

Does International Aid Contribute to Peacebuilding? Development Cooperation in Post-conflict countries

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“Human Development is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means—if a very important one—of enlarging people’s choices” (Sen, 2000).

Amartya Sen defines development as “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy” (Sen, 2000).¹ Focusing on human freedom, Sen’s definition contrasts with views that identify development with the growth of GNP (Gross National Product), a rise in personal incomes, industrialization, technological advance, or with social modernization. Amartya Sen links the lack of freedom closely with the lack of public facilities and social care, such as the absence of epidemiological programs, or organized arrangements for health care or educational facilities, or effective institutions for the maintenance of local peace and order. Successful development programmes are those that contribute to lasting peace and improved well-being amongst people, especially in post-conflict environments. Based on the proactive participation of local stakeholders, such programmes aim to address the root causes of conflict, neither necessarily following donor strategies nor aiming for quick impacts.

Through an analysis of the major trends in international donor aid in the last two decades, this paper explores the role of development cooperation activities in peacebuilding in post-conflict countries. The paper highlights the critical importance of developing and implementing international aid programmes that are comprehensive and involve a range of measures aimed to address the causes of conflict, strengthen local capacities in conflict management, and reduce the risk, amongst target communities, of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, thus laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development.

1. Exploring the concept of Aid

Before proceeding further, it would be useful to understand what international aid is, who the providers and recipients of aid are, what considerations and tools shape the design, implementation and evaluation of international aid programmes, the mechanisms and processes of international aid and the trends in this sector for the past two decades.

The commonly accepted definition of “Aid” or “Assistance” is the transfer of funds to poorer countries/individuals. Aid also covers other types of fund transfers, like the administrative overheads of development agencies and their efforts to advocate in favour of more assistance and on effectively targeting assistance. The Organisation of Economic Cooperation Development (OECD) and its Development Assistance Committee (DAC) define official development assistance (ODA) as the “concessional funding provided by its members to support the welfare and economic development of an agreed list of developing countries.” While the terms “aid” and “assistance” are often used interchangeably, aid is the wider range of development assistance of which ODA is one part. ODA is unique in its focus on poverty. In the aid framework, tax payer money in rich countries is used for development assistance, either on-lend or as grant money to poor country governments or non-government agencies who in turn implement programmes designed to advance development and reduce poverty. Depending on the economic situation of the country, donor countries - those within the “Paris Club”—can agree to cancel parts of the outstanding debt accumulated from continued public development credits.

To qualify as development assistance, as per the criteria of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of OECD countries, the grant element in development credits must be more than 80%. Any credit with a grant element of less than 100% is usually considered as one that needs to be finally paid back. Despite considerable grant elements included in development credits, specifically in credits to very poor countries, many recipients of aid have repeatedly gone into debt serving difficulties and even debt crises. Debt-forgiveness or some non-concessional flows (like development bank financing) are also treated as “aid” even though these loans are never expected to be repaid.

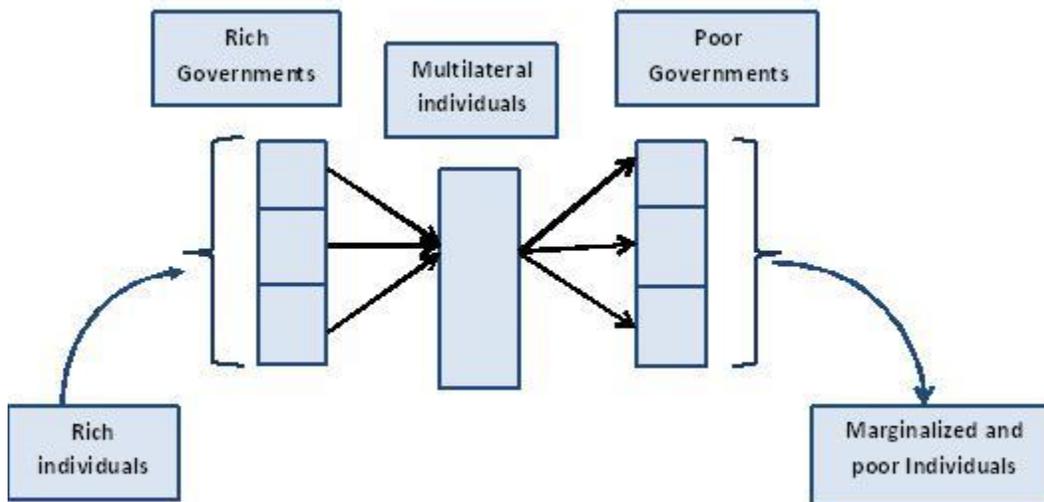
2. International Aid Architecture until 1990s

