



crisis states programme

development research centre



Working Paper no.2

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

April 2001

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Crisis States Programme

Working papers series no.1

English version:
ISSN 1740-5807 (print)
ISSN 1740-5815 (on-line)

Spanish version:
ISSN 1740-5823 (print)
ISSN 1740-5831 (on-line)

Development
DESTIN
Studies Institute



Crisis States Programme

Research Activities

We have elaborated a plan for research activities that combines a set of collaborative research programmes situated in South Asia, Southern Africa and Latin America with a group of individual research projects each of which address some of the central questions raised in our overall research agenda. Our choice of sites of collaboration and individual sites of research has been made on several grounds. First, in each of the chosen sites of research the questions raised by our research agenda are of central importance to both understanding processes of development and to current policy dilemmas. Second we have chosen to build on the core of expertise in Development Studies at the LSE and chosen collaborators whose reputation for high-quality work is firmly established, so the agenda itself has been shaped by those deeply involved or interested in the places where we are undertaking research. It has been a methodological choice on our part, given the qualitative and politically sensitive nature of much of our research, to put issues of expertise and access to the sites of research up front in choosing where we will carry out our work. Finally, we see the overall programme of work evolving over time and we hope to extend the work into other countries and regions, which may provide particularly important further comparative insights.

The collaborative programmes of research activities described in summary form in this section (and in more detail in separate Working Papers) were elaborated in different ways during the inception phase of the programme.

Collaborative Research on States of Crisis in South Asia

With the overall aim of providing ‘new understanding of the causes of crisis and breakdown’, we propose to take up comparative research on several Indian states, working in collaboration with Indian partners who are themselves quite intimately linked.

Research Problems

Our primary focus will be on the states of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, two big states which have significant features in common. Both are states of the ‘Hindi heartland’ of India, and they are also part of ‘BIMARU’, the name given some years ago to the epicentre of poverty in India, and in the world, in the four states of Bihar, MP, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Both Bihar and MP are states in which there has been little sense of sub-national identity of the kind that has galvanised politics elsewhere in India; they are also states in which upper castes have enjoyed political dominance, to the present in MP and until recently in Bihar. But while Bihar is commonly considered to be a ‘crisis state’, MP now has a reputation for effective and progressive government. In the 1990s the annual rate of growth of gross state domestic product in Madhya Pradesh (henceforward MP) is estimated to have been 6.17%, the sixth highest amongst the 14 major states of India (compared with 2.69% in Bihar, and the combined SDP growth in all 14 states of 5.94% per annum)¹, and the state has undertaken a number of progressive initiatives, such as the Education Guarantee Scheme. It seems possible, at least, that MP under the present Chief Minister, Digvijay Singh, has features in common with the state of Ceara in northeast Brazil which, as Tendler has shown, experienced

¹ These figures taken from Montek Ahluwalia, ‘Economic Performance of States in Post-Reforms Period’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6 May 2000, pp.1637-1648

considerable improvements in some areas of government in the 1980s as a result of the activities of two progressive governors, who pursued reforms in their struggle against the old 'barons' of the state.² Bihar, meanwhile has continued to lag behind all the other major states in terms of economic and of human development. 'Bihar leads India in backwardness', and is experiencing extensive breakdown of the rule of law and 'continuing fragmentation into decentralised fiefdoms controlled by Bihar's own warlords'.³ But there is another side to the Bihar story. It is a highly politicised society, and there are major mobilisations of the rural poor for land and liberty, for subsistence, social dignity and basic political rights - in a way which has not begun to happen in MP. These two states offer promising terrain, therefore, on which to pursue the central concerns of the research programme; and in the context of the economic reforms which India has pursued since 1991, and of governance reforms such as the (re-) introduction of democratic decentralisation, they offer the possibility of studying the extent to which processes of globalisation and institutional reform have or have not precipitated or helped to avoid crisis and social breakdown. Comparison of the two states will also contribute substantially to the 'local' level of research which the CSP proposes, around understanding of: (i) why under similar economic and social conditions, in some regions violence has put down roots, while in others peace predominates; (ii) the livelihood strategies poor people follow in situations of discord, and (iii) what happens to associational life, local politics and public action in situations of violent conflict.

We also propose for the first year of the programme to assist Professor Apurba Baruah of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies/Lokniti network of political scientists in initiating research on 'Community, Conflicts and Crises of Democratic Governance in North East India'. The focus of this research is to be on the relations between modern democratic institutions and traditional forms of governance, in a region with a history of insurgent movements and ethnic violence, and the ways in which these influence constellations of power and patterns of conflict. A linked concern is with the implementation of democratic and human rights in the context of societies which have historically emphasised community rather than individual rights and obligations.

We have also entered into a networking relationship

Box 1 . Research Activities.

These are laid out in detail in the relevant Working Paper. For the Bihar-MP study they include :

- (1) Review of the Political History of Bihar and MP;
 - (2) Study of the implementation of economic reforms in the two states;
 - (3) Implications of reforms for policy instruments and for government capacity;¹
 - (4) Study of the economic effects of reform and their social and political implications;
 - (5) Patterns of elite formation;
 - (6) Study of the character of civil society;
 - (7) Study of ideological hegemony and contestation;
 - (8) Study of political movements in Bihar.
- These different parts of the programme will be based on (i) sample survey research in rural and urban areas in both states; backed up by (ii) conduct of political ethnography (outlined in the Appendices); (iii) interviews with members of economic, political and economic elites; (iv) analysis of public finance.

For the study in the North East the initial proposal is for a pilot study on the history of ethnic movements in Meghalaya, and the consequences of ethnic loyalties for democratic governance, based on secondary sources and the media, and through structured and unstructured interaction with leaders of traditional political organisations.

² The Ceara story is told in Judith Tendler's *Good Government in the Tropics* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

³ These quotations from D. Bhattacharya, 'Bihar after bifurcation: a challenging future', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28 October 2000.

with researchers in Eastern Sri Lanka (based at the university in Batticaloa, in the Eastern region), and may, in later stages, undertake research with them.

