services, any decline can transmit poverty through the mechanisms already explored: poor nutrition, inadequate healthcare and interrupted education. Corcoran (1995) has shown for the US that “parental economic resources consistently predict children’s adult attainments” (summarised in Briony Smith’s bibliography 2005: 12). Smith comments that: “whilst this relationship can be identified, the author acknowledges that the route by which parental income matters is less clear”. Further research is needed in a post-conflict setting, and our research recommendations are laid out in the concluding chapter.

(e) Increased burden on the elderly

The elderly may take on an increased burden of caring for grandchildren, including HIV/AIDS orphans (HelpAge International 2003). The elderly may be abandoned by or separated from their fleeing families, which can leave them vulnerable to the private, intra-family transmission of poverty. Meanwhile, as we have seen, government services such as pensions and healthcare may be interrupted by conflict, leaving the elderly vulnerable also to the public transmission of poverty. Finally, the elderly may even be directly targeted in conflict situations: “In Sierra Leone, for instance, teenage fighters ritually humiliated the chiefs and local ‘big men’” (Keen 1998 quoted in Goodhand 2001: 20).

(f) Conclusion

It is therefore likely that conflict can be a contributory factor in the intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty. As Green notes “the end of any war is not the end of its costs. In one sense the costs do not end until levels of output per capita, infant mortality, access to basic services, food security and poverty alleviation are achieved which correspond to those that would have been predicted in the absence of war” (Green 1994: 45 quoted in Goodhand 2001: 18).

5. Which households or individuals are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations?

It is difficult to predict which households or individuals are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations as “there may be little pattern in the direct destruction of household assets during the war” (Brück 2001a: 10). According to Goodhand, “chronic insecurity increases chronic poverty, but the impacts vary according to a range of factors including age, ethnicity, gender and region” (Goodhand 2001: 4). The aggregation of vulnerability factors creates “multiple disadvantage [which can] block access to the opportunities and resources necessary to escape poverty, and force many into marginal, exploitative, unsustainable livelihoods that permit survival but further undermine well-being in the longer term” (CPRC 2004: 14). Asset ownership can itself be a vulnerability factor, putting non-poor households at risk of being targeted by militants. In addition, political, social, or class status can make people vulnerable to violence (Jaspars and Shoham 2002: 7-8; Chingono 2001: 103).
Between 1990 and 2002 in Rwanda, it was previously land-rich, income non-poor households that fared the worst in terms of economic well being (Justino and Verwimp, 2006). Some households may even experience increased wealth from war profiteering, which can be directly attributed to the conflict (Brück 2001b: 59, Chingono 2001: 93).

In the absence of a clear pattern of household types that are more or less vulnerable to poverty caused by conflict, we must be very careful not to draw general conclusions from our case studies, as the multiple disadvantages will aggregate in different combinations in different conflicts. For example, while the Chronic Poverty Research Centre states that “in most cases, the displacement caused by conflict exacerbates conflict’s effects, leaving refugees and IDPs chronically poor, both within camps and outside them” (CPRC 2004: 18), in Mozambique refugee households experienced no clear disadvantage over non-refugee households (Brück 2001a: 2). Again, whereas “research suggests that chronic poverty is disproportionately experienced by older people” (CPRC 2004: 22), in Mozambique households with older heads experienced higher welfare due to their high levels of social capital (Brück 2001a: 24-5). De Sousa explains that displacement alone does not indicate reduced welfare; rather, “how and where people organize their lives in wartime are critical determinants of their prospects for post-war reconstruction as well as the character of post-war poverty” (1999: 19).

Taking into account the caveats mentioned above, we tentatively suggest that households that are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations include the following: rural households; landless, poor smallholders and households that do not pursue subsistence farming; women-headed households. At an individual level, women and children are most vulnerable.

(a) Rural households

Rural households are more likely to become poor than urban ones if they live in geographical areas which are remote, have low agricultural potential, or are weakly integrated both in terms of communication and markets due to poor infrastructure (CPRC 2004). The persistence of disadvantage in so-called 'spatial poverty traps' can be exacerbated by conflict if “people lose access to arable land, livestock, implements and seeds or when agricultural infrastructure, like irrigation systems, [are] destroyed” (UNDP 2005: 158). Furthermore, these remote regions have a propensity to rebel more than regions close to the capital because remote regions because they are so often neglected by the centre, thereby generating grievance and demand for secession. The scale of the impact of conflict on rural, agricultural households can be understood better by considering that “losses to agricultural production from armed violence in Africa are estimated at $25 billion for 1970–97, or three-quarters of all aid in the same period” (UNDP 2005: 159).

In Mozambique, the incidence and severity of poverty is higher in rural than in urban areas (Simler et al 2004: 22). Rural households experienced decreased levels of consumption in the late 1980s whereas urban areas achieved productivity gains (Brück 2001b: 81). A participatory poverty appraisal conducted in Rwanda by Howe and McKay in 2005 revealed that households believed lack of livestock, reliance on insecure agriculture, scarce land and insecurity to be the main factors driving and maintaining poverty. A household survey showed that 80.2% of the chronically poor in Rwanda owned no livestock (Howe and McKay 2005). As discussed in section two of this paper, losses to physical and natural capital can drive rural, agricultural households into poverty.
(b) Landless households, poor smallholders
and households that did not pursue subsistence farming before the conflict

In Mozambique, land quantity was found to have a higher correlation to household welfare than land productivity (Brück 2001a: 32), rendering smallholders and landless households more vulnerable to shocks. In Rwanda, Howe and McKay (2005) highlight landlessness as a defining feature of chronically poor households, as well as the reliance on agricultural wage labour for earnings and a tendency to be underemployed in their main activity. Chronically poor households in Rwanda are also likely to be more engaged with the market economy and typically purchase a much higher proportion of their food consumption through the market. Urban household are likely to be disadvantaged in this way.

Households that pursue on-farm subsistence activities are associated with higher levels of welfare (Brück 2001a: 33) than households that do not, as they are able to continue growing food crops to maintain household nutrition levels during and after conflict. In Mozambique Brück found that households growing some cotton were reported to earn 27% less income than households growing no cotton, because the crop was no longer cashable following the collapse of markets and transportation.

(c) Women-headed households

Women-headed households can suffer multiple disadvantages as a result of conflict. In Mozambique, studies show that women-headed households are poorer than male-headed households, particularly in urban areas (Simler et al 2004: 47-9). Among Mozambican households, “larger, older, more dependent, and more female households have lower welfare” (Brück 2001a: 24). In Rwanda, 35.9% of women-headed households are in chronic poverty (Howe and McKay 2005), in a country that has a post-conflict population made up of 70% women of which 50% are widows (AVEGA website, visited 22/02/06). Justino and Verwimp show that in two regions of Rwanda, the number of women-headed households more than doubled between 1990 and 2002, and the results of his data show that these households are trapped in poverty (2006). Women-headed households can be the result of ‘missing men’. In Rwanda, the phenomenon of missing men is partly the result of “migration, but among those aged around 15 years and above is also likely to be a direct consequence of the genocide and civil war (death, imprisonment or displacement)” (Howe and McKay 2005). In Mozambique, a high proportion of men left to become combatants, leaving women as the primary income-earner in the household.

Women have therefore taken on the new role of household head even as the social structures and discriminations that existed prior to the conflict persisted. In Mozambique, gender barriers to types of economic activity continued to discriminate against women who had assumed their new household role, which in turn had a negative impact on welfare (Chingono 2001: 103, 105). Brück’s study of Mozambique determined that “female-headed households have, on average, 33% less income, 43% less consumption, and 51% less food consumption per capita compared to male-headed households” (Brück 2001a: 25). In Rwanda, the position of women within society prior to the war meant that “most female genocide survivors have little education [and] lack marketable skills” (Human Rights Watch 1996). De Sousa offers a concise conclusion of their situation in her study of Mozambique: “Female-headed households are poorer, less educated, hold smaller areas of land and own fewer oxen than male heads.” (1999: 20)

(d) Vulnerable individuals: women

All women, not just those heading households, can be vulnerable to increased levels of violence during conflict. For those “exposed to domestic, community or state-sponsored violence – psychological and emotional as well as physical and sexual – escape from poverty
is especially difficult” (CPRC 2004: 21). In Rwanda, women face legal discrimination under pre-conflict customary laws which are inadequate to the new demographic make up of the country, especially in terms of property inheritance norms. As in much of sub-Saharan Africa, customary law in Rwanda dictates inheritance norms that bypass women to the next male: “Accordingly, thousands of widows and daughters currently have no legal claim to their late husband’s or father’s homes, land or bank accounts because they are women” (Human Rights Watch 1996).

(e) Vulnerable individuals: children

The separation of children from their families and the destruction of social and physical infrastructure can render children one of the groups “most marginalized by the war” (Chingono 2001: 105). In Mozambique, almost half of all primary schools had been closed or destroyed by 1989 and nearly half of all primary health centres were looted and the surrounding areas mined during the conflict (UNDP 2005: 161). This service failure impacted most severely on girl children who experienced higher rates of mortality than boys due to “collapsed health services and famine” (Stewart et al 2001a: 93). Children also faced psychological trauma from the war that is likely to have long-term implications (Brück 2001b: 67).

6. What kinds of conflict are most likely to generate chronic poverty?

The impact of conflict on households and individuals varies according to the background economic and social conditions: “poor countries have a greater disposition to conflict, and poverty is also a probable outcome of conflict” (Goodhand 2001: 28). In addition to pre-existing socio-economic disadvantage, conflicts that have a long duration and that do not discriminate between civilians and combatants are most likely to generate chronic poverty.

(a) Conflicts in low-income developing countries: location

The geographical pattern of conflict has changed over time: from 1946–89 low-income developing countries accounted for just over one-third of all conflicts, whereas over the period 1990–2003 they came to account for more than half of the countries and territories that experienced violent conflict (UNDP 2005). Nearly 40% of the world’s conflicts are in Africa (UNDP 2005: 154) and more than half the countries in Africa are affected by armed conflicts.

(b) Chronic wars: long duration

Although it is claimed that post-1989 conflicts are more quickly resolved (Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004), this does not mean that newer conflicts are of short duration. By 1998, of the 108 conflicts active in the ten-year period following 1989, 75 had been terminated. This still left 33 conflicts active, including the wars in Angola and Afghanistan which started in the late 1970s. Further, 22 out of the 29 countries at war in 2003 suffered more than one armed conflict at a time (Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004: 2), and some states suffer repeated bouts of conflict, such as Côte d’Ivoire between 1999 and 2004.

(c) Intrastate conflicts: civilian casualties

Of the 116 violent conflicts between 1989 and 2003, 89 were considered to be intrastate; in 2003, 26 out of the recorded 29 violent conflicts were intrastate (Eriksson and Wallensteen 2004: 2). Intrastate conflicts are particularly lethal for non-combatants because little or no practical distinction is made between combatants and civilians. The Rwandan genocide in 1994 killed almost 1 million people, the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has
killed some 7% of the population and in Sudan a two-decade-long civil war has claimed more than 2 million lives (UNDP 2005: 153). Few modern conflicts are fought on battlefields; in 80% of the conflicts that have taken place since 1989, there have been fewer than 1,000 battlefield deaths in any given year during the course of the conflict (Wallensteen and Sollenberg 1999: 5). When civilians suffer armed collective violence, there are not only high casualties (and therefore widowhood and orphan-hood), but also displacement, asset loss and dispossession as civilians flee. These factors impact the creation and transmission of chronic poverty through the mechanisms explored earlier in this study.

