



United Nations Development Programme
Oslo Governance Centre
Democratic Governance Group

Local Government in Post-Conflict Environments

Commissioned Paper

By Paul Jackson and Zoe Scott

**Workshop on Local Government in Post-Conflict Situations:
Challenges for Improving Local Decision Making and
Service Delivery Capacities**

**Oslo, Norway
28-29 November 2007**





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Part A: Introduction and Background

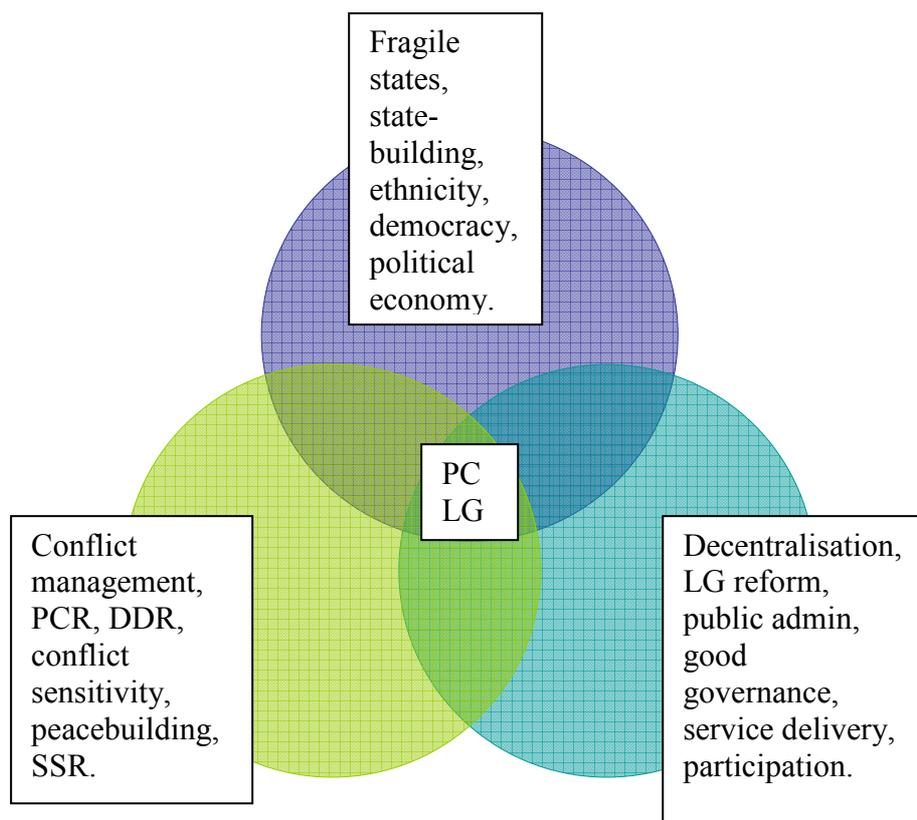
Lack of research on this area

There is a vast literature on local government (LG) in developing countries, particularly on processes of decentralisation. Even more is written on post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) – whole websites, think tanks, donor departments and academic centres focus exclusively on this topic. A significant subset of the PCR literature considers the reconstruction of governance in post-conflict (PC) contexts. However, despite the size of these two relevant literatures and despite the current international interest in governance, conflict, state-building and state fragility, very little has been written specifically on local government in post-conflict environments. Research on governance in PC or fragile states focuses almost exclusively on national systems of governance – local government is simply not addressed. This is particularly true of donor literature on LG in PC countries. The most relevant literature found during the course of this literature review comes from individual country case studies published in academic journals. There is very little material available that draws together the conclusions of these case studies, or provides an overview of this literature.

Relevant literatures

Whilst there is little written that specifically addresses LG in PC contexts, this topic sits at the intersection of several other related literatures or groups of literatures, for example, conflict, governance and political economy. Figure 1 below demonstrates this and outlines some of the larger related literatures.

It was not possible in the time allowed for this literature review to survey all of the literatures detailed in the diagram for relevant material. This review focused solely on research that explicitly addresses LG in PC contexts. In particular, there is literature that specifically deals with decentralization and conflict that may have some relevance, but is outside the scope of this review. However, the diagram below demonstrates the centrality of LG in PC contexts to current debates on governance and conflict and makes it more surprising that this is such an under-researched topic.



Definitions

This literature review focuses on LG in PC contexts. However, ‘post-conflict’ is a highly controversial term that has been criticised heavily (CMI, Brinkerhoff). This is primarily because there is usually a very blurred line as to when an environment transitions from conflict to post-conflict. There may also be repeated transitions back and forth across that line as violence can break out at any time, often escalating post-agreement, and peace agreements themselves can take years to negotiate. For example, there are no tidy dates that mark the beginning or the end of Sierra Leone’s conflict. In such environments it is often impossible to clearly identify distinct times of peace or conflict. Several authors also emphasise that ‘post-conflict’ is a misleading term “because conflict is an inherent element in all societies” (CMI, p.1) and “conflict and post-conflict (i.e. peace) are relative terms as well, subject to gradations and qualifiers. Post-conflict rarely means that violence and strife have ceased at a given moment in all corners of a country’s territory. In practice, most post-conflict reconstruction efforts take place in situations where conflict has subsided to a greater or lesser degree, but is ongoing or recurring in some parts of the country.” (Brinkerhoff, p.4). Peace is therefore a spectrum that ranges from insecure to secure with no clear marker to indicate that an environment is ‘post-conflict’. For this

reason, “post-conflict recovery efforts have to be seen as extended conflict prevention strategies” (p.5, Salomons).

Finally, PC countries are not an homogenous group. Just as conflict is complex and multifarious, all PC contexts are different and it is misleading to assume that they should be treated identically (CMI, Kauzya).

This literature review will therefore use the term ‘post-conflict’ to mean environments that have experienced recent and severe outbreaks of violence but are demonstrating clear signs of transitioning towards higher levels of peace.

Importance of LG in PC environments

The lack of research that focuses on LG in PC contexts is surprising when one considers the importance of local level governance in situations of insecurity. Most people in post-conflict states live outside the capital city and so interact with government through local level institutions. If, as Brinkerhoff argues, “the inability to integrate regions and minorities into larger polities is a key source of state fragility, failure and conflict across the globe” (p.11 Brinkerhoff) then it seems sensible to focus on LG as playing a key role in conflict management. Also, given that most conflict in the 21st century is intra- rather than inter-state violence (Siegle), focusing on sub-national institutions for mitigating conflict and violence is critical.

