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Peace and Development: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Peace is a key component for achieving sustainable development. A peaceful society provides a healthy socio-economic environment for businesses and people to flourish, leading to sustainable development. However, if development is concentrated in certain areas amongst a few people, it then creates resentments leading to conflicts thereby disrupting peace in the society. Peace and development, thus, share a mutually reinforcing relationship; while peace is a pre-requisite for sustainable development, in order to maintain peace, inclusivity of development is essential.

Pakistan is an exemplary case that has been trying to strike a balance between this peace and development nexus in order to progress towards inclusive sustainable development. Despite immense potential for growth, Balochistan and erstwhile FATA are unfortunate cases of stunted development, partly owing to non-inclusive development and partly owing to a lack of peace in the region. For instance, the number of people living in poverty in Balochistan reduced from 83.4 percent in 2004/05 to 71.2 percent in 2014/15. On the contrary, other provinces not only had fewer people in poverty as compared to Balochistan, but in fact, their reduction in poverty has been much higher over the years as well.

Several other factors also play a crucial role for maintaining the peace and development nexus that leads to development, which is both sustainable and benefits all. This includes a well-functioning government, political stability, equitable distribution of resources, good governance, a well-functioning business environment, good diplomatic relations with neighbours, low levels of corruption, high levels of human capital, protection of fundamental rights of all, and easy access and flow of information.

For countries like Pakistan with areas affected by insecurity, along with all other factors, development interventions can serve as a crucial catalyst to maintain peace-conflict dynamics. However, if not prepared or planned well, these can do more harm than good. Development interventions, thus, need to conduct a thorough peace and conflict sensitivity analysis before the design phase. This is to ensure that the projects designed, especially in conflicts and post-conflict areas, not only consider the development objective and how to achieve it, but remain considerate of the conflict situation to determine how they can reduce conflict through economic, social and environmental protection.

Additionally, development interventions can also directly contribute to restoring peace through conflict resolution and management by providing neutral spaces for interaction, positive communication

outlets and mechanisms for co-operation. In short, by providing non-violent means to work together and to address contentious issues, they can demonstrate alternatives to conflict.

However, which strategy should come first is debatable and varies in different situations. For instance, whether State or development partners need to just focus on restoring peace through equitable development projects or need to restore peace in the region before any developmental work is implemented, is context specific.

The example of other countries' must also be looked at for understanding how both dynamics need to be taken forward simultaneously. Countries such as New Zealand and Iceland have always prided in maintaining a peaceful society and sustaining high levels of human development. Sri Lanka maintained high standards of human development despite suffering from a long-standing conflict for 26 years, therefore implying that peace cannot necessarily be taken as a precondition to development.

Pakistan has demonstrated considerable commitment to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). If implemented in totality, the achievement of the 17 SDGs can lead to sustainable inclusive development and peace in Pakistan. This is because a host of SDGs are related to addressing factors that impact the existence of peace and cause hindrance in development. These for instance include addressing poverty, inequity, education, hunger, discrimination, bad governance etc. If all these individual goals are addressed little by little, a ripple effect can ensue in establishing peace with simultaneous development.

In Pakistan's case, along with other targeted development interventions, youth can play a critical role in maintaining and boosting peace and development in the country. The National Human Development Report 2017 also informs us that with the existing demographic advantage-with a higher proportion of population being young-if provided with quality education, gainful employment, and meaningful engagement opportunities, the youth in Pakistan can serve as "positive agents of change".

Along with the State and development partners, grassroot organizations, civil society, as well as local authorities are essential for ensuring a bottom-up approach in achieving a balance between peace and development. For achieving the perfect balance in the peace and development nexus, a holistic and inclusive approach that includes all stakeholders is required; one which is well-embedded in evidence-based research and ground realities.

Peace and Sustainable Development

Note: The main analysis has been conducted by Dr Najimdeen Bakare (Head of Department, Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS), National University of Science and Technology) and Ms. Faryal Khan (Research Associate (CIPS), National University of Science and Technology).

Defining Peace and Development

Mankind from time immemorial has always been craving for certain goals, some of which are abstract and concrete in nature. The craving for peace is one of the most generalized goals. Making and having peace does not happen in vacuum, it always involves socioeconomic and political discourse in a given society. Though, having sustainable peace is by itself dependent on several temperaments, level of consolidation—social capital, the deeper and intense the intra and inter social capital, the longer its consolidation and vice versa.

The concept of peace and development connote different meanings, but are nevertheless synonymously used. They refer to a process more than a state of affairs and can best be placed and measured by the satisfaction of everybody. Satisfaction here denotes democratisation and liberalisation of satisfaction for the bottom 25 percent (people) or more of the society. For true development, a society cannot keep constant the level of non-satisfaction at the bottom. Meanwhile, the proclivity of a society or state to reduce structural inequality and violence, possibly direct or intentional, will bring about the state of peace.

Efforts to entangle peace and development are not novel. Numerous research is done to connect peace with a certain type of system of government and by extension, some form of development. Scholars like Huntington and Fukuyama have tried and weaved development with a strong liberal-democratic political system and functional democratic institutions. Such argument places development within the context of the democratic peace paradigm.

However, it suffices to assert that the concept of development has nothing to do with a system of government. It is conceptually fallacious to construe development

only through the lens of liberal democracy. The list is many of countries that achieved development under an authoritarian regime. To quote Galtung¹, peace and development, as the state of being satisfied-satisfaction being a relative term, it can either be attained in both conservative and liberal environments.

To place the discussion in perspective, 'satisfaction' through the paradigmatic discourse of positive means (a) self-realization or personal growth, if peace is seen as a condition for human fulfilment and development; (b) condition that does not allow the reoccurrence of conflict; (c) provision of a relatively high level of security to all members of a given society; (d) satisfaction-peace through an inclusive provision of basic needs, not only to segments of the society; (e) creating an enabling environment through which members of society get basic conditions for human fulfilment as in creative work, freedom and real politics; (f) peace and development through the standards of Human Development Index (HDI) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); and, (g) conditions for not only with living in peace with other human beings but also with nature—"eco-development".

Enablers and Disablers of Peace

Peace is a relative concept and should be appraised with same fluidity. Having lasting peace is a utopian idea, though not an insinuation that peace cannot be attained, let alone achieving sustainable development. It is important to emphasize two things, before discussing the enablers and disablers of lasting peace. One, peace is never a monolithic venture, instead, a state of mind and accomplishment achieved through collective effort. Two, it is made, created and constructed. The idea that peace can or should be imposed is philosophically and sociologically flawed. Should in case it is somewhat imposed, the tendency to last is unlikely, because the

ontology of peace is predicated on negotiation, compromise and toleration. The following discussion identifies few factors having the proclivity to enable and disable peace and consequently herald sustainable development.

- i. **Governance:** The provision of social amenities and the creation of enabling environment for human development is an essential responsibility of the state. The manner through which a state administers itself is generally termed as governance. Good governance is measured through the optics of accountability, transparency and responsibility. Any country devoid of good governance, automatically exposes itself to certain vulnerabilities. Inasmuch as good governance can enable sustainable development, structural corruption which is one of the by-products of its lack, can be so destructive to development. When a state is deeply rooted in the disease of corruption, necessary basic amenities become farfetched, discontentment, youth disgruntlement, human capital flight, grievance and frustration become the preconditions for prolong social conflict. On account of its display of bad governance, state resources and energy get directed towards situation and conflict management, instead of channelling the same energy towards developmental projects.
- ii. **Structure:** Over the ages, structure has played both normative and functional roles in shaping human consciousness, norms and values, institution and system. Prevailing structure can be a better gauge to measure inclusion and exclusion predominate in a given society, how that society construes peace and conflict, in correspondence with inclusive and exclusive development. Basing his argument on the under-

1. Johan Vincent Galtung is a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician, and the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies.

standing of domestic dynamics and sociology, Edward Azar² epistemologically offers a deeper dissection of conflict in relations with prevailing structure in a given society—a tangent from the traditional analysis of conflict predicated on international system. Azar's theorization of conflict led to the coining of 'protracted social conflict' (PSC). Such conflicts are characteristically domestic, socially rooted and are the consequent of the failure of governance. This social conflict becomes protracted, when individual or collective identity is either denied or truncated structurally and institutionally. In such a scenario, self and collective actualisation are fundamentally at stake, basic human needs, security, equitable economic growth, fair access to political institutions and economic participation are wholesomely wanting. Such climate engenders a disjunction between the state and society; enables communal discontent and deprivation and hence a prolong conflict which often has heavy impact on sustainable development. Exclusion of the 'other' from satisfaction is the core and central argument of Azar's PSC. No society will be at peace when the prevailing structure is exclusive and preferentially tailored to benefit a certain group at the detriment of the other. In such circumstance, development will suffer the blow of exclusion as the deprived, discontented and aggrieved will always be unwilling to contribute meaningfully to the course of development.

