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POVERTY AND CONFLICT:

AN ENTITLEMENT PERSPECTIVE

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Executive Summary

Current policy thinking tends to be underpinned by the assumption that poverty and social exclusion cause conflict. Poverty eradication is then justified as a form of conflict prevention. The relationship, however, is more complex and hence needs refinement. Conflict is as much a consequence of development as it is a constraint on development. If the EU intents to develop a credible policy for timely intervention during the stage of unstable peace, it should explicitly address the confrontational nature of the development process. Rather than sticking to 'root causes', policy makers should look into the motives for group mobilisation. State failure over time to address group demands and to distribute available resources equitably between groups is an important indication of potentially escalating conflict, in particular in situations where horizontal group inequality is already high. In the light of the terrorist attacks on September 11 in the USA, we even have to be aware of the far-reaching consequences of these tensions. Terrorists act frequently on the basis of popular perceptions, mingle with specific groups and draw on their grievances. The grievances, interests and strategies of different stakeholders therefore need to be mapped out carefully. An analytical framework that is based on entitlement relations can capture the political significance of changes in inequality. In chapter 2 of this paper we will set out the innovative insights that an entitlement perspective on poverty and conflict can offer.

The European Commission's objective of structural stability offers an important starting point for the implementation of a structural, long-term conflict prevention policy. In fact, it is the dynamic linkage of such issues as rights, law, governance and capacity building in a long-term framework for security and sustainable peace alongside and linked to sustainable development, that gives the concept of structural stability its potency. A viable policy, however, needs effective translation of policies and objectives into practice. This can only be done when interventions are grounded in a thorough understanding of the situation and dynamics on the ground. Current EU instruments – both conceptual and practical – are not well equipped to fit contexts of unstable peace. Traditional assumptions about the state and its role in development, and conventional models for development and economic activity, for example, all require serious reconsideration in the light of insecurity and instability. Chapter 3 of this briefing paper offers an outline for an entitlement-based conflict assessment tool that can capture the differentiation of groups' positions within society and their relations with government. It furthermore offers starting points for a conflict impact assessment of external interventions.

Hence, structural conflict prevention policy requires an understanding of the functions of conflict and needs to set aside de-politicised and technical approaches to poverty reduction that are based on working within, and reproducing, existing structures of (state) power.

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Strengthening people's entitlement positions directly impacts upon their access to resources. Increasing the bargaining strength of vulnerable groups and improving the (formal and informal) redistribution role of the state therefore are important areas of intervention that cut across different problem areas. In chapter 4 of this briefing paper 28 concrete measures are identified that have the potential to directly affect entitlement positions and thereby might contribute to the timely prevention of violent conflict.

Introduction

Poverty reduction is a key policy target for many (donor) governments. Yet, evidence shows that the material well being of a vast majority of the population in developing countries has not improved substantially. In many instances, growth has been accompanied by growing inequality, exclusion and marginalisation of large parts of the population. Many of these countries have, moreover, witnessed a substantial number of violent conflicts. Current policy thinking now tends to be underpinned by the assumption that 'poverty' and 'social exclusion' cause conflict. Poverty eradication is then justified as a form of conflict prevention. The relationship, however, is more complex and hence needs refinement. Conflict is as much a consequence of development as it is a constraint on development. Early intervention under conditions of conflict escalation therefore is not as straightforward as it may appear to be, and effective structural conflict prevention requires a thorough understanding of the potential impact of these interventions.

I. Research Objectives and Structure of the Report

This briefing paper will focus on the inherent tensions of the development process. It is argued that a more thorough understanding and focus on this issue could inform policy making in the still-ill defined field of structural, or long-term, conflict prevention. In this regard, there is much scope for a better understanding of what can be achieved by sensible economic policy and political and social activities. A good understanding of the causes of poverty and conflict is imperative for knowing what feasible opportunities exist.

For this purpose, chapter 2 will focus on the various ways in which poverty is related to conflict in current thinking. The underlying dynamics of this process are found in specific *patterns* of inequality, deprivation and marginalisation, and the nature of relations within groups and between groups and the state. Formal and informal institutions play an important mediating role in this process. The chapter therefore enables an insight into four key problem areas that directly relate to situations of (potential) poverty-related conflict. Chapter 3 highlights the value added of the entitlement approach in the light of contemporary practices in poverty and conflict assessments. It furthermore will offer practical clues for monitoring and assessment in actual country-settings and, hence, presents the outline of an entitlement-based conflict assessment tool. In chapter 4 concrete measures are presented to address the challenges of preventing poverty-related conflict via political dialogue and development assistance. Lastly, chapter 5 will provide a conclusion and general recommendations.

The Causes and Dynamics of Poverty-related Conflict: Entitlement Analysis

Poverty and conflict are commonly understood to be closely related. Both recall images of destitution, destruction and human suffering. Violent conflicts have led to high numbers of deaths and displaced people, material destruction and even state collapse. In this way, years of development efforts and investments are destroyed. Poverty, however, is also thought of as being a cause of fight. When grievances are not met, it is argued, poor people will riot, question government altogether and join rebel groups. Economic decline and extreme poverty may then reinforce tendencies to resort to violent means. At the root of conflict, however, lies a complex of factors: the imbalance of political, socio-economic and cultural opportunities among different identity groups; the lack of democratic legitimacy and effective governance; the absence of a vibrant civil society; and the absence of effective mechanisms for non-violent conflict management of group interests. This complexity is commonly recognised by the major EU conflict and development co-operation policies.[1] Yet, how to move from these general, abstract statements toward viable, timely and context-specific preventive measures is less understood. At the basis of policy design must lie an appropriate conflict assessment of the interacting factors and actors. In this chapter we will therefore look in greater detail to the ways in which current thinking relates poverty to conflict, and to the underlying conditions and dynamics that make a potentially dangerous mix of situations of inequality, deprivation and marginalisation.

I. The Poverty-Development-Conflict Nexus

It used to be common knowledge that development automatically enhances peace and stability. Reality, however, has demonstrated that this is not the case. The events in many countries have shown that economic development is no guarantee for peace and security, and that fostering socio-economic development means fostering change and challenges to the status quo, i.e. social and political tensions in the societies concerned. In fact, political and economic development is a permanent process of moderating conflicts and of managing contradictions in society at large. Hence, intense political conflict and, for that matter, grievances, are not in themselves dangerous. Research on the poverty-development-conflict nexus has proven unable to provide any conclusive answers on the relationship between

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[1] Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament (26 April 2000), "The European Community's Development Policy"; Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament (23 April 2001), "Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development – An Assessment"; Speech by Mr. Poul Nielson at the Foreign Policy Centre, London (8 February 2001), "Building Credibility: The Role of European Development Policy in Preventing Conflicts" (Speech/01/58).

poverty and conflict, and the relation is often understood to be indirect at best.[2] Case studies provide a diverse picture of factors that explain why groups resort to violence. This often is a gradual process of escalating and de-escalating activities. State failure, ineffective and illegitimate governance, imbalance of power and opportunities, the theft of national wealth by a small, self-declared elite, the repression of opposition, rights and freedoms all figure prominently in this setting.

1. The Life Cycle of Conflict: Unstable Peace

Conflict thus is embedded in society. Legitimate differences and clashes between needs, interests, perceptions and activities of actors are part of social life. For this reason conflict cannot be separated from wider and ongoing political and social processes. As long as these tensions are managed in a non-violent manner, they frequently induce change for the better. Conflict emerges from multiple causes and runs through various stages of escalation and de-escalation: from stable peace and unstable peace/latent conflict to high tension and open conflict. There exists, however, no linear development along these stages. Post-conflict settings, for example, may be equally unstable with a high potential for a renewed resort to violence. On the basis of such a process approach to conflict, the intensity and nature of conflict can be monitored over time and negative trends identified. In the light of our concern with conflict prevention, we focus on avoiding *violent* escalation of conflict and increasing the capacity for peaceful conflict mediation. An early identification of a negative trend and appropriate action could avoid increasingly hostile, polarising group identities and positions.

2. Poverty-related Conflict

A more in-depth study in *poverty-related* conflicts appears hampered by 'superficial' assumptions about poverty that focus on the appearances of poverty, rather than its causes. Moreover, violent conflict is often treated as an exogenous factor, one that impacts strongly on poverty but that is not part of the problem of poverty. Hence, when we talk about 'poverty-related conflict' in this paper, we aim for a qualification and differentiation of the concepts. Poverty is as much a cause of conflict as it is a consequence of conflict, in terms of socio-economic and material costs, the damages inflicted on livelihoods, and the fracture of social structures, of formal and informal institutions. The causes and consequences of conflict, moreover, are not shared society-wide. Conflict has winners and losers, and for some armed groups with vested interests warfare becomes a livelihood. There also is an uneven geographical and social impact of conflict. Conflicts themselves transform political,

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[2] See S. Verstegen (draft March 2001), "Understanding and Preventing Poverty-related Conflict"; J. Goodhand (second draft May 2001), "Violent Conflict, Poverty and Chronic Poverty".

economic and social realities and the factors that sustain present conflicts thus are not necessarily those which originally caused them. Before introducing an alternative perspective for approaching the dynamics underlying poverty and conflict, we will shortly focus on the various dimensions of poverty and their relevance for understanding poverty-related conflict.

II. Understanding Poverty: Absolute and Relative Deprivation

Poverty cannot be understood as a phenomenon of an absolute nature, in which the poor figure as the needy, the destitute, and passive victims that should be helped. A focus on the material dimensions of poverty fails to take into account the prevailing social and cultural characteristics of local society that accompany certain material levels of development. Informal redistribution, such as through patron-client relations or social networks and extended families, diversified livelihoods and coping strategies have hitherto created relatively stable social environments. Poverty assessments as currently applied do not capture all dimensions of poverty, nor do they reflect the ways in which poverty is experienced on the ground. This implies that these assessments are an insufficient basis for policy planning.[3]

1. Inequality Perspectives on Poverty: the Political Dimension of Poverty

There are varying kinds of inequality that should be taken into account. Not just asset and income or stock and flow inequality matter, but also gender inequality, asymmetry in constitutional inclusion between ethnic, religious or language groups, regional inequalities, class inequalities, the forms in which power relations are institutionalised, and so on. An alternative perspective therefore is to view poverty as social injustice, a consequence of socio-economic exploitation and exclusion and the end result of deliberate actions or a lack of distributive mechanisms of central authority. Exclusion and downward mobility are here seen as the processes of relative and absolute impoverishment, which is in many cases the reverse image of the enrichment of another group. Poverty, then, is the result of unequal patterns of distribution of power. It is, moreover, a question of perceptions and *relative* deprivation. Socially determined power as well as state power need close scrutiny in this regard.