Research Objectives

The Bihar-MP Research Project will focus upon the implementation of economic and governmental reforms in the two states (the latter include the recent bifurcation of the two states), on their social and political implications, and the ways in which these in turn may influence conflict and the states' capacities to contain it - all in the context of an empirically and historically grounded analysis of political development. This will take account of social movements, civil society and the history of party politics and political competition in the two states, and of the responses of poor people to conflict. We will study, therefore, the ways in which reforms have influenced, and the ways in which they are influenced by the changing character of, and relationships amongst ruling elites, and their implications for civil and political society. We will study the discourses and practices associated with the establishment of ideological hegemony on the part of the ruling elites; and the character of political parties and their relationships in a competitive political system. We will analyse the implications of economic reforms both for patterns of investment (which affect elite politics), and for critical policy instruments – such, notably, as subsidies and other transfer payments, and reservations policy, given their importance in the mediation of relationships between those who have benefitted and those by-passed by development. The final aims are to explain the differing patterns of social and political change in the two states, and to show why some political systems and communities have broken down to the point of violent conflict, while others have not. We do not want to over-emphasise the prospects for taking 'lessons' learnt in one state to another, but it is likely that some ideas will usefully be exchanged, not just those about administration/projects that work in MP, but also about the implications of the politicisation of lower castes/classes (from Bihar).

The research in the North East is to be focussed on the consequences of ethnic loyalties for democratic governance.

Research Activities

A summary of the research activities is in Box 1, with a full explanation in relevant Working Papers. These different parts of the programme will be based on (i) sample survey research in rural and urban areas in both states; backed up by (ii) conduct of political ethnography (outlined in the Working Paper on South Asia, Appendix on Political Ethnography); (iii) interviews with members of economic, political and economic elites; (iv) analysis of public finance.

Collaborative Research on Crisis States in Southern Africa

One of the questions addressed in the overall CSP proposal is, what kinds of conflict spring out of different institutional contexts? The South African work reverses the question and asks, what kinds of institutions emerge out of different kinds of conflict? We consider South Africa's recent experience of violent political conflict and efforts to promote national reconciliation, reconstruction and development, alongside its ambiguous relationship over time with the Southern African region. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), initially forged to provide protection for weaker Southern African states against the apartheid regime, remains an on-going regional initiative that now includes its erstwhile belligerent neighbour. While economically dominant, South Africa shares many challenges

with other Southern African countries, including economic restructuring, poverty reduction, and entrenchment of democracy and conflict management.

Research Problems

Since the collapse of apartheid in 1994, South Africa has boasted an impeccably democratic constitution that confers a series of liberties, rights and opportunities on all its citizens and promises to restore a measure of social order and quality of life denied by the previous regime. Nevertheless, the threats to political, social and economic stability in post-apartheid South Africa remain serious. These include a region awash with small arms, a continued national commitment to extensive military expenditure, rocketing crime rates, disturbing levels of local level violence, particularly sexual violence and the scourge of HIV/AIDS. South Africa has one of the most unequal distributions of income of any country in the world and this inequality and poverty are deepening under post-apartheid economic policies.

The most serious threat to social peace in South Africa today is an employment crisis that has been greatly intensified by a commitment to liberalisation and a radical process of industrial restructuring. Apartheid and protectionism collapsed simultaneously leaving the allocation of resources, opportunities and power significantly altered, with implications for patterns of social and political organisation and the sustainability of nascent and often fragile institutions. A 'representational gap' has arisen in the region whereby large numbers of workers do not have much of a voice at work at all and unions are declining in their capacity to represent the growing number of casual workers and those earning a livelihood in the informal economy. At the same time, international organisations such as the ILO are advocating core labour standards and social dialogue. Liberalisation is having a significant and negative impact on many industries where Southern African costs and manning levels are out of line with international competitors. These are threatened with closure where they are not willing and able to undergo major restructuring. Increasing numbers of unemployed and underemployed people are surviving through developing multiple livelihoods based on some waged work, informal trading and the like. In-migration to South Africa has accelerated recently and cross border trade is developing rapidly.

One of the striking features of the 'new' South Africa has been the demobilisation of social movements, particularly those dominated by youth, coupled with a disturbing trend towards political disengagement and non-participation. At the very moment of democratisation, the political energies required to sustain active democratic politics seem to be dwindling. At the same time there are important positive changes in the wake of past patterns of violent conflict. KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), one of the poorest and most differentiated areas in post-apartheid South Africa, is a region that appears to have transformed itself from the epicentre of violent conflict and civic breakdown during the twilight years of apartheid to one where accord and coexistence seemingly have been forged. KZN's experience raises doubts about the claimed bifurcation between urban political systems where people are treated as citizens of a modern polity and rural areas where they are said to be constructed as subjects of 'traditional authorities'. Until quite recently, it was widely assumed that the transition in South Africa would see the power of the chiefs replaced by that of democratically elected local government officials. It is now clear that political settlement at the national and provincial levels rested on the continuation of strong 'traditional' authorities in rural areas and even some urban areas.

Reform of local government took a long time in South Africa and is a particular area of contestation. In a province such as KZN; where black, white and Indian South Africans live

cheek-by-jowl across urban and rural areas; where political supremacy cannot be guaranteed for either the African National Congress or the predominantly Zulu-speaking Inkatha Freedom Party; and where business has always taken a close interest in political processes and outcomes, local government is contested particularly fiercely.

At the national level, South Africa became a highly militarised society during the late 1970s and 1980s. This was marked by the mobilisation of resources for domestic and regional war. The power of the apartheid military was such that the South African Defence force (SADF) was positioned at the centre of state decision-making, penetrating deeply into many aspects of social life and supported by soaring defence expenditure. The post-apartheid armed forces, the South African National Defence Forces (SANDF) continue to wield considerable political, economic and ideological power. South African foreign policy has shifted from the destabilisation of neighbouring countries under apartheid to an emphasis on regional cooperation, accompanied by closure of military bases, a reduction in defence expenditure, the abolition of conscription and a downsizing of the military. However, this has been an uneven and incomplete process with contradictory consequences. Moreover, despite budget cuts amounting to more than 50% between 1989 and 1998, South Africa is still Africa's largest military spender in absolute terms and accounts for nearly 70 per cent of Southern Africa's military spending.

Research Objectives

The starting point for the research programme as a whole, lies in a concern to understand constellations of power at local, national, regional and global levels and how they drive or obstruct processes of institutional change and reconstruction. Thus the research in South Africa will be contextualised and complemented by comparative research in the Southern African region. This will examine the relationship between the structural crisis now being confronted and the nature and effects of the economic policy regimes that have been used to guide developmental strategies over the past decade. The assumption on which the research is based is that levels of performance are more directly associated with the adequacy of the state, economic and social institutions in any society than with the nature of the policy regime per se. In drawing comparisons, the research will question the neatly dichotomised view of economic growth and prosperity in South Africa and stagnation and poverty elsewhere in the region; of peaceful democratic transition in South Africa and a descent into kleptocracy and clientalism to its north.

As such it will relate to other research being undertaken in the CSP, such as the projects on demobilisation in East Africa being undertaken by Suzette Heald and Tim Allen and on demilitarisation by Jenny Kuper.