In post-World War II, there was great support for helping Europe get back on its feet. Then, the assistance was limited to a single major donor, the US, providing

funds to a small number of European countries whose economies had been destroyed by war. By the 1960s, there were many potential donors. The International Development Association (IDA) was established in order to provide a framework for burden-sharing and to be an interlocutor amongst rich and poor countries. Donors provided funds to IDA which in turn vetted and funded development projects in developing countries. This basic system worked well in the early nineties. Several regional multilateral agencies and the United Nations system also helped expand the reach and scope of this multilateral network. Multilateral agencies operated to strengthen the fund transfer from donor to recipient governments and the design and implementation of good programmes and projects in the recipient countries,

Figure 1: Aid Architecture in the 1960s (Kharas, pg.4)

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This aid architecture is now under strain due to an explosion, on the supply side, of bilateral and multilateral agencies and private donors and, on the demand side, of a large number of NGOs. Official aid channels increasingly face criticism for favouring political ends rather than development concerns in the allocation of funds across countries and for failing to deliver results in many cases. With each additional player, the aid architecture becomes more complex. Often, the government, in both rich and poor countries, is seen as a source of problems rather than a contributor to the solution of problems of poverty (D. Dollar and L. Pritchett¹⁹⁹⁸). Citizens and other private donors are considered to be more targeted and selective about programmes they are willing to support. Over the past few decades, private donors have

increasingly looked to channel their funds through private organisations rather than governments and feel that NGOs have a positive impact on reducing poverty (Homi Kharas, p.5). Other important players that have entered the sector of international aid are the non-DAC bilateral donors, like China, Turkey, Brazil, South Korea, which have a regional focus and pay attention to specific sectors. In response to these changes and trends, the aid architecture too has changed over the past decades. There have been calls for a new ODA definition that reflects the changing landscape of aid and the emergence of new providers, including 'emerging donors' (such as China and Saudi Arabia), private organisations, philanthropic foundations and non-governmental organisations.

The aid architecture is now growing more complex. There are now more bilateral donors (37 reporting to DAC and several others that do not) and more recipient countries (151 countries). There are now more multilateral agencies than donors or recipients (IDA, 2007) There are an increasing number of international NGOs receiving money from bilaterals and thousands of private sector groups engaged in aid, both as donors and implementers of non-government programmes. Accurate data on the growing contributions from the diverse range of philanthropic foundations, including increasingly in emerging economies, is not readily available. Efforts by a small but growing number of venture philanthropists – or impact investors – are promising (OECD, 2014) but they require careful scrutiny to assess the sustainability of their initiatives and potential for scaling-up. South-South cooperation (SSC) continues to rise in scale and importance, coupled with growing South-South trade, investment and regional integration. SSC is foreseen to continue its growth, as a proportion of international development cooperation, given the plans by large developing economies to increase SSC considerably over the next five years (OECD, Section IV)

3. Facts, Figures and Trends in International Aid

Three distinct phases of aid growth can be identified since the 1970s: (i) first phase of growth in aid through 1970s and 80s, peaking in 1991, largely dominated by bilateral aid; (ii) a period of "aid fatigue" wherein by 1997, aid had fallen by 22% - this phase was accompanied by increasing poverty, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and a growing number of failed states; (iii) a period of growth in aid, by nearly 50% (Kharas, pg.7), between 2002 and 2010, particularly in the Millennium Development Goals and especially for Africa. Global ODA grew from around US\$40 billion in the 1960s to US\$128 billion in 2012. However, the net Country Programmable Aid (CPA - calculated by subtracting aid agency costs, technical cooperation, debt-relief), is

much lower than total net ODA (Official Development Assistance). In 2005, the share of CPA in total aid had fallen from the 1975 figure of 59% to 37% (Kharas, pg.8).