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[3] See for example L. Hanmer, G. Pyatt, H. White (1999), "What do the World Bank's Poverty Assessments teach us about Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa?".

2. Entitlement Perspectives on Poverty

The significance of inequality thus lies beyond merely its presence or its degree of intensity. When the concept of poverty is assessed in the light of politics and power relations, the inherent dynamic and multidimensional nature of poverty and feelings of wellbeing comes to the fore. In particular the economic aspects (income, consumption capabilities) are particularly dynamic. This has consequences for the identification of the poor: they are not a static group of people, and persistent poverty is not as much linked to lack of assets, but mainly to innate disadvantages, deep-rooted characteristics that cannot be easily changed in the short or medium term. It also affects the view on how poverty is experienced and therefore requires an increased understanding in groups' vulnerabilities and coping strategies. This more encompassing picture of how the poor cope with a variety of risks and shocks in meeting their basic needs is reflected in contemporary (sustainable) livelihood approaches.[4] Access to resources then is not only based on one's productive activities and endowments, but also on one's legal, political and social position within society. This brings together relevant concepts to allow poverty to be understood more holistically. Consequently, different types of poverty demand different types of antipoverty responses. And antipoverty responses have a differential impact on the 'poor'.

Important and path-breaking insights in this light have come from the seminal work of Amartya Sen and what has commonly become known as an 'entitlement perspective'. As a reaction to the then-prominent view on famine as a natural disaster, a production failure and a depoliticised event, Sen focused on famine and starvation due to a breakdown in food entitlement and distribution. This account of famine outlines two crucial points: in any population it is only certain vulnerable groups that are affected by starvation, and secondly, famines are man-made events. Rather than focusing on broad categories and statistics of quantities of food per capita, the entitlement perspective argues that attention needs to shift to the specific position of particular groups in society and their claim-making capacities toward government or the legal system. Groups' access to resources thus is based on many factors that go beyond economic ones. The vulnerabilities of groups may differ accordingly.

In short, entitlement analysis argues that there are many ways of gaining access to and control over resources, such as the market and kin networks. There are, furthermore, many ways of legitimating such access and control not only through the formal legal system, but also through customary law, social conventions and norms. The nature and 'rules' of each political and economic system produces a set of entitlement relations, governing who can

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[4] Farrington et. al. (1999: 1) define livelihood as comprising "the capabilities, assets (including both material and social sources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base."

have what in that system. The nature of the entitlement of a person would thus depend on the legal, political, economic and social conditions in society and the person's position in it. Entitlement therefore is a matter of both rights *and* power, and is concerned with the actual process of how people gain access to resources. Resources, however, are limited and the distribution of these resources can be understood as the outcome of a process of negotiation and/or contestation between social actors with different priorities and interests.

3. 'Entitlements' and the Dynamics of Poverty-related Conflict

Although the entitlement perspective pays due attention to the complexity of the political, social, economic and cultural dimensions, we focus on principally political expressions of poverty-related violence i.e. situations in which conflict and violence takes on forms that become a threat to peaceful dealing with state business and governance. The crucial task then is to capture the *political* significance of changes in inequality and in the social relations behind inequality.

Entitlement analysis has particular value for understanding these dynamics behind poverty-related conflict as it focuses on the politics of resource access and control among diverse social actors. In terms of the entitlement concept, this implies that the perspective focuses on situations in which entitlement claims, perceptions and priorities of various groups are contradictory, i.e. on situations in which the command that people have over resources and services that they value fails (see annex I for a more substantial outline of entitlement analysis as a conceptual approach). The aim is to identify the conditions under which this failure is approached by violent means. In short, the challenge lies in, firstly the identification of problem areas and, secondly, the identification of patterns of escalation.

III. Identification of Problem Areas: Access to Resources

Many studies in the causes of conflict argue that societies vulnerable to violent conflict are frequently characterised by a serious imbalance of opportunities among its main identity groups[5] in areas such as employment, education and basic physical security. Others are at least marginalised by not enjoying the same rights as ordinary citizens and being condemned not to voice their grievances publicly. This imbalance of opportunities may become institutionalised even under formally democratic procedures. Lack of access to government services may also be a deliberate policy to perpetuate this imbalance. Certain groups may be

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[5] The term 'identity group' is applied to stress the changing nature of the key characteristic of identification with particular groups. Application of more explicit and static concepts such as ethnic group or religious group has the disadvantage of strong implicit suggestions toward the cause and nature of the conflict. A predominant view in contemporary conflict analysis is that group identity is constructed by political leaders, who find group cohesion and mobilisation a powerful mechanism in their competition for power and resources.

routinely kept outside the formal economy, social services and the political process. Most systems of exclusion are meant to maintain the uneven distribution of power, income and wealth. Clientelist and particularistic practices then lead to a highly skewed access and distribution of resources.

If this, indeed, reflects the common pattern that indicates a society's vulnerability to violent conflict, it would be crucial to understand the different roles that resources can play in conflicts and different ways in which access to resources is restricted. The CPN Practical Guide[6] identifies four important problem areas that, in line with the above mentioned entitlement perspective, offer an insight in dimensions that hinder a group's access to resources.

– Socio-economic Inequalities (Problem Area 1)

  People live at very different standards of living, especially regarding basic needs such as food, housing, jobs, health services and education. Some identity groups may be routinely denied access to goods and services, while others enjoy them or are perceived as privileged. Specific shortages and sudden declines of opportunities affect these parts of the population differently.

— Exclusive Government Elite (Problem Area 2)

  Government can be exclusive for the members of a specific identity group. Representatives of other major identity groups are not included in key decision-making positions. Also government and civil service jobs can be reserved for the members of restricted groups. In case of denial of more inclusive government, only radical solutions of overthrowing the regime remain.

— Violation of Group Rights (Problem Area 3)

  Specific groups can be denied the right to voice their grievances, through the denial of their civil and political liberties such as the right to vote and to assemble peacefully. Awareness of restricted group rights might gain momentum.

— Lack of Economic Interests in Peace (Problem Area 16)

  In cases of lacking conditions for development in the formal economy and the lack of legal protection for property, the position of local private entrepreneurs weakens considerably. When no positive changes are expected from the public sphere and in the absence of sufficient licit alternatives, a number of illegal economic activities can become more

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[6] The CPN Practical Guide aims to assist European Commission desk officers and delegation staff with (i) the identification of key trouble spots in a given situation and (ii) the consequent definition, design and implementation of measures to address these trouble spots in a pro-active and targeted manner, with an adequate combination of all available instruments.

interesting for the state and non-state actors. In particular, this may apply to newcomers in the labour force who are not able to find jobs in the formal economy.

IV. Patterns of Escalation: Horizontal (Group) Inequality and State Legitimacy Deficit

In practice we find little evidence of situations where socio-economic inequalities or cultural distinctions alone bring about violent conflict. Nor do exclusive government and a lack of civil and political rights provide sufficient ground for resistance. We therefore have to look into patterns of escalation.

A key pattern of escalation is reflected in the process of group identification and mobilisation. Real or perceived economic *and* political differentiation among groups is of fundamental importance to group mobilisation for civil war. Since access to political power might be quickly translated into influence over the distribution of resources, one of the most intense areas of rivalry and competition is over control of political power, embodied by the state. Scarce resources, in this respect, contribute to social insecurity in ways that reinforce vertical solidarity on the basis of e.g. region, clan and ethnicity. This is captured in the concept of *horizontal inequality*: situations in which groups are excluded from parallel political, economic and/or social dimensions.[7]

A second key pattern that crosses the four problem areas is the level of *legitimacy* of state institutions and their role in brokering processes of change. Patronage and clientelistic practices may fulfil an important redistribution role in this regard. Yet, when the resulting pattern of economic differentiation is seen as a conscious effect of discriminatory actions by the government and lead to feelings of relative deprivation, political entrepreneurs can galvanise these grievances in political action and violence. Thus, where legitimacy is in question, or the state does not provide an adequate legal and security infrastructure, competition can degenerate into social exclusion, the evolution of new political economies based on the criminalisation of economic activity, increased recourse to radical ethnic and religious communalism as a basis for social and political mobilisation, political violence and ultimately internal conflict.

V. Conclusion and Implications

In this chapter we have concluded that inequality may be associated with social conflict and with violence but not necessarily with civil war. In other words, the social and political consequences of sharp economic inequality are likely to vary across countries. Why

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[7] The concept 'horizontal inequality' is taken from the work of F. Stewart.

inequality appears to be (at least indirectly) linked to war in some countries and why it appears to be associated more with pervasive (non-political) violence in others needs further exploration in a conflict-specific setting. A more comprehensive approach such as entitlement analysis allows for greater explanatory depth. At the same time however, this requires a concession in the predictive power and generalisation across contexts. Entitlement analysis would argue that the main pattern of escalation is grouped around two phenomena: persistent and widening horizontal inequality and decreasing state legitimacy. The process of group mobilisation deserves due attention and can be explored in greater detail through 'entitlement lenses'.