Box 2. Research Activities.

These are laid out in details in the relevant Working Paper.

(1) *The Social and Political Impact of Liberalisation on Employment and Institutional Capacity in Southern Africa*
SWOP and LSE

- *Traditional Import Substituting Industries – White Goods (SWOP)*
- *Export Oriented Industrialisation (SWOP)*
- *Intra-Regional Trade: The Retail Sector (SWOP)*
Policy Implications (LSE and SWOP)

(2) *Apartheid Youth Activists in the new' South Africa: A Case Study in the Practice of Everyday Life in Soweto*
WISER

(3) *Conflict, Reconciliation and Reconstruction in KwaZulu-Natal: Local Level Experiences and Responses*
LSE

(4) *Demilitarisation, Demobilisation, Reconciliation and Reconstruction in South Africa*
Wits and LSE

The first set of projects within the programme of research will focus on understanding the political, economic and social impact of Southern Africa's changing position in the global economy. SWOP and LSE will together undertake research on the social and political impact of liberalisation on employment and "institutional capacity" in the Southern African region. This will address the Crisis States Programme's concern with the interrelationship between international systems and crisis and breakdown in 'fragile' political economies. A major thrust of the research is to understand how changes in the organisation of international trade and finance have affected the structure of economic organisation, patterns of wealth accumulation and social exclusion and inclusion in South Africa and selected countries of Southern Africa. A second concern is to explore the effect of changes at the global level, on the structure of institutional arrangements that govern the distribution of political and economic power and social cohesion.

The initial focus will be on unemployment in the region, with research in South Africa, Zambia, Swaziland and Mozambique. It will examine the impact of new policies in the traditional import-substituting industry producing white goods, the export-oriented motorcar industry and the intra-regional retail trade. A second important focus will be on the institutional challenges thrown up by neo-liberal policies, which can have radical implications for patterns of political and social organisation. What impact will global processes such as the campaign for core labour standards have in a context where the majority of people do not have secure livelihoods? Are the institutions at national and regional levels up to the task of implementing and monitoring compliance? Finally, the project will examine the relationship between the structural crisis now confronting the countries of Southern Africa, and the nature and effects of the economic policy regimes which have been used to guide their developmental strategies over the past decade.

A second focus of our work begins at the local level and will explore not only the impact of national, regional and international processes on social change but also how they intersect with and are influenced by local level processes. WISER will conduct a study of apartheid era youth activists in the 'new' South Africa, through a case study on everyday life in Soweto. The project will examine the life strategies, identities and modes of consciousness in the aftermath of 'the struggle' both of the 'comrades' of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), one of a number of social movements at the forefront of anti-apartheid struggles, and those who were ostensibly apolitical. How do these different but related groups explain and interpret the manner of South Africa's transition, their role in it and its effects on their lives? How do they perceive, and participate in, the new social order? What economic opportunities have they enjoyed and how have they responded? What are their interests, values and aspirations for the future? What do their histories reveal about the fate of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, and the notions of citizenship and political participation?

LSE work at the local level will examine conflict and reconciliation in KwaZulu-Natal. This project seeks to understand the social experience and process of institution building in post-conflict reconstruction in South Africa. Local level responses will be explored both in terms of the maintenance and reconstruction of livelihoods and social networks, and their intersection with local-level politics and the reconfiguration of the local state in the post-apartheid transition. The research will test the validity of claims about the sharp divide between rural and urban political systems in terms of the role of 'traditional authorities', and will consider the extent to which the dichotomy between 'citizen' and 'subject' pertains in rural and urban South Africa. In framing our understanding of these linkages we will pay

particularly close attention to recent changes in labour, land and commodity markets and their impact on social divisions, livelihood strategies and local politics. A central question will be how changing institutions at the local level intersect with the politics of resource access, property rights and livelihood strategies. The research will examine tensions between processes that are furthering redistribution of resources and the development of accountable and inclusive political institutions at different levels and the continued and perhaps growing salience of clientelism. We will examine the political and institutional processes, systems and mechanisms, both formal and informal, including systems of political representation and governance and the political penetration of social networks and the politics of identity. The research will also identify how informal institutions and organisations intersect ‘upwards’ with formal ones, such as national and local political institutions, commodity and labour markets and development agencies, and ‘downwards’ with relations of gender and generation within households and communities.

A third focus intended is on the political and social implications of demobilisation, demilitarisation and reconciliation at the national and regional levels, in the context of what appears to be an emerging regional arms race. Wits and LSE will undertake joint work on the problem of demilitarisation, demobilisation and reconstruction. The research will build on work already undertaken in the region that looked at demilitarisation as a social and political process and on the social imperatives of reconciliation, reconstruction and development. We will chart the recent changes and look at policy implications. The research will consider the South African rearmament programme and the emerging arms race throughout the region. It will review the forthcoming Basson Trial, the last great apartheid trial in South Africa, which will conclude the investigations into ‘dirty tricks’ and chemical and biological warfare begun during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. Lastly, it will focus on the social challenges posed by the reintegration of ex-combatants into social and economic life. This project will not draw extensively on ESCOR funding for the Crisis States Programme but will seek additional funding to pursue the themes of a) the formation of new and democratically accountable national defence forces where the transition to independence has involved attempts to merge government and guerrilla armies; b) demobilisation and the challenges posed in terms of social and economic opportunities as and safety and security; c) disarmament, both formal in relation to the restructuring of the arms industry and informal, in relation to the fact that the region is awash with small arms; d) institutions for peace building and the management of conflict in the region; and e) the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, both as a national exercise in catharsis and as a powerful instrument of historical construction and memory, as well as one which might hold lessons for other contexts.

Collaborative Research on Crisis States in Latin America

Our programme of work in Colombia will contribute directly to the overall objective of the Crisis States Programme to develop a “new understanding of the causes of crisis and breakdown in the developing world”. The work will centre on Colombia, but several of the projects look outward to situate Colombia in a comparative perspective within the Andean region and Latin America. We employ a wide variety of methodological approaches drawn from historical and comparative political economy, economics, politics, anthropology and sociology to addresses questions raised at all three of the levels of the overall Centre programme – the global to the national, national to local and local to the national and global.

Research Problems

Box 3. A rapid increase in violence in Latin America in the 1990s.