Lister proposes two reasons why the international community focused on national as opposed to sub-national reform in Afghanistan. Firstly, the strategy was based on an assumption that there would be some ‘trickle down’ effect, where a strong central authority would be able to foster strength at the provincial level, and, secondly, because the prospect of engaging in the regions was too difficult. Although not explicitly stated in donor literature, it seems likely that these reasons are relevant across all post-conflict countries as the international community generally fails to think beyond the capital city and appears unwilling to engage with the politically ‘messier’ regions where the state is more likely to lack legitimacy and capacity. Despite donors’ reluctance, country governments are often extremely aware of their need to engage in local level governance: “the reach of government outside the main cities is weak or non-existent and post-conflict governments, understandably, are anxious to extend their reach to the entire country” (p.68 CMI).

Romeo argues that LGs are important because they are the vehicle for simultaneously re-establishing the presence of the state in the regions and for demilitarising politics in divided societies. He argues that LG is critical in PC reconstruction due to better access to information on local conditions and needs, a greater ability to interact with communities and traditional authorities, a mandate for economic development and service delivery and the potential to realise “allocative and operational efficiency in the use of scarce public resources” (p.5, Romeo). Salomons also emphasises the importance of LG in PC contexts: “peace tends to come first in isolated pockets, in certain communities or areas, and rarely synchronously across entire countries. That is where a programming approach focusing on local opportunities has its first major advantage. There may be opportunities locally or regionally well before a country is pacified in its entirety. Such local interventions can then set the scene for expanded programming” (p.6, Salomons).

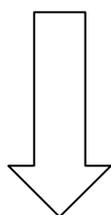
In addition to the PC reconstruction potential of LG, Bigdon and Hettige emphasise the conflict mitigating potential of LG: “the strengthening of good governance through adequate representation, participation and recognition of all identity (minority) groups at the local level can be seen as an important entry point for the resolution of ethnic tensions, and this in turn will also support the national political process of reconciliation. Furthermore, the lessons learnt at the local level can provide important answers to the question as to how to restructure the [national] political system so that it is suitable to accommodate all identity groups” (p.16, Bigdon and Hettige). Similarly Manor, in summarising the findings of a major World Bank research project on aid in fragile states concludes that “at the local level, much greater constructive potential survives conflicts and other complex emergencies than we had expected or than we found at higher levels in most political systems” (Manor, p.3). Local government is therefore an overlooked, but potentially crucial factor in successful post-conflict reconstruction.

Links between LG and conflict

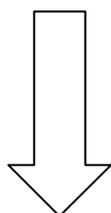
There is a clear consensus in the literature that there are strong links between LG and conflict. However, the nature of these links is contested. Some authors assert that LG has conflict mitigating potential (Schou and Haug, Bigdon and Hettige), generally arguing that it provides a non-violent platform to manage inter-group tensions, it increases representation and participation and it improves service delivery, all of which reduce the likelihood of conflict. Other authors (Siegle, Sanchez and Chacon, Rosenbaum and Rojas) emphasise the ways in which LG can exacerbate conflict, primarily arguing that ineffective, corrupt, partisan local political institutions cause frustration, resentment and feelings of exclusion which increase the likelihood of violent conflict. Essentially, these are two sides of the same argument: effective LG reduces causes of conflict, whereas ineffective LG increases the risk of violence. Ultimately we can conclude that LG affects conflict, it is not a neutral actor in conflicting societies. Figure 2 below gives more detail of the arguments supporting both the conflict mitigating and the conflict exacerbating potential of LG.

Figure 2

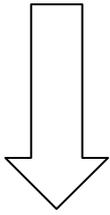
Effective LG can prevent or mitigate conflict in the following ways:



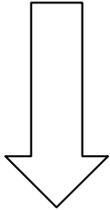
- Creates a non-violent platform for inter-ethnic / inter-group discussion relating to local issues and allocation of resources.
- Enables minority group representation, preventing social exclusion resulting in conflict. The promise of formal political power gives groups an incentive to engage with the state through non-violent means. Also gives assurance that their priority concerns will not be overlooked.
- Can bring improvements in service delivery, reducing grievances and dissatisfaction with the state and preventing inter-group conflict over service provision.



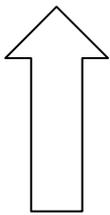
- Improvements in LG performance can weaken popular support for the conflict
- Builds state legitimacy as groups see the state functioning effectively at a local level. This improves national political stability.
- Broadens popular participation which increases state legitimacy.



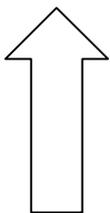
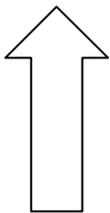
- Broadens political participation by providing more layers of government which reduces the likelihood of a scenario where one 'winner takes all'. Power is spread amongst a wider array of actors.
- Can help to develop conflict resolution mechanisms e.g. community forums, platforms for debate etc.
- LG leaders can play a strong role in community reconciliation from their elected positions
- LG is a mechanism that can be used to formally address the local root causes of conflict
- Establishes state outreach and control in remote areas that are at risk of domination by warlords or non-state actors.
- Builds trust between groups that are participating in the same institutions.
- Additional checks and balances are introduced into the political structure. This reduces incidences of 'grand' corruption which improves the legitimacy of the state and reduces frustration amongst aggrieved groups.
- LG provides a 'learning laboratory' for people to acquire political and conflict resolution skills that can be used in different social arenas.