iii. International System: Within the discourse of peace and development, it is theoretically short-sighted to downplay the significance of the international system, which is generally described as anarchic. In an anarchic environment, states are bound to demonstrate their sovereign independence, integrity and status of equality. States behaviour is understandable, given the lack of a central government. War is one of the challenges of the anarchy, characterizing the international system, thus, military intervention by a powerful state in a weaker state, stands to either disrupt peace and development, or totally dismantle whatever level of development is already achieved. The invasion of Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria and the consequent political uncertainty in these countries are evidences to the eroding power of war vis-à-vis development. While war can be externally imposed, it can equally

be locally initiated by a combination of exogenous and endogenous factors and in turn, melt down any observable structure of development. The case of scattered wars in Africa and Asia are vivid examples. While the international system can trigger war and conflict and can impair development, the same system has shouldered the responsibility of ensuring peace and development, the world over. Through its multidimensional international institution, the international system owes to its credit the maintenance of peace and development across the globe.

iv. Religion: Even though it is a contested terrain, it is hard to dismiss the role of religion as a stimulus of change in many societies, both past and present. The relationship between religion and man is as old as man himself. Religion creates an undeniable social capital, particularly for its adherents and can muster positive externality, depending on how much the religion receives legitimacy and acceptance. Religion enables identity construction and on the bases of that, promotes development within in-group. Religion as a tool of constructing homogeneous identity can spur development and can likewise factor disintegration, enmity, acrimony and conflict-elements that are inimical to development. Religion promotes and creates both a homogeneous and heterogeneous community—a centrifugal and centripetal force. In the context of homogeneity, it can inspire unity and sense of togetherness and uniformity, and a sense of belonging towards sustainable development. In contrast, heterogeneity is more likely to engender individuality and lack of uniformity and common purpose, which are instrumental for moving a society towards the shore of development. For the sake of clarity, heterogeneity does not always conjure disunity, but 'pluralism and unity' and a sense of purpose in diversity. In such scenario, a society benefits from such social cohesion which is an important element for sustainable development.

Analyzing the Relationship between Peace and Development

It is somewhat hard to untangle the relationship between peace and development. In a stable and functional democracy, peace and harmony are essential ingredients of development, while the latter could (not necessarily) be the precondition for peace in a conflict ridden zone. Thus, in the background of peace and conflict research,

the relationship is often times situated in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. It thus follows, must there always be a war or conflict-like situation before this relationship can be established? Can peace and development mutually co-exist and facilitate each other, without any preconditions? While these questions cannot be accorded sufficient space of analysis at the juncture, the following situational analysis of Pakistan vis-à-vis Swat, former Federally Administered Territorial Agency (FATA) and Karachi will nonetheless be placed in the perspective of post-conflict reconstruction.

Case Studies: Karachi, Swat and Former FATA

The post-conflict reconstruction paradigm often starts with a troubled vacuum—an ungovernable and lawless zone, stemming out of the lack of government, which necessarily becomes the precondition and justification for (exogenous) intervention. The intervention often involves hard security-military measure(s) geared at stabilisation (peacemaking and peace-keeping) within the conflict environment. This securitisation is critically tapped as an enabler for necessary environment for the success of reconstruction-socioeconomic and political reconstruction, hence the renaissance of development.

It is important to note here that the situational analysis of Pakistan does not in entirety possess the immanence and standard of post-conflict reconstruction framework afore-described, because the latter framework is peculiar to conflict(s) that induces foreign intervention. Yet an analogous comparison and borrowing of ideas from the framework offers a useful analytical lens to explaining the case study.

To start with, if the description of peace as the "absence of organized group violence", is tenable, then it follows that in such an environment, the possibility of an enabling climate, potential enough to induce considerable economic growth, let alone, wholesome development, is a farfetched reality. Therefore, in an ungovernable and lawless terrain, peace is always wanting and same is true for development. The question that follows, is how to fix the situation.

In all three situations (Karachi, Swat, former FATA) there were (conflict, political turmoil and uncertainty) conditions that induced the intervention and introduction of conflict resolution measures. Similarly, in all three zones, due to the breakdown or incapacitation of local security apparatus to arrest and drive the situation towards a peaceful, meaningful and conclusive end, exogenous intervention(s) in the form of the military and rangers became impera-

2. Edward Azar was a professor of government and politics.

tive. Numerous studies and reports have been published on the various aspects of these situational case studies: in all, there is a common undisputable fact, the political turmoil became an observable jeopardy on socio-economic and commercial intercourse for intra and inter community development.

In the case of Karachi-the commercial hub of Pakistan, the political uncertainty did not merely impact mobility, it had observable impact on the productivity of the city and by extension, Pakistan. Since the arrival of rangers, security measures, necessary for normalisation and precondition for economic prosperity have been instituted. The situation in Karachi demonstrates the local structural limitations to tackle political menace, and hence the call for rangers' intervention, which in turn, set the city back on the track of peace and development.

The case of Swat is no exception, when it comes to the need for external intervention to help return peace which is one of the engines of development. While the Swat turmoil devastated this rich and cultured region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), it created huge humanitarian crisis-internal displaced persons (IDPs), destruction of social infrastructure and loss of lives and properties. The Pakistan army made concerted and serious intervention to resolve the crisis. The intervention did not simply return peace and order, it culminated in the rehabilitation of one the largest IDPs in modern history.

Before the merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) had always maintained certain peculiarity, which marks its distinction from the rest of the country. While less is truly known of FATA, the porosity of the terrain, its topography and culture are factors that still require deeper understanding and dissection by researchers, truly craving for a contextual perspective of the region. While the region might have offered sanctuary to extremist elements, it has equally bore the consequent brunt. Former FATA like the afore discussed cases, had similar conditions and hence the need for the same post-conflict reconstruction processes. The Pakistan army intervened for the restoration of peace.³ Even if the peace process or conflict resolution and reconstruction has happened under a securitised environment, it has nevertheless herald the process of noticeable material and immaterial development in the shape of modern infrastructures, youth engagement and more importantly, an overarching socio-economic and political mainstreaming in the shape of a merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Fundamentals of Peace and Development

As a concept, peace is differently understood, depending on the context. In the context of traditional security paradigm, it is largely considered attainable through hard measures, but with the growing realisation that such measures alone cannot produce the desired goals, hence the imperative for soft measures.

Amongst the developmental school, peace vis-à-vis development must come with a viable economy, enabling-peaceful and non-polluted environment and equity for all. Equity for all is a sign of development, but the question is defining equity with reference to development is even more controversial. Different societies receive and read equity differently, therefore, the whole notion of western imposed definition of equity which is somewhat believed to be clandestinely geared at destroying local culture and value cannot by any standard fit in the bracket of sustainable development. To this end, external interventions all in the name of shaping development can neither bring peace nor development, particularly, when foreign concept(s) and idea(s) antagonises local culture and religious sensitivity.

a. Conflict Sensitive Programming: In this backdrop, the idea of Conflict Sensitive Programming is increasingly making headway. Following the invasion of Iraq and the consequent socio-political and religious fallout, the idea of conflict sensitivity emerged. The latter was not just an attempt to downplay the impression of 'exclusive knowledge' on the part of the invader or humanitarian agencies, it was equally tailored to ascertain whether the kind of humanitarian aid given is needed and how sensitive are the donor agencies and foreign governments to their cultural, religious and human sensitivity.

In the case of Pakistan, the military-led conflict resolution and reconstruction can never be a success without the same sensitivity. For instance, in the case of former FATA, following the utility of hard measures and the realisation for soft approach. The need to strategize, to win the hearts of the local populace becomes much important, hence the necessity of plan and activities that would not be considered by the local community as constituting intrusion, either on their land or culture. Given the cultural sensitivity and the peculiarity of the region, the plan thus generally includes but not limited to being

sensitive to their culture and social architecture, creating an enabling environment towards peace, facilitating the sense of belonging, provision of service delivery, infrastructures and developmental projects necessary to reduce or eliminate the conditions that could re-stimulate the reoccurrence of the conflict. In addition, one important sensitivity is the caution and immobility of IDP to areas, for which the presence of the displaced people could trigger a certain degree of cultural and economic shock.

b. Human Rights: The protection of human dignity and rights are essentially important in the debate between peace and development. If peace is defined as the state of satisfaction, then, people with high human development are prone to be satisfied and more readily available to contribute to the development of their immediate environment. Understanding the imperative of justice, Aristotle argues that a society will never be immune from political unrest if punctuated by injustice. Injustice can manifest itself in many folds and becomes the harbinger of discontent, frustration and grievance, which eventually could morph into aggressive tendency, which is inimical to development. Hence, it is the duty of state to ensure the protection of human rights at all levels of the society. Though, it must be stated at this juncture, protection of human rights must not solely be the preoccupation of the state, but a venture requiring all hands. Everyone must be his/her brother's keeper and the golden rule must never cease to reign 'do unto other, that you wish them do to you'.

c. Youth and Women: One of the cardinal principles and requirements of the SDGs, is inclusiveness, leaving no one behind. There are many stakeholders in the course of creating a peaceful and harmonious society of which youth and women are important stakeholders. For any society to optimise its developmental potential, these two stakeholders must be given adequate attention and visibility. Pakistan has a sizeable women and youth population that must be adequately optimised for developmental course. If youth and women across the world are increasingly bearing the banner of change and progress, the same should be true for Pakistan. While the cultural sensitivity of the country should be respected vis-à-vis equitable representation in

3. As written in the 'Golden Arrow', a military publication.

public matter, the role of women can further mature from being mere the homemakers and keepers of family structure, to be more industrious in a more women friendly environment. The contribution of women is highly important in the overall makeup of the state's GDP. Meanwhile, an enterprising youth can drive Pakistan to the shore of development, they simply need incentive and responsible stimulus on the part of the state. Across the world, there is an abundance of lessons for Pakistan to learn, on how countries are instrumentalizing their burgeoning youth towards the path of development. Pakistani youth deserve a better future which can only be made possible through a foresighted government's developmental plan.