While in the 1970s, the median intentional homicide rate in Latin America averaged approximately 8 per 100,000 inhabitants, in the 1990s this approached 13 per 100,000 inhabitants, an increase of over 40 percent.⁴ Apart from Sub-Saharan Africa – where the median intentional homicide rate rose from 6 to 9 per 100,000 over the same period – no other region in the developing world experienced such a dramatic increase in crime.⁵

Generally, the median Latin American intentional homicide rate in the 1990s stood at

nearly four times the rate of other developing regions.⁶ Over three-quarters of reported homicides are of criminal origin, and the levels of crime victimisation in the region in the 1990s were the highest in the world according to the UN Crime Victimization Survey, consistently above a staggering 30 percent of the total population.⁷ A recent World Bank report declared criminal violence “the single major obstacle to the realization of the region’s long-standing aspirations for sustainable economic and social development”.⁸

Historically, Latin America has often been considered an extremely violent area of the world, marked by multiple instances of “political disappearances, repressive dictatorship, torture, death squads, and revolutions”.⁹ This image has significantly changed over the last decade and a half, however. The twin processes of “demilitarization” and “democratization” which have characterised much of the region in recent years are viewed as signs that a definitive break has been made with the past, and that a new era of peace and stability has begun.¹⁰ Against such an interpretation of the Latin American experience, the violent conflicts that continue to characterise the contemporary socio-political landscape of Colombia might appear to be wholly unique. However, in line with Eduardo Galeano,¹¹ we would argue that the view of Latin America as having entered a “new era of peace and stability” is overdrawn. There is much to be learned by studying the processes that have sustained violent conflict in

⁴ IADB, *Economic and Social Progress Report: Development beyond economics*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, p.13.

⁵ See P. Fajnzylber, D. Lederman & N. Loayza, *Determinants of Crime Rates in Latin America and the World: An empirical assessment*, Latin American and Caribbean Studies Viewpoint Studies Series, Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1998, p.13. It should be noted, though, that Chile and Costa Rica are partial exceptions to this trend.

⁶ See IADB (2000), p.13.

⁷ See UNICRI (United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute), *Criminal Victimization in the Developing World*, UNICRI Publication No.55, Rome: United Nations Publications, 1995; and J. L. Londoño; A. Gaviria, and R. Guerrero (eds), *Asalto al Desarrollo: Violencia en América Latina*, Washington, D.C.: Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo – Inter-American Development Bank, 2000, pp.23-24.

⁸ R. L. Ayres, *Crime and Violence as Development Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Latin American and Caribbean Studies Viewpoint Studies Series, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1998, p.23. See also PNUD (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo – United Nations Development Programme), *Violencia en una Sociedad en Transición*, San Salvador: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 1998, for a similar view specifically on Central America.

⁹ T. Rosenberg, *Children of Cain: Violence and the violent in Latin America*, New York: Penguin, 1991, p.7-8.

¹⁰ See S. Halebsky & R. L. Harris, ‘Introduction: Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America’, in S. Halebsky & R. L. Harris (eds), *Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995, pp.8-9; as well as J. G. Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War*, New York: Vintage, 1993, p.3; and J. Nef ‘Demilitarization and Democratic Transition in Latin America’, in Halebsky & Harris (1995), p.104.

¹¹ See E. Galeano, *Patas Arriba: La escuela del mundo al revés*, 4th edition, Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1998.

Colombia and elsewhere, as well as the efforts at institutional reform to achieve peace that is relevant to the wider Latin American experience and to an understanding of crisis and breakdown in the developing world more generally.

Contemporary Latin America can be said to be ripe with paradoxes that present challenges for prevailing notions in the “good governance” paradigm that democratic participation and human capability will generate socially desirable outcomes. This is all the more the case when one considers that on the one hand, the region is, after East Asia, the largest per capita recipient of foreign direct investment. Moreover, Latin America consistently ranks highest among developing regions in indicators of civil and political liberties, democratization and political participation and press freedom.¹² The Human Development Index for Latin America is surpassed only by developed countries and is quite similar to that of the more developed regions of East Asia and Eastern Europe.¹³ On the other hand, economic growth and investment rates in the 1990s have failed to revive in most countries, and are in fact, significantly lower than in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, the region is experiencing alarming increases in the absolute and relative levels of informal employment in the context of the most unequal distribution of income of any region in the developing world. Of most concern is the dramatic increase in crime and violence that has occurred in the 1990s (See Box 3).

In many ways, it can be said that since the beginnings of the revolutions for independence in the early nineteenth century, much of Latin America has in fact experienced cycles of political instability and violent conflicts. The Andean region in particular is a case in point, and the recent histories of Peru and Colombia indicate that the region continues to produce “societies of fear”. As in many developing regions, the processes of violence there have been closely related to the political contestation over control of the national state apparatus, valuable mining resources and fertile land. Given the abundance of natural resources in the region, such conflict and violence has had substantial economic benefits for those groups appropriating power. More generally, the intersection of politics and economics has frequently constituted flashpoints for the flaring of conflict.

But at the same time, Colombia and the Latin American region as a whole have experienced a significant transformation in recent decades. Political and economic reforms linked to processes of globalisation have had a profound impact. This programme of work will seek to assess the extent to which these institutional changes have favoured the emergence of stable and peaceful liberal democracies, or conversely, as political scientist, Oswaldo de Rivero has argued, the proliferation of “ungovernable and chaotic entities”.¹⁴ Certainly, in recent years, nation-states such as Colombia, Peru, and El Salvador have come alarmingly close to the brink of disintegration, while others, such as Nicaragua and Haiti, for example, have imploded under the strains of extreme and endemic poverty and economic stagnation, as frequently already weak state institutions no longer provide any consistent structure of “order” through which to contain and regulate conflicts and violence. Civil society in these

¹² See IADB (2000).

¹³ IADB (2000), p.6.

¹⁴ See O. de Rivero, *El Mito del Desarrollo: Los países inviables en el Siglo XXI*, Lima: Mosca Azul, 1998. See also X. Gorostiaga, ‘América Latina: La visión de los científicos sociales’, *Nueva Sociedad*, 139 (Sept-Oct 1995), pp.106-109; and I. Ramonet, *Géopolitique du Chaos*, Paris: Galilée, 1997, for similar perspectives.

countries has shattered, and society has fragmented due to the lack of cohesive collective reference points and effective mechanisms of social structuration.¹⁵

Understanding these trends and the reasons for them constitute critical issues for development which this programme hopes to inform.

Research Objectives

The programme is centrally concerned with problems of institutional change and reform and governance in the face of persistent violent conflict, the political economy of coca production and its linkages with violent conflict, and the examination of the changing nature and forms of violence in society.

The comparative work proposed in the Andean region (by the IEPRI Comparative Politics Research Group and by Jean-Paul Faguet and Jonathan DiJohn), as well as the inter-regional comparative work within Colombia itself (especially in projects by Fabio Sanchez, and the collaborative work on decentralisation by Jean-Paul Faguet and researchers at Los Andes and Rosario) will make direct contributions to answering one of the Crisis States Programme's central questions, "why some political systems and communities... have broken down even to the point of violent conflict while others have not".