7. Conclusion and recommendations

This study has examined the impact of conflict on the intergenerational transmission of chronic poverty. The mechanisms through which conflict drives households and individuals within those households into poverty have been mapped onto the livelihoods framework: human, financial, physical, natural, political and social capitals. We articulated the following causal chains for the intergenerational transmission of poverty:

- **Conflict** → **Damage** → **Transitory poverty** → **IGT poverty**
- **Conflict** → **Damage** → **Chronic poverty** → **IGT poverty**

In particular we highlighted the impact of conflict on the disruption to basic goods and services like food, healthcare and education at vulnerable moments (‘tipping points’) in the life-course of individuals: *in utero*; before age two; possibly during adolescence; and for women, during pregnancy.

We identified the kinds of conflict most likely to generate chronic poverty: long-term, intrastate conflicts located in low-income developing countries, which do not distinguish between civilians and combatants. We tentatively suggest that the following categories of households are more likely to experience poverty in post-conflict situations: rural households; landless, poor smallholders and households that do not pursue subsistence farming; women-headed households. At an individual level, women and children are most vulnerable.

The causal chain rests on the assumption that conflict is an external shock on non-poor households, and is therefore a driver of transitory poverty which over time can become chronic poverty which may be transmitted intergenerationally. However, we have always remained sensitive to the *endogeneity* problem in the study of conflict and chronic poverty: causality goes both ways and conflict may therefore act as more of a maintainer than a driver of poverty. As Goodhand noted: “Most balanced assessments argue for a two way causality – poor countries have a greater disposition to conflict, and poverty is also a probable outcome of conflict […] similar configurations of poverty and bad governance may result in conflict in one context and not in another” (Goodhand 2001: 28).

In addition to the endogeneity problem, we have identified a methodological constraint: there is a shortage of studies that track the well-being of households that were not poor before a conflict but became poor after the conflict, or those who were poor but not chronically poor and had their poverty entrenched through conflict. The same holds for the intergenerational transmission of poverty. We therefore lay out our recommendations for further research below.
Recommendations for further research

(a) Analytical framework

As regards the analytical framework, we would recommend maintaining the Sustainable Livelihood Framework as it reflects the multi-dimensional definition of poverty, which we found very useful for mapping the different impacts of conflict on these livelihoods.

(b) Case study approach

We would also recommend maintaining a case study approach. We found it useful to examine the two case studies of Mozambique and Rwanda in more detail as the multiple disadvantages aggregated in different combinations in each conflict. Specific case studies allow for more in-depth conclusions on how conflict drives households and individuals into poverty. The selection criteria for case studies should reflect the data availability, and cover conflicts that ended over ten years ago which allows for the exploration of the long-term effects of conflict on poverty.

(c) Longitudinal data and research design

As we are interested here in the dynamics of living conditions on an individual level, we would recommend longitudinal data and research design. The next section describes the concept and methodology in detail.

What it is and why it is used:

Toon Taris makes an important distinction between longitudinal data and longitudinal research design (Taris 2000: 1-2). Longitudinal data represent “[…] information on what happens to a set of units (people, households, firms, etc.) across time” (Ruspini 2002: 3). Berthoud and Gershuny develop a useful metaphor of longitudinal data as sequence of snapshots in a family photo album showing family members at different points in time. They argue that the sequence of photographs for single members of one family is important to show their individual changes over time. A random collection of single snapshots from different families would not be very helpful to identify these changes (Berthoud and Gershuny 2000). The single snapshots are cross-sectional data which in contrast to longitudinal data only present information on what happens to research units (e.g. individuals) at one point in time.

In terms of data collection, longitudinal data is defined as gathering information for but not necessary at separate points in time for the research subjects (Taris 2000). While panel data is collected prospectively at separate occasions in time (multiple ‘waves’), single wave retrospective data such as life-history interviews ask one-off questions about different occasions in the past.

What kinds of longitudinal research designs exist?

In regards to longitudinal research design the question is how information on individuals across time – longitudinal data – can be obtained. Nearly all research methods can be used to obtain this kind of data, if they fulfil the two criteria defined for longitudinal research: 1) the ability to collect data on an individual level and 2) the ability to collect data for separate occasions in time.

A tentative taxonomy of longitudinal research could be built around the following dimension: 1) prospective versus retrospective, 2) qualitative versus quantitative 3) long term versus short term focus and 4) probability sample versus non-probability sample. Due to the limitations in visualising all of these dimensions in a table only the first two characteristics are depicted in Table below. Two points to note at this stage are: first, the table is not exhaustive
but tries to categorise longitudinal research designs along the two different dimensions. Second, these dimensions do not have to be distinct from each other as they can be combined in a mixed method approach.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prospective</th>
<th>Recall studies (Retrospective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qualitative</strong></td>
<td><strong>Life history interview</strong> (narratives, bibliographic interviews) that recall events over the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In-depth interviews or focus groups repeated over time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Observation in ethnography</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Long-term documentary (e.g. Seven Up documentary in the UK)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quantitative</strong></td>
<td>E.g. Mapping and drawing techniques such as family tree and events calendar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <em>Panel data surveys over time</em> (e.g. British Household Panel Survey)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cohort surveys over time (National Child Development Study, UK)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Record linkage studies (e.g. with census data)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- E.g. Employment history data collection in 3rd wave of BHPS</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Here, only two examples, the panel data survey and the life history interview are chosen to give more detailed insights in a prospective quantitative and a retrospective qualitative tool. These seem to be the research tools most often used, but other research tools may be attractive for further research and should thus be explored as alternatives.

**Panel data survey:**
One example of prospective longitudinal quantitative research design is the panel data survey. Based on a random probability sample, it has the advantage of being able to generate results for the overall population. Typical examples are the household panel studies, such as the well established ‘British Household Panel Survey’ (BHPS) or the ‘German Life History Study’ (GLHS). Although panel surveys are limited for developing countries, there are some examples such as the Indonesia Family Life Survey (IFLS), Malaysian Family Life Survey (MLFS), Mexican Family Life Survey (MxFLS1) (Jenkins and Siedler 2007). The biggest advantage is in regards to causation: it is argued that temporal ordering of independent and dependent variables is especially useful for investigating causality (Ruspini 2002: p. 24-25; Taris 2000).

An important limitation of panel design (that holds for prospective research in general) is the shrinking sample size due to attrition. While attrition can be random this has to be checked rather than assumed. One way to check randomness is to cross tabulate to see if the missing respondents are evenly distributed along the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the sample. The problem of attrition is exacerbated by the difficulty of tracking of individuals over time – a challenge common to all prospective longitudinal research, especially in conflict areas where the population is highly mobile. A sound strategy and secured funding can help to overcome the problem. Lastly, a limitation described by Lynn as a trade–off between relevance and consistency of research as the relevance for issues, questions and variables could change over time – important aspects identified at the beginning of prospective longitudinal research might become less important and other issues not included in the study might become relevant (Lynn 2001). However, altering the questions asked or variables modelled will impact negatively on the consistency of the data.
and make long-term comparisons difficult. A solution could be to add questions that become of interest rather than to change old questions in order not to lose the long-term information.

**Life histories:**

Life history interviews are longitudinal retrospective qualitative research designs that recall events over the past. This method was used, for example, in the research conducted by Adato, Lund and Mhlongo (2005) and Davis (2006) to study dynamic processes such as the entry and exit from poverty in Kwa Zulu-Natal in South Africa and Bangladesh respectively. Retrospective longitudinal data in general has the advantage that the researcher can focus on topics of interest to them today and do not have to compromise on what data is available from longitudinal prospective data. This also allows for quicker data gathering and hence more immediate analysis. Further, retrospective research has the advantage of less attrition as question fatigue is less likely in single wave than in multiple wave studies. It is also argued that this method is better able to capture multiple and cumulative causation, and sequence and interactions effects (Davis 2006: 5).

Retrospective data does however have limitations, especially the so called ‘survivor bias’ and ‘recall bias’. Survivor bias refers to the fact that not everyone lives long enough to be interviewed and this can be due to non random variables that will influence the variables under investigation. Perhaps of greater importance is the risk of recall bias – the distortion that occurs when respondents fail to remember events correctly that happened in the past. Two important types of recall bias are: 1) the ‘omission effect’ – important information is not revealed and 2) the ‘telescope effect’ the exact point in time for an event is not remembered correctly (Ruspini 2002: 96-97). It is estimated that half of the responses for retrospective questions are inaccurate (Bernard et al. cited in Taris 2000: p.8). Tools have been developed to mitigate this problem such as the use of events calendars, family trees and other mapping techniques during the interview process (Adato, Lund and Mhlongo 2005; Davis 2006).

**Longitudinal research recommendations**

Research design varies across research projects, and the above description offers an account of the various advantages and disadvantages researchers have to confront when selecting a specific longitudinal method. Post-conflict settings have specific characteristics that could limit the choice of options.

**Prospective data collection:**

Analysing the well-being of households before and after a conflict depends on whether any data is already available. Prospective data collection would be possible in areas where there is existing data, either qualitative or quantitative which covers the same households over a period of time. In this scenario, we recommend following up on households for which there was well-being data before the conflict in the immediate aftermath of the conflict every year for at least five years (to ‘prove’ chronic poverty) and repeated every five years thereafter to track the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This however demands secure and large funding regardless of whether the research is qualitative, quantitative interviews, or both, and that it be repeated over time. The other important aspect is the capacity to track the same individuals over time in conflict or post-conflict areas where high mobility and mortality of the population is very common.

**Retrospective data collection:**

In conflict zones where there is no pre-existing qualitative or quantitative data on household well-being before the conflict, tracking of individuals is not feasible, or the researcher is interested in a longer timeframe not covered by a previous prospective study, we recommend that retrospective longitudinal techniques be used, such as quantitative surveys investigating the past and/or life histories. If possible a random sample of households should be selected for this retrospective data collection in order to allow the research findings to be generalised. The timing of the interviews will depend on the post-conflict situation and when
it is secure for researchers to conduct the interviews. In order to mitigate recall bias such as
the ‘omission effect’ and the ‘telescope effect’, mapping techniques such as events calendars
and family trees could be used during the interview process. The results should be
triangulated with other people’s recollections, local records, census data and any
documentation a household has retained e.g. deeds to the land, bank statements, pension
books.