d. Climate Change and Food Security:

It is no more the discourse confined to the experts on climate, the debate of climate has garnered considerable traction the world over. The question is does Pakistan have both short and long term plans for the unfolding reality of climate change and the consequent risks and vulnerabilities? Though Pakistan is largely an agricultural economy, having the potential to produce for its populace, but amidst the growing intensity of climate, it is imperative for the government of Pakistan to plan ahead of time for the consequent food crisis that might eventually surface. Food security is an integral part of peace and development. A nourished state is peaceful state, 'a hungry man is an angry man' is a general adage, which speaks volume. Climate change can be phenomenal changer, it can cause drought, famine, flood, destruction of agricultural produce and can be a huge reason for displacement. In the event of displacement or internal migration, the likelihood of economic (food) and cultural shock are not implausible. Therefore, in as much as we speak of conflict in materialistically, it can equally be abstract, immaterial, more deadly and reason for future impediment to peace and development.

e. Regional development: Regional development can be contagious and have a ripple effect. A conflict ridden

region like South Asia is wasting its potentials. Housing almost 1.6 billion of the human race, a huge human capital and huge market are all recipes for development. While much energy and capacity is channelled towards regional hegemonic competition, same energy should be reinvested and re-diverted towards ensuring regional peace and development.

Global Examples

As the preceding discussion has overemphasized, there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development. This fact bears iteration from the peace goal-the 16th Sustainable Development Goal (SDG)-which accentuates the significance of a secure, just and inclusive social fabric based on a symbiotic dynamism between (lasting) peace and sustainable development.

Countries such as Iceland and New Zealand have consistently showed higher rankings in peace and development indexes and stand as exemplars of the correlation between sustainable development and lasting peace. Countries, such as these, have added additional bureaucratic layers to their executive mechanisms in order to provide voluntary reviews of the incorporation and implementation of the SDGs into the development agendas.⁴ Adding further to this debate, aside from such countries, the characterizations of SDGs and their means and methods of implementation hold exceedingly consequential outcomes when a post-conflict environment/ scenario is under consideration.

In this view, this section outlines certain models/case studies where the interplay of sustainable development and lasting peace, or vice versa, signifies an associative or sequential relationship. Additionally, some of these cases have been particularly considered due to nuanced dynamics of contemporary conflicts associated with them. More so, the succeeding case studies also showcase particular dynamics where the relationship (between sustainable development and lasting peace) is in transition and is expected to bear positive outcomes.

a. Bhutan: Bhutan is the most prosperous country in the region of South Asia in terms of 'Positive Peace'.⁵ Bhutan is ranked sixtieth in the Positive Peace

Report (2019), successively climbing its way up for the past decade.⁶ Bhutan is also recognized for conceiving and then measuring Gross National Happiness which is enshrined as a national priority in Bhutan's constitution.⁷ In recent years, Bhutan has specially focused on socioeconomic development programs which have improved the poverty and literacy rates in the country. Moreover, initiatives such as Rural Economy Advancement Program (REAP) and National Rehabilitation Program (NRP) have enabled financial support and infrastructural aid to marginalized communities in Bhutan.⁸

Through the Pillars of Positive Peace Framework, Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) characterizes Bhutan's good relations with neighbors, free flow of information, low levels of corruption, well-functioning government, equitable distribution of resources, and acceptance of the rights of others as the underlying factors for lasting peace in Bhutan. Given that Bhutan has a history of displacement of millions of certain ethnic groups within the country from 1988 to 1993, for which it was subjected to severe backlash. But consistent improvement in the Global Peace Index (GPI) and Positive Peace Index (PPI) has established Bhutan as an exemplar of peace and development, nationally and internationally.

b. Peru: Peru's history is laden with military coups, social unrest and violent insurgencies, and despite facing certain challenges, it has, nevertheless, become a global success story due to its consistent economic performance, cordial regional relations, and improved GPI and PPI ranking. In recent decades, Peru has avoided the harsh implications of international economic crises and commodity price declines by prudent monetary investment policies and exchange rates.⁹ In order to facilitate the socioeconomically vulnerable Peruvians, the government instated 'Juntos' (Together); the government's monthly monetary stipend program which aided in reducing poverty and economic inequality.¹⁰

Peru's political landscape has also

4. For more details on New Zealand see Landcare Research. "Sustainable Development for New Zealand." Available at <https://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/science/living/sustainable-business/sustainable-development-for-new-zealand>; and for Iceland, Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform. "Iceland." Available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/memberstates/iceland>.
5. Institute of Economics and Peace, "Positive Peace Report 2019", p. 76.
6. Vision of Humanity. "Global Peace Index 2019." Available at <http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/>.
7. Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative (OPHI), "Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index." Available at <https://ophi.org.uk/policy/national-policy/gross-national-happiness-index/>.
8. Wangchuk, Kezang., 2018. The Diplomat, "Bhutan's Unique Success in Reducing Poverty," Available at <https://thediplomat.com/2018/08/bhutans-unique-success-in-reducing-poverty/>.
9. The World Bank, "The World Bank in Peru," Available at <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/peru/overview>.

achieved considerable stability because the country has experienced six consecutive democratic and peaceful changes. In this view, Peru's National Electoral Board and National Office of Electoral Processes have aided to ensure free and fair elections in the country.¹¹ Another commendable measure supporting inclusivity and sustainable development in Peru was implemented when the Peruvian Congress passed a law in 2011 requiring the consultation of indigenous and rural communities when their ancestral territories were subject to developments and projects.¹²

- c. **Senegal:** According to the IEP's 2019 Global Peace Index, Senegal is the fifty-eighth most peaceful country out of one hundred and sixty-three.¹³ The country is situated in a region surrounded by political violence and instability, and it houses one of the longest insurgencies in the sub-Saharan region, within its Casamance region. It has however, remained considerably peaceful. The country presents a model comprising particular features which have contributed to this aforementioned stability. The foremost credibility goes to the strong and independent institutions that monitor and exercise power within the country by holding the constitution as the only reference. This factor is further complimented by the proactive civil society in Senegal who bear the responsibility to hold the government institutions accountable. For instance, prior to the 2012 presidential elections, Abdoulaye Wade attempted to run for the post a third time despite the constitutional restriction limiting the presidential terms to a maximum of two years. His declaration was responded with protests mainly led by the "Y'en a marre" citizen movement ("we are fed up") which eventually succeeded in mobilizing opposition against Wade's declaration and dismantling his attempt.¹⁴

Other factors echoing the relationship between sustainable development and lasting peace in Senegal are hinged on the country's attachment to inclusion, diversity and pluralism.¹⁵ The entrenched adherence to pluralism is evidenced in the national identity of Senegal, which comprises of an overwhelming majority of ninety-five percent Muslims, but as per the constitution of the country, it is a secular state, and the constitution guarantees the freedom of religion. Furthermore, considering inclusivity as a fundamental for sustainable development, the constitution of the country recognizes six official languages in addition to French and the formation of political parties on the basis of religion or language is prohibited through the national legislature.¹⁶

Given that Senegal faces challenges to its territorial integrity from the Casamance region's insurgency movement, however; rather than marginalizing the rebellion/ separatist forces, the government chose to incorporate the moderate members of the movement in the political sphere on a national platform. The local language of the agitating region's Joola ethnic group has also been incorporated in the constitution of the country.¹⁷

- d. **Mauritius:** Overtime, Mauritius has undergone internal vulnerabilities coupled with external pressures; such as, ethnic turmoil, trade instabilities, and the impact of climate change on the agriculture sector of the country. However, despite these challenges, the country ranked twenty-fourth (out of 163) on the IEP's 2019 Global Peace Index.¹⁸ The underlying reason for Mauritius's adherence to peace is the continued and committed investment in the human capital and the creations of favourable business environment, which are enshrined as the pillars of positive peace by the IEP. The IEP has further elaborated that greater investment in human capital

consequently leads to "social cohesion, economic development and peace."¹⁹

The Mauritian government primarily invests in education, free and accessible healthcare to all, access to safe drinking water, etc., due to which the UNDP's Human Development Index Ranks Mauritius at sixty-five globally with a life expectancy of 74.9 years, which is quite higher than other African countries.²⁰ In summation, the case of Mauritius bears significance due to the interdependency of the pillars of positive peace i.e., investment in human capital, and an open and favourable business environment coupled with rule of law and good governance can be credited as contributing factors to pursuance of sustainable development and the consequential lasting peace.

- e. **Sierra Leone:** Sierra Leone has been synonymous with civil war, political unrest, natural health emergencies such as the Ebola virus epidemic, and natural disasters caused by climate change, etc. However, it also has been one of the fastest post-conflict/ disaster recovering states in the world, primarily due to the adherence assigned to the SDGs. This positive momentum can be attributed to the civil society in the country for outlining a model infrastructure that puts people and communities at the center of peace and development. For instance, Fambul Tok, a civil society organization, has spear-headed the efforts to build the national capacity to integrate and engage villages, sections, chiefdoms, and local districts in national governance. In a statement claiming the aforementioned, Mr. Frances Piagie Alghali, the Minister of State for the Office of the Vice President, declared, "The Fambul Tok framework comes out of a desire of Sierra Leoneans to maintain peace and national cohesion after the tribulations and ensure that communities have a voice in their own development."²¹

10. Young Lives, 2016, "Impact of the Juntos Conditional Cash Transfer Programme in Peru on Nutritional and Cognitive Outcomes: Does the Age of Exposure Matter?," Available at <https://www.younglives.org.uk/content/impact-juntos-conditional-cash-transfer-programme-peru-nutritional-and-cognitive-outcomes>.