The target of spending 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) on ODA was first adopted in 1970, and reconfirmed many times since, including in 2005 by the 15 EU member states. In 2012, five donors met this target- Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom-but as a whole DAC donors achieved only 0.29% of GNI. Nearly two-thirds of ODA comes from five G8 countries that are consistently the largest donors by volume:the US, the UK, Germany, France and Japan.Multilateral aid has expanded in the past two decades. As per the UN Secretary General Report of 2014, after two years of falling volumes, the ODA rebounded in 2013 and reached its highest-ever level, with US\$134.8 billion in net disbursements (OECD, 2014). This marks a 6.1% increase in net ODA in real terms compared to 2012, with most increases coming from multilateral and humanitarian aid and increased debt relief. With this, Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors provided 0.30% of their combined gross national income (GNI) as ODA, still far from the United Nations target of 0.7%. Seventeen amongst the 28 DAC members, (including aid flows from the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Iceland) increased ODA, while 11 reported a decrease. The 2014 DAC forward-spending survey indicated that country programmable aid (CPA) rose by 10.2% in real terms in 2013 and is projected to increase slightly by 2.4% in real terms in 2014 and remain stable beyond 2014. (OECD, 2017)

Not all groups of developing countries have benefitted from ODA increases equally. Net bilateral ODA to Least Developed Countries (LDCs) rose by 12.3% in real terms in 2013 to about USD 30bn, although mainly due to exceptional debt relief to Myanmar. ODA to the African continent decreased by 5.6% in 2013, despite being considered an international priority for ODA allocation. In 2012, ODA to LDCs remained far below the United Nations target of 0.15% - 0.20%, at 0.09% of DAC GNI, met by only 8 countries (Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom).The share of ODA flows to LDCs has been decreasing in recent years, while allocations increased to upper middle-income countries. Similarly, commitments on overall aid for trade increased by 20% in 2012. Yet, the LDC share of total aid for trade fell by two per cent in 2012 (OECD, 2014, pg. 20). Given their poor MDG record and the fact that ODA still represents over 70% of total LDC external finance, (OECD, 2014), the prospect of decreases in flows of ODA to LDCs, especially in Africa, is worrisome (OECD, 2014)

Does International Aid Contribute to Peacebuilding?

In 2011, the share of aid delivered by multilateral organisations reached almost USD 55 billion, equivalent to 40% of gross official development assistance (ODA) from OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) member countries (OECD Policy Brief 2013). There has been a steady increase in non-core funding, from 8% of total ODA in 2007 to 12% in 2010; for example, to the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), to emergency and relief-specific programmes of the World Food Programme (WFP), to the World Health Organization's (WHO) Polio Eradication Fund, and to the World Bank's Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (OECD Policy Brief 2013). In 2012, European Union disbursed Euros 13.8bn to external aid worldwide, representing 9% of its budget (DG EUROPAID, 2013)

According to OECD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), development aid rose by 6.1% in real terms in 2013 to reach the highest level ever recorded, despite continued pressure on budgets in OECD countries since the global economic crisis. Donors provided a total of USD 134.8 billion in net official development assistance (ODA), marking a rebound after two years of falling volumes, as a number of governments stepped up their spending on foreign aid. Aid to developing countries grew steadily from 1997 to a first peak in 2010. It fell in 2011 and 2012 as many governments took austerity measures and trimmed aid budgets. The rebound in aid budgets in 2013 meant that even excluding the five countries that joined the DAC in 2013 (Czech Republic, Iceland, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia).