To conclude we would recommend maintaining both the livelihoods framework and the case
study approach and then selecting the most appropriate research design considering the
existing data, the budget, the ability to track individuals over time and the feasibility of
combining different methods.
### Appendix 1. Conflict Impact on Livelihoods Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livelihoods Capital</th>
<th>Damage</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Cross-cutting links to other capitals</th>
<th>Poverty mechanism</th>
<th>Literature evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human capital</td>
<td>• Physical disability e.g. loss of limbs</td>
<td>• E.g. landmine victims in Afghanistan • Least able to move in the event of conflict</td>
<td>• Social Capital: disruption of social relations due to social exclusion</td>
<td>• Reduced capacity to work and earn an income • Greater dependence on basic social services • Constraints on children’s education opportunities</td>
<td>• Dec and Landis 1998 in Stewart et al 2001a; Lwanga-Ntale 2003</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mental disability e.g. permanent psychological trauma</td>
<td>• From horror of conflict (exposure to life threatening situations), rape or torture • Level of trauma depends on coping strategies used during conflicts (e.g. air attacks in Yugoslavia in 1999) • Studies show that Vietnamese refugees may recover from post-traumatic stress if the political and social situation is stabilised</td>
<td>• Social Capital: disruption of social relations due to social exclusion</td>
<td>• Same as above • Post-traumatic stress has effects on: quality of life; poorer mental and physical health; increased violent behaviour; family problems; greater difficulties in work and education • Violence as legitimate means for traumatised children</td>
<td>• Luckham et al 2001: 41 • D’Ardenne 2005 • Knežević 2005 • Silove 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Decline in health status e.g. spread of diseases including HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>• Rape as weapon in Rwanda • TB, measles, malaria / HIV-infected rape survivors in Rwanda, Uganda and Eritrea</td>
<td>• Human capital: mental disabilities (trauma caused by rape)</td>
<td>• Reduced life expectancy • Reduced capacity to work • IGT to HIV children • Orphanhood from HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>• Brück 2001a • AVEGA 2006 • Macrae and Zwi 1994 • Luckham et al 2001: 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Decline in nutrition</td>
<td>• E.g. decreased calorie intake per person during conflict in Mozambique • Maternal malnutrition • Increased infant mortality • Early childhood malnutrition • Emergence of stunting</td>
<td>• Human capital: decline in health status • Human capital: mental disabilities (impaired cognitive development)</td>
<td>• Trigger for IGTP: significant amount of evidence which suggests that early childhood malnutrition will have long-term impacts on productivity, educational attainment and poverty as adults</td>
<td>• Stewart et al 2001: 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihoods Capital</td>
<td>Damage</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Decline in education / training</td>
<td>• In Rwanda &quot;most female genocide survivors have little education, lack marketable skills&quot; • Decline in primary school enrolment • Interrupted education reduces children’s future earning capacity</td>
<td>• Physical capital (Infrastructure): 60% of primary schools destroyed nationwide in Mozambique</td>
<td>• Reduced earning capacity • Maternal education particularly significant, especially in terms of nutrition information, for the well-being of children • Trigger of IGTP: Interrupted education reduces children’s future earning capacity</td>
<td>• Human Rights Watch 1996 • Fozzard 2002: 2 • Tilman Brück 2001a • Howe and McKay 2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial capital</td>
<td>• Decline in markets and decline in investment levels</td>
<td>• Higher market transaction costs leading to losses in efficiency • Developed alternative livelihoods, variously referred to as “barefoot entrepreneurs” and the “grass-roots war economy”</td>
<td>• Human capital: decline in nutrition, health and education and training</td>
<td>• Reduced earning capacity • Loss of livelihood / employment • Increased difficulty with sourcing food and essentials</td>
<td>• Brück 2001b: 60 • Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001 • Chingono 2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Lack of credit, savings, pensions, remittances</td>
<td>• Mozambique lost household remittances from South Africa • Decrease in total consumption per capita in Mozambique</td>
<td>• Breakdown in state infrastructure / kin systems</td>
<td>• Increased vulnerability to shocks • Income shortfall • Reduced employment creation</td>
<td>• Brück 2001b: 62</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Outflow of capital</td>
<td>• Due to insecurity, uncertainty and scarcity of information</td>
<td>• Political Capital: Breakdown of public spending</td>
<td>• Shortfall in resources in the country</td>
<td>• Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001</td>
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<td>• Disruption of the production process and agricultural extension services</td>
<td>• e.g. Southern Africa</td>
<td>• Physical Capital: Breakdown or lack of public investment</td>
<td>• Insecurity reduces incentive to invest in new equipment / increases vulnerability to shocks</td>
<td>• Brück 2001a: 10</td>
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<td>• Increased robbery, criminality and petty theft</td>
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<td>McIlwaine &amp; Moser 2001</td>
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<td>Livelihoods Capital</td>
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| Physical capital    | • Breakdown or lack of investment in public infrastructure & services (hospitals, clinics, schools) | • Zambezia [province in Mozambique] only 12% of primary schools intact when the war ended | • Human Capital: Declining literacy rate & life expectancy  
• Human Capital: Declining in education and training | • Depleted health and educational resources  
• Trigger of IGTP due to impact on education and health  
• Reduced capacity to work / reduced earning capacity | • Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001 and 1997  
• Fozzard 2002: 2 |
|                     | • Destruction of energy supply; communication infrastructure; transport | • Direct targeting by rebels in Mozambique to disrupt economic activities  
• Can be due to landmines | • Financial / Social / Political capital: Disruption of social, economic and political relations | • Loss of livelihood (dependent on employment in these factories)  
• Increased transaction costs to go to the markets and other public places | • Goudie & Neyapti 1999 |
|                     | • Loss or damage of assets, such as agricultural tools | | | | • Brück 2001a: 27 |
|                     | • Destruction or loss of agricultural land | • Landmines keep the land useless for years | | | • Brück 2001b: 70-1 |
| Natural capital     | • Hindrance of exploitation of natural resources | • E.g. gold in Sudan  
• E.g. oil in Chad | • Physical Capital: Breakdown or lack of public investment | • Decreased in government revenues  
• Decline in livelihood dependent on employment in these industries | • Suliman 1999  
• Azam and Morrissn 1999  
• Ross 2004 |
|                     | • Destruction or loss of agricultural land | • Also due to looting, dislocation, and landmines | | • Decline in agricultural production | • Stewart 2003: 331 |
|                     | • Breakdown of customary rights & values of usage | • Land expropriation | • Political Capital: Increased Vulnerability | • Land deprivation as an asset loss “is what drives already poor people into deeper and more intractable poverty” | • CPRC 2004: 42  
• Daudelin 2003 |
<p>|                     | • Resource depletion &amp; degradation | • E.g. increased use of marginal lands | | | • Goodhand 2001 |</p>
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- Lack of management of natural resources
- Breakdown of public order and loss of monopoly on force
- Increased influence of military actors
- Decline in capacity to provide services such as health and education
- Insecurity reduces incentive to invest in new equipment / increases vulnerability to shocks
- Lack of voice to demand state services & democratic processes
- Declining donor & NGO activities
- Legal discrimination of women in terms of inheritance, which under customary law bypasses women to the next male
- Political, social and economic exclusion
- "Thousands of widows and daughters currently have no legal claim to their late husband's or father's homes, land or bank accounts because they are women."
- Disruption of social relations (e.g. due to social dislocation (displacement))
- Either as migrant for finding work or refugee
- Human Capital: decline in health status
- Loss of social protection from kin systems
- Impaired parenting capacity
- Decline in trust & reciprocity
- Loss of social protection from kin systems
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<td>▪ Colletta &amp; Cullen 2000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>▪ Enforcement of negative social capital (Mafia, etc)</td>
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<td>▪ McIlwaine &amp; Moser 2001</td>
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Appendix 2. Annotated Bibliography

The impetus for this research project came from the gap in literature linking conflict to chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. The multi-disciplinary literature reviewed in this annotated bibliography frequently covers either the impact of conflict on the household level or chronic/intergenerational poverty but not both. The overview section therefore has constructed the building blocks to bring these two literatures together. In the annotated bibliography we used abstracts written by the authors where possible and provided online sources.


This paper presents the methodology used in the qualitative research component of a longitudinal study of poverty dynamics in KwaZulu-Natal province in South Africa. This study combined socio-economic panel survey data that had been collected five years apart (in 1993 and 1998), with qualitative data collected three years later (in 2001), retrospectively tracing events and changes between 1993 and 2001. The qualitative research developed a unique participatory method to conduct household interviews, with multiple household members constructing visual family histories. Qualitative methods were used to delve underneath apparent relationships derived from the quantitative data, in order to understand what the numbers were measuring or missing. Visual methods were developed to explore the composition of “the household”, and to gather data from and about household members, that may be missed in surveys.

Keywords:
South Africa
Poverty dynamics
Qualitative longitudinal method
Life history interviews
Panel data
Combining qualitative and quantitative methods


War has destroyed the hopes and lives of millions of Africans. How can we help Africa's communities to recover? How can we ensure that recovery from conflict benefits the poor and not just a narrow elite? These are just some of the vital questions asked and answered in this important new book, which is one of the first to thoroughly examine recovery from conflict in Africa. (Authors own)

Keywords
Africa
Post-War Reconstruction
Gender
This paper examines the impact of preschool malnutrition on subsequent human capital formation in rural Zimbabwe using a maternal fixed effects - instrumental variables (MFE-IV) estimator with a long term panel data set. Representations of civil war and drought “shocks” are used to identify differences in preschool nutritional status across siblings. Improvements in height-for-age in preschoolers are associated with increased height as a young adult and number of grades of schooling completed. Had the median pre-school child in this sample had the stature of a median child in a developed country, by adolescence, she would be 3.4 centimetres taller, had completed an additional 0.85 grades of schooling and would have commenced school six months earlier (Author’s own).

Keywords
Malnutrition
Human capital formation
Panel Data
Anthropometric Measurements
Education
Zimbabwe

[ Available at: http://www.metapress.com/content/h1216h6222h67642/fulltext.pdf ]

This paper focuses on the case of Rwanda to illustrate the importance of looking beyond ‘robust’ cross-country averages examining the link between growth, poverty, redistribution and conflict. It argues that policy making in Rwanda – as formulated by the Poverty Reduction Strategy – could provide more efficient pathways towards poverty reduction by combining economic growth with pro-poor redistribution (Author’s own).

Keywords
Rwanda
Poverty Reduction Strategy
Pro-poor growth
Redistribution

AVEGA (Association of Genocide Widows) website visited 12 July 2006
http://www.avega.org.rw

AVEGA-AGAHOZO, is a non-profit organisation created by survivors of the Rwandan genocide on January 15th 1995, based in the Remera area of Kigali. The site is an excellent source of information on the genocide, containing testimonies of widows and children who survived the genocide. It also contains general data on the genocide as well information on the projects that AVEGA is running throughout Rwanda.

Keywords
Genocide
Rwanda

[ Available at: http://www.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/display.asp?K=5LMQCR2KHXNT&lang=EN&sort=sort_date%2Fd&sf1=Title&st1=conflict&sf3=SubjectCode&st4=not+E4+or+E5+or+P5&sf4=SubVersionCode&ds=conflict%3B+All+Subjects%3B+&m=12&dc=16&planq=en ]

The OECD Development Centre has undertaken a study on ‘Emerging Africa’ with the financial support of the Swiss Government, as part of its work in ‘seeking ways to integrate poorer countries into the world economy’. This publication is the first of three volumes resulting specifically from a project entitled ‘Political Economy and Development in Africa.’ It covers four countries in the Sahelian region of West Africa – Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali and Niger – that have experienced ‘highly varied conditions’ since independence, ranging from political stability to devastating civil war. In that sense, it represents a microcosm of Africa generally, and a reminder that to make generalisations about Africa can be very misleading (Author’s own).

Keywords
Conflict
Growth
Burkina Faso
Chad
Mali
Niger


"The family" is a central feature of most people's lives, the framework within which other relationships, activities and events take place. But our families have changed greatly over the last generation, not only in the formal demographics of marriage, cohabitation and childbearing, but also in the social and economic relationships between men and women and between adults and children. This study is the result of a seven-year survey drawing on a sample of more than 5000 households, from the British Household Panel Survey - 10,000 adults - interviewed between 1991 and 1997. The survey has been analyzed by teams of specialists to build up an understanding of the dynamics of the family in such fields as household formation, employment, income, and so on. The material has now grown to the point at which the various lines of enquiry can be combined to provide a picture of “seven years in the lives of British families”.

http://www.amazon.co.uk/Seven-Years-Lives-British-Families/dp/1861342004

Keywords:
United Kingdom
British Household Panel Survey
Quantitative Longitudinal Research
Poverty Dynamics


[ Available at: http://www.childhoodpoverty.org/index.php/action=documentfeed/doctype=pdf/id=97/ ]
Based on research in four Rajasthani villages, and a wide range of research methods, this report gives a detailed picture of family livelihoods, children's work, their health, nutrition and access to education. It suggests that the risk of intergenerational poverty cycles is strong, and increased by recent drought and the costs of social obligations, such as death feasts, both of which contribute to high levels of indebtedness. A further key factor is gender discrimination which results in women passing on poor health and nutritional status to their children and limits girls' educational opportunities. The various state and Government of India programmes operating in the study communities were doing little to tackle childhood poverty, due to a combination of under-resourcing and lack of accountability of service providers to those they are intended to serve (Author's own).