These projects will also contribute to an assessment of "how constellations of power at local, national and global levels drive processes of institutional change, collapse and reconstruction". In relation to the global level, the work proposed by Luis Fajardo on the Alliance for Progress and the Plan Colombia will both offer an historical analysis of the way international constellations of power have affected institutional change and contribute to an assessment of

Box 4. Research Activities.

These are laid out in detail in the relevant Working Paper. The following projects will begin in year one and some will carry on into year two of the programme.

(1) *The Effects of Drug Prohibition on Socio-Economic Conflict in Colombia*

Roberto Steiner and Carlos Medina (CEDE, Los Andes)

(2) *Violence, Armed Conflict and Illegal Crops (Coca and Poppy) in Colombia*

Fabio Sanchez (CEDE, Los Andes)

(3) *Political Representation in Colombia: Clientelist Networks in the Congress of the 1990s*

Andrés Dávila (Los Andes) and Francisco Gutiérrez (IEPRI)

(4) *From the Alliance for Progress to the Plan Colombia: A Retrospective Look at US aid and the Colombian Conflict* Luis Fajardo (Rosario)

(5) *Building Peace Locally: Business-Led Peace Initiatives in Colombia* Angelika Rettberg (Rosario)

(6) *Democratic Sustainability in the Andean Region* IEPRI Comparative Politics Research Group

(7) *Identity, Gangs, and Conflict: Youth Violence in Bogota* Barranquilla and Nieva

Carlos Mario Perea, (IEPRI)

(8) *Violence, Crime, and Society in Latin America: Youth Gangsterism in Nicaragua and Colombia Compared* Dennis Rodgers DESTIN, LSE

(9) *Local Institutions, Decentralisation and Conflict* Jean-Paul Faguet CEP, LSE

(10) *Politics, Institutions and Civil Violence in the Andean Countries* Jonathan DiJohn, Jean-Paul Faguet, DESTIN & CEP, LSE

¹⁵ See C. Cariola (ed), *Sobrevivir en la Pobreza: El fin de una ilusión*, Caracas: Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo (CENDES)/Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1992; *Nueva Sociedad* Special Issue on 'El Futuro del Desarrollo' (1995); J. Petras & M. Morley, *Latin America in the Time of Cholera*, New York: Routledge, 1992; and D. Rodgers, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Violence, Pandillas, and Social Disintegration in Contemporary Urban Nicaragua*, PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999.

“the effects of international interventions promoting democratic reform [and] human rights”. Roberto Steiner and Carlos Medina’s work on the effects of drug prohibition will also shed light from a very different perspective on how international institutions affect patterns of violent conflict locally and offer an empirical investigation into the possible impact of institutional reform in the drugs sector.

A number of the projects will address the changing nature of governance institutions within Colombia and in the region more widely and contribute to an understanding of how institutional reforms designed to further democracy or market competition have, or might affect, “the ‘conflict management capacity’ and distribution and production systems” of Colombia and neighbouring countries. Of particular importance here is the work proposed by Jean-Paul Faguet, which eventually will be carried out in collaboration with researchers at both Rosario and Los Andes. This will undertake an intra-regional (in Colombia) and an inter-regional (in the Andean countries) approach to the study of decentralisation programmes. This work will combine both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods and start at the local level to assess whether or not, or the conditions under which, decentralisation programmes have contributed to achieving better governance or greater peace and stability.

From another vantage point the projects proposed in the first instance in Colombia by Andrés Dávila and Francisco Gutiérrez, and by the IEPRI Comparative Politics Group in the Andean region to be followed up later in a comparative study by Jean Paul Faguet and Jonathan DiJohn, will examine the changing nature of politics historically and in the present and the impact these changes have had on distribution systems and patterns of conflict. At the local level, work proposed by Angelika Rettberg on business-led peace initiatives will consider what kinds of institutional incentives or barriers exist to achieve positive outcomes.

The work of Dennis Rodgers and Carlos Mario Perea Restrepo on violence in Colombian and Nicaraguan cities will address two of the Crisis States Programme’s central objectives contributing to an understanding of “how communities have responded to crisis, and the incentives and moral frameworks that have led either toward violent or non-violent outcomes” and to an exploration of the “kinds of formal and informal institutional arrangements poor communities have constructed to deal with economic survival and local order”. This work will form an important part of the Crisis States Programme’s engagement with the exploration of the nature of violence and criminality in the developing world.

Individual Research Projects in the Crisis States Programme

In this section we present a summary of some of the individual research projects already planned in the Crisis States Programme. In addition to exploring avenues for further collaboration we plan to attract more individual projects to the Centre over time.

Work from the Global to the National Level

The first of three planned projects that begin at that global level is that of Hugh Roberts already launched during the inception phase of the programme. Roberts’ project involves a comparative study of the impact of global political and economic processes on the fabric of national politics, through comparative work in Algeria and Egypt. Roberts’ work is being undertaken in conversation with that part of the collaborative research in South Africa and South Asia, which is engaging in similar investigation into the impact of globalisation on

fragile states. Research planned more squarely at the international level, the work of Robert Wade and of Jenny Kuper, is scheduled to begin in the later phase of the Programme and plans laid out here will be modified to take into account findings in the national level and local level work undertaken during the first two years.

Globalisation, Political Change and Political Violence in Algeria and Egypt (Inception Phase and Year 1)

Hugh Roberts, Senior Research Fellow, DESTIN

This project will investigate the relationship between globalisation, political change and political violence in North Africa by comparing the Algerian and Egyptian experiences of economic liberalisation and political change over the last twelve years. Having much in common in the cultural sphere, these two countries pursued very similar paths of political development until the onset of the latest phase of globalisation with the end of the Cold War. Since then, Algeria, which had followed the Egyptian model very closely until 1989, began sharply to diverge from it in embarking on a seemingly radical experiment in political liberalisation. This eventually collapsed and for the last nine years Algeria has been ravaged by violence of a scale and intensity that vastly exceeds the violence which has occurred in Egypt. What explains the political breakdown in Algeria and how are we to characterise the violence which has resulted? And what explains Egypt's success in avoiding a comparable breakdown while facing similar challenges? In seeking to answer these questions, this research will take the Algerian polity and the Egyptian polity as its objects of study, and will explore the hypotheses that the way in which Algeria has diverged from the Egyptian model is an essential element of the explanation of political breakdown there, and that this divergence is at least in part explained by the differential impact of globalisation on the two polities. The research will further consider the content and dynamics of political change overall in the two countries and will explore the hypothesis that this change, far from amounting to a transition from authoritarianism to democracy, has in reality constituted a mutation of the polity in both countries which has primarily modified the modalities of political representation in a manner which has fallen a very long way short of a genuine reform. It is in this context that the research will also seek to identify and explain the rationale of the political resort to violence in the two countries; it will be a major objective of this research to investigate the relationship between the particular character of these mutations and the varying extent to which political conflict has subsequently come to be articulated in the register of violence and to precipitate political disorder instead of stimulating political development.