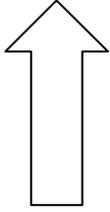


Ineffective LG can exacerbate conflict in the following ways:



- Domination of LG structures and positions by one group can increase feelings of marginalisation and grievance by other groups.
- Non-transparent or inequitable allocation of resources amongst groups can lead to frustration and resulting violence.
- Weak, ineffectual LG undermines state legitimacy. Conflict is more likely to break out in contexts where the state fails to fulfil its functions and citizens see the government as having little legitimacy.
- In democratic systems, local elections can entrench social divisions if political parties map directly onto the conflicting groups.
- Marginalised groups can feel under-represented if their candidate is not elected and this lack of representation in decision-making fuels exclusion and frustration.
- Poor participation in LG decision-making undermines a culture of seeking democratic solutions to conflicting needs and issues.
- In ethnically diverse contexts, inappropriate LG structuring can encourage ethnic identification, accentuate inter-group differences and fosters discrimination against local minorities.
- If the dominant group at a local level differs from those at national levels central/local tensions can be exacerbated.
- Increases competition between local and national powerholders and may result in sub-national groups attempting to break away.
- If reallocation of resources between regions is perceived to be unfair the chances of conflict are increased. Regions that are resource rich are particularly likely to seek separation from the central state.
- States with more tiers of government have higher perceived corruption which can lead to anger and disillusionment amongst the people.
- Some research links decentralization to higher inequality which breeds conflict (Siegle).





- LGs can be vulnerable to exploitation from external influences, particularly if they are resource rich and are close to a neighbouring state
- Elite capture of LG institutions tends to lead to corruption and inequality which are both drivers of conflict.
- LG financial resources are more likely to be violently appropriated by irregular/armed groups than central financial resources.
- Local leaders less able to withstand pressure from locally based armed groups.

Whilst Figure 2 shows various arguments taken from the literature as to LG's conflict mitigating potential, we were unable to find empirical evidence to support these theories. All of the empirical country case studies reviewed for this report concluded that LG had exacerbated conflict or, at best, not contributed to peace (Bigdon and Hettige, Sanchez and Chacon, Jackson, Lister, Lister and Wilder, Barron and Clark). For example, Bigdon finds that the Sri Lankan "local government system is not yet capable of contributing to conflict resolution but is rather aggravating tensions through politicization" (p.95, Bigdon and Hettige). One possible exception is Brinkerhoff and Mayfield's anecdotal study on Iraq. Although not an empirical research study, the authors argue that a USAID project on LG strengthening was successful in building social capital to mitigate conflict. They found that vertical social capital, which connects citizens to government, and bridging capital, that links different social, religious and ethnic groups were improved by the project. However, these positive outcomes were threatened by external factors meaning that LG would probably not fulfil its conflict mitigating potential i.e. level of violence and insecurity, hardening of societal and ethnic divisions, presence of outside Islamic extremist spoilers, popular rejection of the US military presence and the reassertion of central control by the government. This highlights a need for additional research: are there definite instances where LG appears to have mitigated conflict? If so, how was this done? Is the conflict mitigating potential of LG just a theory or does it prove true through empirical research? What are the barriers that prevent LG from harnessing this conflict mitigating potential?

Part B: Key Issues for LG in PC Contexts

Political economy analysis

A recurring theme throughout the literature is the importance of understanding the political context of LG in PC contexts. Historically, LG literature has been predominantly ‘technocratic’ – focusing on technical solutions to large, complex problems in developing countries. Recent literature throughout the development field has increasingly pointed to political analysis as a way of understanding why these technical solutions rarely pay dividends. LG is essentially about where to locate power and decision-making – it is therefore a highly political issue. When considering LG in PC contexts it is even more important to pay attention to the underlying political economy as PC environments are generally characterised by weak formal institutions but extremely strong informal institutions. These can act as major barriers to effective LG, for example socio-cultural institutions opposed to participation in Cambodia (Blunt), or political institutions such as entrenched patronage in Sierra Leone and Afghanistan (Jackson, Lister and Wilder). Lister and Wilder warn that good political economy analysis is vital as “technocratic interventions to strengthen subnational administration that fail to understand the political context could actually result in strengthening *de facto* power holders rather than the *de jure* state” (p.46, Lister and Wilder). They also argue that “the functioning of subnational administration both shapes and is shaped by complex political dynamics and is part of a broader political process. Interventions to strengthen subnational administration should therefore not only focus on mechanisms and structures designed to increase the collection of revenues and facilitate the more efficient delivery of services. Reform processes are affected by the current distribution of power... and have political effects on the establishment of legitimate authority throughout the territory” (p.39, Lister and Wilder). Lister gives an example of this: the repeated failure of initiatives to get different provincial level government bodies in Afghanistan to work together. Initially the issue of coordination seems an easy one to solve with technical strategies, but it is actually a highly sensitive, political issue that involves resources, status and legitimacy (Lister).

Patronage and elite capture

A review of the literature shows that patronage is rife in PC contexts. These environments typically have weak formal political systems which causes the emergence of very strong informal political institutions, particularly patronage practices. The informal political, economic and military spheres are often entirely entwined with the formal (Blunt, Brinkerhoff, Jackson, Lister, Lister and Wilder). Powerful patrons and ruling elites in PC environments generally also have military resources at their disposal which strengthens their position. In Afghanistan, for example, local commanders and warlords control LG appointments by virtue of their *de facto* power: “most mid and upper-level government employees owed their employment, and therefore their loyalties, to local and regional power-holders rather than the central government” (p.42, Wilder and Lister). This inevitably weakens LG as inappropriate, often inexperienced or under-educated staff are given formal administrative positions. Not only does this affect LG capacity, it also distorts

developmental interventions. LG policy and practice becomes driven by allegiance to an individual rather than to developmental aims or to the citizenry.

Central/local relations

Central/local government relations are often characterised by misunderstanding, miscommunication and mistrust (Woodward). The politics of centre-periphery relations are heightened in PC environments for various reasons. Firstly, trust and reciprocity tend to be particularly lacking in countries emerging from violence (CMI, CMI 2004b). Secondly, PC states are generally governed by weak central authorities which can be frustrating for LG. In some circumstances they are even governed by an external transitional authority, such as the UN or a coalition force (CMI 2004b). Thirdly, tension often arises between local and central government over financial resources. In PC contexts central government is likely to be extremely constrained financially which can undermine good relations (Siegle). Finally, several authors emphasise that central/local government relations are complicated by hidden agendas, particularly that the centre ‘secretly’ undermines principles of decentralisation and uses LG as a means of extending their power rather than devolving it (CMI, Forrest, Crook, Bigdon and Hettige). For example, “often local level institutions have been reduced to the status of appendages of the central government” (p.16, Bigdon and Hettige).

Ultimately these central/local government tensions and poor relations can be viewed as a potential major cause of conflict. Barron and Clark identify this in relations between Aceh and the central Indonesian government in Jakarta: “Redefining center-periphery relations is seen as the means of quelling separatist unrest and cementing Aceh’s place within the Indonesian state and nation... It is largely on the basis of these inequalities and grievances that GAM has been able to mobilize resentment toward the center and forge a political identity at odds with Jakarta.”