Keywords
Rajasthan, India
Livelihoods
Poverty cycles
Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty

[ Available at: http://www.crisisstates.com/download/wp/WP21VB.pdf ]
This work draws on research from Africa, Asia, the Balkans, Colombia and Palestine, and illustrated the particular impact of war on women and their role in peace-building. It posits the existence of a "circle of reinforcing negative factors" where displacement, psycho-social health and HIV/AIDS, economic impoverishment, the destruction of education and sexual violence create a downward spiral in the lives of women. "Wars of underdevelopment", it is argued, are characterised by their extreme brutality, which often targets women, and are bred by impoverishment and the lack of education. This is followed by a study of what role civil society plays in peace-building, with particular reference to the Democratic Republic of Congo.
http://www.crisisstates.com/Research/projects/africa08.htm

Keywords
Women and conflict
Underdevelopment

[ Available at: http://www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk/RePEc/qeh/qehwps/qehwps67.pdf ]
This research report analyses the welfare effects of rural household coping strategies in post-war Mozambique. In addition, it considers appropriate government and donor policies to assist poor, war-affected farm households. The report discusses the expected theoretical effects of war on smallholder labour, asset, and social capital endowments and thus on household welfare. In addition, it considers the effects of war on land use and market-participation decisions by households and the impact of these choices on post-war household welfare.
http://ideas.repec.org/p/qeh/qehwps/qehwps67.html

Keywords
Mozambique

This article discusses how the internal war in Mozambique caused microeconomic distortions and macroeconomic obstacles, and suggests how both the Mozambican government and donors might have responded to these challenges. The report analyzes the direct impacts of the war on physical, financial, and human capital, given the destabilizing nature of the conflict. The report also considers the indirect effects on the following key variables: output, growth, consumption, welfare, and debt. (Extracted from article)

Keywords
Mozambique
Physical, Financial and Human Capital
Output, Growth, Consumption, Welfare and Debt


The article explores why the idea of “linking relief and development” has become popular, but also why implementation is slow. It reviews frameworks of analysis, and identifies (a) development interventions that reduce the frequency, intensity and impact of shocks, (b) relief measures that reinforce development and (c) approaches to rehabilitation. It then analyses five underlying issues: the question of “horses for courses”; institutions, politics and planning; state versus civil society; costs and trade-offs; and the special case of complex political emergencies accompanied by war. The paper concludes that there are some circumstances where efforts to link relief and development are not justified; but that in many other cases, the approach makes sense. The main constraints encountered are institutional and political, but there is room for manoeuvre and practical suggestions are made.

Keywords
Relief and Development
Complex Political Emergencies


Cahill has assembled an international team of renowned experts to assess the moral, legal and political dilemmas and consequences of humanitarian assistance. Covering a wide range of issues from the clinical aspects of famine and the economics of neglect to protecting children in armed conflicts and the funding of humanitarian assistance. (Extracted from back cover)

Keywords
This chapter examines the relationship between war and the operation of the micro-economy in Mozambique's Manica Province, where the conflict lasted longest. The war is considered in terms of its economic impact and transformative potential with emphasis on the resilience and resourcefulness of displaced people in dealing with the problem of scarcity in a war situation. It is this resourcefulness that provided the dynamism for what is referred to here as the “grassroots war economy.” (Extracted from article)

Keywords
Micro-economy
Displacement
War Economy

This Report’s concern about chronic poverty leads to a focus on poverty dynamics – the changes in well-being or ill-being that individuals and households experience over time (Chapter 1). Understanding such dynamics provides a sounder basis for formulating poverty eradication policies than the conventional analysis of national poverty trends. (Adapted from summary)

Keywords
Chronic Poverty
World Poverty
Poverty Dynamics

In an effort to better understand the interactions between violent conflict and social capital, the authors undertook an exploratory investigation of four conflict-affected countries-
Cambodia, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Somalia - and their changing social capital dynamics. The data for this report have been drawn from extensive literature reviews and from eight community-level studies conducted in the four countries. On this basis, the report discusses changes in social capital resulting from violent conflict; the interaction between social capital, social cohesion, and violent conflict; and how civil society, governments, and international actors can nurture the social capital needed to strengthen social cohesion and so promote conflict prevention, rehabilitation, and reconciliation. Findings and recommendations are preliminary, as each case study was conducted on an exploratory basis only. The study results are specific to the countries analyzed, although some broad generalizations may have wider validity.

Keywords:
Social Capital
Cambodia
Rwanda
Guatemala
Somalia


Early arguments over the “culture of poverty” assumed considerable intergenerational transmission of poverty but differed over whether this was due to cultural inadequacies of the poor or to structural barriers and discrimination faced by the poor. These arguments subsided in the 1970s when quantitative social stratification studies such as Blau and Duncan (1967) found that intergenerational socioeconomic mobility was considerable and that there was little evidence for a “vicious cycle of poverty”. In the 1980s the issue of intergenerational poverty re-emerged when research on new longitudinal datasets suggested that both intra-generational and intergenerational poverty were more persistent than analyses based on cross-sectional data had suggested. Four new theoretical perspectives were developed to explain intergenerational poverty: the resources model, the correlated disadvantages model, the welfare culture model, and Wilson’s (1987) underclass model. This review summarizes and evaluates recent empirical research on the extent to which being raised in poor families, in non-intact families, in welfare-dependent families, and/or in underclass neighbourhoods facilitates or hinders children’s adult attainments. The review assesses how well each of the four new models are supported by this research. (Author’s own)

Keywords
United States of America
Poverty
Mobility
IGT Poverty


The result of a collaboration among six international humanitarian organisations, this book considers the effects of current approaches to conflict management and prevention and analyzes seven conflicts in detail: the Gulf War, Indonesia’s invasion of East Timor, the civil
war in Mozambique, the civil war in Sudan, the guerrilla war in Peru, the struggle for independence in Kashmir and the war in the former Yugoslavia. (Adapted from back cover) 
http://www.amazon.com/gp/reader/1565842685/ref=sib_rdr_zmin/104-2675347-6396767?p=S00H&i=1#reader-page

Keywords
Conflict Management and Prevention


Subjective quality of life (SQOL) and its predictors were assessed in 117 patients with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in a specialized clinic. Scores were compared with other samples. PTSD patients had lower SQOL than the comparison groups. Higher levels of depression and anxiety, fewer PTSD avoidance symptoms, being older, and being from an ethnic minority were all independent predictors of lower SQOL. The high dissatisfaction with several social domains of life should be considered in treatment, and depressive and anxiety symptoms might be targeted to improve SQOL. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Mental and Physical health
Posttraumatic stress disorder
Impact on Quality of life


Most conflicts in the world today affect poor countries. In fact, poverty is one of the strongest predictors of conflict and war [Collier and Hoeffler-1998; Stewart-1999]. At the same time, poverty and dependence on agriculture are also very closely related: most poor live in rural areas, the poorest countries of the world are the most rural and they depend massively on agriculture to ensure the survival of their population. These very broad correlations do not constitute a model. What they do, however, is call our attention to the problem of land and the predicament of those caught in a jail of want and fear. This paper pursues two objectives. It: 1) outlines a basic analytical framework that would help assess the potential conflict impact of land-related programs and measures currently being implemented or planned and 2) identifies lessons learned about links between land policy and violence. The research was carried out with the support of the World Bank in 2002-2003, to inform the Bank’s Policy Research Report on land policy and administration.

The work is based on an extensive review of literature and in particular on a series of case studies that were done in recent months, using a common basic frame of reference [Bastian-2002; Cooper-2002; Cubides-2002; Durocher-2002, Gatunange-2002; Isaac-2002]. The countries studied are Cambodia and Sri Lanka in Asia, Burundi and Mozambique in Africa, Palestine in the Middle East, and Colombia and Guatemala in the Americas. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Land
Rural
Conflict

This paper draws from life history interviews to investigate poverty dynamics in Bangladesh and considers life histories as a supplement to more quantitative approaches in poverty research. Qualitative life history methods allow the examination of the temporal and spatial context of people’s lives in a way that uncovers a number of social phenomena concealed to other methods. These are discussed using life histories to demonstrate the types of social phenomena that can be uncovered. A number of categories of life trajectory are also identified and the use of a categorical approach as a way of using longitudinal qualitative findings to inform social policy is discussed. The lessons learned have relevance for using life histories to examine poverty dynamics more generally and also draw attention to the potential for using life history approaches in medium-n studies which may help to cross the qual/quant divide in poverty research.

Keywords
Qualitative longitudinal method
Life history interviews
Bangladesh
Poverty dynamics

de Sousa, Clara (1999) Rebuilding Rural Livelihoods and Social Capital: Mozambique’s Experience, UNU/WIDER project on Underdevelopment, Transition and Reconstruction

Mozambique has now enjoyed eight years of peace after a 16-year war that massively damaged the economy, caused over a million deaths, and displaced more than three million people. This paper aims to improve our understanding of how rural societies reconstruct using the district of Sussundenga in Manica Province in central Mozambique as a case study. The paper analyses household and community-level data collected by the author to assess the determinants of livelihoods in Sussundenga. It focuses on farm and non-farm incomes, access to land and other productive factors, as well as the importance of road infrastructure and education and health provisions. The paper finds the existence of substantial poverty, but also high levels of income inequality reflecting inequality in asset ownership – particularly of livestock. Variations in poverty and inequality across localities in Sussundenga also reflect the differential impact of the war on households; refugees in camps that offered education and training have done better in the post-war rural economy than refugees who only received food assistance. The paper also finds that female-headed households face severe problems and quantifies the extensive disadvantages that they suffer in comparison to male-headed households. The paper concludes that much more needs to be done if all households are to benefit from the post-war recovery of Mozambique’s economy. (Author’s own)

Key Words
Social capital
Post-war development
Livelihoods
Mozambique
[ Available at: http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/wp/wp105.pdf ]

More than 70 million people died in famines in the twentieth century. Stephen Devereux has compiled data from over 30 major famines and has assessed the success of some parts of the world, notably China, the Soviet Union, India and Bangladesh in apparently eradicating mass mortality food crises. He contrasts this with the experience of sub-Saharan Africa, where famines triggered by the relationship between drought and civil war have become endemic since the late 1960s. Devereux argues that if famine is to be eradicated during the twenty-first century, it requires not only technical capacity in terms of food production and distribution, but also substantially more political will, at national and international levels, than has been seen to date.  
http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=541

Keywords  
Famine  
Drought  
Civil war

[ Available at: http://www.parlcent.ca/povertyreduction/seminar1_e.pdf ]

This policy paper examines the relationship between poverty and conflict. The objective is to draw attention to an often-neglected cause of conflict. The paper is divided into three sections. It begins by clarifying the concepts of poverty and conflict. Next, the poverty-conflict nexus is examined. The conclusion demonstrates the need for urgent attention to poverty not only as a danger to individuals trapped by it, but to the peace and stability of the societies in which they live. (Adapted from summary)