Entitlement analysis is a way of getting insight into disputes. It focuses on the process of, and motives for group identification rather than *a priori* assuming this to be based on ethnicity, religion, or regional identity. By including entitlement analysis within a conflict assessment framework we obtain a comprehensive and differentiated picture of the struggle of different groups (among each other and with government) for access to and control over resources. Access to resources is highly influenced by people's bargaining position within this system. When some groups no longer accept positions of inequality, legitimacy of the state crumbles. Rules are increasingly questioned, and if the government is incapable or unwilling to respond to or mediate these demands for changing the rules or influencing the outcomes (e.g. through its redistribution policies), violence might become an option. Power in its different forms, rather than legitimacy, then becomes the determining factor in access to resources. In the next chapter we will address the practical issues of implementing an entitlement perspective in conflict prevention policy. We will introduce suggestions for monitoring these patterns of conflict escalation and assess the impact of 'entitlement intervention' to inform two key prevention strategies: reducing horizontal inequalities and strengthening redistribution mechanisms in its different forms.

Assessing Entitlement Impacts in a Situation of Unstable Peace

In the previous chapter the entitlement perspective was introduced for descriptive purposes. The comprehensive and differentiated picture that entitlement analysis can provide of situations of unstable peace has a clear value added for conflict assessment. In situations of escalating conflict, it was argued, motivation, perceptions and relative deprivation play an ever-important role. A dynamic entitlement perspective therefore should include not only the question of 'who *is* entitled to own what', but also subjective feelings of 'who *should* be entitled to own what'. The latter is crucial for understanding why people become mobilised. Conflict prevention policy, moreover, implies the intention to avoid escalation of violence and therefore needs to be prescriptive as well. Prescription (policy design) and description (conflict analysis) need to be closely linked. The consequences of inadequate analysis might be considerable and disastrous, since different diagnoses lead to radically different policy solutions. Conflict impact assessment also becomes imperative.[8] This chapter will provide some guidelines for in-country monitoring and impact assessment to inform entitlement strategies. In chapter 4 these strategies will be further illustrated by suggestions for concrete measures.

I. Structural Conflict Prevention: The Timely Diagnosis of Potential Conflict

Structural conflict prevention builds on the truism that early intervention is generally better than late intervention.[9] It is widely acknowledged that the range of options for intervention decreases when conflict tensions increase and violence escalates. Consequently, structural conflict prevention requires a timely recognition of potential conflict and negative trends. Violent conflicts, however, cannot be neatly separated from peacetime development efforts, and indeed often arise from the contradictions of the latter.

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[8] Conflict impact assessment is here understood as the combined effort of conflict assessment and policy assessment. This should be undertaken in the process of planning and strategy design (ex ante), but also during implementation to assess for unintended impacts or changes in the conditions. Lastly, the impact needs to be assessed on the longer term, after 'finalisation' (ex post), to learn the lessons and implement best practices in future policy planning. See L. van de Goor, S. Verstegen (2000), "Conflict Prognosis".

[9] 'Intervention' is here taken to mean or involve any activity that is intended to influence the course, intensity or scope of hostilities and/or activities geared at attenuating the effects of conflict. In this way the concept captures a range of activities: not only military actions are interpreted as intervention, but also activities in other areas, such as economics, development co-operation and, indeed, even 'mere' communication between one actor and the object of its intervention. This approach has the benefit that it underlines the importance of gradualism and incrementalism as features of the intervention concept. In this sense the intervention concept does not necessarily have to involve a rupture from conventional or 'normal' behaviour of one actor towards another.

Conflict analysis has often focused on identifying root causes of conflict, with the idea that addressing the root causes can form the basis of an effective prevention policy.[10] The changing nature of conflict and the changes in the contexts within which it is set, however, requires a more encompassing analytical approach that recognises complexity and contingency. Conflict assessment therefore should focus on the identification of problem areas and the danger of escalating trends. The quest into the root causes and an analysis of causality thus become decreasingly relevant, as addressing the original sources of grievance is unlikely to address the conflict dynamic. One of these extreme and acute consequences of these dynamics is the radical shift in entitlement situations and positions. Entitlement analysis is adequately equipped to assess some of these key factors: acute horizontal inequality between social groups in the distribution of assets, state jobs, social services and so on; and failure of political institutions and the ensuing crisis of the state. As far as the consequences of conflict are concerned, and for descriptive purposes, entitlement analysis can be applied in all stages of conflict. In contrast, for prescriptive, pro-active policy purposes, a focus on entitlement relations will be most appropriate during the stage of unstable peace: although situations are seemingly stable and largely quiet, tensions may be building up, whether between groups in society, or towards government[11].

II. Monitoring and Assessment of the Risk of Conflict Escalation

The process of monitoring and assessment of the risk of conflict escalation can be structured in a four-step procedure. Each step shortly outlines the major innovative insights that entitlement analysis will provide, the objective of this perspective, and implications for conventional poverty or vulnerability assessments. Key questions that could be added in more general conflict assessment frameworks will be listed (see also annex III for the outline of such an entitlement-based analytical tool for conflict assessment).

1. Step One: Mapping the Major Groups and their Grievances

In chapter 2 it was argued that aggregate (national) figures are insufficient to allow for a differentiated and contextual analysis of conflict. There are variations between conflicts in particular national contexts, but also intra-national differences in how conflicts impact on different regions, sectors and social groups. Mapping the major groups therefore is an essential first step for considering the variegated impact of conflict on formal and informal

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[10] See for example General Council (16 July 2001), "Conclusions on Conflict Prevention – General Affairs Council Conclusions"; The European Commission's Communication on Conflict Prevention, Commissioner Chris Patten's Remarks at Press Conference on 11 April 2001; EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts (adopted at the Gothenburg European Council of 15-16 June 2001).

[11] Note that 'unstable peace' refers to both pre-conflict and post-conflict situations. The cessation of physical hostilities does not necessarily hold a strong guarantee against *renewed* hostilities.

economies in different sectors and different regions. The objective here is to identify the main sources and types of entitlement of various groups. Focusing on the claims and main activities, moreover, provides an insight into the acquirement process within the prevailing ruling system. It will provide a differentiated picture of livelihoods and, importantly, a clear account of people's vulnerability. Also external conditions that operate in the political, economic and social environment influence entitlement positions. Situations of war, moreover, can lead to both losses and gains in entitlement. Illegal activities ('non-entitlements') are important to include in the assessment as they provide a "means of understanding how certain actors and groups find that the costs of war … can be more than compensated for by the opportunity that conflict creates for increased access to non-entitlements"[12]. In particular post-conflict transition periods are characterised by high levels of movement and change in livelihood strategies, assets, and desired outcomes. Issues that should be covered in conflict assessment include:

- What are the major groups in society and what is the basis of group identity?

- What are their entitlement positions? (indication of the types and sources of entitlement)

- What are their claims/grievances?

- What are the distributional consequences of increasing conflict and tensions? Which groups are most vulnerable?

The important insight that is derived from this approach is the move beyond the characteristics of poverty. Poverty-related conflict assessment should therefore be concerned with assessing the outcome of events and changes, rather than measuring output in terms of material inequality. On the other hand, contemporary vulnerability assessments that do include more diversified assessments of livelihoods often marginalise the role of war and violence in its analysis of poverty. Entitlement analysis thus provides an additional insight into these dialectics and helps assess feelings of relative deprivation (see also annex II).

2. Step Two: Assessing Institutional Capacities

The objective of assessing institutional capacity is in the first place related to gaining an insight into the nature of governance. State-arranged entitlements are important in this regard. Also the affiliation to institutions is an important source of entitlement. More important than the formal rules of law are the sources of the rules and the sources of effective inducement, coercion and claiming. This appears to be largely a matter of networks and

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[12] J. Goodhand, D. Hulme (1999), "From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies", p. 20.

people's position within these. Issues that need to be addressed in conflict assessment include:

- What is the nature of the state?

- What are the major rule systems that render claims legitimate?

- What is the nature of the mediating capacities of formal and informal institutions? Is this based on legality, legitimacy, authority, economic power, political power, enforcement?

- What role do informal rules play in relation to formal rule systems?

The specific nature of the state in these situations is crucial in influencing livelihood options open to the population, the extent of their vulnerability, and the potential effects of external interventions. The additional insight from entitlement analysis comes from taking into account both formal and informal institutions and, most importantly, the way in which these different rule systems interact. Marginalisation, then, may be regarded a process of out-placing people in the sense of disconnecting them from effective networks.

Conventional assessments often focus on state institutions and its redistribution role. They focus on a bureaucratic rationale without taking into account the interaction and overlap with informal rule systems. In practice, however, the state is often weak, reflecting a lack of resources, weak redistribution and mediating capacities, or exclusive governance. The crisis of the state is moreover characterised by competition over power rather than a vacuum. Local authorities can continue to be powerful even when the authority of the national state has been weakened. In many countries, politics is characterised by the informalised dimensions i.e. the political process being increasingly managed through the informal control of resources, rather than formal state institutions. The point is, therefore, to link the insights in the formalities of multi-party politics with knowledge of, for example, patrimonial political practices, attendant political cultures and informal political economies, and show in what ways these affect each other.[13] Analysis should therefore pay due attention to both the macro and the micro level, to political structures as well as power of individual actors.

3. Step Three: Assessing Entitlement Gaps and Entitlement Blockage

An assessment of entitlement gaps and entitlement blockage is immediately related to the identification of potential conflict escalation. Entitlement gaps can be observed under conditions of explicit group demands. In the absence of adequate mediating capacities of institutions these gaps might become more prominent and more polarised. In this way,

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[13] K. van Walraven (2001), "Of Canvassing and Carnival", p. 2-3.

entitlement analysis offers an insight into the process of group mobilisation. It is therefore not necessarily the absence of institutions, but the inaccessibility to formal institutions that creates the major problem. An entitlement gap then becomes an entitlement blockage, which refers to a more persistent nature of exclusion. Key issues for assessment include:

- Are there clashing rule systems? How does this affect legitimacy of the state?

- What are the main issues raised by groups? What is the objective of group demands and claims (economic power, political power, state capture)?

- What is the nature of interaction?

- How does government mediate group demands?