Despite these tensions in central/local relations, several authors emphasise that LG must always try to link in with central government and strengthen ties with the centre. They emphasise that the strength of the local is ultimately dependent on the strength of the centre and it is not appropriate to perceive of relations as a conflictual zero-sum game (CMI 2004b, Siegle, Romeo, Salomons, Woodward). “A policy to support a ‘local governance approach to peace-building’ should at the same time be a policy to strengthen the centre” (p.7, Salomons). Romeo also observes that “the interdependence of the local and the central in the process of reconstructing states deserves indeed more attention than it has actually received in the literature on PC recovery” (p.4, Romeo).

Lister and Wilder’s case study on Afghanistan differed slightly from the other literature reviewed in that they noted a unanimous desire on the part of LG officials, across all provinces, for strong centralised authority. All officials interviewed wanted a restoration of central political authority over provincial administration, even those who had been appointed by local warlords.

Reform or rebuild?

In most PC contexts, the administrative infrastructure of LG will have been totally devastated by the violence, for example, Iraq and Rwanda. However, in these scenarios, some system of governance is likely to have endured, for example through traditional structures. Occasionally, for example in Afghanistan, LG administration shows remarkable resilience and continues almost in spite of the conflict ravaging the country. In both scenarios there is a major decision to be made as to whether to try to rebuild and simultaneously reform existing structures or whether to entirely redesign LG from scratch. Should you rebuild what was there before, often archaic systems that were out of touch with their communities, or should you create something entirely different? Time pressures and an international community that expects quick results provide an incentive to simply rebuild what existed before. However, there is a clear trade off here between short-term stability and results and long-term development and state strength (Kauzya, Cliffe et al).

Cliffe et al. emphasise that different contexts require different approaches in relation to this issue. For example, in Timor Leste, LG was totally re-structured with no continuation from the pre-existing system. Under the Community Empowerment Project, leaders of pre-existing political authorities were deliberately excluded from the post-conflict elections to avoid domination of the councils by one leader or their identification with one political force. Those excluded included traditional leaders, village heads and the heads of resistance structures. Whilst this sends a strong message to the local community about the difference between the pre- and post-conflict structures, it is also a high-risk strategy. Ultimately, the authors find that the councils were perceived as weak, because they did not include those who were considered to be established local political leadership. Also, those elected had little relevant experience or education.

In contrast, in Rwanda, given the turmoil in the country post-genocide, it was decided best to continue with the pre-existing local political structure rather than introduce further political upheaval through a reform programme. So, the pre-genocide Community Development Committees at a local level endured. This was a deliberately long-term strategy and elements of reform were introduced as stability increased, for example members are now democratically elected and must include women and youth. This approach also has risks, primarily around ensuring trust from the community during the extensive period of fine-tuning of the institutional design to accurately represent the community.

Several authors express concern at the idea of simply re-building pre-conflict LG structures and institutions as “previously existing governance structures have been shown to be contributors to state fragility or failure in cases where they promote social, ethnic and/or economic exclusion and inequalities; ignore human rights; abuse the rule of law; engage in corrupt practices etc.” (p.11 Brinkerhoff). In certain contexts, for example Sierra Leone or Iraq, re-building pre-conflict LG institutions means reproducing the very conditions that led to conflict in the first place (Jackson, Brinkerhoff and Mayfield).

Ultimately, the decision on whether to rebuild or redesign LG should not be taken without grave consideration of the conflict dynamics and the political economy of the local context. Realistically, the decision is also influenced by several issues, including culture and values, availability of skilled personnel, ideology or visions of

leaders and their personal interests, the degree of political stability and the nature of external assistance and funding. (Blunt).

Building the legitimacy of LG

PC states generally do not enjoy strong legitimacy throughout their territories. This is often a result of decades of weak governance and a lack of a 'social contract' between state and citizen due to corruption, low taxation, poor political representation and abuse of military power.

Lister adopts Robert Jackson's concept of *de jure* and *de facto* states to understand political power and legitimacy in PC countries. *De jure* states are those that exist because the international community recognises them as sovereign states. This is regardless of whether or not they are capable of providing governance, welfare and security throughout their territory. Their legitimacy therefore comes from recognition from the formal international political system. In contrast, *de facto* states are those that actually administer a territory, either through formal or informal systems. *De facto* power holders gain legitimacy from their military power and their control of governance and administration in a particular region. For example, in Afghanistan, the weakness of the *de jure* state means that the *de facto* state is largely operated by warlords. This is a useful concept when analysing LG in PC contexts. Firstly, for LG to have legitimacy, they must exercise *de facto* power, as well as having *de jure* status. Secondly, it is important to analyse who is providing the core state functions of security, representation and welfare, i.e. who is operating *de facto* control, as these groups will have significant legitimacy in the local area. These *de facto* groups can be military rulers, warlords, insurgent groups, traditional authorities or formal local governance structures. However, there are not always clear distinctions between *de jure* and *de facto* power-holders. Often the two become entwined as *de facto* rulers are offered *de jure* positions based on their local legitimacy, and are then able to influence *de jure* institutions to their interests, further underpinning their *de facto* power (Lister).

Brinkerhoff argues that 'reconstituting legitimacy' should be a major focus of governance reforms in fragile and post-conflict countries. He argues that this involves expanding participation and inclusiveness, reducing inequities, creating accountability, combating corruption, introducing contestability (elections), delivering services, constitutional reform, rule of law, institutional design and civil society development. LG clearly has a pivotal role to play in each of these activities. The general consensus in the literature is that legitimacy flows automatically from improved service delivery and representation. Lister questions this, arguing that legitimacy is a complex political and social concept than we cannot assume will just flow from improved service provision. More research clearly needs to be done on this issue; what is local level legitimacy built upon? How can *de jure* local authorities improve their legitimacy? How can they reduce the legitimacy of other actors? Linked to these issues is a need for a framework for measuring legitimacy and understanding around how LG legitimacy links to central government legitimacy.