Aid to the African continent fell by 5.6% to USD 28.9 billion. Bilateral net ODA to the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) rose by 12.3% in real terms to about USD 30 billion. However, there was exceptional debt relief for Myanmar in 2013. The largest donors by volume were the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan and France. Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden continued to exceed the 0.7% ODA/GNI target and the UK met it for the first time. The Netherlands fell below 0.7% for the first time since 1974. Net ODA rose in 17 countries, with the largest increases recorded in Iceland, Italy, Japan, Norway and the UK. It fell in 11 countries, with the biggest decreases in Canada, France and Portugal. The G7 countries provided 70% of total net DAC ODA in 2013, and the DAC-EU countries 52%. The US remained the largest donor by volume with net ODA flows of USD 31.5 billion, an increase of 1.3% in real terms from 2012. US ODA as a share of GNI was 0.19%. Most of the increase was due to humanitarian aid and support for fighting HIV/AIDS. By contrast US net bilateral aid to LDCs fell by 11.7% in real terms to USD 8.4 billion due in particular to reduced disbursements to Afghanistan. Net

ODA disbursements to sub-Saharan Africa fell by 2.9% to USD 8.7 billion. ODA from the 19 EU countries that are DAC members was USD 70.7 billion, a rise of 5.2% in real terms from 2012, and 0.42% of their combined GNI.

Another trend in aid is the emergence of new “vertical” funds such as Global Environment Facility, Montreal Protocol, etc. Non-DAC multilateral donors, foundations, NGOs, religious organisations and other private donors do not report on their activities. Unlike traditional donors, the non-DAC bilaterals give little in terms of emergency relief, debt relief or technical cooperation but give aid substantially in the form of projects and programmes.

4. Aid to conflict affected regions

Violent conflict has been recognised as one of the most significant threats to development, poverty alleviation and global security in the last two decades. A civil conflict costs the average developing country roughly 30 years of GDP growth; and countries in protracted crisis can fall over 20 percentage points behind in overcoming poverty. People in fragile and conflict-affected states are more than twice as likely to be undernourished as those in other developing countries, more than three times as likely to be unable to send their children to school, twice as likely to see their children die before age five, and more than twice as likely to lack cleanwater (WDR, 2011, pg.5). One in four people on the planet, i.e. more than 1.5 billion, live in fragile and conflict-affected states or in countries with very high levels of criminal violence. (WDR, 2011, pg.2). Approx. 50% of post-conflict countries have been observed as returning to a state of war within five years of signing a peace or cease-fire agreement (WDR, 2011, foreword). 90% of the last decade’s civil wars occurred in countries that had already had a civil war in the earlier 30 years. (WDR, 2011, pg.2)

In fact, aid commitments to the governance and security sectors received the greatest share of bilateral funding in 2011 with 13% of the total, followed by health and infrastructure with 12% each. (WDR, 2011, pg.2). Amongst recipient countries/regions, Sub-Saharan Africa receives the greatest proportion of ODA (35% in 2011), followed by South Asia (17%). Afghanistan was the largest individual recipient of net ODA in 2011 with disbursements of US\$6.5 billion - 6.9% of the total. (ODA, 2014)

The WDR (World Development Report) of 2011 emphasizes that the risk of conflict and violence in any society (national or regional) is the combination of the exposure to internal and external stresses and the strength of the “immune system,” or the social capability for coping with stress embodied in legitimate institutions. Both state

and non-state institutions are important. Institutions include social norms and behaviours—such as the ability of leaders to transcend sectarian and political differences and develop bargains, and of civil society to advocate for greater national and political cohesion—as well as rules, laws, and organizations. Where states, markets, and social institutions fail to provide basic security, justice, and economic opportunities for citizens, conflict can escalate. To break cycles of insecurity and reduce the risk of their recurrence, confidence needs to be restored amongst citizens and legitimate institutions need to be built for providing sustained level of citizen security, justice, and jobs—offering a stake in society to groups that may otherwise receive more respect and recognition from engaging in armed violence than in lawful activities, and punishing infractions capably and fairly.