In relation to increasing entitlement gaps and possible entitlement blockage, it is important to focus on the bargaining strength of different groups and stakeholders. This requires an understanding of the relations of power that underlie different livelihoods, as well as the connections between the livelihoods of the poor and those of the wealthy. The bargaining strengths are reflected in the claim-making capacities of various groups and their position within formal and informal institutions. Hence, the additional insight that the entitlement perspective can offer here is from its shift of focus to the acquirement process: to claim making, positions and activities, rather than to production and availability of resources. Attention here has clearly shifted towards state-society relations. It, moreover, expresses motivation for participation and people's own definitions and priorities. In situations of persistent blockage, the status quo and the prevailing rule system are explicitly challenged. This political connotation should receive due attention in assessment and policy design. In this regard, more is needed beyond the simple promotion of livelihoods, and likely more than any aid instrument on its own can provide without political backing at higher levels.

4. Step Four: Assessing the Impact of External Conditions and Intervention Strategies

In chapter II, it was argued that development itself should be viewed as a contradictory process of re-ordering social positions. Programmes for poverty alleviation that do not factor in conflict therefore are seriously incomplete. Conflict impact assessments should identify the impact of programmes on underlying social tensions. The main question that figures in this regard is: what are the impacts of policy interventions on the entitlement positions of different groups? Development aid therefore should be considered from three perspectives:

- What is its humanitarian role? Does it avoid or alleviate poverty and human suffering?

- What is its economic role? How does it affect the economy at macro-, meso- and micro-level?

- What is its political-economy role? In what ways do political forces influence the use of aid?

Appropriate policies can only be devised if there is a clear understanding of each of the dimensions, as well as of the interactions among them. A narrow focus on only one, e.g. the humanitarian impact of aid, as well as failure to appreciate the complexity of the effects in each role, may lead to serious policy mistakes. And although the prime objective may lie in the humanitarian dimension (e.g. the reduction of deaths and relief of suffering), it is essential to understand the other dimensions in order to appreciate how to achieve this.[14] Entitlement analysis therefore provides an additional insight on the differentiated impact of development interventions on variegated groups. It therefore adds the possibility to be more conclusive in priority setting. Comparing the risks of doing nothing with the risks involved in an entitlement strategy is important in this regard.

III. Possibilities and Limitations of Entitlement Analysis as a Basis for Policy Formulation

Entitlement analysis is not adequate for all types of conflict. Neither does it provide a complete picture of conflict and conflict-dynamics. The insights derived from the entitlement analysis, nevertheless, can help target external interventions more effectively. For this purpose, entitlement analysis differentiates between types and sources of entitlement; between the interests, strategies and positions of different individuals or groups; and between output and outcome. Conflict assessment through entitlement lenses therefore could assist in priority setting in situations of increasing tensions. From the assessment could follow that policy should be directed towards the protection and promotion of particular entitlements of particular social groups. Groups, for example, that are most vulnerable in situations of economic insecurity and that undergo sharp changes in their entitlement positions. In some cases the emphasis will be on subsidiary entitlements, i.e. temporary access to resources in cases of unemployment, welfare or food supplies. In others more permanent and drastic measures are needed that guarantee access to primary (direct-resource-based) entitlements such as land reform or investment in particular sectors of industry. Entitlement analysis could also help target policy to foster particular developmental outcomes, whether the objective is macro-economic growth or democratisation. An assessment of the impact on entitlements of different groups is crucial here, and thereby informs policy in terms of economic and political inclusiveness.

In spite of the possibilities, we should also be aware of the overall delicacy of policy intervention based on the concept of entitlement in poverty-related conflicts. Changes in

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[14] See also F. Stewart, E. Samman (2001), "Food Aid During Civil War", p. 168-169.

conditions can influence ownership and exchange entitlements of specific groups, thereby invoking the surfacing of more 'extreme' forms of identity differentiation. This is a danger that is of specific relevance in multiethnic societies. As is observed by Peiris, "selective intervention focused on a given set of entitlements or a specific group in a conflict situation entails the risk of aggravating rather than diffusing the conflict, while not having an overall beneficial effect of reducing deprivation."[15] Hence, also the concept of horizontal inequality needs to be applied with care in development practice since it could be politically sensitive under certain conditions. The explicit identification of groups may actually change the on-the-ground situation, reinforce distinctions, or create some perceived political advantage in new alliances and groupings, thereby becoming conflict-provoking itself. We therefore need to monitor for this unintended impact at all times.

IV. Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has outlined the practical implications of conflict assessment from an entitlement perspective. The four-step assessment procedure focuses on the key dynamic interactions of entitlement relations and takes into account changes in entitlement positions, external factors that impact on entitlements and changes in the rule systems. The emphasis that is placed on a clear diagnosis in this chapter has the purpose of informing policy interventions and identifying (the impact of) a range of instruments and measures. In chapter four we will take a closer look at entitlement-informed prevention policies. It will come to suggestions for a further implementation of the EU policy on structural stability with the identification of a number of concrete measures.

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[15] G. Peiris (2000), "A Note on the Concept of *Entitlement*", p. 4.

Concrete Measures: Impacting on Entitlement Relations

Contemporary policy statements argue for the importance of linking 'sustainable development' to 'sustainable peace'. The EU objective of structural stability, for example, aims at "a situation involving sustainable economic development, democracy and respect for human rights, viable political structures, and healthy social and environmental conditions, with the capacity to manage change without resort to violent conflict".[16] Interventions, then, should help reduce poverty and contribute to more social justice, create structures for the non-violent resolution of social conflicts, dry up illicit and war economies, and promote personal security and reconciliation. They should furthermore support people's participation in the peace process, provide spaces for dialogue and trust-building, support locally appropriate forms of conflict management, create accountable security forces and ensure that a wide segment of the population benefits from the peace dividend. Development agendas, in short, must aim *directly* at the issue of social exclusion and social instability, and at the strengthening of legitimate institutions of governance and security, in order that sustainable development can be achieved alongside the inextricably linked goal of sustainable peace.[17] This chapter will provide suggestions to make these policy intentions more operational and to identify concrete measures that have the capacity to divert poverty-related conflict escalation. We will focus on measures that directly impact on entitlement relations.

I. Working in Conflict, Working on Conflict and Working around Conflict

In a context of growing insecurity, conflict needs to be understood, accounted for and tackled at the same time if development goals are to be achieved. A recent British study distinguished three ways of linking development efforts to conflict: working *around* conflict, working *in* conflict and working *on* conflict (see figure 1). It is now widely acknowledged that conflict prevention is an integral part of the quest to reduce poverty and to obtain sustainable development.[18] Development agencies, moreover, accept the need to work in and on conflicts rather than around them. Peace-building becomes the main focus when dealing with conflict situations, which reflects a step toward long-term engagement and away from an earlier short-term concentration on post-conflict recovery and reconstruction efforts.

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[16] B. Jones (s.a.), "Towards Structural Stability?", p. 6.
[17] B. Jones (s.a.), "Towards Structural Stability?", p. 4.
[18] See also for example the Supplement to the DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation on the Threshold of the 21st Century.

Figure 1: Alternative Approaches for Poverty-focused Donors in Situations of Conflict

- *Working around conflict*: avoidance of the issue of conflict and treating it as a negative externality. Macro reform processes then adopt a 'one size fits all' approach irrespective of a country's vulnerability to conflict. In areas of open conflict, donor activities and development programmes are stopped or put on hold.
- *Working in conflict*: a recognition of the need to be more sensitive to conflict dynamics and adaptation of policies and programmes according to an analysis of conflict-related risks. This requires the development of more politically informed poverty programmes, which address underlying sources of grievance. These programmes may not address conflict in the short term but may decrease a country's predisposition to conflict in the long term.
- *Working on conflict*: an explicit focus on conflict management and resolution. Policies should be directed towards direct causes of conflict, including issues such as greed and profiteering from conflict. This requires the development of international regulatory systems, targeted conditionalities, or providing profitable alternatives for conflict profiteers.

Source: J. Goodhand (draft May 2001),"Violent Conflict, Poverty and Chronic Poverty".

Practical challenges include "working in a flexible and timely manner, guided by long-term perspectives and political and socio-economic analyses of regional, national and local situations" and reinforcing local capacities "to influence public policy, and tackle social and political exclusion".[19]

1. Identification of Problem Areas

Whether one works 'on' or 'in' conflict, this should not have an impact on the way in which we conduct conflict and entitlement assessments. The identification of relevant problem areas thus follows from context-specific, in-country monitoring and assessment. In the previous chapters we have extensively dealt with conflict diagnosis as the basis for policy formulation (see paragraph 3.2.). We have also identified problem areas that are of particular relevance for understanding and recognising poverty-related conflict (see paragraphs 2.3. and 2.4.). Conflict diagnosis through explicit entitlement lenses would provide a dynamic and comprehensive picture of interacting groups with different interests and priorities, and positioned differently in society as a consequence of their entitlement positions and claim-making capacities. Alternative policy interventions can now be assessed on their impact on the position of differentiated groups as well as the expected resulting behaviour i.e. outcome. To come to conclusive policy design, however, we need to set priorities. As our main interest here is to work explicitly *on* conflict, priority will be to keep conflict non-violent and hence

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[19] Supplement to the DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation on the Threshold of the 21st Century.

prevent violent escalation. Now we can start formulating the strategic objectives of a structural conflict prevention policy.

2. Formulation of Strategic Objectives

In poverty-related conflict dynamics we have identified the crucial role of two key factors: the bargaining strength of groups and the performance of the state as regards redistribution. These foci for policy intervention are not 'new' or 'unexplored' territories. In fact, development activities reflect the importance that is attached to the objectives of participation and empowerment as well as institution and capacity building. Empowerment and participation have taken root as key objectives, as have good governance and accountability. The limited success, or even detrimental effects, on the ground demonstrate that this is no panacea. Processes of transformation and transition run into conflicting interests, different opportunities and overarching power relations. These need to be explicitly addressed in policy intervention. Areas of intervention should therefore focus on *increasing opportunities and capabilities of vulnerable groups, reflected in their access to and control over valued resources.*

II. Entitlement Strategies

In the complex interaction of indicators and root causes it is important to focus preventive interventions on patterns, rather than addressing underlying conditions *per se*. Concrete measures, however, need to form part of an intervention *strategy* that covers various fields and is sustained over longer periods. In the previous chapters we have linked 'persistent and widening horizontal group inequality' and 'decreasing state legitimacy' to poverty-related conflict escalation. These are patterns that point to specific problem areas that need careful consideration from an entitlement perspective. The 'entitlement strategies' that follow from this understanding would thus focus on tackling horizontal inequality and increasing state legitimacy.