11. European Union Election Observation Missions Peru 2016, "A Peaceful and Orderly Election Day Culminates a Largely Democratic Process," Available at <https://eeas.europa.eu/election-observation-missions/eom-peru-2016/2769/>.

12. Institute of Economics and Peace, "Positive Peace Report 2019," p. 77.

13. Vision of Humanity, "Global Peace Index 2019." Available at <http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/>.

14. Genova, James. 2012. "'Y'en A Marre!' (We're Fed Up!): Senegal in the Season of Discontent." Available at <https://origins.osu.edu/article/yen-marre-were-fed-senegal-season-discontent>.

15. Scott Straus, *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership and Genocide in Modern Africa* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), p. 226.

16. Ibid., pp. 229-230.

17. Ibid.

18. Vision of Humanity, "Global Peace Index 2019." Available at <http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/>.

19. Institute of Economics and Peace, "Pillars of Peace." Available at <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2019/10/PPR-2019-web.pdf>.

20. United National Development Program, "Mauritius: Human Development Indicators," Available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/MUS>.

21. International Peace Institute, 2019. "Repairing the Cup"—Consolidating Peace and Advancing Development in Sierra Leone." Available at <https://www.ipinst.org/2019/09/consolidating-peace-and-advancing-development-in-sierra-leone#9>.

The Sierra Leone people-centered approach/model in post-conflict reconstruction with link to SGDs was also echoed by John Caulker, the Founder and Executive Director of Fambul Tok (Family Talk) International, who stated, “[...] we went back to the community, to the very village where Ebola broke out, and we brought community members together with the simple question: what was your experience with Ebola? How can we prevent such mistakes? How can we better address these problems?”²²

Furthermore, the efforts in Sierra Leone have also been lauded in terms of curbing gender inequality and in promoting and improving social protection. The international community specifically seems to encourage the measures taken to prevent child marriages, teenage pregnancies, combat gender-based violence, etc. Mr. Francis M. Kai Kai, Minister of Planning and Economic Development, summed up the link between sustainable development and lasting peace in Sierra Leone by outlining the future approach of the country by stating, “In every crisis, there is an opportunity, and for post-conflict Sierra Leone, crisis response and recovery strategies have left us with sustainable development models to help transform our nation going forward.”²³

The cases discussed above can be considered (successful) models where certain aspects of the SDGs have been incorporated over time within the national developmental agendas of these countries and have attributed to lasting peace. These countries, in some dimension, have been associated with conflict and their post-conflict recovery and transitional development, where they have consolidated peace as a foundational goal, echoes the symbiosis between sustainable development and lasting peace.

Way Forward

Building on the preceding debates, especially by extracting lessons from the case studies, this section outlines certain recommendations to sustain peace in order to ensure positive development:

- a. **Promotion of peace as an aspiration rather than a response to conflict:** The debates pertaining to lasting, sustainable and positive peace are bound with the contexts of conflict(s). However, while promoting self-sustaining peace, especially in post-conflict societies, the focus or point of analysis should rely more on peace than conflict. Meaning, the focus should be more on societal factors that

promote peace, rather than to frame policies or measures which remain focused on societal factors that are enablers of conflict. Additionally, the characterization of peace as an aspiration would increase nationally-owned agendas that aim to achieve the pillars of peace rather than only associating the achievement of peace as the response to conflict.

- b. **Finding the balance between short-term and long-term developmental measures:**

In order to sustain peace, the short-term measures which are primarily employed to cease hostilities and reach a ceasefire, should be complimentary to long-term programs of sustainable development. For instance, Pakistan adopted reactive, security-focused responses in areas such as South Waziristan and Khyber, where it had conducted armed operations against militants, but these measures were not followed by long-term post-conflict developmental initiatives, which has tendencies to prove counterproductive. However, with similar short-term goals in North Waziristan, Pakistan also rolled out an elaborative long-term development program addressing socioeconomic revival, the installation of governance and rule of law, eradicating threats and reintegrating former militants and rehabilitating livelihoods, etc. Such initiatives are prone to showcasing favorable outcomes with consistency and continuation in the implementation of the long-term programs.

- c. **Context-driven and local approaches need to be ensured:**

Sustainable peace and positive development initiatives should be locally-owned, and regionally and internationally supported. Local actors have the most in-depth understanding over the conflict associated with their surroundings and are best suited to prevent recurrence and are primarily responsible to ensure the durability of the intervention. Therefore, national and international actors should invest in building capacity of local governance structures to deliver services and ensure post-conflict economic development. In this view, the inclusive decision-making mechanisms where all important and relevant segments of the society are given space, are quite crucial to sustain peace and contribute to positive development.

- d. **‘Human’ centered development as an enabler of sustaining peace:**

Development or investment which is centered on human beings provides a positive/strong correlation with peacefulness. This can also be ensured by upholding human rights, reducing inequality, etc. Since humans are at the center of developmental measures, and are the primary vehicles of the peace, it is paramount that they are kept in central consideration while policies and plans are formulated. The example of Mauritius mentioned above seconds this claim.

- e. **Understanding and enforcing the ‘link’ between sustainable peace with sustainable development:**

Sustainable development relies on the provision of resources, opportunities and prospects in order to enable individuals to achieve their utmost potential. It should be noted that ‘peace’ is the enabler and the outcome of sustainable development and this is enshrined through the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Building on this, economic growth should be prioritized within this link because this, along with development, form the basis of sustainable development and peace. The SDGs 1, 8, 10 and 16 echo this claim and highlight the significance of inclusive economic growth and stability.

- f. **Security-development linkage to sustainable peace and sustainable development:**

This is important given that much literature points towards the role of local, national and international actors and their relevancy in post-conflict development. However, the role of security sector is rather blanketed with generalizations, or the literature points more towards international arrangements ensuring post-conflict recovery, rather than calibrating the role of national or para-military security arrangements in the development process. In most instances, maintaining and ensuring post-conflict general security remains within the control of these aforementioned arrangements and they are closely inter-twined with post-conflict developmental processes, that too go on for decades, and which falls outside their conventional mandate. An increased understanding and legislative reconsideration needs to be allotted to this domain to reconsider the primary stakeholder in sustainable peace and positive development.

22. Ibid

23. Ibid

Freedom of Expression, Peace and Development



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The nexus between peace and development is well established; peace is an essential pre-requisite for development, absence of peace means diversion of resources away from developmental activity. The nexus between human rights and development also is well-established; as Amartya Sen has pointed out, essential development means uplift of human beings or human beings' ability to enjoy their basic rights. The nexus between human rights and peace too is well-recognized; it was in the pursuit of peace that human rights as we know them today, were conceived.

Let us read the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). It says;

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world...

"Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted after two world wars, each bloodier and costlier than the earlier ones, in terms of loss of life and destruction of human savings, had convinced the leaders of the world of the urgency of

avoiding conflict and establishing peace through recognition of all peoples' human rights. It was precisely to establish lasting peace that all national communities, regardless of their size, resources or capacity to manage their affairs, were held entitled to freedom, the right to use their resources, establish democratic governments, and inscribe the UDHR in their national constitutions.

The human rights defined in the UDHR are universal and indivisible and freedom of expression is one of the key rights. Denial of freedom of expression always leads to denial, totally or partly, of quite a few other rights—such as the right to take part in one's government, right to choose a proper candidate in national elections, the right to take part in national cultural activities, and the right to ensure rule of the law, et al.

All states include freedom of expression in their constitutions and a simple statement, similar to Article 19 of UDHR, in their constitutions, usually numbered 19, is considered sufficient. Article 19 of Pakistan's Constitution, however, reflects the history of suppression of freedom of expression in the period preceding the adoption of the constitution in 1973. The press had been subjected to heavy restrictions during the preceding 17 years or so, therefore article 19 of the constitution, in a departure from common practice, specifically provides for the freedom of the press. The freedom of expression had always included the right to information and this was confirmed by the Supreme Court (Nawaz Sharif vs the federation, 1993). It was in order to protect the citizens' right to information that, in 2010, Article 19-A was added to the chapter on fundamental rights.

These changes in the fundamental rights chapter became necessary for resolving a conflict between journalists and the government that had been going on since 1963 when the Ayub government (1958-1969) imposed new curbs on freedom of expression. The media community had to rebel against tyranny and oppression. All members of the media community—proprietors, editors and working journalists—observed a one-day strike that compelled the government to issue a new

and milder Press and Publication Ordinance, 1963.