Sequencing of intervention / reform

There is little consensus around the issue of how to sequence LG reform in PC contexts. Generally, governance reforms, either of central or local systems, are seen

as a non-priority in emergency or conflict situations where issues of humanitarian assistance and security take immediate precedence. The normative assumption is that economic growth should come first and democratic institutions and ‘governance’ later, for example as advocated in the World Bank’s ‘Breaking the Conflict Trap’ (CMI). As noted above, governments and donors tend to prioritise central government reform over LG interventions (Blunt). Several authors argue that this is mis-guided (Romeo, Lister, Brinkerhoff). Romeo argues that it is important to start building LG capacity as early as possible in the post-conflict period, “even in seemingly unfavourable policy environments” (Romeo, p.6) and Browne states that local administration should be “assisted at an early stage of rehabilitation” (p.32, Browne). Kauyza supports this view, arguing that there are four phases of administrative interventions in PC contexts, beginning in immediate PC environments:

- EMERGENCY: administrating external assistance and relief operations
- REHABILITATION: administrating infrastructure and service rebuilding
- REFORM: redesigning institutions, systems and economy
- RECONFIGURATION: participatory re-design of public administration to involve all citizens

There is disagreement on appropriate entry points for LG reform in PC states. Some authors emphasise that, at first, LG governance interventions may look just like standard humanitarian, PC reconstruction interventions, for example, the building of roads and repairing infrastructure. These interventions create foundations for later governance interventions and build capacity within LG (CMI). Other authors emphasise that “entry points and sequencing decisions are rarely clear cut” (Brinkerhoff, p.7) and that there is no fixed recipe for success (CMI). Entry points should be determined by the local context and the socio-political dynamics of the conflict. For example, CMI argue that if there is an outright winner to the conflict LG reform is unlikely to destabilise peace and so can proceed immediately. In ‘mediated cases’ (where there has been a peace settlement but high mistrust) or in ‘conflictual cases’ (where there is a military victory but no peace settlement so the causes of the original conflict remain) LG reform involves “the allocation of powers and resources, which, in a fragile peace can bring about the renewal of conflict.” (p.57 CMIb). In these scenarios they argue that it is best to start with service delivery provision as a relatively neutral, popular aspect of a functioning LG. Other authors also assert this view (Salomons, Brinkerhoff). For more on this, please refer to the section below on ‘service delivery’. Other authors argue for different entry points, for example security, DDR, police and judicial reform (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, Lister). Lister also emphasises the importance of paying close attention to the quality of senior appointments, to minimise patronage. In contrast, Romeo highlights three areas for priority attention: LG financing, LG planning and budgeting and LG implementation.

Two areas were identified in the literature as NOT being good entry points. Democratic reform is generally not identified as an appropriate entry point, as it is often feared to be a divisive, conflictual-competitive system (CMI, Court and Hyden). Court and Hyden warn against the danger of reducing PC reform down to primarily being about the establishment of liberal democracy. Siegle warns against using tax revenue as a starting point for PC LG reform. In extremely resource constrained environments it might be tempting to consider LG as a good vehicle for improving

state revenues, but Seigle emphasises the danger of regions having their own resource flows as it can increase secessionist desires and strengthen societal division in the absence of other national unifying processes. A more appropriate starting point would be to focus on LG control of expenditures, rather than revenues.

Champions for LG reform

Very little is written on the role of individual leaders as ‘drivers of change’ or champions of LG reform, either at a local or a national level. Manor asserts that “powerful leaders within regimes that possess only ‘quasi-statehood’ are often deeply insecure about their own authority and legitimacy. They are therefore intensely fearful of change, lest it dilute their grip on society and destabilize delicate situations. They are often especially sceptical of new initiatives that entail power sharing with groups of people” (p. 2 Manor). In contrast, Lister notes that the Public Administration Reform Programme in Afghanistan was largely a failure except “in those ministries where individual leaders have championed the reforms” (p.7, Lister).

Institutional structure and LG design

Several serious questions on appropriate and effective design of LG structures emerge from the literature:

- Should you incorporate pre-conflict structures or totally redesign the structure? The latter may be preferable as a ‘break from the past’ but there are trade offs with short term efficiency and capacity. See section above on ‘Reform or rebuild?’ for more on this.
- Should you incorporate traditional authorities? They may be the only remaining political systems, but several authors warn that including traditional leaders and systems merely replicates the causes of conflict (Jackson, Brinkerhoff and Mayfield).
- How do you incorporate different interests, groups and ethnicities into LG structure in a balanced way?
- How can you ensure that LG is an endogenous structure?
- Should you incorporate or exclude local warlords and criminally linked strongmen from the new political system? Including is obviously controversial and risks compromising the legitimacy of the government, but excluding them may also not be appropriate given their *de facto* legitimacy, authority and resources (Lister).

The literature raises these questions but does not give concrete answers. Bigdon argues that LG needs to be structured so that it has greater independence from the centre – “this could increase the acceptance of the local authorities, increase the efficiency of service delivery and help to reduce conflicts and disputes amongst the institutions at the local level” (p.105, Bigdon). Cliffe et al outline several options for institutional design of LG depending on the capacity and legitimacy of both central and local government structures. However, they do not include situations where central government lacks both legitimacy and capacity, or where local administration has collapsed and there are no appropriate local political structures with which to work (see p.10).

Bigdon discusses the issue of conflict-sensitive LG design in situations of ethnic conflict, using the example of Sri Lanka. She suggests the following policies:

- Adopt an inclusive language policy within the governance institutions. Train staff in all languages in the local authority areas.
- Identify most excluded areas and increase the focus and support for those communities.
- Request that political parties have ethnically mixed lists of candidates for local positions.

Service delivery

There is a growing literature on service provision in conflict, PC and fragile contexts, most of which emphasises the importance of supporting state provision in these environments. Previous decades of development theory and practice have advocated using non-state providers for the delivery of basic services in countries with extremely weak state capacity or ruined infrastructure from years of conflict. However, there is a growing consensus that state service delivery has a role to play in building the capacity and legitimacy of the state and so should be prioritised.

However, very little of this literature specifically addresses the role of LG in delivering services in PC or fragile environments. This is a glaring gap in the literature. Of the slim research which does focus on LG, the following assumptions are frequently reiterated:

LG Service Provision in PC Contexts	
Strengths	Challenges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased chance of local ownership • More likelihood of collective action and stronger accountability to users • Greater legitimacy than central government • Greater awareness of local needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Danger of elite capture – difficulty of ensuring real participation • Local service delivery plans not linked into national plans • Priorities match very local intra-locality concerns – inter locality concerns fall off the radar • Lack of capacity or expertise • Perceived or actual inequalities in service provision can reignite conflict

It is worth noting that the above are often casually implied or assumed strengths / challenges, rather than being empirically proven in the literature.