1. Tackling Horizontal Inequality

Horizontal inequality is an expression of feelings of exclusion from both political and economic processes. Increasing the bargaining strength of these excluded groups and strengthening their claim-making capacities can be achieved through strategies of empowerment. When exclusion and inequality are approached through entitlement lenses, we see the determining role of entitlement positions and entitlement rules. The objective of empowerment, consequently, can be approached in different ways: changing political rules (increasing political inclusiveness), changing economic rules (increasing economic

inclusiveness) and the creation of entitlements. All have an impact on entitlement positions, and therefore influence the political *and* economic power of different groups. The implication of horizontal equity considerations therefore is that the access to economic and political power between groups needs to be considered explicitly in policy formulation by both domestic governments and international agencies. This means "ensuring that the distribution of entitlements of all types is inclusive: incorporating all major groups in society and reducing inequalities between and within groups over time."[20]

2. Strengthening State Legitimacy

Not only group identification and group mobilisation, but also the role and nature of the state (the level of inclusiveness/exclusiveness) is key in understanding conflict susceptibility. A second crucial strategy that follows from the entitlement perspective therefore is the need for a re-legitimation of the state. The explicit inclusion of considerations of legitimacy alongside legality points to the crucial need to focus on state-society relations, rather than see these as separate actors. This includes issues such as democratic accountability to ensure responsiveness to the needs of the most vulnerable sectors of society, its effectiveness, and issues such as capacity to tax, assure the basic physical security of citizens, and provision of services like health, education, water and de-mining. 'Redistribution' is an important activity that reflects these issues and that can be monitored and assessed.

The level of state legitimacy thus is dependent on both capacity *and* political willingness *and* claim-making capacities of socio-political groups. Consequently, we have to differentiate our thinking on redistribution. Redistribution mechanisms surpass legal and bureaucratic-rational ones, in particular because we see in practice that legal rights cannot always be enforced and that the bureaucratic rationale is interwoven with subjective rationales. These political cultures of patrimonialism and clientelism, however, cannot be equalled with 'practices of corruption'. Informal arrangements accord individuals a variety of means for enhancing and protecting their rights at the local level. This is of particular relevance in situations of insecurity, transition and strong group identification. As Azam explains, "…during the transition phase, the aim of the benevolent state is to federate the different ethnic groups, and not to destroy their role, as some 'modernisers' advocate. Instead, the aim should be to build on their capacities, but at a wider level. Towards this aim, various mechanisms of redistribution, both within and between ethnic groups, can be used. Roughly speaking, the main problem faced by the government is in choosing between two methods of buying public support: the provision of public goods with a clear and strong redistributive content, like primary education and basic health care, on the one hand, versus the payment of high wages

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[20] F. Stewart, V. FitzGerald (2001), "The Costs of War", p. 228.

and salaries, enabling public agents to redistribute large sums of money privately down to their kin groups, on the other." [21]

This has clear implications for aid policy. Traditional institutions and informal rule systems need to be inculcated in policy formulation. Hence, it is important to regard customary sources of law not so much as possible constraints to processes of modernisation but rather as guarantees against growing inequality and marginalisation. [22]

III. Policy Options: The Identification of Concrete Measures and their Objectives

From the two main entitlement strategies follows that the policy practice should improve and direct the input of instruments to empower vulnerable groups and to improve various mechanisms of redistribution. The CPN Practical Guide offers an important practical approach of selecting measures to implement these strategies. In the next paragraph we will follow the set-up of this Guide. In order to determine whether the selected measures may succeed in preventing violent conflict requires a continuous process of monitoring the impact of measures on horizontal inequality and state legitimacy, as well as reckoning with changing 'external' conditions.

This overview of 28 concrete measures will focus on policy options in the stage of unstable peace. Situations of high tension and relief operations in cases of open conflict are excluded. The measures moreover are restricted to ones that directly impact on entitlement relations. Many others impact indirectly on entitlement positions.

Problem Area 1: Socio-economic inequalities

Objective	*Measures*	*Potential positive impact*	*Potential negative impact*
Balance socio-economic opportunities	Support economic incentives for marginalised and underdeveloped regions (credit schemes, vocational training, business associations)	Create employment opportunities and strengthen peoples market and direct entitlements, diversification of livelihood	Exclusive targeting of identity group might create feelings of relative deprivation among others
	Support policy reorientation for underdeveloped and marginalised regions (industrial policies, incentives to increase private direct investment)	Create new opportunities for direct resource-based entitlements, more equal rules of entitlement. Increase of state legitimacy in region where state was absent before	Might create dependency when region is underdeveloped for other-than political reasons. Can policies and incentives be sustained in the long run?
	Support land use reform (ownership, access to land, markets, infrastructure,	Create new direct and indirect opportunities to strengthen entitlement	Might lead to polarisation, opposition of large landowners.

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[21] J. Azam (2001), "The Redistributive State and Conflicts in Africa", p. 442.
[22] B. De Gaay Fortman (1999), "Beyond Income Distribution", p. 55.

political organisation)	position. Inclusion in market economy, diversify livelihoods		
	Support vulnerable groups (access to credit schemes, government-sponsored opportunities)	Strengthen direct-resource based and state-arranged source of entitlement, increase legitimacy of state institutions	Too tight or superficial identity-based targeting might create feelings of relative deprivation of other groups
Provide reasonable alternative options for 'drop-outs' of economic reform programmes	Support vocational training for downsized personnel and planned migration schemes that take into account the capacities of recipient regions	Provides access to alternative forms of entitlement	Might not fit local coping strategies and preferences.
	Support small-scale community-led projects that guarantee local and informally arranged services	Strengthen institution-based rule systems, informal redistribution systems	Distribution might be influenced by local structures of inequality and power. Decrease legitimacy of state
Management of harming effects of natural disasters on specific identity groups	Support rehabilitation of the social infrastructure	Strengthen informal institutions and acknowledge importance of civic and direct entitlements	Might strengthen local and traditional power and authority structures that are obstacles to people's entitlement positions
	Support environmental rehabilitation	Strengthen direct-resource based entitlements	Might conflict with local coping strategies
	Provide food, water, health care, shelter	Provide temporary alternative sources of entitlement	Might create dependency, decrease legitimacy of the state

Problem Area 2: Exclusive Government Elite

Objective	*Measures*	*Potential positive impact*	*Potential negative impact*
Guarantee equal access to education for all regions, major social and identity groups	Support education in marginalised and under-developed regions (literacy campaigns, vocational training, building schools, training teachers, equipment)	Change in rule systems, creates opportunities for access to formal institutions	Too tight or specific identity targeting might increase threat perception and polarised group identity
Establish transparent rules for more representative recruitment and advancement in the civil service, justice, army and policy	Support civil society deterrents for corrupt and illegitimate practices	Increase legitimacy of state, improve redistribution capacity, improve access to state-arranged entitlements	Could be considered a threat by government elite and lead to even more exclusionary policies
	Support development of codes of conduct incorporating shared contractual norms and disciplinary action	Improve redistribution capacity and claim making capacity according to formal rule system	Could be considered a threat if it does not take account of informal rule systems
Strengthen the subsidiarity principle	Support financial compensation schemes between regions	Increase legitimacy of state, feelings of acceptable redistribution	Create feelings of relative deprivation of the hitherto privileged regimes
Guarantee passive and active voting rights for	Support voter registration and education	Strengthen claim making capacity, make people	Can be seen as manipulation and interference,

		aware of rights and opportunities to claim	increasing hostility and radicalisation
members of all major identity groups			
	Support independent electoral commission, observer missions, engage in donor-host government consultations and initiate CFSP declarations	Improve performance and legitimacy of process, political backing for claim making	Can be seen as manipulation and interference, increase hostility and radicalisation

Problem Area 3: Violation of Group Rights

Objective	Measures	Potential positive impact	Potential negative impact
Guarantee civil rights and political liberties	Support legislative assistance programmes (legal institutions, advocacy groups)	Increase claim making capacity on basis of enforceable rights, raise awareness of rights	Considered a threat to the prevailing rule system
	Support customary law systems, 'peace judges'	Increase legitimacy of informal institutions	Increase feelings of threat to formal institutions and rule system
	Support democracy assistance organisations, balanced support to political parties	Increase diversified opportunities for claim making, improve state legitimacy	Might create feelings of threat to ruling party, increasing hostility and radicalisation
Protect basic human rights	Support human and civil rights campaigns for affected segments of the population	Raise awareness of rights and thereby increase claim making capacity	Might create feelings of threat to ruling party, increasing hostility and radicalisation
Establish equitable language policies	Support translation of major official documents in minority languages	Increase claim making capacity	Might stimulate more tight or radical group identity
	Support legal assistance in minority languages	Increase claim making capacity	Might stimulate more tight or radical group identity
	Support curricula development for education in minority languages	Increase claim making capacity	Might stimulate more tight or radical group identity
Establish equitable representation of identity groups	Support the development and implementation of legal framework for minority protection	Increase claim making capacity, raise awareness of rights	Might stimulate more tight or radical group identity

Problem Area 16: Lack of Economic Peace Interest

Objective	Measures	Potential positive impact	Potential negative impact
Provide legal protection for private property and investments	Support development of appropriate laws, regulation and institutional procedures	Increase entitlement position, enforceable rights, claim making capacity, legitimacy of formal institutions	Might legalise entitlements that are considered illegitimate by some groups, might conflict with informal rule systems
Secure job creation for the young generation in the formal and informal sector	Support and strengthen special youth education and employment programs (credit, economic assistance, vocational training)	Create opportunities for entitlements, improve balance between formal and informal sector	Might strengthen divide between formal and informal sector