Table 1: Security, Economic and Political Stresses

Stresses	Internal	External
Security	Legacies of violence and trauma	Invasion, occupation External support for rebels Cross-border conflict spill overs Transnational terrorism International criminal networks
Economic	Low income levels, low opportunity cost of rebellion Youth unemployment Natural resource wealth Severe corruption Rapid urbanization	Price shocks Climate change
Justice	Ethnic, religious, or regional Competition Real or perceived discrimination Human rights abuses	Perceived global inequity and injustice in the treatment of ethnic or religious groups

5. Development Cooperation and Peacebuilding

According to the United Nations, human development is much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. Their assistance activities aim to largely benefit marginalised and vulnerable groups (for e.g., the extreme poor, refugees, IDPs, women, youth, minorities, disabled) to better access basic services, access and own livelihood resources, to exercise basic rights, to bring across their voices to inform policy decisions, etc. By strengthening the livelihoods, food security, coping mechanisms and general well-being of the vulnerable and affected populations as well as contribute to greater equality, equity and justice among peoples, aid efforts help affected communities recover from conflicts and emergencies. Responding to these situations occupies a central place on the international agenda (Carnegie 1997).

Peace-building, as defined by the United Nations in 2007, involves “a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Shedding its early definition as “post-conflict reconstruction,” the term “peacebuilding” has broadened its scope in the 1990s to encompass overlapping agendas for peace and development that support conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction. To some extent all of the political, state-building, re-construction, and development work can be considered as peacebuilding work. Activities that more directly seek to promote peace have been defined from a theoretical perspective as political, structural, or social. Political peacebuilding is concerned with high-level political or diplomatic arrangements, usually to bring conflict to an end or to prevent an impending conflict. Structural peacebuilding focuses on creating structures, institutions, and systems that support a peace culture, and often involves promotion of more equitable and participatory systems of governance. Social peacebuilding seeks to influence attitudes, behaviours, and values by creating a social infrastructure or fabric which promotes peace. In practice, however, different forms of peacebuilding are often connected and overlapping in form and effect, and all seek to strengthen the prospects for peace, and decrease the likelihood of violence. (Waldman, 2008, pg17)

Peacebuilding strategies need to, therefore, be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and comprise carefully prioritised, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives. In order to contribute to peace in post-conflict countries, development cooperation actions thus need to address the causes and symptoms of conflicts and contribute to strengthening long-term peacebuilding. (Rossier, 2011,

Does International Aid Contribute to Peacebuilding?

p.20) “Although there is no single template for peacebuilding, or even a consensus operational definition, there is a clear shared goal: to reduce the risk of lapse or relapse into conflict.”(OCHA, 2007, pg.3) As recently recognised by the United Nations, High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, peace and security cannot be considered in isolation from development and human rights, especially in a world where the number of states suffering from civil war has increased manifold from approx. 15 instances in the 1960s to 30 instances in the past decade. (UN Report, 2004)

Recent experiences in war-torn societies have also taught that well-intended activities might have unintended outcomes and that development cooperation or humanitarian aid, risks non-neutrality in conflict situations, potentially entrenching unjust power structures and prolonging situations of conflict. The influx of resources can induce dramatic changes in the political and economic situation on the ground and cause turmoil in local markets. Equally dangerous are implicit messages conveyed by development or relief agencies and inappropriate or ill-reflected behaviour of the project staff which, often unintentionally, can fuel conflicts. (Schmelzle, 2005)

Anderson (1997), Smillie (1998), analyse that the nature of development cooperation programmes and projects, and their implementation, has exacerbated conflict dynamics as much as enhanced opportunities for sustainable development and peace. Efforts at assessing the impact of such projects through ‘lessons learned’ and developing ‘best practices’ have taken the form of individual programmes or project evaluations undertaken by the donors and, more rarely, through multi-donor evaluations of a broad range of responses to single situations or crises (Borton et al. 1996; Lautze, Jones & Duffield 1998).

Finding effective ways to help societies escape new outbursts or repeated cycles of violence is critical for global security and global development—but doing so. Since the end of the Cold War, peace and development have been seen as closely linked together. The United Nations and other international actors have attempted to address the twin imperatives of security and development through integrated policies and programmes.