Freedom of expression facilitates conversation among members of a society and sustains debate and a discourse among them that fosters mutual understanding. Lack of freedom of expression replaces intra-nation understanding with suspicion, prejudice and even hatred. The people of Pakistan know this better than many other. Lack of freedom of expression prevented communication and conversation between the people of East Bengal and their fellow countrymen in West Pakistan. The understanding between them was replaced with suspicion and rancour. The people of East Pakistan sulked in isolation and the people of West Pakistan did not know what the grievances of fellow Pakistanis in the other wing were. The bonds of unity between the two wings of the country snapped and nobody could prevent dismemberment of the state in 1971. Denial of human rights had forced the oppressed to rise in rebellion. This is a classic example of restrictions on freedom of expression making a strong and adverse impact on lasting peace.

While curbs on freedom of expression negatively impact peace, the obverse is equally true and respect for freedom of expression promotes intra-nation harmony and peace which clears the way to sustainable development. Wherever society is free to maintain a national discourse, the channels for expression of differences and dissent are open. The airing of dissent generates a pressure for resolution of differences. The lifting of curbs on freedom of expression in Pakistan in the last quarter of 1980s created possibilities of bringing inter-provincial disagreements into the open, generated efforts to resolve them, and boosted national cohesion and rate of economic growth. Britain reaped huge benefits from the free discourse in the House of Commons and outside, during and after the industrial revolution.

Experience has shown us that freedom of expression has an all pervasive effect on a society. If lack of freedom of expression results in misunderstanding at the national level and this generates acrimony at that level, ultimately discord is transferred to the

individual level. A clear example is the spate of violence against the Hazara Shias and Punjabi settlers in Balochistan. The indigenous population developed a grievance against the Hazaras, migrants from Afghanistan, who occupied 70 percent of the posts in the provincial secretariat and like-wise transferred their grievances, real or imaginary, against Punjab into hostility to Punjabi doctors, teachers and other professionals. This hostility led to murderous attacks on the settlers.

Like all other freedoms the freedom of expression can also be abused and one of the worst forms of this abuse is indulgence in hate speech. What is hate speech? For our purpose, a simple definition of hate speech will be sufficient and we may accept hate speech as any attack on the belief, custom, or social practice or gender of a group and its members to the extent of incitement to violence against them.

In Pakistan, hate speech is used in inter-provincial wranglings over political space and financial shares of development outputs. Sometimes politics by hatred is taken to a point that the people of one province start hating their compatriots in another province. But a greater use of hate speech is seen in sectarian conflicts. Every year, on the eve of events of religious significance, the entry of ulema in certain districts is banned because their speeches at large congregations are often laced with attacks on other sects. The members of certain marginalized communities are at a permanent target of hate speech by organized groups and this campaign has led to the killing of their outstanding doctors and teachers. The use of hate speech against rival Muslim sects has led to a situation that today more Muslims are facing blasphemy charges than non-Muslims. At the moment, the world is witnessing the impact of hate speech on members of minority communities in India.

Hate speech can disturb peace and adversely impact development. When a factory worker in Karachi was lynched after hate-preachers had targeted him for his belief, tension at the work place diverted workers from their duties and production was disrupted.

The sum total of the foregoing discussion is that freedom of opinion and expression promotes peace and cohesion by setting off timely alarms about any fault-lines. A spirit of mutual accommodation makes for resilience and continuity of productive endeavours. Freedom of expression helps sustain a healthy discourse based on acceptance of the dignity of holders of opinions different from one's own. The people do not have to rise in rebellion against tyranny and oppression, to avoid which the whole scheme of human rights was devised.

But freedom of opinion and expression does not mean prevention of conflict alone, it is also necessary to enable citizens to take part in politics, their governance and cultural activities.

The freedom of expression, like any other human right, is not absolute. We may re-read Article 29 of the UDHR:

1. *Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.*
2. *In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.*
3. *These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the*

purposes and principles of the United Nations.

In Pakistan, the right to freedom of expression is subject to limitations mentioned in Article 19 of the constitution itself. This right is subject to "any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, commission of or incitement to an offence." The broad sweep of restrictions makes this article controversial and liable to abuse but if the institutions responsible for guarding the people's right to rule of law are dynamic and effective, the minimum necessary guarantees of freedom of expression can be ensured.

However, freedom of expression also requires an enabling environment. The state is required to desist from making laws, rules and policies that curtail the fundamental right to freedom of expression. The restrictions imposed by the constitution or any law, such as the Anti-terrorism Act or the Security of Pakistan Act, should be construed narrowly. At the same time, the Right of Access to Information Act 2017 needs to be fully implemented and the various IT commissions allowed to work freely. The federal and provincial governments need to improve their compliance with rules that require them to publish information in their possession in public interest. At the same time the citizens, especially those working for media organizations, should cut down their indifference towards seeking information under the Right of Access to Information Act 2017 and secure information to the extent possible. No right can be secured by anyone who does not know how to assert it.

Conflict Sensitivity in Development Cooperation



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Introduction¹

The first principle for aid policy-makers, identified in the OECD's Development Assistance Committee's Guidelines on 'Helping Prevent Violent Conflict', is 'to do no harm and to guard against unwittingly aggravating existing or potential conflicts'. This is in addition to 'maximising good' and strengthening incentives for peace.² Now well accepted in the development community, this principle rose to prominence after the devastating genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Genocidaires exploited humanitarian relief to refugee camps in order to consolidate their own power and to launch attacks within the camps and against Rwanda.³ Development agencies further heightened tensions between Tutsi and Hutu groups by recruiting predominantly Tutsi local staff.⁴

These destructive events demonstrated that aid interventions are not neutral but become a part of the context in which they

are operating—and in conflict settings, become a part of the conflict. Donors need to be aware of and accountable for the inadvertent side effects of aid programming.

What is Conflict Sensitivity?

Conflict sensitivity is an essential concept and tool to help aid actors to understand the context in which they operate, the unintended consequences of aid in the particular context; and to act to minimise harm and achieve positive outcomes. Conflict sensitivity serves not only to decrease the potential for violence but also to increase the effectiveness of assistance.

Potential negative unintended consequences of humanitarian aid could be:⁵

- Targeting and distributing support in a way that exacerbates divisions;
- Elite capture and diversion of aid resources to a particular group;
- Distorting local economies and/or competition over aid resources;
- Support for political settlements that are not inclusive; and,
- Working with a corrupt or exclusionary government or by-passing the state.

In Lebanon, for example, aid to address the immense influx of refugees escaping from conflict in Syria, has produced some negative consequences. At the policy level, international aid actors have often operated independently of the Lebanese government in favour of local non-state actors as service providers. This has undermined government legitimacy and

strengthened patterns of clientelism and patronage. Further, health services provided for free to refugees from Syria but at a cost to Lebanese hosts have been perceived as unequal treatment and have exacerbated tensions. While needs-based assistance is important, decisions about project location and the diversity of recipients, staff and suppliers need to consider pre-existing political fault-lines.⁶

Development interventions also have the capacity to contribute to peace, such as through fostering common interests among stakeholders, neutral spaces for interaction, positive communication outlets and mechanisms for co-operation. By providing non-violent means to work together and to address contentious issues, they can demonstrate alternatives to conflict.⁷

Although conflict sensitivity originated in the humanitarian field, it has since been applied in a wide range of development, peace-building and state-building contexts.

What Tools Do We Have?

Conflict analysis is a common central component of conflict sensitivity. It helps aid workers to determine the key factors, actors and dynamics at work in conflicts and in conflict prevention; and to understand the interaction between the intervention and the context. The absence of conflict analysis can exacerbate conflict. In rural Kenya, for example, the construction of water wells closer to remote villages, in order to avoid women having to travel long distances for water, had the unexpected outcome of increasing family and inter-village conflicts. A subsequent study revealed that women would discuss,

1. This article draws on previously published work: Haider, Huma, (2014). Conflict Sensitivity: Topic Guide. Birmingham: GSDRC. Available at <https://gsdrc.org/topic-guides/conflict-sensitivity/>. The production of this guide was funded by the Department for International Development; Haider, Huma, (2017). Breaking the Cycle of Violence: Applying Conflict Sensitivity to Transitional Justice. Conflict, Security and Development 17(4), 333-360.

2. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)-Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (2001). Guidelines on 'Helping Prevent Violent Conflict'. Paris: OECD, 23.

3. Brown, Sarah et al., (2009). "Conflict Sensitivity Consortium Benchmarking Paper." Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, London.

4. Uvin, Peter, (1998). "Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda." Kumarian Press, West Hartford.

5. Stabilisation Unit (SU), (2016). "Conflict Sensitivity Tools and Guidance." London: Stabilisation Unit.

6. Stamm, Sibylle, (2013). "Conflict Dimensions of International Assistance to Refugees from Syria in Lebanon." Bern: KOFF/Swisspeace.

7. Bush, Kenneth, (2009). "Aid for Peace: A Handbook for Applying Peace & Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) to Peace III Projects." INCORE, University of Ulster, and United Nations University.

negotiate and resolve many community problems on their travels to and from the water wells.⁸ Conflict analysis could have revealed this issue and the need for an alternate mechanism for conflict resolution.

Building on conflict analysis, conflict sensitivity involves critically reviewing all elements of an intervention to determine plausible outcomes of how it may inadvertently interact with violent conflict.⁹ There are a range of tools to do this, in particular 'Do No Harm' (DNH) and 'Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment' (PCIA).