	Support programmes for ex-combatants (credit, vocational training, micro-projects)	Create alternative forms of entitlement, decrease illegal appropriation and insecurity	Might create feelings of deprivation among non-combatants, in particular in case ex-combatants come from exclusive identity group
Realise incentives for foreign and local investment into the economy	Support government watchdogs guaranteeing transparent trade rules	Increase accountability and legitimacy of state, create new entitlement opportunities	Might conflict with informal redistribution systems
	Support tax legislation reform and anti-corruption policies	Increase accountability, increase capacity and legitimacy of state	Might conflict with informal redistribution systems

IV. Conclusions and Implications

In this chapter it has been argued that there is no single 'policy fix' for situations of unstable peace. More important than individual measures is the balance within the programs. Interventions need to be multileveled, aiming to influence short-term and long-term incentives, and targeting structures, actors and conflict dynamics. Interventions therefore should have a process-oriented rather than output-oriented character. The concrete policy measures moreover need to be assessed for their impact in *concrete* and *specific* contexts. In this regard, it is also very important to gain further insight into existing practical experiences that have been made with a particular measure.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The debates on conflict prevention and development are moving closer together. In conflict prevention, the balance has shifted from exclusive military responses to more structural approaches. In development co-operation, increased attention is paid to the *political* conditions for development and the need to focus on the causes, rather than the appearances of poverty alone. This understanding of the shared objectives of sustainable development and sustainable peace has led to an increased interest in early identification of potential conflict. The development process itself is inherently confrontational and therefore requires assessment and monitoring for increasing inequality, group mobilisation and negative trends toward violence. Yet also the impact of international factors on the local context are important. Trade, aid and (political) conditionality need to be assessed on the consequences on the ground, since these factors can strongly impact on perceptions and be applied for extreme mobilisation purposes. As is demonstrated by recent events after the attacks on September 11 on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. and the build-up of tensions in the Middle East and South Asia, these dynamics directly bring the conflict to the Western countries. Entitlement analysis allows for such a broad perspective on the poverty-development-conflict nexus. An analytical framework that is based on entitlement relations can capture the political significance of changes in inequality and in the social relations behind inequality.

I. Policy and Practice

At the moment, however, we still have to face a gap between policy discourse and practice. Conventional understanding of the role aid can play in conflict prevention is overly simplified, and tends to treat conflict as exogenous. EU policy statements strongly reflect the idea that 'tackling the root causes' is a sufficiently explicit conflict prevention strategy. Subsequent policy design focuses on stimulating development and reducing poverty with strategies that assume a 'normal' functioning of the state and economy. In situations of insecurity, instability and internal conflict, however, states face competition from alternative centres of military and political power. National economies are volatile and segmented, and new rent-seeking groups tend to exploit the political and economic opportunities that open up under these conditions of instability. Poverty-related conflict therefore is not only some form of development failure, but more often it is part of a conscious strategy of some parties to the conflict.

> Recommendation:
>
> *If the EU intents to develop a credible policy for timely intervention during the stage of unstable peace, it should explicitly address the confrontational nature of the development process. Traditional assumptions about the state and its role in development, the rights and responsibilities of citizens and states, and conventional models for development and economic activity all require serious reconsideration in the light of insecurity and instability. Rather than sticking to 'root causes', policy makers should look into the motives for group mobilisation and conduct stakeholder analysis. Structural conflict prevention policy requires an understanding of the functions of conflict and the specific relations of power and conflict. Hence, in particular when operating in situations of unstable peace it is imperative to set aside de-politicised and technical approaches to poverty reduction that are based on working within (and reproducing) existing structures of (state) power.*

II. Conflict Diagnosis: Bridging the Gap

Bridging the gap between policy and practice in the first place requires proper conflict assessment. National figures on poverty and the economy do not adequately reflect vulnerabilities of particular groups and their expectations. A conflict prevention approach thus needs a reassessment that goes beyond human suffering and looks into underlying vulnerabilities and opportunities. Violent conflicts only rarely develop rapidly. They are processes in which tensions build up, groups take shape, parties become polarised and areas for non-violent mediation become smaller. The nature of governance is crucial in this regard, as the chances for crises and social explosions increase substantially when the state and its institutions stop functioning adequately and fail to fulfil a mediating and redistribution role. Government policies and changes, moreover, impact differently on different segments of the population. The risk of intersecting with other significant social cleavages such as ethnicity, religion and regional identity (horizontal inequality) could thereby increase the risk of social and political conflict.

III. Entitlement Insights

Conflict assessment would point to two key 'entitlement strategies': tackling horizontal inequality and increasing state legitimacy. Increasing the bargaining strength of vulnerable groups requires the strengthening of both its political and economic power. Concrete measures might then address inequality and exclusion in the rule system (political inclusiveness), but also direct access to resources (economic inclusiveness). Both types of exclusion/inclusion are reflected in entitlement positions. In case of an entitlement gap, group demands require responsive governance. An important mechanism for improving state legitimacy is through a strengthening of its (formal and informal) redistribution role.

There are, however, no ready-made responses or quick fixes. Conclusions on conflict sensitivity as well as the appropriate areas of intervention differ across contexts, and critically depend on context-specific conditions, such as the nature of the economy, the level of development and the role, strength and objectives of the government. Interventions, moreover, are not carried out in 'new territories'. External actors and donor agencies are already active in many developing and transition countries with programmes of development co-operation. In this light it is important to reconsider the impact of these activities not only on poverty reduction and economic growth, but on its conflict stimulating and inhibiting role as well.

> Recommendation:
>
> *EU policy should continue to address the unequal opportunities and capabilities of differentiated groups. Concrete measures, however, need to be assessed on their potential positive and negative impact on different groups. Moreover, once conflict intensifies, it transforms itself and all around it – the state, livelihoods, the national economy and social relations. Conflict assessment therefore cannot be a static event, but should reflect the dynamics of social conflict and the changing role of rights, entitlements and institutions.*

In conclusion, we could say that the objective of structural stability offers an important starting point for the implementation of a structural, long-term conflict prevention policy. In fact, it is the dynamic linkage of such issues as rights, law, governance and capacity building in a long-term framework for security and sustainable peace alongside and linked to sustainable development, that gives the concept of structural stability its potency.[23] In the briefing paper, we have argued that further operationalisation is best proceeded through the application of an entitlement perspective. Entitlement analysis has an important value to add to conflict assessment and offers an innovative perspective on the poverty-development-conflict nexus. Yet, due to its explicit focus on power and politics it should be applied with care. Moreover, entitlement analysis does not offer a complete explanation or understanding of violent conflict and therefore should only be considered an *additional* approach. Understanding problems such as power relations do not necessarily make them easier to change. This is particularly true in the light of pervasive political marginalisation of the poor and distorted power relations that restrict their access to capital assets. More questions than answers remain at this point.

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[23] B. Jones (1999), "Towards Structural Stability?".

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Annex I – Entitlement Analysis as a Conceptual Approach

Poverty-related conflict escalation is no linear development, but part of dynamic social and political processes. Outcomes thus critically depend on factors such as the nature of the economy, the level of development, the role, strength and objectives of government as well as people's position within the system and the nature of tensions. The *politics of resource control* figure prominently at the centre of this process of conflict escalation. Entitlement analysis can capture these dynamics within a conflict assessment framework. In this annex we will set out the key entitlement elements and interactions of such an analytical framework. Some conceptual work has already been undertaken on entitlement in famine and poverty studies. This is not the case in conflict studies. The following (sub) paragraphs therefore do not reflect a specific entitlement approach, but take together the findings of a broad range of studies and critiques on entitlements and entitlement approaches.[24]

I. Key Entitlement Elements in a Conflict Assessment Framework

1. Sources and Types of Entitlements

'Entitlement' is applied with a wide range of meanings related to (or synonymous with) issues of rights, claims, titles and social welfare. In common-day language, entitlement is understood to be a right to benefits specified by law or by contract. More specifically, entitlement is often used in reference to government programmes that provide benefits to members of a specified group. Exemplary is social security or unemployment compensation. Although this form of state-arranged entitlement clearly reflects the redistribution role of the state as a provider of public welfare, this would be too restricted an approach. There are many other sources of entitlement that determine people's access to, and control over resources. Probably the most important in this regard is direct access to resources. Ownership, for example is very much a function of private law as guaranteed by the state. Other forms of access derived from this source are production, labour and trade-based. Yet another way of guaranteeing access to resources is the affiliation to institutions and networks.

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[24] The most important insights that form the basis of this chapter are taken from the work of Leach, Mearns and Scoones on institutional dynamics and the operationalisation of an entitlement approach for community-based natural resource management; Frances Stewart's very insightful work on horizontal inequality, power and conflict prevention; and the work of De Gaay Fortman on entitlement systems and the process of acquirement.

Figure 2: Sources and Types of Entitlement

Source of Entitlement	Type of Entitlement	Description
Direct access to resources	Market entitlements	Monetary entitlements gained from work and the ownership of assets, whose value depends on the returns to work (wages or sales of produce) and assets (rents) on the one hand, and the price of essentials, such as food, on the other.
Direct access to resources and affiliation to institutions	Direct entitlements	Goods and services which are produced and consumed on a shared basis by the same household or extended family without a process of exchange as such (sometimes known as subsistence production).
Arrangements by the state	Public entitlements	Access to publicly provided goods and services, which in theory are secured by virtue of citizenship, although in practice they may be reserved to particular groups.
Affiliation to institutions	Civic entitlements	Goods and services provided by a local community or non-governmental organisation, often in response to the collapse of public entitlements or in response to a level of poverty that prevents adequate market entitlements.

Source: Figure 2 is a junction of B. De Gaay Fortman's argument on the sources of entitlement (1990; 1997) and a figure compiled by F. Stewart and V. FitzGerald (2001).