The international community largely responds to conflict situations through support to short-term humanitarian assistance, long-term development aid, good governance, conflict resolution programmes, deployment of peace-keeping forces, etc. In addition to looking at the different levels, there is an awareness that if a peace agreement is to be lasting and effective, all parts of a community need to be involved including

government, NGO/professional, business, private citizen, research/education, activism, religion, funding, and communications/media. In fact, over the last five years, a significant and increasing amount of bilateral and multilateral funding in support of development aid has been channelled through non-governmental organisations (NGOs), especially for organisations with conflict resolution and peacebuilding mandates (Hoffman, 2003). The role of development aid (bilateral, multilateral) is becoming increasingly important for alleviating economic disparity, reducing social exclusion, improving health and access to basic services, creating enabling environments for justice, and promoting sustainable development.

In line with international initiatives to use development assistance for conflict prevention, the World Bank in 2001 broadened its approach from one of focusing on rebuilding infrastructure to one that “seeks to understand the root causes of conflict” (World Bank, 2004, pg. 8) This is evident even in the recommendations of the World Development Report 2011, on Conflict, Security and Development, that include: (i) institutional legitimacy as key to stability so that public confidence in basic collective action is restored; (ii) investing in citizen’s security, justice, and jobs, especially for women, as essential to reducing violence; (iii) work at all levels of development; (iv) awareness of the changing global landscape and need for more attention to south-south and south-north exchanges.

In the context of these developments and lessons learned from past interventions, development and humanitarian agencies are increasingly adopting a ‘do no harm’ approach to aid (Anderson 1997). Relief and development organisations working in areas affected by conflicts raise awareness of conflict-sensitive planning and seek to mainstream peacebuilding in their work. Also a number of donor countries (notably Sweden, Canada, Norway and the UK) and NGOs (CARE, Oxfam, Save the Children Fund) have started following a more holistic approach to funding cooperation activities in conflict countries, usually oriented towards mainstreaming peacebuilding within the more traditional mandates of humanitarian assistance, poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Whereas some humanitarian and relief agencies are interested in avoiding unintended negative impacts, others have engaged intensively in reflecting the impact of their strategies, desiring to contribute actively to peace processes and overcome the structures of violence. State and non-state actors have started to dialogue on how to combine strategies, methods and instruments of conflict resolution and transformation with traditional approaches and working programmes.

6. Post-2015 Development Agenda

Promoting peace and justice is one of 17 Global Goals that make up the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aims to significantly reduce all forms of violence, and work with governments and communities to find lasting solutions to conflict and insecurity. Strengthening the rule of law and promoting human rights is key to this process, as is reducing the flow of illicit arms and strengthening the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance. An integrated approach is crucial for progress across the multiple goals. (UN ECOSOC, 2013)

A report published by the UN Secretary General, in 2014, (UNECOSOC Report, 2013) shares reflections on the need for a new narrative of development cooperation that fits the transformation envisaged in the emerging post-2015 development agenda. As reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), peace, stability, human rights and effective governance based on the rule of law are important conduits for sustainable development. The world is increasingly divided, where some regions enjoy sustained levels of peace, security and prosperity while others fall into seemingly endless cycles of conflict and violence. High levels of armed violence and insecurity have a destructive impact on a country's development, affecting economic growth and often resulting in long standing grievances among communities that can last for generations. Sexual violence, crime, exploitation and torture are also prevalent where there is conflict or no rule of law, and countries must take measures to protect those who are most at risk.

All developing countries will need continued support to pursue sustainable development, but the kind of support needed will change over time. A different mix of financial support, capacity building, knowledge sharing and technology transfer will be required. An enabling macroeconomic environment and international financial cooperation and greater policy coherence between aid and non-aid policies (trade, debt, agricultural subsidies, financial and tax regulations, technology, etc.) are critical for all countries; yet these elements will carry particular weight in the growing number of less aid dependent countries. (UN ECOSOC Report, 2013, pg. 7)