International Law in Situations of Crisis and Breakdown (Years 3 and 4)

Jenny Kuper, Research Fellow at DESTIN and in LSE Law Department

The summary of the Purposes of the CSP refers to a number of issues (such as examining 'the effects of international interventions promoting democratic reform, human rights and market competition on the "conflict management capacity" . . . of existing polities') that find expression in international law. A useful approach to the role and function of law in these contexts would be to move from a critical examination of the general (global- international law) to the specific (domestic – implementation of international law at national level), with accompanying analyses and possibly recommendations. As a starting point, therefore, the research will articulate the main (and to some extent overlapping) precepts of international law that may be relevant to the prevention of situations of breakdown, and then those that constitute a response to such situations. The next section of the research would take, by way of example of the role of law in situations of breakdown, a specific area of international law.

The area selected would be international law regarding children, since this area of international law brilliantly encapsulates recent developments in international law, and some of its potential and pitfalls. In addition, children can be seen as one of the primary resources of any community, crucial for social stability, post-conflict reconstruction, etc. The final section of this research would then examine the situation of children, and developments in child-related law and policy, in two countries (Uganda and Colombia) - both interesting as regards the nexus between children and law - to try document and explain the impact (or lack of impact) of this body of law.

What determines the global development agenda?

(Year 3)

Robert Wade, Professor of Political Economy and Development, DESTIN

The work of the Crisis States Programme at the global level needs to be concerned with (a) structural changes in the world economy, including in trade and finance, (b) constellations of power at the global level, (c) changes in the policy agendas for economic development being projected by the multilateral organisations, including agendas for political, administrative and legal reform—the criteria of relevance in all three subjects being impacts on institutional change, collapse and reconstruction in late developing countries.

This provides scope for work on the causes of changes that are affecting the parameters of national development. This research will look at what has driven the process of financial liberalisation and the extent to which this has amplified the wider sorts of crisis and breakdown that are the focus of the CSP's work. Why have many developing countries undertaken radical financial opening and liberalization during this time, the number accelerating in the 1990s? How influential have the US Treasury, the IMF and the World Bank been, and why has this agenda come to be one of their top priorities? Where, in other words, do they get the agenda from?

It can be argued that developing countries face, as one of the basic constraints on their development, a situation of world industrial overcapacity—of excess supply relative to demand. World demand is constrained by relatively slow growth in Europe and Japan. Their slow growth is in turn a function of the failure of the governments of the major industrial countries to coordinate their macroeconomic policies around an expansionary agenda. If the US economy slows and Europe and Japan do not grow faster to compensate, the pressure on the middle-income exporting countries will intensify. Polish, Hungarian, Brazilian exports will be squeezed more intensively by East Asian exports. This could set the conditions for another round of “emerging market” economic and financial crises. This scenario then raises a set of questions at the “core economy” end, such as: why do the G7 not coordinate around a more expansionary macroeconomic agenda? This scenario takes for granted a feature of today's development model that should not be taken for granted. The model assumes that growth will be export-led. The restructuring of developing countries to fit an export-led growth model is—it can be argued—an underlying condition for the crises and breakdowns that are the subject of this proposal. If so, we need to explore ways to develop domestic-demand-driven growth, on the assumption that such growth is likely to be more stable, less prone to crisis and breakdown. And one aspect of this exploration is the changes in the international financial system that are needed to facilitate it.

This work will entail a review of the literature that seeks to relate the big vectors of global change to the stability and capacity of states. The empirical work will entail research on (a) the policy views about financial liberalization and capital market opening held by the

dominant states, by associations of states and multilateral organizations; (b) the policy views on the same subjects held by the major private financial firms; and (c) the policy making process, through which (b) affects (a). The particular point of interest is how the views of (a) and (b) have changed over the 1990s in reaction to the wave of emerging market financial crises and how the views have shifted with new leaders.

Work From the National to the local

Two individual projects are planned that start at the national level and involve comparative work on problems central to the CSP's programme. David Keen will engage in a project over the five years of the CSP that will address a number of the key questions raised by the programme as a whole. He will touch upon the impact of international sanctions on 'rogue' regimes and will also address the central question raised by Heald and Allen at the local level, 'How do some courses of action come to seem - and how are they made by powerful people to seem - 'rational'?' At the heart of this work will be an examination of "the 'shared goals' of those involved in violent confrontations" and an examination of whether identifying these can help in the peace process. Keen's project, like the second one proposed here by James Putzel, will also ask, 'To what extent has the introduction of competitive politics under pressure from external intervention expanded or reduced processes of breakdown and violent conflict?' Putzel proposes work that will attempt to identify the conditions under which programmes of decentralisation, can contribute to consolidating peace and promoting better governance. The Keen and Putzel projects will engage actively with the work of Hugh Roberts and particularly with work being proposed in the South Asian and Latin American collaborative programmes. Putzel's work will also dovetail with the more locally based work by Simon Batterbury that is already underway.

Collusion and Exclusion in War and Peace (Years 1 to 5)

David Keen, DESTIN

Peace is usually seen as the antithesis of war. Part of the aim of this research project is to enquire: what do war and peace have in common? And more particularly: what are the systems of collusion and exclusion that evolve in peacetime, how are these modified or transformed or preserved in wartime, and, finally, how are they transformed or preserved or institutionalised when 'peace' is restored? Thus, the research will centre on the study of transitions: the transition from peace to war and the transition from war to peace. In relation to war, a recurrent danger is that violence is over-explained: its portrayal as functional and rational runs the risk that it appears natural, excusable and, perhaps most worryingly, inevitable. Even if one accepts that rational interests explain a great deal of violence, the 'political economy of war' literature sometimes tells us rather little about how violence came to be rational (or at least came to be seen as rational), when it was not before; or how violence might cease to be rational (or cease to be seen as rational). The emphasis on transitions is intended, in part, to address this shortcoming. It is intended that the research will contribute to an answer to two related questions: What kinds of institutions give rise to what kinds of wars? And what kinds of wars give rise to what kinds of institutions? This should contribute to thinking and practice on conflict-prevention, and, more specifically, on how to move towards a peace that does not provide a fertile ground for future violence. Much contemporary analysis of conflicts has focussed either on breakdown (state breakdown,

chaos, ethnic conflict) or on ‘warlordism’ and rebel ‘greed’.¹⁶ Part of the purpose of the research proposed here is to bring the state back into the picture. What role has the state played (for example, through the use of ethnic militias) in sponsoring its own ‘collapse’, a collapse that is never more than partial? How have autocratic states benefited economically from conflict? And how have autocratic states, whether postcolonial or post-Communist, manipulated conflict as they try to survive in the face of a global market-place and pressures for democratisation? What role have sanctions played in these endeavours? What is the role of conflict in providing legitimacy for undemocratic government and for various forms of corruption and officially-sanctioned crime that may flourish during conflict?