An important strategy in situations of uncertainty is illegal and extralegal activity (in some cases called 'non-entitlements' or 'reverse entitlements'). Extralegal resources are thus those resources acquired by theft or threat of force. Although this is a way of gaining access to resources, we should keep this option outside the entitlement framework, since the key determinant here is legitimacy (see below). They, however, cannot be excluded from the analysis altogether as they influence legitimate entitlements.

2. Rights versus Entitlements: Distinguishing Entitlement Positions

Rights and entitlements are often equated. This is a confusing practice. Rights, on the one hand, refer to legal rights i.e. rights enforced by state power. The term is also used to express a sentiment of great moral importance but which does not get translated into an enforceable right, such as the 'right to food' or the 'right to education' and 'health care'. Rights are relational as they bring together both rights and obligations. They are, however, no more that the abstract acknowledgement of a claim. The right of one party implies the need (or obligation) of the other party to respect this right. A right is therefore best thought of as a relationship of one agent to another.

Entitlement, on the other hand, is in particular concerned with practice, and refers to legitimate, effective command. 'Legitimate' refers not only to command sanctioned by a statutory system but also to command sanctioned by customary rights of access, use or control and other social norms. The 'effectiveness' of command over resources highlights two issues. First, resource claims are often contested, and within existing power relations some actors' claims are likely to prevail over those of others. Second, certain social actors may not be able to mobilise some endowments (e.g. capital, labour) that are necessary in order to make effective use of others (e.g. land). Entitlement, in short, represents the relationship between an agent and resources. A person's entitlement would depend on all the rights he has vis-à-vis others and others have vis-à-vis him, but also on the political, social, economic and legal environment.

From this distinction between rights and entitlements would follow that a person can have rights without entitlement. A constitutional right to education, for example, might not find translation into actual access to education for all citizens. And a land title does not guarantee the ability of working the land, for example under conditions of forced migration or refuge. Moreover, not all entitlements are based on legal rights. As figure 2 demonstrates, informal institutions and kinship networks are important guarantors of access to resources. Also the state's redistribution policies are not necessarily enforceable, legal rights. The focus now shifts to 'practice' rather than 'abstract, official and normative' statements.

Importantly, the distinction between the two concepts allows us to place emphasis on the position of individuals and groups within society, rather than exclusively on their socio-economic situation. In enlightens that behind people's participation in, or exclusion from socio-economic processes lie different sets of rights and duties, which might be characterised as entitlement positions. Two people with the same amount of income, for example, may be in entirely different positions as far as their claims are concerned. The $100 earned by a farmer who owns his land is worth far more in terms of security within the socio-economic structure than the $100 a seasonal agricultural worker earns in wages.[25] Also their vulnerability to government policies, economic decline or increased fighting will differ accordingly. Consequently, the entitlement analysis can also introduce a range of social, economic, legal and political factors as determinants of entitlements.

3. Entitlement Systems: the Rules of Entitlement

Entitlements are only a means to an end: the securing of well-being. Actual acquirement therefore requires certain types of activities and claim making (see figure 3). This implies
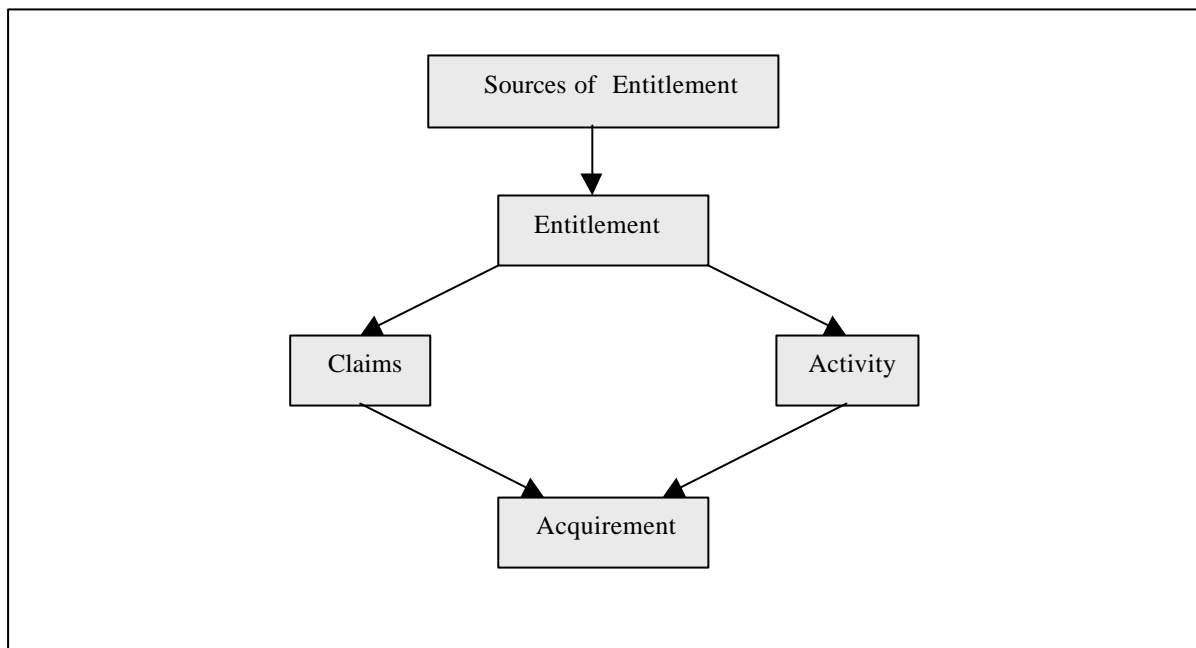
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[25] The example is taken from Klein Goldewijk and B. De Gaay Fortman (1999), p. 121.

working the land to reap the fruits, trading in markets, or applying for government benefits. The various sources and types of entitlement are subject to different sets of rules. A person's command over goods and services, thus, is not only dependent on the person's position in society, but also on the rules which render claims over commodities legitimate. At the heart of entitlement analysis therefore are the rules of entitlements, which specify what a person in any given position in society can legitimately command. The legal system and legal rights are only one type of rules that influence people's claim-making capacity and activities. "These rules vary between societies, and are different, for example, in a private ownership market economy, in an economy in which the means of production are collectively owned, and in a private ownership market economy which contains social security provisions and employment guarantees."[26]

The term 'institutions' is here applied to refer to the so-called 'rules of the game', i.e. rules governing human behaviour within a given society, reflected in the structure and disposition of organisations and maintained by people's practice. Diverse institutions operate at multiple-scale levels and influence who has access to and control over what resource. These institutions can be of a formal or informal character. Entitlement analysis should therefore also examine non-governmental sites of rule-making and rule-enforcing. There is an overlap between formal and informal institutions, which is important for understanding the arrangements through which people sustain their livelihoods in the context of uncertainties emanating from state programs and governance efforts.

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[26] Gore (1993), "Entitlement Relations", p. 431.

Figure 3: The Process of Acquirement

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Source: Figure 3 is based on the work of B. De Gaay Fortman.

II. Key Entitlement Interactions in a Conflict Assessment Framework

Entitlement analysis so far has provided a comprehensive, dynamic model of interaction between groups with different endowments and entitlements, different rules of the game at various levels and resulting in varying outcomes. On the basis of these elements, we can obtain a descriptive and differentiated picture of a certain situation and its underlying vulnerabilities. We are however also interested in the resulting behaviour i.e. the social repercussions of certain outcomes under a given set of entitlement rules. In case of conflicting interests and strategies, are people interested in maintaining the status quo? Or will they challenge the system? According to the argument of horizontal inequality, we would expect group conflict in situations of sharp economic differences between conflicting groups that are associated (or believed to be associated) with differences in political control. Economic differences would depend on the nature of the economy, absolute situations, but also on the nature of government. State-society relations, governance, redistribution and legitimacy are key in this regard. Political power thus is an important instrument of economic power, setting the rules and determining allocation of employment, of government economic and social investments and incentives for private investment. Consequently, the basis for the entitlement analysis into the susceptibility to collective violence is found in developments, rather than just certain states or levels in both the economic and the political domain.

1. Conflict over Rules

The 'rules of entitlement' are of a complicated nature, as there can be ambiguities in the specification of entitlements, overlapping (formal and informal) rules systems, or non-compliance with the rules. Entitlement analysis thus should take note of how legal rules work in practice in determining entitlement. In situations where the rule of law prevails, markets as a whole function properly, and authorities are unchallenged and are in some sense legitimate, people's actions will remain *within* the prevailing rule system. When the prevailing rule system is questioned, and other rule systems take on important mediating roles in society, entitlement analysis shifts to the consequences and outcomes of conflicting rule systems. The entitlement perspective thus helps in getting an insight into disputes. It would analyse the interplay between state-enforced legal rules and socially enforced moral rules in constraining and enabling command over commodities. Here, the role of (political and economic) power comes in explicitly on both a micro- and macro-level. Priorities and claims of social actors positioned differently in power relations may be highly contested. The bargaining strength of groups determines whether they are successful in creating new rules of entitlement. Redefinition of entitlement rules, however, implies a shift in the distribution of wealth and political power. When political and economic power lacks, the power of force might become a credible option. Processes of mediation, bargaining, conflict and power thus play increasingly important roles in institutional landscapes where uncertainties prevail.

2. The Role of the State: Flexibility of Political Institutions to Adapt to (Group) Claims

Research has concluded that – without downplaying the significance of other causes of conflict – the chances for crises and social explosions increase substantially when the state and its institutions stop functioning adequately and fail to fulfil a mediating (political inclusiveness) and redistribution (economic inclusiveness) role.[27] The state is not only a provider of entitlement as it regulates access to health care, education and police protection. It also engages in resource distribution through regional budget allocations, economic policies, and the provision of social services. States thus rearrange entitlements, as they give and take through the application of policies, investment and taxation. Such policies have a differential impact on local communities and the choices involved can have a disproportionate impact on inter-group competition in the face of overall scarcity and lack of public investment, as well as on state legitimacy itself. This furthermore points to the problematic nature of state-arranged entitlements: there usually is a separation of benefits

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[27] See for example P. Douma, G. Frerks, L. van de Goor (1998), "Causes of Conflict in the Third World", *Clingendael Occasional Paper*, The Hague: Clingendael; J. Klugman (1999), *Social and Economic Policies to Prevent Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Lessons from Experience*, UNU/WIDER Synthesis Report.

from contribution. In this regard, entitlement may make people dependent on those who are in a position to use, or manipulate, state power.