Leveraging and blending public and private financing should be guided by development effectiveness principles, prevent drawbacks such as the lack of clarity on additionality and purpose; limited influence of donors and recipients on investment design and implementation; diminished transparency and accountability; risk of misalignment of private sector and country priorities; danger of increased debt

burden; inattention to small- and medium-enterprises; and the opportunity cost incurred when use of public money to mobilize private resources does not have the same or a larger development impact than if it had been devoted directly to a developmental purpose; and the risks of misappropriation.(UN ECOSOC Report, 2013, pg. 11)

The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA), of September 2008, hinges on three main themes: (i) Ownership - Countries determine their own development strategies by playing a more active role in designing development policies, and take a stronger leadership role in co-ordinating aid. Donors more consequently use existing fiduciary and procurement systems to deliver aid; (ii) Inclusive partnerships – wherein all partners (DAC donors, developing countries, new donors, foundations and civil society) participate fully; (iii) Delivering results that will have real and measurable impact on development

The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) calls on donors to respect local priorities while encouraging developing countries to consult fully with their parliaments and civil society. Capacity development – to build the ability of countries to manage their own futures – with an emphasis on ensuring that countries set their own priorities for where they need to build their capacity. The AAA recognises the value of co-operation that reaches beyond traditional aid arrangements, such as among developing and middle income countries. It stresses the fundamental, independent role of civil society in engaging citizens. It emphasises the need to follow accepted principles of good international engagement in fragile states, especially in post-conflict countries. It stresses the value of sound, country-based action plans that are appropriately and regularly monitored. In doing all this, the AAA redefines the relationship between donors, developing countries and their citizens. (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008)

As elaborated in the World Development Report, 2011, there are five key lessons that all international aid programmes must remember and enact if they want to be successful in building peace in post-conflict countries:

- (i) support bottom-up state-society relations in insecure areas, for ex. community-based programmes for violence prevention, employment, service delivery, access to local dispute resolution mechanisms;
- (ii) support institutional transformation in the areas of security and justice. Early reform programmes could focus on simple basic functions (such as arrest procedures, basic investigation), focus on civilian oversight, vetting and budget

Does International Aid Contribute to Peacebuilding?

and expenditure transparency, link the pace of reform between the police and civilian justice system;

- (iii) create employment through community-based public works in violence-affected communities, simplifying and addressing infrastructure bottlenecks, access to finance
- (iv) involve women in security, justice and economic empowerment programmes, like the formation of women police, business training, knowledge and skills development
- (v) focus on anti-corruption initiatives that demonstrate good governance- transparency, accountability of public expenditures, community-civil society monitoring

The role of the international community in peacebuilding is increasingly becoming that of supporting the restoration or renewal of a social contract, and the return to stability through support to national capacities in 5 key areas: (i) safety and security; (ii) political processes; (iii) basic services; (iv) core government functions; and (v) economic revitalization. (OCHA, 2011, pg.3)

A key challenge for policy makers is to reconcile the demands of different groups of countries, arising from a more ambitious post-2015 development agenda. Today, the majority of people whose income or consumption is below the poverty lines of \$1.25 and \$2 are located in the heterogeneous group of middle-income and post-conflict poor countries. Even in 2030, MICs will perhaps account for between a third and a half of global poverty (estimated against the two respective income poverty lines), if inequality trends continue on their current trajectory (Sumner, 2012, pg. 40). However, at the same time, a core group of 30 or so low-income countries, many emerging from conflict, remain very vulnerable. Adopting a targeted approach to assist those living in extreme poverty and integrating those who were part of the existing or past conflict, will be critical to peacebuilding in post-conflict countries. By unifying poverty eradication and sustainable development and evaluating international aid programmes through the lens of effective peacebuilding, the post-2015 international development agenda can potentially contribute greatly to peace and security in the world, especially in post-conflict countries.