In determining whether service provision in PC contexts is better done by central or local government, it seems the answer is ‘both’. Vaux and Visman state that ‘in terms of pro-poor service delivery, there may be little to choose between central and local government. The key issue is involvement of people who have a stake in the services’ (p.33, Vaux and Visman). Commins also asserts the importance of both local and central service delivery programming, emphasising that “studies of turn-around experiences in fragile states indicate the importance of making best use of the relative resilience of local communities, through service delivery arrangements that bring together local government and civic organizations within the local community. The

reduction in fragility arises from the potential long-term role of civic organizations in policy formation, monitoring service delivery, and engagement with public officials” (p.20, Commins).

A particularly repeated assertion is that service delivery is a good entry point for LG seeking to establish themselves after a conflict (CMIb, Salomons, Brinkerhoff, Berry et al). Service delivery may seem like an obvious, non-controversial entry point, but interventions must be designed carefully. Often, in the quest for quick results, donors and international actors lead in providing services and this undermines state capacity: “quick-fix approaches that ignore existing local capacity and/or put off attention to institution-building are accused of creating dependency, reducing the chances for sustainability and squandering opportunities for nascent governments to establish their legitimacy through providing services to citizens” (p.7 Brinkerhoff). The assertion that service delivery is a good entry point also seems to be based on an assumption that the provision of services is a neutral, apolitical activity, which benefits all people and is something that divided communities can jointly mobilise behind. This conclusion is odd given the prevalence in the wider literature on service delivery that emphasises the highly political nature of provision (Batley, Joshi). These authors note the strength of political and institutional factors in service delivery provision, demonstrating that, far from being neutral, it is as much a political issue as a technical one.

Finance

Very little is written on LG finance in PC contexts. “The specific impact of conflict on city fiscal structures is as yet an unexplored area of research. One of the primary reasons may be because very few cities in developing countries, let alone conflict-ridden cities, have a strong local finance framework” (p.32, Venkatachalam). A common complaint in LG in PC environments is a severe lack of financial resources – “revenue is always the Achilles heel of the system” (p.91, Bigdon).

Several authors link lack of finance with lack of LG legitimacy and efficiency. On the most basic level, LGs struggle to meet their running costs and then have no resources left over for development. The community then begins to regard LG as pointless and ineffectual. Lister and Wilder note that in Afghanistan lack of finance has reduced LG to playing the role of intermediary – without resources they are unable to affect change themselves and so just have to refer difficulties on to NGOs or local commanders. The perceived powerlessness of LG can result in people going straight to their MP for support rather than going through LG structures, as they believe they have more resources (Bigdon). This undermines LG’s legitimacy further and can trigger feelings of exclusion for those living in areas where the MP does not match their identity group.

Several authors identify finance as a major cause of tension in local/central relations (Bigdon, Lister and Wilder, CMI). There is always significant tension around the issue of salaries in particular, either because they are very low, because they have not been paid for a long time, or because no mechanism exists for them to be paid. Post-conflict environments breed significant challenges for salary reform, for example the difficulty of ascertaining numbers, identity and rank of civil servants. Low or absent salaries are often a primary concern for government employees and so salary reform

must be dealt with early on in the PC phase (CMI). Without it, LG is too vulnerable to corruption and outside influences that are able to reward individuals financially for their loyalty. Salary reform can therefore be a key instrument to reduce the power and legitimacy of warlords and other local power-holders.

Participation

LG is generally regarded to be a pivotal vehicle for widespread popular political participation. However, there are significant barriers to participation in PC contexts. These include social fragmentation, psychological fracturing and physical devastation. People's primary focus tends to be on meeting their basic needs rather than fulfilling their civic duties. Trust and reconciliation tend to be very low in PC countries and confidence in government structures can be weak if the central government has a reputation for incompetence (CMI). These all reduce the likelihood of participation. This becomes a vicious circle: where participation is low, so is ownership and government legitimacy, which further reduces participation.

However, despite the barriers to political participation in PC environments, several authors emphasise that engaging civil society in LG is critical for success: "public sector capacity to perform core functions emerges more quickly and is more sustainable when complemented by strengthening of citizen demand-making" (p.513, B&B). Manor agrees with this, stating that "programs that promote constructive interaction between government actors, civil society organisations (where they can be found) and people at the local level have unusual promise" (p.3 Manor). Bigdon also emphasises how LG participation in local level planning, resource mobilisation and allocation, and project identification and prioritisation all reduce conflict potentials.

Security

PC states are generally full of pockets of resistance and armed militia (CMI). These groups are typically based outside the capital, in regions where government control is weak and they can continue with minimal interference from the central authorities. LG therefore clearly has a key role to play in bringing security in these regions, and yet this dimension is almost totally overlooked in the literature.

Several authors argue that security sector reform (SSR) is critical early on in PC reconstruction (Ball, Brinkerhoff, Lister). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) is the only aspect of SSR that has been discussed in any depth in relation to LG. Lister and Wilder argue that the disarmament of commanders and their armed groups in Afghanistan is a top priority if the authority and the effectiveness of the *de jure* state is to be established. Similarly, Brinkerhoff argues that DDR is vital for re-establishing security and is linked to reconstituting legitimacy and rebuilding effectiveness. In relation to DDR, Romeo argues that reintegration is actually all about reintegrating into local spaces, a fact that is often overlooked. LG's are therefore best placed to oversee this. "Helping target groups through their local authorities, rather than assisting them directly through specialized central agencies and programs, may therefore offer a better chance for effective social reintegration and conflict management" (p.6 Romeo).

Further research is needed into what role LG can realistically play in SSR processes, particularly DDR, and how this role links with central government.

Crime and illicit resource flows

Due to weaknesses in governance, organised crime is rife in PC contexts. Criminal activity gives rise to significant resource flows that underpin the control of warlords and strong men. For example, in Afghanistan, warlords' regimes are financed by the narcotics trade, customs revenues, revenues from mines and unofficial taxation. In PC environments it is important to understand that there are numerous 'conflict entrepreneurs', such as warlords or those involved in the drugs trade, who have strong interests in prolonging fighting or spoiling peace. We found no solid research done on the potential of LG to minimise crime or tackle the problem of conflict entrepreneurs by tackling the issue of illicit or peri-legal resource flows.