State redistribution, however, cannot be regarded only in formal, rational-legal terms. In many countries we see prominent roles for informal (social, traditional and customary) institutions that influence the pattern of redistribution. The impact of unequal distribution in terms of conflict potential, moreover, will differ according to the wider context: alternative sources of entitlement, levels of scarcity and expectations (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Differentiating Between Systems of Redistribution

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Formal and Informal Systems of Redistribution

In Africa, ethnic capital ensures the provision of many of the services that a modern state has taken over in rich countries. Few African states can deliver services such as security, education and norms of behaviour adequately. The system of redistribution within and among groups therefore is the key to creating the solidarity links between them. Its breakdown is liable to trigger political violence. The state and ethnic groups are connected by the participation of the elite of the latter in the former. It is not ethnicity by itself, but redistribution of the state's resources that is the core issue in the war/peace problem. This however needs to be qualified: we need to analyse more carefully the relative parts played by the state and its 'rational-legal' bureaucracy, on the one hand, and the traditional hierarchy that governs the ethnic group, on the other. "While the latter is bound by various channels of redistribution *within* the ethnic group, a very important part played by the state is to redistribute *between* groups"[italics added]. Both redistribution systems raise interesting problems of organisation and also the possibility of a breakdown. The ethnic redistribution system is rarely the cause of political violence.

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Source: J. Azam (2001), "The Redistributive State and Conflicts in Africa", in Journal of Peace Research 38(4), pp. 429-444: p. 436.

The more entitlement rules enable seizure of shares in wealth and production that are increasingly considered as being unfair, the more such practice will be disliked and opposed by groups that suffer from the ensuing erratic violations of their informal entitlement. In situations where actual or expected access to production, exchange and distribution diverge from the outcomes to which people think they are entitled, an 'entitlement gap' may grow. Once a gap is perceived or anticipated, then political performance plays a crucial part in escalation. What is, consequently, at stake is the flexibility of the institutional structure, i.e. its capacity to adapt to changing entitlement demands. An entitlement gap may escalate into violence in the process of persistent entitlement blockage of demands.[28] Continuing processes of entitlement blockage will eventually lead to demands for major change. A conflict over the rules may now escalate into a challenge to the whole system. The

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[28] The concepts are taken from De Gaay Fortman and Kortekaas (1998).

entitlement approach would thus argue that it is in particular in situations where entitlement demands of specific groups are continuously and persistently blocked from participation in the economic as well as the political arena, that violent escalation may occur. This risk would increase in situations of resource scarcity and deterioration, when state capacity to fulfil its re-distributive role shrinks.

Annex II – The Impact of Conflict on Poverty[29]

	Direct impacts of conflict on assets and livelihoods	Indirect impacts of conflict		
		Macro	Meso (sectoral and regional)	Micro (household and local communities)
Loss of public entitlements	Collapse / delegitimisation of instruments of public order (military, police etc) Destruction/decay of public infrastructure	Growing macro-insecurity of states and regimes. Decline in their capacities (to tax, provide public goods, ensure security) associated with shrinking revenue base and reduced public spending; the latter reallocated from social or development to military spending	State loss of monopoly of violence to armed opposition groups. Disappearance of government and its agents from the countryside (and some urban areas). Distribution of public goods and services skewed on geographical, social and gender basis	Micro-insecurity: civilians at risk from violence, rape, crime, seizure of assets (e.g. cattle). Diminished access to public services, including health, education, policing etc; hence higher disease, infant mortality, smaller school enrolments, etc.
Loss of market/livelihood entitlements	Destruction/decay of physical capital, communication infrastructure; withdrawal of land and labour force from production (eg due to landmines, population displacement)	Macroeconomic costs/disequilibria: stagnant or falling GNP, exports, imports; trade and budget imbalances; hyperinflation and exchange rate depreciation; capital flights; increased debt	Decline of formal economy relative to regional and local war economies; increased uncertainty; high transaction costs; failure of price mechanisms; market segmentation; major disparities between war-affected and other regions	Contraction in formal employment; decline in real wages; forced asset sales; destruction of subsistence livelihoods; changes in gender division of labour; shortages, entitlement failures and declining consumption
Loss of civil/social entitlements	Destruction of social capital (institutions, values, networks) through population displacement, impoverishment, inter-ethnic hostility, diminished trust etc.	Diminished sense of common citizenship based on shared rights and obligations. Shrinking of civil society. Resurgence of primordial rather than more inclusive conceptions of nationhood and citizenship	Existing institutions unable to cope with stresses and dislocations induced by conflict (i.e. refugee influx). Heightened competition for resources and conflict between previously co-operating regions/ethnic groups or communities	Local communities weakened or destroyed; existing safety nets and coping mechanisms insufficient or break down. Proliferation of vulnerable groups (refugees, displaced, female-headed households, orphans, HIV victims etc.)
Reverse entitlements/new forms of social inequality	'Asset transfers': direct appropriation of assets, land, sources of livelihood from vulnerable groups, displaced populations	Rent-seeking by those with access to state and military power, reinforcing macro-economic distortions and undermining capacities of state	New forms of inequality associated with privatisation of violence; rent-seeking by those controlling weapons, transport routes, food distribution, access to aid	Heightened insecurity and exploitation of vulnerable groups. Emergence of new groups (formerly) dependent on war for livelihoods, but also potentially at risk: child soldiers, women, demobilised combatant and war-wounded.

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[29] The table is taken from R. Luckham, I. Ahmed, R. Muggah and S. White (March 2001), "Conflict and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Assessment of the Issues and Evidence", *IDS Working Paper* 128, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

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Annex III – Outline for an Entitlement-based Analytical Tool for Conflict Assessment

Steps	Key Questions	Specific Questions/Issues*	Outcome
1. Mapping the major groups & their grievances	What are the major groups in society and what is the basis of group identity?	▪ E.g. class, region, language, religion, ethnicity, urban-rural	*Gain insight into socio-economic inequali-ties (problem area 1) and the political significance of this inequality.* This insight not only helps identify groups and their grievances, but also provides a basis for assessment how different groups will be affected by alternative policies. It thus provides guidance into how different groups might potentially respond to changes. Overall, this helps to *gain an insight into the lack of economic interests in peace (problem area 16)* as well.
	What are their entitlement positions?	▪ Types of entitlement ▪ Sources of entitlement	
	What are the distributional consequences of increasing conflict and tension? Which groups are most vulnerable?	▪ What are the main stakeholders? ▪ Who profits and who loses? ▪ What are important coping strategies?	
	What are their claims?	▪ Political inclusion ▪ Economic inclusion ▪ Identity-based claims ▪ To what extent are claims related or contradictory?	

2. Assessing Institutional Capacities	What is the nature of governance?	▪ Political inclusion/exclusion ▪ Objective/subjective basis for redistribution ▪ Capacities, level of corruption	*Gain insight into the nature of the regime and the exclusive government elite (problem area 2) and to what extent this regime is politically accepted.* This insight not only helps to determine the level of legitimacy of the state, but also gives a qualification as to why legitimacy is lacking. It helps differentiate between cases in which failing state redistribution is based on capacity problems or on willingness. The assessment furthermore provides an insight in the importance of the state role in respect to informal systems of redistribution.
	What are the major rule systems that render claims legitimate?	▪ Constitution and legal system ▪ Informal rule systems	
	What is the nature of the mediating capacities of formal and informal institutions?	▪ Legality ▪ Legitimacy ▪ Authority ▪ Economic power ▪ Political power ▪ Enforcement	
	What role do informal rules play in relation to formal rule systems?	▪ Is there a strict division or an overlap? ▪ Is access to the formal rule system restricted to certain groups?	

3. Assessing Entitlement Gaps and Entitlement Blockage	Are there clashing rule systems?		*Gain insight into the legitimacy of the state and to the level of violation of group rights (problem area 3).* The assessment however in particular focuses on how groups perceive their rights and how they are obstructed in their entitlement. It provides an insight into the type of interaction between state and society, and the major issues at stake.
	How does this affect state legitimacy?		
	What are the main issues raised by groups?		
	What is the objective of group demands and claims?	▪ Economic power ▪ Political power ▪ Independence ▪ State capture	
	What is the nature of interaction?	▪ Dialogue ▪ Demonstrations, riots ▪ Repression, violence	
	How does government mediate group demands?	▪ Nature of actions, degree of legality and legitimacy of actions	

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4. Assessing the Impact of External Conditions and Intervention Strategies	What are major changes in the context that influence groups' entitlement positions?	- Political (e.g. elections) - Economic (e.g. changes in world trade, investment, price changes, monetary changes) - Social (e.g. health, education, language) - Legal (e.g. changes in the constitution, new laws) - External (e.g. regional conflicts, illegal trade, refugees)	*Gain insight into the potential impact on the different groups and the conflict dynamics of external conditions and alternative interventions.* In this way, it can also help set policy priorities and the most appropriate action at the time of assessment. The target groups can be better defined. It will also help in *gaining a better understanding of the lack of economic interests in peace (problem area 16)*.
	What is its humanitarian role?	- What positive and negative impact can be expected of selected interventions on poverty and human suffering? - What is the priority and target group?	
	What is its economic role?	- What positive and negative impact can be expected of selected interventions on the economy at different levels? - What is the priority and target group?	
	What is its political-economy role?	- What is the positive and negative impact of aid on the political forces? - What is the priority and target group?	

The questions can be further specified for separate policy fields, e.g. when there is a specific interest in gender inequality, asset and income inequality, unequal access to the political system etc.

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