Endnoets

1. Sen Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Anchor Books, New York, USA, 2000; introduction
2. The Paris Club is an informal group of official creditors whose role is to find coordinated and sustainable solutions to the payment difficulties experienced by debtor countries. Paris Club creditors provide debt treatments to debtor countries in the form of rescheduling, which is debt relief by postponement or, in the case of concessional rescheduling, reduction in debt service obligations during a defined period (flow treatment) or as of a set date (stock treatment). The origin of the Paris Club dates back to 1956 when Argentina agreed to meet its public creditors in Paris. Since then, the Paris Club has reached 430 agreements with 90 different debtor countries. Since 1956, the debt treated in the framework of Paris Club agreements amounts to \$ 583 billion.
3. ODA is strictly defined by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as concessional funding provided by its members to support the welfare and economic development of an agreed list of developing countries.
4. ODA is unique in its focus on poverty. Aid is the wider range of development assistance of which ODA is one part. The target of spending 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) on ODA was first adopted in 1970, and reconfirmed many times since, including in 2005 by the 15 EU member states. In 2012 five donors met this target, but as a whole DAC donors achieved only 0.29% of GNI. Global ODA has grown from around US\$40 billion in the 1960s to US\$128 billion in 2012. Nearly two-thirds of ODA comes from five G8 countries that are consistently the largest donors by volume: the US, the UK, Germany, France and Japan. While ODA is only a small part of the overall picture, it remains the largest international resource flow for 43 countries with over 250 million people living on less than \$1.25 a day.
5. *Aid to developing countries rebounds in 2013 to reach an all-time high*, a news article published on OECD official website, <http://www.oecd.org/newsroom/aid-to-developing-countries-rebounds-in-2013-to-reach-an-all-time-high.htm>
6. This follows recent literature on state-building, notably North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009; Dobbins and others 2007; this learning is also reflected in recent policy documents of OECD.
7. Institutions are defined in the World Development Report as formal and informal "rules of the game," that include formal rules, written laws, organizations, informal norms of behavior, and shared beliefs—as well as the organizational forms that exist to implement and enforce these norms (both state and non-state organizations). Institutions shape the interests, incentives, and behaviors that can facilitate violence. Unlike elite pacts, institutions are impersonal—they continue to function irrespective of the presence of particular leaders, and therefore provide greater guarantees of sustained resilience to violence. Institutions operate at all levels of society—local, national, regional, and global.
8. See <http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=page.viewpage&pageid=1765>

Does International Aid Contribute to Peacebuilding?

9. Rossier observes that humanitarian action can contribute to the international peace and security agenda when its goals carry a political dimension and address its causes and symptoms.
- 10.
11. UN Secretary General's 2014 report on "*Trends and Progress in International Development Cooperation*", provides a brief overview of the preparatory process and how the process has underscored the need for a new narrative of development cooperation that fits the transformation envisaged in the emerging post-2015 development agenda. It reviews recent trends in international development cooperation, focusing on progress in and allocation of Official Development Assistance (ODA), plus trends in other sources of development cooperation – public and private, international and domestic resources – that will be needed to support implementation of an ambitious post-2015 development agenda. It also examines principles of quality and effectiveness of development cooperation. The report reviews South-South cooperation, in terms of principles, approaches and features, recent trends and challenges, explores features of a renewed global partnership for development and addresses how to strengthen mutual accountability and availability of user-friendly information, looking ahead to a global monitoring and accountability framework for development cooperation post-2015.
12. The AAA (Accra Agenda for Action) primarily calls for: (i) Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) - to play a dynamic role in making citizens' concerns and needs heard and help ensure that donors and developing countries fulfil their commitment; (ii) Donors - to improve their co-ordination and avoid duplicated efforts – thereby lowering costs and work together to balance their programmes so that all countries receive enough aid; (iii) Donors - to increase the value for money of aid by continuing to untie it – giving recipients the option of choosing where and from whom they will contract goods and services – and promote the use of local and regional procurement; (iv) Accountability - Developing countries should help parliaments keep track of their aid programmes by encouraging greater transparency in public financial management and Donors should disclose regular, detailed information on how much they invest, when they invest it, and where – and whenever available, the results of their investments; (v) Conditionality - Recipient countries are able to determine the conditions attached to the way aid funds are spent. Donors and developing countries must work from a small set of mutually agreed conditions, and make all these conditions public; (vi) Predictability - Developing countries should strengthen their capacities in budget planning. Donors should provide developing countries with regular information on how much aid they can expect, and when they can expect to receive it.

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