Police reform in PC environments is vital to prevent the consolidation of organised crime. In many situations, corruption means that the police become part of the problem rather than part of the solution. When this happens, illicit behaviour and corruption become part of the formal institutions of the state, undermining the legitimacy and the effectiveness of government.

Part C: International Assistance to LG in P-C

Relevance of donor best practice in PC contexts

Conflict tends to exacerbate the sort of governance problems that are typically found in non-conflict, developing countries, for example lack of finance, patronage, weak capacity. These factors all impact on conflict. For example corruption may be worsened by weaker checks and balances, increased corruption can then fuel frustration and feelings of under-representation which, in turn, lead to conflict. “PC governance reconstruction faces many of the same issues that face development assistance more generally, albeit under more trying and difficult circumstances (p.9, Brinkerhoff). This means that much of the established best practice regarding LG reform and strengthening can be applied, with caution and some tailoring to the local context, to PC situations. Manor endorses this view: “When we began our analyses, we expected that the approaches widely used by donors in countries that are not fragile states would be inappropriate in the extremely difficult environments examined here... That turned out to be true, but only to a limited extent. Many well-accepted principles and strategies have proved their worth in these countries, although they often need some adjustment. In brief, we found that programs can indeed produce constructive results in fragile states if their design is based on an assessment of distinctive conditions and dynamics at and just above the local level in consultation with groups at those levels” (p.2, Manor).

Role of donors and external actors

The literature on international assistance to LG in PC contexts generally repeats the conclusions of literature concerned with any form of external state-building assistance: the role of external actors is inherently limited, and locally owned, endogenous interventions are preferable (Scott, Lister, Brinkerhoff). Much of the literature centres on the problem of how to ensure that donor interventions build, rather than undermine, local ownership. Creating ownership is particularly difficult in PC countries where participation is likely to be weak (see section on participation above) and trust of external actors may be extremely low. “Stakeholders must be convinced that it is in their interests to negotiate and create democratic structures, a collective identity and authority patterns with shared power for the common good. The focus is on constructing national unity and building national pride (p.521, Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff). However, it is important to recognise that the aims of international donors and those of local communities may well not be the same. For example, several authors argue against premature or exclusive concentration on democracy as it can lead to destabilisation and a renewal of conflict (Brinkerhoff, Rondinelli, Hyden and Court). Instead, donors must pay attention to “equity, social divisions and poverty reduction so as to minimise the odds of societal divisiveness and a return to conflict” (p.7 Brinkerhoff). Brinkerhoff and Mayfield’s analysis of the LG project in Iraq shows the tension between having a local focus and satisfying donor demands. The project was supposed to build LG and civil society capacity, and respond to local demand, and yet it is “a classic example of a design that responds first and foremost to an external mandate; driven by US interventionist rationale” (p.61, Brinkerhoff and Mayfield). One strategy for improving the chances of local ownership is to incorporate political economy analysis

into the design of interventions and to shun using the inflexible tools that are popular with donors working in PC contexts (Brinkerhoff). Instead, donor approaches should be tailored specifically to the local social, political and economic context.

Donors are repeatedly criticised for having unrealistically ambitious agendas, given their timescales and resource allocation. There is often tension over comprehensiveness and balancing ambitiousness with appropriateness. (Brinkerhoff). States ultimately must be rebuilt by their citizens and the role of external actors in successful PC reconstruction is inherently limited (Brinkerhoff, Scott, Lister). The short-term planning of international donors is also a repeated source of criticism in the literature. Donors and the international community want quick results. This creates problems in environments with serious political, social and institutional difficulties where a long-term perspective and commitment is required (CMI). “Building and maintaining capable states and governance systems are long-term, multifaceted endeavours requiring commitment, country ownership, skill-building and technical assistance” (p.513 Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff).

Coordination is another common criticism, both between donors and between different groups of international actors (CMI). For example, the military tend to focus on security, diplomatic staff on legitimacy and development actors on effectiveness. This divided approach fails because legitimacy, effectiveness and security are all highly interlinked (Brinkerhoff).

Aid flows are typically unpredictable in PC environments. Usually donors are criticised for not allocating enough resources. However, their emphasis on getting quick results can also lead to high initial volumes of aid, when there is not enough absorptive capacity to utilise resources effectively. It is vital to match objectives, resources and an actor’s commitment and capacity in a realistic way (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff).

Lister and Wilder also raise the problem for the international community of who they can legitimately work with in PC environments: “Statements from the US government... increasingly recognise the detrimental effect of warlords (many of whom they have funded in the past, and maybe continue to fund) in constraining the authority of the *de jure* state” (p.47).

Sequencing of intervention / reform

There is little consensus around the issue of how to sequence LG reform in PC contexts. Generally, governance reforms, either of central or local systems, are seen as a non-priority in emergency or conflict situations where issues of humanitarian assistance and security take immediate precedence. The normative assumption is that economic growth should come first and democratic institutions and ‘governance’ later, for example as advocated in the World Bank’s ‘Breaking the Conflict Trap’ (CMI). As noted above, governments and donors tend to prioritise central government reform over LG interventions (Blunt). Several authors argue that this is mis-guided (Romeo, Lister, Brinkerhoff). Romeo argues that it is important to start building LG capacity as early as possible in the post-conflict period, “even in seemingly unfavourable policy environments” (Romeo, p.6) and Browne states that local administration should be “assisted at an early stage of rehabilitation” (p.32,

Browne). Kauyza supports this view, arguing that there are four phases of administrative interventions in PC contexts, beginning in immediate PC environments:

- EMERGENCY: administrating external assistance and relief operations
- REHABILITATION: administrating infrastructure and service rebuilding
- REFORM: redesigning institutions, systems and economy
- RECONFIGURATION: participatory re-design of public administration to involve all citizens