Keywords  
Poverty-Conflict Nexus  
Impact  
Role of Politics


The global number of armed conflicts continued to decline in 2003. A total of 29 conflicts in 2 countries were active in 2003, as against 31 conflicts in 23 countries in 2002. This is the lowest level of armed conflict since the early 1970s. The probability that any particular country was involved in a conflict has never been lower since the early 1950s. Five of the conflicts active in 2003 reached the level of war. A total of 229 armed conflicts in 148 countries have been recorded for the period after World War II (1946–2003). Of these, 116 conflicts in 78 countries were active in the period after the end of the Cold War (1989–2003). Most conflicts are internal: only seven interstate armed conflicts were recorded in the period 1989–2003, of which two were still active in 2003. The measurement of armed conflict is mainly based on news reporting, and it suffers from national and cultural biases. But the scrutiny of armed conflict is becoming more intense, and new sources of information are emerging. For this reason, we have increasing confidence in our data. (Author’s own)
Keywords
Conflict


Longitudinal Qualitative Research is a relatively recent development which has yet to be fully articulated as a coherent methodology (Neale & Flowerdew, 2003: 189), although examples of this style of research can be traced back several decades. There are few books which deal with it in any depth (although see Saldana, 2003). In this essay I am going to; outline longitudinal qualitative research (QLR); address the main features of it; provide an outline of its strengths and weaknesses; describe its advantages over other forms of research styles; and provide an exemplar of a study which employed QLR research design. (Author's own)

Keywords:
Qualitative longitudinal research
Methodology


This paper is one of five country case studies which seek to answer the questions how, when and why does poverty get budget priority? Over the last twenty years Mozambique has undergone fundamental economic and political transformations from a centrally planned to market economy, from war to peace, from one-party state to multi-party democracy. These transitions have important implications for development policy and reform agenda followed by the Government and so are briefly examined here. http://www.odi.org.uk/pppg/publications/working_papers/167.html

Keywords
Mozambique
Poverty Reduction


Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, over four million people have been killed in internal and regionalised forms of conflict. It is estimated that one third of the world’s population is exposed to armed conflict. While violent conflict is not confined to the global South, a disproportionate number of conflicts take place in poor countries. More than half the countries in Africa are affected by armed conflicts. These conflicts are not temporary emergencies but have systemic and enduring features. The chronically poor increasingly live in contexts of chronic insecurity.

In addition to their direct impacts, violent conflicts have major development costs Development donors have set themselves ambitious global poverty targets but these are
unlikely to be achieved in a context of growing insecurity. Violent conflict is therefore not a 'side issue' that can be ignored by developmentalists. It needs to be better understood, accounted for and tackled if development goals are to be achieved. To date however, there has been limited empirical research, which examines the nature of the relationship between poverty and conflict (and virtually no research, which focuses on chronic poverty and conflict).

http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC105.htm

**Keywords**

Links between Poverty and Conflict
Policies
Research

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**Goodhand, Jonathan / Hulme, David (1999) ‘From wars to complex political emergencies: understanding conflict and peace-building in the new world disorder’**


[ Available at: http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/ctwg/1999/00000020/00000001/art00003 ]

In recent decades the nature of large-scale violent conflict has fundamentally changed from an era of 'wars' to one that is characterized by complex political emergencies (CPEs). A number of conceptual shifts have occurred in the attempt to better understand the nature of these multiple 'small wars'. Classic analytical frameworks focusing on the relationships between states, military capacities and strategies and international political economy are being put aside for more eclectic frameworks. These draw heavily on social and cultural theory, blend different theoretical elements together to analyze different situations, relate conflict to development and point to the inherent unpredictability of conflict processes and outcomes. This paper reviews these contemporary approaches to conflict and peace-building and comments on their implications for external agencies seeking to resolve conflict.

http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/ctwg/1999/00000020/00000001/art00003

**Keywords**

Complex Political Emergencies
Social and Cultural Theory

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This book is about conflict. It approaches the problem in five Southern African countries from the standpoint of economic analysis. While the authors have not ignored social, ethnic and historical factors which led to conflict, they have identified economic realities which exacerbate underlying friction. These realities include disparities in rural-urban income levels and in health, education and employment, and a system of clientelism which benefits a small group of civil servants to the detriment of the rest of the population. Having identified aggravating economic factors in conflict, the authors proceed to an appreciation of its economic cost, then propose economic policy changes which would tend towards reducing the potential for conflict. One of a series of three volumes, this book concentrates on Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.


**Keywords**

Southern Africa: Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe
Conflict
Armed conflicts in recent decades have been more deadly for civilians in general and children in particular than in many earlier wars. A large proportion of civilian casualties are children, who constitute approximately half the population in many developing countries. In some conflicts children are the specific targets of campaigns of violence and extermination. The impact of conflict on children varies, but it is still possible to sketch some of the impacts of war on children’s lives. (Extracted from article)

Keywords
Children
Vulnerability


In Minorities at Risk, Gurr surveys the world to present "an integrated substantive and empirical analysis of communal status and conflict since the end of World War II, with special attention to the decade of the 1980s". This time, Gurr steers a median course between relative deprivation and group mobilization explanations of conflict and also between primordialist and instrumentalist interpretations of ethnicity.

http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb3159/is_199406/ai_n7842959

Keywords
Ethnic Relations
Minorities
International Relations
Conflict Management


[ Available at: http://info.uu.se/press.nsf/166B1EC86A3FAF93C125706D0037D2E3/$File/JPRArticle.pdf ]

In 2004, there were 30 active armed conflicts, up by one from 2003. Despite this slight increase, the number of armed conflicts remains lower than at any time since the early 1970s. While seven of the conflicts from 2003 were no longer active, one entirely new conflict broke out and seven conflicts restarted, three with action taken by new rebel groups and four by previously recorded actors. A total of 228 armed conflicts have been recorded after World War II and 118 after the end of the Cold War. The vast majority of them have been fought within states. However, a little over one-fifth of the internal conflicts areinternationalized in the sense that outside states contribute troops to the conflict. Less overt support, involving, for example, financial and logistic assistance, is found much more frequently. This type of support was present in nearly three-quarters of the armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War. Both governments and rebels receive support from outside states, usually neighbouring states. Outside support for governments fighting rebel movements is almost always provided by other governments, not by other rebel movements. (Author’s own)

In this paper, we explore the conditions of childhood that can lead to poverty throughout the lifecourse and affect transfers of poverty to the next generation. The largely inconclusive evidence base surrounding lifecourse and intergenerational poverty transmission is reviewed before a discussion of the key social processes and contexts that impact on childhood, lifecourse and intergenerational poverty. Prioritized issues—nutrition, childcare and guidance, education, child work, and aspirations and attitudes—are explored within the context of UNICEF’s basic framework of survival, protection, development and participation. The paper concludes with an analysis of elements of the wider environment, critical to enabling action in childhood to break poverty cycles. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Lifecourse Poverty
IGT Poverty
Enabling Environments
Policy Integration


The purpose of this paper is to explore the main ways in which HIV and AIDS impact on older women and men in developing countries. It also reviews the research, programme and policy implications of including older people in current and future interventions to halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015 and links them to national and international development targets.

Keywords
Africa
Asia
HIV/AIDS
Ageing


This report summarizes an appraisal of input utilization and marketing in Mozambique, focusing on the following research questions: (1) What are current smallholder yields for major commodities, and what is the potential for increasing yields through the use of
improved technologies? (2) To what extent are improved technologies already being used by smallholders, and is the use of improved technologies profitable? (3) How are improved seeds, fertilizer and pesticides currently produced and distributed? and (4) What are the key constraints and opportunities for increasing the use of improved technologies by smallholders? (Extracted from Executive Summary)

Keywords
Mozambique
Agriculture
Smallholders

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[ Available at: [http://www.q-squared.ca/pdf/Q2_WP3_McKay_Howe.pdf](http://www.q-squared.ca/pdf/Q2_WP3_McKay_Howe.pdf) ]

This paper aims to demonstrate the value, as well as the need, of employing a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of chronic poverty in Rwanda. By combining methods and disciplinary perspectives, it is possible to explore the current lack of understanding of chronic or persistent poverty (Hulme, Moore and Shepherd, 2001) in Rwanda. A specific focus on chronic poverty is important for the understanding of poverty, with the persistent nature of much deprivation being a key message in most qualitative poverty assessments, but it is important also for policy responses (McCulloch and Baulch, 2000), often predominantly informed by quantitative analysis. (Extracted from Introduction)

Keywords
Rwanda
Poverty Assessments

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[ Available at: [http://hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm](http://hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm) ]

During the 1994 genocide, Rwandan women were subjected to sexual violence on a massive scale, perpetrated by members of the infamous Hutu militia groups known as the *Interahamwe*, by other civilians, and by soldiers of the Rwandan Armed Forces (* Forces Armées Rwandaises*, FAR), including the Presidential Guard. Administrative, military and political leaders at the national and local levels, as well as heads of militia, directed or encouraged both the killings and sexual violence to further their political goal: the destruction of the Tutsi as a group. They therefore bear responsibility for these abuses.

Throughout the world, sexual violence is routinely directed against females during situations of armed conflict. This violence may take gender-specific forms, like sexual mutilation, forced pregnancy, rape or sexual slavery. Being female is a risk factor; women and girls are often targeted for sexual abuse on the basis of their gender, irrespective of their age, ethnicity or political affiliation. Rape in conflict is also used as a weapon to terrorize and degrade a particular community and to achieve a specific political end. In these situations, gender intersects with other aspects of a woman's identity such as ethnicity, religion, social class or political affiliation.

Victims of sexual abuse during the genocide suffer persistent health problems and it has contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. A large number of women became pregnant as a result of rape during the genocide. Pregnancies and childbirth among extremely young girls
who were raped have also posed health problems for these mothers. In addition to the social and personal trauma resulting from the injuries suffered from sexual violence, women are also facing dire economic difficulty, made worse furthermore by pressing problems due to their second class status under Rwandan law. Finally, Rwandan survivors of sexual violence are particularly troubled by the lack of accountability for the abuse they suffered.

(Author’s own)

Keywords
Rape as a Weapon of War
Rwanda
Genocide

[Available at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/drc/]

Within the larger war in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo) the warring parties carry out another war: that of sexual violence against women and girls. As military activities increase in one area after another, so do rapes and other crimes against women and girls. This report is based on research carried out in North and South Kivu provinces, an area controlled since 1998 by rebel forces fighting the government of President Kabila, the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) and their patron, the Rwandan army. Sexual violence has been used as a weapon of war by most of the forces involved in this conflict. This report focuses on crimes of sexual violence committed by soldiers and other combatants. But rape and other sexual crimes are not just carried out by armed factions but also increasingly by police and others in positions of authority and power, and by opportunistic common criminals and bandits, taking advantage of the prevailing climate of impunity and the culture of violence against women and girls.

These crimes of sexual violence have direct, profound, and life-changing consequences for the women and girls attacked and for their wider communities. Many women and girls will never recover from the physical, psychological, and social effects of these assaults and some will die from them. A significant number became pregnant as a result of rape and now struggle to provide for the children they have borne. Some women and girls have been rejected by their husbands and families and ostracized by the wider community because they were raped or because they are thought to be infected with HIV/AIDS. Survivors of rape and other forms of sexual violence must now attempt to make a new life for themselves, sometimes by relocating to communities far from their former homes.