DNH helps aid workers to identify conflict-exacerbating impacts of assistance, in particular how decisions and actions can affect inter-group relations. This involves analysis of dividing and connecting issues and actors, which should be done with local partners and regularly updated during project implementation. It is important to understand how divisions are actually created. For example, 'religion' is often called a divider, but religion itself is not necessarily a source of tension. The question is how people use religion to cause divisions.¹⁰ Attention to connectors allows for progress to be made beyond 'avoiding harm' to fostering trust-building and inter-group linkages.¹¹ It is important not to generalise certain groups as connectors or dividers. Women's groups may represent dividers when they represent only one side of the conflict. They can also serve as connectors through joint enterprise, such as a hostel run by Tutsi and Hutu widows in Rwanda.¹²

PCIA assesses not only impacts of assistance but also the risk of how contextual factors could impact on a project (risk and opportunity assessment). This assessment should be engaged in pre-initiative, during the initiative, and post-initiative-contributing to planning, monitoring and evaluation.¹³ PCIA does not evaluate the effectiveness of a development project against its stated objectives, outcomes or outputs, but rather against indicators

related to peace and conflict.¹⁴ An education project may fail to increase the number of students able to pass state-wide exams (stated criteria), but may succeed in improving inter-group relationships by creating a safe, neutral environment for interaction and countering stereotypes.¹⁵ It is necessary to consider how to adapt or supplement initiatives to minimise the risk of negative outcomes and to address peace and conflict issues.

How to Operationalise These Tools?

Conflict sensitivity must be applied consistently and holistically throughout the programme cycle (design and planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation). There needs to be systematic links between conflict analysis, and understanding of the interaction between the intervention and the context, on the one hand, and the design and implementation of the intervention, on the other.¹⁶ It is essential that the impacts and unintended consequences of programming once implemented are subject to monitoring and evaluation (M&E). A programme that appears conflict sensitive on paper may not necessarily be so in practice. Programmes should be flexible and adaptable in response to findings, updated conflict analysis and changing conflict dynamics.¹⁷ M&E processes must themselves be conflict sensitive, such as through transparency, the creation of safe spaces and encouragement of open dialogue.¹⁸

Guiding questions include:¹⁹

- Is there understanding of power dynamics, root causes, drivers of conflict (e.g. historical tensions within or between communities, such as competition over space) and drivers of peace (e.g. traditional conflict mediation; ways in which and places where community members come together and share resources)?
- Is there understanding of how different identity groups are affected by the

conflict, and the differential impacts of conflict on their lives?

- Do local partners and beneficiaries represent a cross section of society and/or different sides of the conflict; or is there a strategic choice to focus on a particular group?
- Who will be served and who will be left out of programme support and does this result in a marked imbalance?
- Where will the programme be implemented geographically and how does this choice relate to identified conflict risks and opportunities?

In order to be effective, all relevant actors must be involved in conflict sensitivity. Lack of coordination among actors operating in the same space, including national governments, donors, local partners and NGOs, and among agencies in the same country government, can result in unintentionally undermining the work of others.²⁰ International development actors should ensure that local partners and NGOs are familiar with conflict sensitivity tools and practices.²¹

Conflict Sensitivity in Policy Frameworks

Conflict sensitivity needs to be embedded in an agency's policies and operational agenda, such that it can be applied consistently at the different levels of intervention (project, programme, sector, policy).²² Even if it is applied at the programme level, there could still be negative consequences if the policy level is neglected.

Efforts to infuse conflict sensitivity into strategic and policy frameworks have been growing over the past two decades. The World Bank, for example, implemented a programme aimed at improving the conflict sensitivity of country poverty reduction strategy frameworks. Key aspects include the need for contextual analysis

8. Marthaler, Esther and Sidonia Gabriel, (2013). "Manual: 3 Steps for Working in Fragile and Conflict-affected Situations." Helvetas, Bern and Zurich.

9. Goldwyn, Rachel, (2013). "Making the Case for Conflict Sensitivity in Security and Justice Sector Reform Programming." Care International UK, London.

10. Supra note 8.

11. Engelstad, Sam et al., (2008). "Do No Harm in Somalia." CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, Cambridge, MA.

12. CDA, (2010). "Do No Harm: Additional Model of the Framework." CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, Cambridge, MA.

13. Supra note 7.

14. Bornstein, Lisa, (2010). "Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) in Community Development: A Case Study from Mozambique." Evaluation 16(2), 165–176.

15. Bush, Kenneth, (1998). "A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) of Development Projects in Conflict Zones (Working Paper 1)." International Development Research Centre, Ottawa.

16. Paffenholz, Thania and Reyhler, Luc (2007). "Planning and evaluating development and humanitarian interventions in conflict zones, Part 3 in Aid for Peace: A Guide to Planning and Evaluation for Conflict Zones" (pp 71-127). Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos.

17. Sida, (2017). "Conflict Sensitivity in Programme Management." Stockholm: Sida.

18. OECD, (2012). "Evaluating Peacebuilding Activities in Settings of Conflict and Fragility: Improving Learning for Results."

19. Supra note 5 and 17.

20. Lange, M (2006). "Conflict-sensitive Humanitarian Assistance: building capacity for mainstreaming." In P. Gibbons & B. Piquard (Eds.), Working in conflict - Working on conflict: Humanitarian dilemmas and challenges (pp. 155-170). Bilbao: University of Deusto

21. Ahmed, Zahid S., (2015). "Development and Conflict Sensitivity: a case study of the application of PCIA in Pakistan." Asian Journal of Peacebuilding 3(2): 215-231.

22. Supra note 11.

and flexibility to adapt and change programming in response to changing situations. There are also now various overarching policy frameworks that address conflict sensitivity, such as the 'New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States'. It aims to mitigate risks from providing aid in conflict and fragile settings and emphasises the need for periodic country-led assessments.²³

Strategies for conflict sensitive interventions should build on and integrate with overarching policy guidelines and policy frameworks across various sectors. However, translating policy guidelines into national policies and strategies and implementing related organisational changes within donor governments remains a challenge.²⁴

The Need for Conflict Sensitivity in Pakistan

Pakistan faces multiple local and international challenges to peace and stability. There often also exists some negative perceptions of Western interventions amongst local population. Internal conflict drivers include religious extremism, terrorism, political violence and sectarianism.²⁵ Given these various layers and forms of conflict, it is essential that development actors incorporate conflict sensitivity in their work to avoid becoming parties to conflict.

Greater contextual understanding and conflict sensitive project and programme planning can help to avoid unintended negative consequences. Conflict analysis involving an irrigation project in Pakistan, for example, implemented by a European organisation, revealed tensions over the

sharing of water resources and the possibility of elite capture. The organisation was able to design and implement its irrigation project in a location affected by water shortage (Dera Ismail Khan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), in a way that prevented elite capture and did not exacerbate local conflict.²⁶

Involvement of all relevant actors in conflict sensitivity can also improve the effectiveness of aid interventions. NGOs in Pakistan have in the past been left out of conflict sensitivity trainings and have subsequently demonstrated limited understanding of the concept and of its relevance to their work.²⁷ This can greatly undermine the utility of interventions and foster the view that conflict sensitivity is solely a Western agenda. It is essential that local partners are included in knowledge sharing and training in conflict sensitivity approaches and tools.



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23. Haider, H., (2014), *supra* note 1.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Supra* note 21.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

Peace and Sustainable Development



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Introduction

In the Fragile States Index of 2019,¹ Pakistan is placed at 23 in the 'alert' category mainly due to conflicts and violence in different parts of the country. It is also a country with widespread economic disparity with nearly one-fourth of the population living below the national poverty line. The ongoing economic crisis with high level of inflation and unemployment can further fuel conflict and violence in the country. This piece argues why there is a need for a greater focus on the peace-sustainable development nexus in Pakistan.

Defining Peace and Conflict

Peace can be defined in two ways - 'positive' and 'negative' peace. Negative peace is merely the absence of violence, but positive peace moves beyond to address the root causes of violence/conflict often hidden in attitudes and structures.²

Violence can be viewed in three contexts, personal, cultural and structural violence. Personal violence is direct physical violence, but cultural violence refers to cultural aspects that can be used to justify

direct/structural violence. Galtung refers to structural violence where some social structures may prevent people from meeting their basic needs.

The Link Between Peace and Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is defined as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. This definition therefore equally emphasized on the need of focusing on social, economic and environmental aspects of development.³

Since the culmination of the Cold War, there has been greater emphasis on the connection between peace and sustainable development. According to the Rio Declaration, "peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible".⁴ Simultaneously there was a realization that development projects can also do harm to local peace and conflict dynamics if they are not prepared well. This consciousness led to the development of conflict sensitivity tools, such as peace and conflict impact assessments. Since then there have been actions taken by the international development community to directly and indirectly, contribute to peace through their development projects.

Despite this global level understanding and push for focusing on peace in developmental interventions, there remains a confusion regarding what should be a first priority: peace or sustainable development. An easy answer is both, as one cannot wait for peace in order to implement development projects. Similarly, one cannot ignore the importance of peace while implementing development projects. In contexts facing conflicts and post-conflict situations, development interventions need to consider not just the impacts of their

projects on peace and conflict, but must also consider how their projects can reduce conflict through economic, social and environmental protection.

In 2005-06, a peace and conflict impact assessment in Dera Ismail Khan found that a particular irrigation project was mainly irrigating the lands belonging to the local elites. Thus, intentionally it was contributing to the overall structural violence.⁵ Similarly, another development project in Swat was disrupted owing to a conflict between the local tribes, consequently shutting down the school.⁶

These examples delineate that there is not just the need for being fully educated on the local context well in project planning to be conflict-sensitive, but also the need for resolving conflicts.