Some things seem almost self-evidently useful in the business of conflict resolution and conflict prevention. These things include justice; an end to corruption; reconstruction and development; and democracy. Some have also advocated economic liberalisation as a contributor to peace. One might add peace itself as something that is apparently in the general interest.

Yet a major aim in the project – reflecting the wider aims of the CSP - is to explore who has an interest in opposing, sabotaging or manipulating apparently benevolent reforms, notably the peace process itself, and how might their interests and tactics be taken into account in advance. Groups that have been able to use violence to secure control of production, trade and emergency aid in wartime may be able to carve out for themselves a degree of control over production, trade and development or reconstruction aid after a peace settlement. Civilians may be excluded and exploited both in wartime and in a peace process. To what extent does a peace agreement represent a pact between armed factions to the exclusion of most elements of civil society? Warring parties may limit violence during war, and threaten violence during ‘peace’. What forms of corruption and violence are being institutionalised in a peace process? And how can one move from autocracy to democracy – in the context of a peace process - without promoting a reaction that deepens human suffering?

Decentralisation and Violent Conflict: the Philippines in Comparative Perspective **(Years 3 and 4)**

James Putzel, CSP Director

This project will examine the impact of decentralisation and devolution programmes, assessing the conditions under which these quintessential institutional reforms have affected, in different ways, patterns of violent conflict and governance performance. The initial work will begin in the Philippines with the possibility of broadening it out to either or both Indonesia and Mexico, though the latter will depend on seeking further funding and collaboration. The proposed research will centre on the CSP’s question, “To what extent have decentralisation measures precipitated breakdown, offered the means to respond constructively to crisis, or made no meaningful impact and what are the conditions that lead to these alternative outcomes?”

The Philippines, despite its many years of “democratic” competitive politics has been marked by violence in everyday life and violence in everyday politics – hallmarks of a ‘weak state’. The central government is particularly inept at securing the fiscal resources to effectively finance public action. It has a singularly ineffective record in promoting growth and development, reducing poverty or ensuring security. For many years, in the face of the

¹⁶ For example, Paul Collier (‘Rebellion as a quasi criminal activity’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44:6 (2000), pp.839-854; ‘Doing well out of war: an economic perspective’, in Mats Berdal & David M. Malone, *Greed and Grievance: Economic agendas in civil wars*, Boulder & London: Lynn Rienner, 2000, pp.91-112).

repeated re-emergence of communist armed activity in the Philippine countryside, the US Agency for International Development advocated decentralisation as a principal means to secure “peace and order” throughout the country – by bringing government closer to the people. Under the Aquino administration two major initiatives in decentralisation were launched. The government created two Autonomous Regions providing a degree of devolution of political authority to the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera in the north and to the Muslim regions of Mindanao in the south. The other initiative was the passage in 1991 of the Local Government Reform Code - a fully fledged programme of decentralisation involving: increased taxation powers to local communities, decentralisation of the budget of major line agencies and the establishment of municipal development councils at the local level.

After briefly examining the dynamics of the devolution initiatives, research will concentrate on the second of these programmes. It will first undertake an analysis of the interests behind the adoption of the decentralisation policy, with particular attention to the role of the international community and to the military. It will then undertake a review of accomplishments among the seventy-five provinces in relation to taxation, agricultural spending, the incidence of armed encounters with government forces and the incidence of violent crime. This will serve as the basis to conduct qualitative research in a selection of provinces to probe more deeply the conditions under which decentralisation has contributed or failed to contribute to securing peace and better governance.

Work from the Local to the National and Global

The two projects presented here that begin at the local level in Central and East Africa will be in direct conversation with work in all three collaborative programmes, but especially the work based in South Africa. Simon Batterbury’s work on the local impact of decentralisation in Burkina Faso ought to shed light on why, in contrast say to a country like Niger, which has a history of “fragility” similar to Burkina, relative stability has been maintained. He will place particular emphasis on how existing local institutional mechanisms that manage conflict come under pressure or are adapted to reforms launched by the central state. Here he will build on his past work on conflict and cooperation in the management of natural resources and on environmental sustainability to shed light on the extent to which new institutional arrangements need to build on locally generated traditions of conflict management. Suzette Heald takes up work on the impact of demobilisation of armed forces in Tanzania and Kenya that will be in direct conversation with work in South Africa. Her work will be central to answering the CSP’s question, ‘How do people cope with the direct legacy of war and its impact on livelihood possibilities through the persistence of violence and banditry often perpetrated by former combatants even beyond the geographical limits of war zones?’

Conflicts over governance: decentralisation in West Africa **(Inception Phase and Year 1)**

Simon Batterbury, DESTIN

Since the early 1980s, decentralization has emerged as a widespread government policy in most developing countries. Present governments in Africa are reluctant to decentralize all their basic responsibilities, because of their desire to ensure full central government control of the workings of the polity. Political elites are, therefore, rarely supportive of ‘demand driven’ decentralization requested by popular pressure or local social movements. In some cases, caving in to demands for local, cultural or ethnic authority could threaten the very existence of the state itself. Instead, following ‘good governance’ prescriptions, governments may opt

for a 'fictive decentralization' which strengthens or reproduces top-down administration in rural areas. Decentralization under these conditions is a problematic, politically charged, and controversial process that is bringing about many instances of conflict, corruption, and in some cases, disorder where existing power structures are challenged and replaced. The most interesting and pressing questions regarding such political reforms in West Africa are around the adverse impacts of 'supply driven' decentralization driven by the central state. The actual effect of decentralization on rural people in terms of where they pay their taxes, what benefits may be received locally for improving infrastructure or services, how accountable local leaders become, and so-on is a matter for empirical investigation and cannot be pre-judged.