The report lists recommendations to Rwandan Government, International Donors and International legal organisations on how to begin to tackle the problems faced by Rwandan women. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Rape as a weapon of war
DRC
Sexual Crimes

[Available at: http://hrw.org/reports/2004/rwanda0904/]
Ten years after the 1994 genocide, many of the tens of thousands of Rwandan women who were victims of sexual violence have remained without legal redress or reparation. Perpetrators of the genocide employed sexual violence against women and girls as a brutally effective tool to humiliate and subjugate Tutsi and politically moderate Hutu. Grieving for lost family members and suffering physical and psychological consequences of the violence, women and girls who were victims of sexual violence are among the most devastated and disadvantaged of genocide survivors. This report documents the inadequacy of Rwandan government efforts to ensure legal redress and medical assistance and counselling to these victims, including those suffering from HIV/AIDS. The report also examines the continuing problem of sexual violence in Rwanda and shows that victims of these crimes face obstacles to accountability and health care similar to those faced by women and girls who suffered sexual violence during the genocide. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Rwandan Genocide
Justice

[ Available at: http://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/drc0305/ ]

During five years of armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, tens of thousands of women and girls in the eastern part of the country have suffered crimes of sexual violence. The signing of a peace agreement in 2002 and the installation of a transitional government in 2003 raised hopes that both the military conflict and related abuses would end. But in eastern Congo women and girls – as young as three years old – continue to be targeted for crimes of sexual violence. Some have been gang-raped or abducted by combatants for long periods of sexual slavery. Some have been mutilated or gravely injured by having objects inserted into their vaginas. As detailed in this report, perpetrators of sexual violence are members of virtually all the armed forces and armed groups that operate in eastern Congo. Such crimes were committed by the former Congolese Rally for Democracy-Goma (RCD-Goma), a Rwandan-supported armed group that controlled large parts of eastern Congo during the war.

Victims of crimes of sexual violence have enormous needs for medical, psychological and social support; unless such needs are met, they have difficulty beginning and persevering in efforts to bring the perpetrators of the crimes to justice. The report also examines the handful of prosecutions that ended in the conviction of persons accused of crimes of sexual violence and describes deficiencies that resulted in violations of the rights of the accused to a fair trial.

This report is based on research carried out in North Kivu, South Kivu, and Ituri during 2003 and 2004, including interviews with victims of sexual violence, relatives of victims, judicial authorities, political authorities, and lawyers. The report draws also on extensive consultations with the staff of local and international nongovernmental organizations and of various U.N. agencies. The names of all victims and their families are pseudonyms, to protect their security. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Sexual Violence
DRC
Justice

The environmental impact of refugees is determined by a number of factors in the host context. Whether refugees are self-settled or residing in organized settlements is one important determinant, both because of the direct effects of settlement and because patterns of settlement set the parameters of refugees' interaction with the host community, which can then play a role in offsetting environmental impact. Using existing research and focusing on Africa, the paper discusses the various environmental effects of different types of settlement and examines the role of the host community in influencing this impact (Abstract of Author).

Keywords
Refugees
Environmental Impact
Africa


This paper reviews emergency livelihoods assessment approaches in situations of chronic conflict and political instability (SCCPI). Approaches are reviewed using an adapted livelihoods framework and an analysis of what happens to livelihoods in chronic conflict and political instability. It also examines how a livelihoods analysis can add to the identification of appropriate interventions to address protracted risks to livelihoods. The overall aim is to contribute to better understanding of the problems faced by populations in chronic conflict and political instability, and to find ways of protecting livelihoods to more effectively save lives and reduce future vulnerability.

Keywords
Livelihoods Framework
Chronic Conflict
Political Instability


This paper discusses how household panel surveys can be informative about the intergenerational transmission of poverty. We consider issues both of data and of the statistical methods that may be applied to those data. Although the data focus is on panel surveys from OECD countries, we also consider data availability in developing countries. We set out a list of survey data requirements for intergenerational analysis, and then discuss how the main household panel surveys in OECD countries meet the criteria. In order to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of household panel surveys, the section also compares them with other types of longitudinal studies. Next, we review the estimation methods that have been used to examine the intergenerational transmission of poverty when using household panel surveys. Finally, we provide three examples of household panel surveys in developing countries that also meet the data requirements for analysis of the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Authors’ Abstract).
Civil war and genocide in the 1990-2000 period in Rwanda - a small, landlocked, densely populated country in Central Africa - have had differential economic impacts on the country’s provinces. The reasons for this are the death toll of the genocide, the location of battles, the waves of migration and the local resurgence of war. As a result, the labour/land and labour/capital ratios at the provincial level changed considerably during that period. Using two cross-sections, we find empirical evidence for convergence between provinces following the conflict shocks: previously richer provinces in the east and in the north of the country experienced lower, even negative, economic growth compared to the poorer western and southern provinces. This has in turn affected significantly the dynamics of household poverty in Rwanda in the same period. Using a small but unique panel of households surveyed before and after the conflict period, we find that households whose house was destroyed or who lost land ran a higher risk of falling into poverty. This was particularly the case for households who were land-rich before the genocide. We do not find this for the loss of household labour. In the latter case the effect depends on the violent or non-violent character of the loss. (Author’s Abstract)


The relationships between insecurity, environmental change and population displacement are discussed in this paper. It argues that environmental change and concomitant population displacement are the consequences of war and insecurity rather than triggers for it-as postulated in so much of the recent literature. Additionally, the paper critically reviews the state of knowledge concerning the impact of refugees on the environment of host countries.
The aim here is not to document the negative or positive impacts as such, but rather to de-mythologize some aspects of the state of knowledge which through repetition have become accepted as 'scientific truth' (Abstract of Author).

**Keywords**
- Refugees
- Environmental Impact
- Population Displacement

**References**


**Background.**
Previous studies have suggested an association between personality traits and post-traumatic stress. These studies either focused exclusively on military veterans or assessed personality traits after the traumatic event. This study investigates to what extent personality traits as assessed before the traumatic experience predict post-traumatic stress in civilians experiencing air attacks at the end of the exposure to stressful events and 1 year later.

**Method.**
The revised version of the NEO Personality Inventory was administered to 70 students in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. In 1999, 1 or 2 years after the assessment, all students were exposed to air attacks for 11 weeks. At the end of the attacks and 1 year later post-traumatic stress was measured on the Impact of Event Scale.

**Results.**
Pre-trauma personality predicted 13% of the variance of intrusion scores 1 year after the attacks. There was no significant correlation between personality traits and subsequent avoidance scores at any point of time.

**Conclusions.**
Personality traits that are assessed before a traumatic event can, to a limited extent, predict intrusive symptoms in a non-clinical sample of civilians. Pre-trauma assessments of personality might be less strongly associated with post-traumatic stress than personality traits obtained after the traumatic event [Author’s own].

**Keywords**
- Mental and Physical health
- Posttraumatic stress disorder
- Air attacks
- Belgrade

[ Available at: [http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/wp/wp128.pdf](http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/wp/wp128.pdf) ]

This Working Paper argues that armed conflicts have been the single most important determinant of poverty and human misery in Sub-Saharan Africa, affecting more than half the countries of the continent during the past two decades. Conflicts, however, cannot be separated neatly from peacetime development and often stem from the contradictions and failures of the latter. Moreover, they have specific consequences for development which flow
both from their direct impacts on lives and livelihoods of the poor, and from the ways they reconfigure the state and power relations, spill across national boundaries, create new economic incentive systems, and reorder social relations. These basic realities, and the varying ways in which conflicts can create vested interests in the continuation of hostilities, need to be factored into development policy, as well as into conflict-resolution, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction, in order for them to succeed. Moreover, policies should be based on a differentiated, contextual understanding of particular conflicts and their history. They should recognise both variations between different contexts and intra-national differences in how conflicts affect different regions, sectors and social groups. The paper makes an assessment of the existing evidence about the impacts of conflicts on poverty, inequality, population displacement, gender relations, health and education etc in SSA – whilst arguing that more disaggregated empirical data and analysis are needed.

http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=610

Keywords
Sub-Saharan Africa
Direct and Indirect Effects on Livelihood


The Study is based on a review of existing literature and actual fieldwork carried out in four districts of Uganda. It seeks to: a) summarise the current state of knowledge about disability and chronic poverty in Uganda; b) discuss the factors that [cause] disabled people [to remain] in “perpetual poverty”; c) describe the efforts that are presently being made to address long-duration poverty among disabled persons in the country; and d) propose policy interventions aimed at greater inclusion of disabled people in the country’s development processes.

Evidence from the study confirms that disabled people, as individuals, or the households in which they live, face a kind of poverty condition that carries on for a long period of time – beyond five years, during which period, and regardless of different macro and micro interventions, affected households or individuals are unable to sustain themselves or to improve on their livelihoods. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Disability
Chronic Poverty
Uganda


This document sets out a framework for assessment of the quality of UK academic longitudinal studies. It is a conceptual framework, mapping in a structured way the concepts subsumed by the notion of quality. Most of the concepts would apply to any type of survey, but academic longitudinal studies, particularly those with study horizons of decades rather than months and years, have characteristics that raise the importance of some components of quality relative to others and influence the way that we think about others. Some of those particular characteristics are:
• Relatively high levels of sample attrition, especially amongst certain sub-groups of analytic interest. Non-response bias is an important issue for any survey, but cumulative non-response over many waves of a study can be particularly serious.
• Multiple and changing definitions of the study population. The study population changes over time and between analyses. Issues relate to the treatment of deaths, births, emigrants, immigrants and so on.
• The impact of item non-response. Many longitudinal analyses rely on measures collected on a number of occasions. The proportion of sample members providing a valid measure on every occasion can be very considerably lower than the proportion providing a measure on any one occasion, thus dramatically reducing the available sample size.
• Changing relevance of data items and variables. Questions thought to be particularly important at the start of a study may become rather less relevant years later, and vice versa. Long-term longitudinal studies can therefore encounter conflicts between relevance and consistency.
• Changes in technology and in the research team. For studies taking place over a number of decades, changes in the available technology for survey processing, data management and release of outputs can be considerable. This has obvious implications for compatibility and consistency. Similarly, “ownership” of the study is likely to change hands, not just between persons, but between organisations and geographical locations, with similar implications.

Our framework takes as its starting point some more general approaches to quality adopted by others. These approaches have then been adapted to the specific context as appropriate (Author’s own).

Keywords:
Longitudinal research design
Assessment of quality of longitudinal research


This book is the result of the research undertaken from September 1994 for the global human-rights assessment for the UN Secretary General. It focuses on the impact of war on children and is international in its scope. The first part covers the direct impact of war on women and children, the second on solutions and policy proposals. (Adapted from summary)

Keywords
Children and Conflict
Human Rights


This report examines the origins and evolution of the concept of the coherence of political and humanitarian action and its implications in practice. The report details the findings of a six-month study on the politics of coherence. It is particularly concerned to understand the precise character of the new relationship proposed between aid and politics in the post-Cold War era. In particular, does the coherence agenda, imply closer integration of humanitarian policy with foreign policy objectives of donor governments? Or does it imply a looser
arrangement that seeks to formalise the comparative advantages of aid and diplomatic actors, so enhancing their complementarity? The study focused on two donor governments: the British and the Dutch. In addition, it analysed how the UN — the ultimate multi-mandate organisation — provided a means to operationalise and legitimise the coherence agenda. Finally, in order to understand the implications of coherence in practice, four mini-case studies were undertaken in recipient countries. These were: assistance to the energy sector in Serbia 1999–2000; the role of bilateral diplomacy in the negotiation of asylum for Kosovar refugees in spring 1999; the Afghanistan Support Group; and security and withdrawal of personnel in Afghanistan since 1996. (Extracted from the Executive Summary)

Keywords
Coherence
Humanitarian Action


This structured collection of twelve essays covers a wealth of experiences gained in Africa over the past decade, on the relationships between conflict, humanitarian assistance and political action.

The book started life as an SCF (UK) project in 1991, as a literature survey on famine and war, and grew from there. The essays are grouped into three sections. Section one provided a framework for analysing the relations between war and famine in Africa, looking at international and local attempts at conflict resolution, the changing framework of international law and the effects conflict has today upon economies and the civilian population.