Managing Conflicts

So, what should be done to manage conflicts constructively? There can be many answers to this question based on different scenarios. There can be contexts when conflicts are unavoidable and directly affect development projects. Then conflict avoidance is not a choice and development projects should focus on ways of resolving conflicts. There can also be situations when there is no direct impact of conflicts on the project but development interventions can lead to conflict resolution or reconciliation.

Hence, all projects must begin with a comprehensive micro-level assessment of the drivers of peace and conflict to see how conflicts can be reduced by investing in peacebuilding efforts. In the case of Pakistan, it is important to be conscious of ethnic, religious and sectarian divisions. Sustainable development projects could, for example, ensure that they bring together communities irrespective of their ethnic, religious or sectarian differences.

1. The Fragile States Index 2019. Available at <https://fragilestatesindex.org/>

2. As defined by Johan Vincent Galtung in 1964. Galtung is a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician, and the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies.

3. Brundtland Commission report to the United Nations General Assembly in 1987

4. Rio Declaration on Environment and Development 1992. Available at http://www.fao.org/mfcal/i_rio.htm

5. Ahmed, Z. S. (2015), "Development and conflict sensitivity: A case study of the application of PCIA in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 3(2), 215-231.

6. Ibid

With regards to peace dialogues within Pakistan, the national and international development organizations hardly analyze the consequences of their interventions on peace. This is partly also linked to the very nature of donor-driven projects because in general, local organizations adhere to guidelines set by donors.

Many conflicts are beyond the reach of development organizations due to the lack of accessibility. Among these are the situations in Balochistan and former-FATA. Bottom-up approaches for bringing communities together, are more important in Pakistan where the government already has its hands full with a variety of domestic and external challenges. Development projects can execute this effectively because their projects focus on social, economic and environmental protection and are not an 'alarm' for security and locals.

There can be many innovative ways of

addressing the root causes of various conflicts that Pakistan is faced with. Building on the facet of 'peacebuilding through state building', which international development organizations have already been working on, there is greater attention required in relation to the SDG 16 on 'Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions'. The set up of dispute resolution councils in Pakistan are a valuable step in the right direction. Such community-level committees are needed across the country to address local dispute in a timely fashion.

Moving Forward

There is already greater cooperation between the international development community and the government of Pakistan in relation to the implementation of the sustainable development goals (SDGs). If implemented in totality, the achievement of the 17 SDGs can lead to sustainable peace in Pakistan. Several SDGs

are linked to addressing structural violence, which is deep-rooted in Pakistan. There is an alarming rich-poor gap in Pakistan demanding actions in relation to the first two SDGs focusing on poverty and hunger. The youth is a critical factor in this entire scenario and needs to be integrated more deeply in both peacebuilding and development interventions. There are already many good examples but there is a need for more investment for instance in sports for peace projects that could bring communities together.

To sum up, it is important to reiterate that the local and international development organizations do not have a choice of choosing between peace and sustainable development. Various forms of conflicts demand a joint focus on the peace-sustainable development nexus.





Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

Former Pakistan's Ambassador/High Commissioner to Syria, East Germany, the USSR/Russian Federation, China, India, and the United States

Former Special Representative of the UNSG

Former UN Head of Mission in Iraq and Sudan

Peace and development are two oft used together terms. What in your opinion is the relationship between the two?

By and large the one is not possible without the other. For example, building Naya Pakistan or a New Pakistan is development. This is impossible without bringing about an improved neighbourhood environment, especially in relations with India and Afghanistan. This is peace-building.

Nevertheless, in order to achieve stable and lasting peace, certain issues have to either be resolved or put on a path towards resolution. A major example is the Kashmir dispute. It is an obstacle to better relations with India which precludes an environment conducive to development. Only skillful diplomacy can resolve such conundrums. India's development as well, despite being the bigger country, has also been impacted because of bad relations with Pakistan.

What challenges do you see in Pakistan with regard to peace and development?

Governance as institutionalized class warfare, the hollowing out of all political institutions, elite constructed narratives posing as national ideologies, the denial of basic human rights protections including basic services such as decent education and health, and as a result, a people who believe their "qismat" (destiny) is to live off the crumbs from the high table of their social "superiors", are all inimical to rational welfare policies that are the foundation for peace and development.

In the absence of tackling these fundamental flaws in governance, no amount of specific, technical, commonsense and necessary reform proposals can have any effect because they will either not be implemented or if they are, they will never be sustained. The national interest is defined by its enemies. The people are excluded from having any say in policies that vitally affect them—in the name of the people! The people are aware of their situation but are carefully indoctrinated to be patient in the belief that their respite lies in the after-life. Those who insist on more inclusive, just and participatory governance in this life are designated as threats to law and order, purveyors of sedition and of suspect loyalty to the nation and the faith.

What roles can different actors, including the state, civil society, national and international development partners etc. play in Pakistan, to combat these challenges?

Most of these actors are to one degree or another, part of the

say that again

"...The people have to become their own actors and protectors. Otherwise they will be acted upon and protected from exercising their own rights by those who fear them."

problem and not part of the solution. The provision of basic services and human rights protections are state responsibilities as per the constitution. These are enabling responsibilities and constitute the core of democratic governance. Capitalism worships at the altar of "free enterprise" not democracy. Capitalism left to itself disempowers the people and instead empowers high finance and social and political order that serves and supports it.

However, as George Orwell brilliantly commented, that an expensive education was required to teach people not to think what simply would not do to think about. Capitalism inculcates such an education to ensure an ordered society in which the elites and the "bewildered herd" know their respective places. The only actors that are required are those who are able and willing to devote themselves waking the people up to their situation, their rights, their opportunities and their potential.

None of the partners mentioned, with the exception of civil society, have much of an interest in wasting their time in such pie-in-the-sky and quixotic activities. Countries like China have prospered by carefully ignoring western text book solutions that are applied to poor countries and never used as a policy basis for their own countries. Very few, if any, leader of Pakistan has ever liberated himself from the ideological blinkers of western capitalist development, the history of which had nothing to do with democracy, equality, welfare, justice or inclusiveness. There were just winners and losers. The winners kept the benefits to themselves assisted by security and law enforcing agencies, while the losers were fed on the ideology of free enterprise, a minimalist state and heavenly rewards while being kept in their place by security and law enforcing agencies. The people have to become their own actors and protectors. Otherwise they will be acted upon and protected from exercising their own rights by those who fear them.

What policies and plans are required to move forward to sustain peace and nurture it to contribute to positive development in the country?

Within the prevailing system, no set of policies can bring about lasting basic reform, national transformation and democratic governance. The present government is up against this truth. It may mean well and be led by a charismatic and honest person. But the compromises and U-turns it has made, voluntarily or not, are fatal to the prospect of governance by the people which can never be a gift from the elite and the powerful.

It is always the result of successful struggle against the ruling elites.

Lumpen-proletariats are always the “jiyalas” of their class enemies. Rowdy populism is the opposite of government of, by and for the people. It pretends to be the champion of its victims. Economic rule by the IMF and its IFI affiliates, political rule by the rich and the forceful, social leadership by traditional spiritual and landed elites, hollowed out democratic institutions like parliaments legislating empty laws, judiciaries that delay and deny justice, bureaucracies that pander to political charlatans, media moguls who obligingly

misinform and disinform their viewers and readers, and architects of educational syllabi who take care to ensure no child is rendered fit for life in the 21st century, have all rendered the present system irreparably dysfunctional.

Policies and plans are irrelevant. Only transformational movements can move the country towards survival and salvation. Responses, not endless questioning, are what is needed.



Lt. General (Retd.) Talat Masood

Political Commentator

say that again

"...If development ensues that would render more peace in the region itself, given people will be satisfied with the economy and their living standards."

Peace and development are two oft used together terms. What in your opinion, is the relationship between the two?

I think there is a very strong relationship between the two: without peace, it is very difficult to have genuine development. The resources of the state cannot be properly utilized unless there is peace, because the state will be consumed with other issues, if say for instance, the state is itself threatened, or its people are threatened, or if there is a conflict within the state or with its neighbours, or if it is part of a global collusion force. Therefore, it is very important to have a peaceful environment, especially for countries like ours which are in the process of development.

One of the reasons that our country has been unable to develop and catch up with other countries, is because of the fact that there has not been much peace in the region in general. Moreover, Pakistan has also pursued certain policies which have caused more harm than good. So, while certain things have been imposed on the country as a consequence of being part of this region, others have been self-imposed, without much realization of the consequences.

I think development is extremely important, irrespective of the state of peace. If development ensues that would render more peace in the region itself, given people will be satisfied with the economy and their living standards.

Ofcourse there is the case of Sri Lanka whereby development and peace did not go hand in hand. There are several reasons for that. One is that Sri Lankan society, geographically also, were split apart, so development happened irrespective. The other was that Sri Lankans have generally been a very peaceful nation and have also given a lot of importance to education. This as a result helped its economy, subsequently bringing about political stability, despite being embroiled in a long-term conflict.

What challenges do you see in Pakistan with regards to peace and development?