This programme of work at the local level in Burkina Faso will ask a set of questions central to the overall work of the CSP. What conflict resolution mechanisms already exist in the Sahelian societies under study and are they recognised and understood by the state and other external actors? Who presently sets the rules for resource management, why, when and how at local and district levels? Traditional institutions, development projects, and a range of associations and local structures have great importance for everyday rural livelihoods and poverty outcomes in rural areas. Since rural society is often highly differentiated in terms of wealth, power, and ethnicity, how has formal decentralization of administrative, fiscal, and political structures impacted upon a local level matrix of conflict and cooperation? Has socio-political conflict been generated by or been diminished by the imposition of formal, decentralized governance upon particular places and environments? In particular the research will develop, by means of comparative study, an understanding of present decentralisation programmes and their role in stabilising or destabilising 'actually existing governance'. Do powerful interests benefit from the exacerbation of conflict and exploitative political, economic and social institutions, and how do they use decentralisation politics to maintain their interests? How is effective local governance made difficult by environmental conditions and by resource pressures? In particular, what occurs where there are boundary and rights problems - disputes over land, territory, jurisdictions, trees, forests, water sources, or other natural resources? Are there alternatives to 'imposed' decentralisation, where this process is driven by real demand from below for new mechanisms of local control, and local leaders are downwardly accountable to the local population as a whole? Can more equitable and environmentally sound practices be attributed to more downwardly accountable forms of local control over environmental decisions?

In the Wake of War: Creating local level accountability in East Africa

(Year 1)

Suzette Heald, Brunel University

The main thrust of this research is to examine processes in local communities that occur during and after war. Based in East Africa, it is particularly concerned with the processes of demobilisation of armies and their untoward effects on the rural communities to which soldiers return. In so doing, though comparative work, its aim is to develop knowledge of the East African cultural repertoire which is drawn upon and elaborated to define and meet perceived challenges, emanating from both inside and outside. The empirical focus of the research is on the workings of the moral imagination at community level and the ways this operates to define responses to crisis, in some cases giving rise to new and unpredictable forms of social movement, such as vigilante organisations, witch-finding cults and new churches. Research will consider their long term potentialities for transformation and their ability to forge new moral orders once the immediate crisis is perceived as over and their varying linkages to the apparatus of the state. Initial studies in Tanzania and Kenya in the first phase of the CSP will be followed up later by work by Tim Allen in Uganda.

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- WP10 Jo Beall, 'The People Behind the Walls: Insecurity, identity and gated communities in Johannesburg' (February 2002) – *Also available in Spanish*
- WP11 Jo Beall, Owen Crankshaw & Susan Parnell, 'Social Differentiation and Urban Governance in Greater Soweto: A case study of post-Apartheid reconstruction' (February 2002) – *Also available in Spanish*
- WP12 E. A. Brett, 'Liberal Theory, Uneven Development and Institutional Reform: Responding to the crisis in weak states' (July 2002)
- WP13 John Harriss, 'The States, Tradition and Conflict in North Eastern States of India' (August 2002)
- WP14 David Keen, 'Since I am a Dog, Beware my Fangs: Beyond a 'rational violence' framework in the Sierra Leonean war' (August 2002)
- WP15 Joseph Hanlon, 'Are Donors to Mozambique Promoting Corruption?' (August 2002)
- WP16 Suzette Heald, 'Domesticating Leviathan: Sungusungu groups in Tanzania' (September 2002)
- WP17 Hugh Roberts, 'Moral Economy or Moral Polity? The political anthropology of Algerian riots' (October 2002)
- WP18 James Putzel, 'Politics, the State and the Impulse for Social Protection: The implications of Karl Polanyi's ideas for understanding development and crisis' (October 2002)
- WP19 Hugh Roberts, 'From Segmentarity to Opacity: on Gellner and Bourdieu, or why Algerian politics have eluded theoretical analysis and vice versa' (December 2002) – *Also available in French*
- WP20 Jonathan DiJohn, 'Mineral-Resource Abundance and Violent Political Conflict: A critical assessment of the rentier state model' (December 2002)
- WP21 Victoria Brittain, 'Women in War and Crisis Zones: One key to Africa's wars of under-development' (December 2002)
- WP22 Apurba Baruah, 'Tribal Traditions and Crises of Governance in North East India, with special reference to Meghalaya' (March 2003)
- WP23 Giovanni M. Carbone, 'Emerging Pluralist Politics in Mozambique: the Frelimo-Renamo Party System' (March 2003)
- WP24 Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, 'Fragmentación electoral y política tradicional en Colombia – piezas para un rompecabezas en muchas dimensiones' (March 2003) – *English version forthcoming*
- WP25 Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, 'Los tiempos de las involuciones democráticas' (March 2003) – *English version forthcoming*
- WP26 Manoj Srivastava, 'The Dynamics of achieving 'Power' and 'Reform' as a Positive-Sum Game: A report on the preliminary ethnographic explorations of the politics-governance nexus in Madhya Pradesh, India' (March 2003)
- WP27 Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, 'Criminal Rebels? A discussion of war and criminality from the Colombian experience' (April 2003)
- WP28 Luis Eduardo Fajardo, 'From the Alliance for Progress to the Plan Colombia: A retrospective look at US aid to Colombia' (April 2003)
- WP29 Jean-Paul Faguet, 'Decentralisation and local government in Bolivia' (May 2003) – *Also available in Spanish*
- WP30 Maria Emma Wills & Maria Teresa Pinto, 'Peru's failed search for political stability (June 2003)
- WP31 Robert Hunter Wade, 'What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organisation and the shrinking of 'development space' (June 2003)
- WP32 Carlos Medina & Hermes Martínez, 'Violence and drug prohibition in Colombia' (August 2003)

The aim of the Crisis States Programme (CSP) at DESTIN's Development Research Centre is to provide new understanding of the causes of crisis and breakdown in the developing world and the processes of avoiding or overcoming them. We want to know why some political systems and communities, in what can be called the "fragile states" found in many of the poor and middle income countries, have broken down even to the point of violent conflict while others have not. Our work asks whether processes of globalisation have precipitated or helped to avoid crisis and social breakdown.

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Research Objectives

- We will assess how constellations of power at local, national and global levels drive processes of institutional change, collapse and reconstruction and in doing so will challenge simplistic paradigms about the beneficial effects of economic and political liberalisation.
- We will examine the effects of international interventions promoting democratic reform, human rights and market competition on the 'conflict management capacity' and production and distributional systems of existing polities.
- We will analyse how communities have responded to crisis, and the incentives and moral frameworks that have led either toward violent or non-violent outcomes.
- We will examine what kinds of formal and informal institutional arrangements poor communities have constructed to deal with economic survival and local order.



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