Section two is essentially a series of country specific case histories, with chapters discussing conflict in Somalia, Sudan, Angola, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Section three takes the raw material from the first two sections and looks at cross cutting issues from gender to UN reform, by way of reassessing the role of humanitarian assistance. The concluding chapter tries to look to the future, focusing largely on how to reform in order to address the complex emergencies of today. [Book review available at http://heapol.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/12/2/179 ]

Keywords
Hunger
Complex Emergencies
Humanitarian Assistance
Africa


Rejecting easy explanations of the genocide as a mysterious evil force that was bizarrely unleashed, one of Africa’s best-known intellectuals situates the tragedy in its proper context. He coaxes to the surface the historical, geographical, and political forces that made it possible for so many Hutu to turn so brutally on their neighbours. He finds answers in the nature of political identities generated during colonialism, in the failures of the nationalist revolution to transcend these identities, and in regional demographic and political currents that reach well beyond Rwanda. In so doing, Mahmood Mamdani usefully broadens understandings of citizenship and political identity in postcolonial Africa. http://press.princeton.edu/titles/7027.html
Using empirical data from 18 urban poor communities in Colombia and Guatemala, McIlwaine and Moser seek to draw connections between violence and social capital. Violence is defined, for this study, as “the use of forceful acts motivated by the conscious or unconscious desire to maintain or obtain political, economic or social power” (966). McIlwaine and Moser set out on the one hand to develop a more nuanced conception of social capital, and on the other hand to explore potential points of departure for the role of social capital in violence reduction and conflict resolution.

They draw two distinctions within the concept of social capital. The first is between productive social capital – the kind that may generate institutional change and favor growth – and perverse social capital – the networks that encourage rent-seeking and criminal activity. The second distinction is between structural social capital – which encompasses interpersonal relationships that relate to formal and informal organizations or networks – and cognitive social capital – the normative ideas that revolve around norms, values, attitudes, etc. These distinctions help McIlwaine and Moser frame their analysis as they relate categorize their empirical data into these two matrices.

McIlwaine and Moser created focus groups in each of the selected communities and discussed community problems without the a priori assumption that violence was a perceived problem. They found that the most widespread cause of the erosion of cognitive social capital was fear, both in communities most affected by political violence and in communities suffering from insecurity due to gang violence or drug use. Even in Guatemala’s postwar period, “this legacy of distrust remains, with fear still the basis of this and of the fragmentation of the social fabric” (973). There was even fear within families due to intra-family violence, although McIlwaine and Moser point out that this was strongly gendered.

In the case of structural social capital, the data suggested that there were many productive social organizations, mostly women’s groups and childcare organizations. However, there was also abundant perverse social capital – organizations like guerilla and paramilitary groups, neighborhood gangs, drug dealers and user, and militias. Although these groups generated benefits for their members, they perpetuated violence and fomented the fear that was eroding cognitive social capital. Levels of trust of social institutions in general was low, though the least trusted were those associated with perpetrating or preventing violence – both guerilla groups and state security forces.

McIlwaine and Moser conclude that their empirical data provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding social capital in the context of violence. Moreover, they suggest to important areas for recognition in developing social capital: 1) The role of fear – due to political as well as economic or social violence, and experienced either in the private sphere or in the political arena – in eroding cognitive social capital; and 2) the nature of perverse organizations that, while providing important survival mechanisms in the face of social exclusion, foment violence and fear. McIlwaine and Moser suggest that the great challenge in violence reduction and conflict resolution is the identification of measures and
interventions that will transform fear into trust and perverse into productive organizations. [Abstract Noam Lupu - http://www.iadb.org/etica/Documentos/abs_mci_viole-1.doc ]

Keywords
Dark side of social capital
Impact of Violence on social capital
Colombia
Guatemala
Participatory research methods


Despite growing recognition of urban violence being a serious development constraint in Latin America, there is contestation concerning its categorization, underlying causes, costs and consequences, and violence-reduction solutions. This article seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the complexity of everyday violence in poor urban communities in terms of both ongoing analytical debates as well as operational solutions. Drawing on the research literature, as well as recent participatory urban appraisals of violence in Colombia and Guatemala, and Central American violence-reduction guidelines, it develops a framework to explain the holistic nature of violence and to provide operationally relevant methodological tools to facilitate cross-sectoral violence-reduction interventions [Author’s own].

Keywords
Urban violence
Latin America
Colombia
Guatemala
Interventions
Participatory research methods


This paper argues that the related concepts of chronic poverty, life-course poverty and intergenerational poverty (transmission of poverty from one generation to the next via the transfer or non-transfer of poverty related assets and capital) are useful for understanding youth poverty. These concepts position youth poverty in terms of different groups of the poor and priorities for policy, in terms of life events which shape vulnerability, and in terms of the links between youth poverty and parental and childhood deprivation. By looking specifically at youth poverty, this paper identifies a stage at which anti-poverty interventions may have the most potential impact for long-term positive change. The construction and analysis of developing country data sets (quantitative and qualitative) can inform such appropriate and timely interventions. (Smith 2005)

Keywords
Youth Poverty
Chronic Poverty
Life-Course Poverty

This paper emphasizes the importance of conducting participatory research on violence and describes the range of participatory urban appraisal tools that can be used to do so. This includes tools that can document the perceptions of poorer groups regarding the kinds of violence (economic, social or political), the extent, causes (and the links with poverty and exclusion) and consequences of violence, as well as the strategies for coping with or reducing, it. The use of these tools is illustrated with examples drawn from the findings of research on violence in 18 low-income communities in different cities in Colombia and Guatemala. The paper also outlines a conceptual framework on violence, poverty/exclusion, inequality and social capital that can help in the research design and in analyzing the findings [Author’s own].

**Keywords**
Participatory research methods
Urban violence


This volume includes 12 case studies and a general chapter by Raimo Vayrynen on the political and economic cases of several humanitarian emergencies not covered by the case studies.

**Keywords**
Hunger
Displacement
Humanitarian Emergencies

[ Available at: http://www.fas.org/asmp/campaigns/smallarms/equide.pdf ]

All development cooperation strategies and programmes must help societies to manage tensions and disputes without resorting to violence. How can international donors best promote peace-building and post-conflict reconciliation? A task force, established in 1995 by the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, has produced detailed guidelines covering the design and implementation of development cooperation for conflict prevention and post-conflict recovery. Development cooperation must be coherent, comprehensive, integrated and aimed at helping address the root causes of conflicts.
Donors should nurture local conflict resolutions and not impose externally generated solutions. Development agencies must encourage the broader inclusion of societal groups, in particular women, in discussion and negotiation processes. Priorities for post-conflict reconstruction include: restoring internal security and the rule of law; legitimising state institutions; improving food security and social services; and creating the basis for broad-based economic growth. Assistance must be seen to benefit the entire population rather than specific groups, such as refugees and ex-combatants.

Development assistance can help consolidate fragile peace processes by supporting societal reconciliation, political development and physical reconstruction. Aid also risks aggravating competition between disputing parties by raising the stakes of political control. http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC4061.htm

Keywords
Development Cooperation
Peace-building
Post-conflict Reconciliation
Post-conflict Reconstruction


Poverty is increasingly caused by environmental scarcities of arable land and water, resulting in loss of livelihoods. One common denominator of the causes of conflict in many recent civil wars has been the loss of livelihoods which has had the result that young men are no longer able to reach the positions in life earlier generations of men could expect. Policy attempts to break the vicious path to conflict need to address both poverty and environmental issues. Reconstruction of exhausted environmental resources will work towards both these ends. (Author’s own)

Keywords
Livelihoods in Conflict
Environmental Resources


What are the historical and current livelihood trends in Afghanistan? How can livelihoods issues be addressed more strongly in the policy and programming processes of the reconstruction agenda?

This Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) Issues paper critically reviews the sustainable livelihoods framework in the context of conflict and political instability. It offers an analysis of the Afghan situation which emphasises processes of vulnerability, noting that sustainable systems are inherently at risk in conflict situations. In reviewing vulnerability issues and the extent to which they are addressed by current policy processes, the authors make the following general assessments:

• Conflict and drought have been major structural determinants of recent livelihoods changes, with migration, diversification, and a merging of urban and rural spaces now characteristic of the livelihoods context.
Recent rapid policy processes include some livelihoods concerns, but these are not systematically analysed or addressed. Information on the content of livelihoods systems continues to be scarce.

The paper offers a series of detailed recommendations for building livelihoods objectives and outcomes more systematically into policy and programming. Broadly, these include:

- Investing in knowledge about livelihood systems, in empowered monitoring systems for livelihoods surveillance, and in systems for using this knowledge to identify livelihoods goals within programmes.
- Developing livelihoods approaches for relevant sectors and ministries, and effective co-ordinating systems across ministries and organisations for multi-sectoral communication. This will involve transparency in policy making and ongoing dialogue on livelihoods goals.

[http://www.livelihoods.org/static/apain_NN226.htm](http://www.livelihoods.org/static/apain_NN226.htm)

**Keywords**
- Afghanistan
- Sustainable Livelihoods
- Vulnerability

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This article examines the role of natural resources in influencing civil war, based on the evidence from thirteen different case studies. These studies have found a significance relationship between these two entities but the causal mechanisms behind the correlation are not well understood yet, in part because data on civil wars is reportedly scarce and of poor quality. The article explore the mechanisms behind the resource conflict correlation. Seven hypotheses about how resources may influence a conflict are described, which specify the observable implications of each. The associated report is described showing which mechanisms can be observed in a sample of thirteen civil wars in which natural resources were "most likely" to have played a role. It was found that two of the most widely cited causal mechanisms do not appear to be valid; that oil, nonfuel minerals, and drugs are causally linked to conflict, but legal agricultural commodities are not; and that resource wealth and civil war are linked by a variety of mechanisms, including several that others had not been identified [Author's own].

**Keywords**
- Natural Resources
- Environmental Degradation
- Civil War

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The 20-year old Afghan conflict has created an open war economy, affecting Afghanistan and surrounding areas. Not only has Afghanistan become the world’s largest opium producer and a centre for arms dealing, but it supports a multibillion dollar trade in goods smuggled from Dubai to Pakistan. This criminalized economy funds both the Taliban and their adversaries. It has transformed social relations and weakened states and legal economies throughout the region. Sustainable peace will require not just an end to fighting and a political
agreement but a regional economic transformation that provides alternative forms of livelihood and promotes accountability. 

http://www.sciencedirect.com/science

Keywords
Asia
Afghanistan
 Refugees


One of the major changes in the social science research landscape in recent years has been the introduction of computerised panel surveys in Europe and the US which make longitudinal data widely available to graduate students for the first time. Elisabetta Ruspini here provides a concise yet comprehensive introduction to the issues involved in this kind of research. This book:

- Defines the concept of longitudinal research
- Gives guidance on sources of longitudinal data in Europe and the US and their strengths and weaknesses
- Discusses the choices that need to be made in this kind of research - for instance the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of research data and of different types of analysis
- Highlights some of the problems involved, e.g. the issue of comparability within longitudinal research

Keywords:
Methods
Longitudinal research

[ Available at: http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp183.pdf ]

This paper provides an overview of the development and use of livelihoods approaches in relation to humanitarian responses in areas of chronic conflict and political instability. Current aid practice in situations of chronic conflict and political instability reveals a profound mismatch between the structures and institutions of the international aid regime, and the characteristics and dynamics within countries experiencing chronic conflict and political instability. The overview explores some of the issues that must be addressed in filling this gap between theory and practice. In applying a livelihoods approach to situations of chronic conflict and political instability, the paper emphasises the need to pay adequate attention to aspects relating to political economy.  (Extracted from Summary)

Keywords
Livelihoods Approach
Chronic Conflict and Political Instability

Civil wars and armed conflicts are widespread in less-developed countries. However, there is little empirical research on household and individual response to such conflicts. From 1992 to 1998 Tajikistan was embroiled in one of the most devastating civil conflicts in the Former Soviet Union region. This paper examines the effect of this armed conflict on the accumulation of schooling by combining differences in exposure to the conflict across regions and cohorts using data from the 1999 and 2003 Tajik Living Standards Surveys. I find that homes of 6.8 percent of the households were damaged during the conflict and that 40% of 2000 households live in a community with such damage. The regression results suggest that exposure to the conflict had a significant negative effect on the enrolment of girls of age 14 - 16, and, little or, no effect on enrolment of boys and younger children (Author's own).