I think political stability is very important. The political parties and government need to make sure that they activate and actualize the political system in Pakistan. The democratic system is not being actualized, the parliament is not active, and the Prime Minister is not too interested in the parliament.

The relationship between the government and the opposition is also very hostile, which prevents the political system from developing. This allows military to dominate politics, which has also been a tradition in the past, so they perpetuate their dominance, which is very wrong in the sense that it hurts democracy.

Then, the interests of the government, the democratic institutions, public accounts committee etc., entire parliamentary process, the legislation all these things are very important. The working relationship with the opposition is extremely important. Pushing back the military and judiciary to remain within the ambit of their constitutional boundaries is also extremely important.

What roles can different actors, including the state, civil society, national and international development partners etc. play in Pakistan, to combat these challenges?

I think each has a major role to play. Collectively, they should try to feed each other and supplement each other's efforts. They also need to play their independent role. For this purpose, the civil society needs to energize itself which requires leadership and a nucleus and nodal points from where civil societies can emerge, not just from the cities but also rural areas. A strong civil society will exert pressure on parliamentarians and institutions, and will also be able to influence policies, given they are in direct contact with the people.

Development partners bring in parallels from other countries who can aid in funding, or help spread awareness from their lessons learnt. For this to genuinely ensue, better interaction and integration is required.

What policies and plans are required to move forward to sustain peace and nurture it to contribute to positive development in the country?

First and foremost, it is essential to develop harmonious relationships with other countries, especially our neighbours. My own experience over the years has shown me that indulging in 'super power rivalries' benefits no one ultimately. Who Pakistan aligns itself with should be well thought out. However, for a nation to truly progress, a self-generating and self-sustainable economy is key. Foreign support should be limited.

Interview



Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan

Principal and Dean
School of Social Sciences and Humanities
National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST)

Peace and development are two oft used together terms. What in your opinion is the relationship between the two?

There is a very strong relationship between peace and development and when we say peace, we mean security. According to Robert Matnamara, former president of the World Bank and also former secretary of defence of the United States, "Security or peace means development and without development there is no peace or security." So, they are very strongly intertwined with each other.

Paul Kennedy, a renowned historian, said that a nation's military strength depends on its economic strength. How can a country enhance its economic strength? Through peace, which will bring development, development meaning economic development, and this will ensure strong national security and defence. Hence, there exists a very strong relationship between peace and development.

What challenges do you see in Pakistan with regards to peace and development?

Pakistan is living in a very disturbed neighborhood which has direct consequences to peace in the region and peace in Pakistan. We have a western border where there has been no peace for the last three to four decades. This instability has caused a lot of challenges.

Similarly, we have an eastern border where again there are ongoing challenges, which resonate internally and cause internal conflicts. These create internal insecurities and cause a negative impact upon our economy.

The war on terror, which Pakistan has been actively fighting for since the last two decades, has also caused heavy losses and a hefty price for the country. Adversaries of Pakistan continue to cause internal confusions and instability, their main aim being to disturb peace that impacts upon development outcomes. While the government and the military continue to maintain stability in the country, challenges are far and wide and will require time and a thought out strategy to bring under control.

What roles can different actors, including the state, civil society, national and international development partners etc. play in Pakistan, to combat these challenges?

It is the prime responsibility of the state to ensure peace and stability in the country because that is the prerequisite for peaceful develop-

say that again

"...The government's top priority should be economic stability, economic development and economic prosperity. This will bring peace that will foster further economic development."

ment. This may be the state's prime responsibility and while they are conscious about it, they cannot handle such matters alone. This is where other actors will have to play their role. Like civil society, our own people, the academia, students especially. Students must play their role positively, given they have such fluent access to technology and social media. They should be aware not only how to use this to the country's benefit, but also which external information to absorb.

Similarly, the role of international development partners is very crucial. They provide financial and technical support to the government in development. They are indeed playing their roles by providing this kind of assistance and giving opportunities to our younger generation, to work with them and educate them about global scenarios. We are grateful to them for contributing to peace and development in Pakistan.

What policies and plans are required to move forward to sustain peace and nurture it to contribute to positive development in the country?

First and foremost, the economy should be strengthened. The government's top priority should be economic stability, economic development and economic prosperity. This will bring peace that will foster further economic development. For a country like Pakistan, our economy should be growing by 7-8 percent per annum. If it is not growing at this rate, then, achieving or ensuring peace, development and prosperity will remain a pipe dream. Economy is now the new battlefield and all stakeholders will have to fight to win this battle.

From 2002 till 2007 were considered better years in terms of the country's economic prosperity. During this time period, the entire objective of the government was to enhance the size of the economy so that everybody could get their share. It is only when there is an inequality in terms of opportunities and resources is peace disturbed.

Following the year 2007, there was seen a lot of political unrest in the country owing to exacerbating inequalities. Internal stability is a thriving environment for external pests who are looking for opportunities to destabilize our internal structures. Hence, in essence, ensuring that everyone gets a 'fair share of the cake' is integral to ensuring peace and development in the country.

How do you view the relationship between peace and development in Pakistan? How can the youth participate in the conversation?



Sunnya Ashfaq

Community Executive

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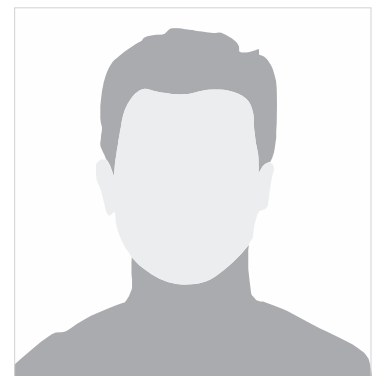
If development means building infrastructure, better economic performance and higher living standards, then this might lead to peace in Pakistan. As employment will lead to greater purchasing power and higher self-confidence, this will result into reduced violence and crime rate. Lately, the culture of entrepreneurship has popped up in Pakistan. It is great to see young entrepreneurs doing phenomenal things and providing jobs for the people of Pakistan.

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Peace and development are not mutually exclusive. Pakistan is a classic example of an increasingly deteriorating security situation that has led to a crippling economy. With 64 percent of people in Pakistan under 30, as per a UNDP report, the youth can play a vital role in the correction of this problem by being ambassadors of change, both domestically and internationally, and taking charge of the situation.

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Shehryar Hassan

Management Trainee Officer



Zara Raheem

Research Assistant

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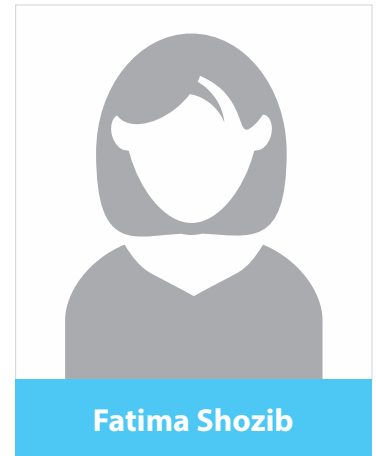
Our previous generations have taken actions that have led to uncertainty and disrupted peace not only in Pakistan but within and across countries and communities, worldwide. As stakeholders in the future and in our world today, the youth-especially Millennials and GenZ-have the tolerance and drive to accept change, include disadvantaged communities and work towards conflict resolution and subsequently, encourage an environment of growth and development.

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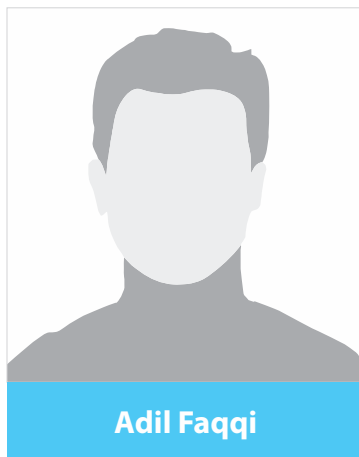
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The presence of peace and development in Pakistan, in my opinion, has always been represented by our youth from advocating women rights through campaigns, to starting charities for the underprivileged and creating a job market through their entrepreneurship.

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Researcher



Online Strategist

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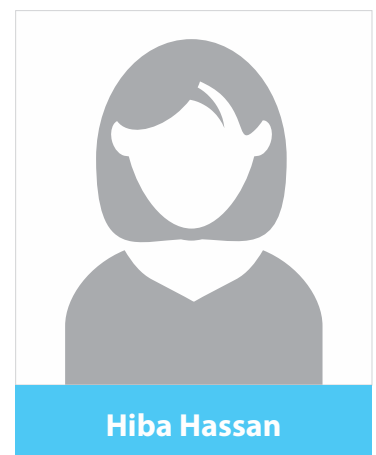
Each individual has their own unique role to play in helping to sustain peace and using it to foster development. While the 'numbers' of the youth offer promise to address challenges in Pakistan, it can only do so provided it is trained adequately and given the option to participate in the conversation.

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In my opinion peace and development have a two way relationship: peace encourages development and vice versa. Pakistan as a state remains in a turmoil when it comes to this concept. Over the years, the concept of peace has slowly diminished here with ever increasing political and socio-economic problems. We as a nation need to re-align our focus on the right things, things that contribute towards community development. The youth can transform this discrepancy between peace and development by creating an environment of tolerance, where minorities are heard and protected, where the disadvantaged are given equal opportunities as the advantaged.

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Digital Marketing Executive

DEVELOPMENT ADVOCATE
PAKISTAN