Keywords
School Enrolment
Armed Conflict


Torture is a complex trauma that often occurs within the context of widespread persecution and human rights violations. In addition, the nature of modern warfare is such that whole populations are at risk of suffering extensive trauma, injustices, loss, and displacement. Refugees, in particular, experience sequential stresses that may compound each other over prolonged periods of time. The present overview examines whether contemporary notions of trauma, and especially a focus on the category of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), are adequate in assessing the multiple effects of such experiences. Recent studies are reviewed to indicate the strengths and limitations of current research approaches. Rates of PTSD in such studies have varied with relatively low rates being found in recent epidemiologic studies undertaken on refugee populations. It is suggested that a focus on intervening psychosocial adaptive systems may assist in delineating more clearly the pathways that determine whether traumatized persons achieve psychosocial restitution or are at risk of ongoing psychiatric disability. A model is proposed which suggests that torture and related abuses may challenge five core adaptive systems subserving the functions of "safety," "attachment," "justice," "identity-role," and "existential-meaning." It is argued that a clearer delineation of such adaptive systems may provide a point of convergence that may link research endeavours more closely to the subjective experience of survivors and to the types of clinical interventions offered by trauma treatment services.

In this research report, the authors describe the extent and distribution of poverty in Mozambique and analytically examine the factors that determine household living standards and poverty levels. They focus on individual, household, and community characteristics that are not only correlated with poverty, but are also causally linked to poverty outcomes. They develop a microeconometric model to measure the influence of education, employment, demographics, agricultural technology, and infrastructure on household consumption levels. These models are then used in a series of policy simulations to gauge the impact of a range of potential policy interventions to reduce poverty. (Extracted from Foreword)

Keywords
Mozambique
Poverty assessment


This bibliography forms part of the third phase of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (October 2005 – September 2010), which is structured around three distinct themes that will be carefully sequenced and closely integrated; thematic research, policy analysis and policy engagement. In particular, this bibliography is part of the foundation theme Empirical Methods for Studying Intergenerational Transmissions of Poverty (IGT). This works will attempt to identify the extent to which such processes occur; the nature and reversibility of such processes in different contexts and occurring at different times; and the range of factors that increase the likelihood that poverty is passed from one generation to the next. (Extracted from Background)

Keywords
Intergenerational Transmissions of Poverty


This paper reviews the effect of armed conflicts on development and, in particular, on the prospects of achieving the Millennium Development Goals. It explores the economic behaviour of countries affected by conflict and identifies the impact on different types of entitlement and in terms of human costs, particularly nutrition, health and education. It proposes a range of policy options that can be adopted towards countries at war. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/cjhd/2003/00000004/00000003/art00002

Keywords
Millennium Development Goals
Entitlements
Human Development
Health, Education, Nutrition

Wars, especially civil wars, are known to be one of the most potent causes of human suffering and underdevelopment. Yet economic analysis of developing countries at war is relatively rare. These volumes aim to reverse this neglect, tracing the economic and social consequences of conflict in poor countries. A major objective is to identify policies which may reduce the heavy human and economic costs. Volume One provides a general framework for understanding the economic interactions. It also provides an empirical overview of the costs of war for the worst affected countries in the 1970s and 1980s. Volume Two presents seven country case studies.

Keywords
Economic and social impacts of conflicts
Case studies: Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Sudan, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Uganda


The aim of this chapter is to present an empirical overview of some of the economic and social costs of civil conflict in the last 25 years. Attention is focused on internal conflict because it has been much more prevalent among poor countries in recent years, and tends to have different effects, often more disruptive for the economic and social system, than international conflicts. The second section of the chapter identifies the incidence, regional location, and severity of internal conflict, focusing on the recent past, but putting this into the context of the history of the last 200 years. The third section briefly points to expectations about the nature, direction, and magnitude of the effects of civil war, at macro, meso, and household level. Section four reviews some empirical evidence of how major economic and social variables changed in the countries worst affected by conflict in the 1970s and 1980s. However, actual developments may not be indicative of the effects due to conflict, since many other changes were occurring simultaneously (for example, the debt crisis and falling commodity prices) which affected what happened. Some attempt is made to allow for the counterfactual, by comparing performance in major variables in a conflict country with that of developments in the region as a whole. (Extracted from Introduction)

Keywords
Internal Wars
Economic and Social Effects of Conflict


This paper uses a livelihoods framework in an effort to understand the relative importance of humanitarian assistance during and after the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This paper summarises [an] effort to bring academics and practitioners together in an attempt to produce a form of knowledge about the impact of humanitarian assistance. The Office of US
Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) funded a team from Tufts University’s Feinstein International Famine Centre (FIFC) and Mercy Corps International (MCI) in Bosnia to develop and implement a survey to measure changes in household livelihoods over time in 394 households in six heavily conflict-affected villages in rural Bosnia. Household livelihood systems were mapped over three distinct time periods: the end of the Cold War (1989), the height of the Bosnian war (as identified by each household) and late 2004. This paper discusses the methods and findings of this survey, and some of the issues pertaining to using livelihoods analysis to measure the impact of humanitarian assistance. (Extracted from the Executive Summary)

**Keywords**
Livelihoods framework
Humanitarian assistance

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Rural development thinking can no longer claim that conflict falls outside its mandate, according to this edition of the IDS Bulletin. The nature of warfare in Africa is changing dramatically. War is being used as an instrument of policy, and becoming a way of life in the worst affected areas, with civilians, not combatants, the most vulnerable. The Bulletin explores new thinking on some of the critical issues that need to be addressed by development policy makers in order to adjust to these new realities. It argues that planners and researchers need to understand the causes and conduct of war, learn new skills, and develop new alliances - including, in some circumstances, with the military.

[http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=126](http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=126)

**Keywords**
Rural development
Africa
Warfare

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**Keywords**
Natural Resources
Environmental Degradation
Sudan

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This accessible introduction to the theory and practice of longitudinal research takes the reader through the strengths and weaknesses of this kind of research, making clear: how to design a longitudinal study; how to collect data most effectively; how to make the best use of statistical techniques; and how to interpret results. Although the book provides a broad overview of the field, the focus is always on the practical issues arising out of longitudinal research. This book supplies the student with all that they need to get started and acts as a manual for dealing with opportunities and pitfalls. It is the ideal primer for this growing area of social research.

[http://www.sagepub.com/booksProdDesc.nav?contribId=364617&prodId=Book207828](http://www.sagepub.com/booksProdDesc.nav?contribId=364617&prodId=Book207828)

The Human Development Report takes stock of human development, including progress towards the MDGs. Looking beyond statistics, it highlights the human costs of missed targets and broken promises. Extreme inequality between countries and within countries is identified as one of the main barriers to human development—and as a powerful brake on accelerated progress towards the MDGs. http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2005/

Keywords
Millennium Development Goals


This briefing paper focuses on the various ways in which poverty is related to conflict in current thinking. The underlying dynamics of this process are found in specific patterns of inequality, deprivation and marginalisation, and the nature of relations within groups and between groups and the state. The paper highlights the value added of the entitlements approach in the light of contemporary practices in poverty and conflict assessments. Concrete measures are presented to address the challenges of preventing poverty and related conflict via political dialogue and development assistance. (Extracted from Introduction)

Keywords
Entitlements Approach
Poverty
Conflict


A total of 110 armed conflicts have been recorded for the years 1989–99. Of these, 37 were active in 1999. This is the same number as in 1998 but an increase from 1997, after an overall decline in the number of conflicts per year since 1992. Seven interstate armed conflicts were recorded for the whole period, of which two were still active in 1999. Contrary to a common assumption that conflict normally escalate gradually from minor armed conflicts, no such clear pattern is found. Peace agreement is the least common type of conflict termination in 1989–99. (Author’s own)

This report from the World Health Organization (WHO) outlines a public health approach to understanding and responding to the problem of violence worldwide. The report is aimed at national policymakers in the area of public health, and health professionals working at community level.

There has been a gradual move in recent decades from viewing violence as primarily an issue for law enforcement agencies, with health professionals dealing only with the consequences, to seeing public health policy as having a key part to play in addressing the root causes of violence and in violence prevention. This culminated in the adoption of a resolution declaring violence a leading worldwide health problem by the World Health Assembly in 1996. The report brings together data on the levels of violence worldwide and provides a model for a public health approach to tackling it.

http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC18661.htm


This paper examines welfare through time. This paper synthesises the evidence on intertemporal welfare dynamics in developing and industrial countries. The paper relates economic dynamics to two welfare issues: insecurity and opportunity, and human development, as defined by UNDP. The paper also brings microeconomic evidence on mobility to bear on chronic and transitory poverty. (Extracted from Introduction)

Keywords
Chronic and Transitory Poverty

[ Available at: http://www.st-edmunds.cam.ac.uk/vhi/sen/papers/yaqub.pdf ]

This paper investigates the idea that interventions are made often when poverty is hardest to solve. This is led by the intuition that the result of an intervention may have something to do with its timing, as well as its other characteristics. Such a position can be identified in a diverse array of disciplines in the social and natural sciences. The paper pursues the simple idea that an important characteristic of an antipoverty intervention is its timing with respect to the life into which the intervention is made. In short, the ‘timetabling error hypothesis’ is that erroneous timing of antipoverty leads to erroneous outcomes for the poor (Extracted from Introduction).
What are the effects of the current conflict on livelihoods in Darfur? What issues do strategic humanitarian interventions need to address? This Feinstein International Famine Centre publication reports on a study conducted by the Centre and Ahfad University for Women, Omdurman. It reviews a combination of factors causing livelihood failure and asset loss in Darfur, including systematic asset-stripping by government forces, production failures, market failures, failures of access to natural resources and constraints on remittances of migrant workers.

In particular the study draws out the significance to livelihoods of:
- Livestock rearing and trade, which has been severely affected by mobility constraints due to insecurity, looting, disputes over trade routes and access to pasture.
- Migration and commodity trading, also severely limited by insecurity-induced mobility constraints, as well as by the closing of the Sudan/Libya border in 2003 causing a very significant decline in remittances.

The paper presents a detailed list of recommendations covering the peace process, reconciliation and compensation, and the reconstitution of trade and migration routes. It also cautions against interventions which do not fully take account of the dynamics of the conflict. Notably, it recommends:
- The creation of a Livestock Reconciliation, Restitution and Compensation Committee with representation for all groups in Darfur, financial contribution from the Government of Sudan, and empowered to levy livestock taxes to use for compensation purposes.
- The creation of a Livelihoods Task Force to monitor the conditions affecting livelihoods and to develop, through participatory processes seeking local solutions, a strategy for protecting, supporting and rehabilitating livelihoods.

http://www.livelihoods.org/cf/search/showrecord.cfm?ID=290

Keywords
Darfur
Livelihood
Humanitarian intervention