There is disagreement on appropriate entry points for LG reform in PC states. Some authors emphasise that, at first, LG governance interventions may look just like standard humanitarian, PC reconstruction interventions, for example, the building of roads and repairing infrastructure. These interventions create foundations for later governance interventions and build capacity within LG (CMI). Other authors emphasise that “entry points and sequencing decisions are rarely clear cut” (Brinkerhoff, p.7) and that there is no fixed recipe for success (CMI). Entry points should be determined by the local context and the socio-political dynamics of the conflict. For example, CMI argue that if there is an outright winner to the conflict LG reform is unlikely to destabilise peace and so can proceed immediately. In ‘mediated cases’ (where there has been a peace settlement but high mistrust) or in ‘conflictual cases’ (where there is a military victory but no peace settlement so the causes of the original conflict remain) LG reform involves “the allocation of powers and resources, which, in a fragile peace can bring about the renewal of conflict.” (p.57 CMIb). In these scenarios they argue that it is best to start with service delivery provision as a relatively neutral, popular aspect of a functioning LG. Other authors also assert this view (Salomons, Brinkerhoff). For more on this, please refer to the section below on ‘service delivery’. Other authors argue for different entry points, for example security, DDR, police and judicial reform (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, Lister). Lister also emphasises the importance of paying close attention to the quality of senior appointments, to minimise patronage. In contrast, Romeo highlights three areas for priority attention: LG financing, LG planning and budgeting and LG implementation.

Two areas were identified in the literature as NOT being good entry points. Democratic reform is generally not identified as an appropriate entry point, as it is often feared to be a divisive, conflictual-competitive system (CMI, Court and Hyden). Court and Hyden warn against the danger of reducing PC reform down to primarily being about the establishment of liberal democracy. Siegle warns against using tax revenue as a starting point for PC LG reform. In extremely resource constrained environments it might be tempting to consider LG as a good vehicle for improving state revenues, but Siegle emphasises the danger of regions having their own resource flows as it can increase secessionist desires and strengthen societal division in the absence of other national unifying processes. A more appropriate starting point would be to focus on LG control of expenditures, rather than revenues.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation in PC contexts is the area of this literature review in which research and material was most readily available (Woodward, Crook, Schou and Haug, Blunt and Turner, Siegle and O’Mahony). Quite a large literature has evolved on

decentralisation in conflict, PC or fragile environments, mostly in the form of case studies rather than review pieces.

Much of the literature repeats the findings, and the contradictions, of the wider current literature on decentralisation in non-conflict specific environments. Recent work on decentralisation tends draw conflicting conclusions. Some authors argue that decentralisation has great pro-poor potential as it increases greater voice and representation, generates efficient public services, reduces the chances of oppressive state control and improves political participation and ownership (CMI, Woodward, Manor). In contrast, others argue that these expectations of decentralisation have not been demonstrated in empirical case studies (Crook, Robinson). Instead, decentralisation can become a tool in the hands of elites who subvert it as a means to extend either their personal control or the rule of central government into the regions (Crook, Woodward). For example, Schou and Haug in their literature review find that “there is no consistent evidence to document that decentralisation has improved efficiency, equity or service delivery as promised in the development discourse on decentralisation” (p.4, Schou and Haug).

However, there does seem to be some consensus that there is a political dimension to decentralisation that cannot be overlooked if reforms are to be successful. Whilst the stated goals of decentralisation are usually those relating to positive social benefits listed above (e.g. better services, greater participation etc.) the literature emphasises the importance of hidden agendas (CMI) and unspoken motivations in decentralisation reforms (Woodward). Most authors agree that the primary motivations for central government in pursuing decentralisation are to win votes and to use it as a means of extending their control into the regions (Crook, Woodward, Schou, CMI).

The literature that focuses specifically on decentralisation in PC contexts is even more divided as to whether or not it is appropriate to pursue decentralisation reforms in conflict affected environments. Some argue that “a decentralised approach is commonly held to be particularly important in post-war contexts where central governing structures are weak or remain contested. Local structures then become critical for providing goods and services, particularly for vulnerable groups, and to promote local-democratic processes” (p.7, CMI). Similarly, Manor argues that “formal decentralisation links the central government to a huge number of community-level development committees... which plainly broaden the political base of insecure regimes. By integrating such bodies into formal political structures, governments can more easily ensure that successful experiments from one locality or region are replicated nationally” (p.14, Manor). In contrast, others emphasise that decentralisation is ultimately about the location of power and any disruption to power politics in sensitive conflict environments risks prompting individuals to resist decentralisation and mobilise others in violent conflict. In this way some authors directly link decentralisation policies to the ignition (or re-ignition) of conflict (Jackson, Rosenbaum and Rojas). For example, Rosenbaum and Rojas argue that the government’s commitment to decentralisation in Sierra Leone sparked the conflict as the reforms threatened the power of certain individuals in the military. These authors also argue that as corruption and the exploitation of natural resources is harder in decentralised systems, there will always be resisters to and spoilers of any attempts at decentralisation. Siegle and O’Mahony straddle both opinion as to the

appropriateness of pursuing decentralisation in PC contexts, arguing that decentralisation has a mixed effect on ethnic conflict: in situations where there is high taxation or designated structures of regional autonomy the risk of conflict is increased, but it is lowered if there are increased levels of LG expenditure, employment and elected leaders.

It is clear that the need for decentralisation reforms to be politically sensitive is even more critical in conflict or pc contexts. Woodward in particular emphasises that the following factors complicate the design of decentralisation reforms in PC environments:

- Territorial fragmentation means that each region in a state can be very different and separate regions can provide power bases for different political parties
- Decentralisation can be favoured by new parties who view it as a way of undermining the previous regime
- In the immediate PC context there are extremely high stakes as decisions in the first few years after conflict tend to have a disproportionately large impact on later development
- Conflict can result in extreme scarcity of experienced human resources due to increased ‘brain drain’
- Conflict often results in very low levels of financial resources
- Power sharing deals favoured in peace settlements often distribute ministries across warring political parties which reduces the likelihood of effective inter-ministry collaborative working

Several authors also emphasise that decentralisation is commonly donor-driven which complicates the political context further (Manor) – “whatever the local motivations, the definitive push was external” (p.22, Woodward). Donors’ motivations in pursuing decentralisation can be frustration at the lack of progress being made by the central government, a desire for better service delivery, a fear of oppressive centralised states or an attempt to further democratization. However, as the literature argues, none of these outcomes are guaranteed by decentralisation, especially in the complex political environments of PC countries.

In conclusion, the literature reviewed emphasises that this is still a contested, complex area, politics is critical and politically sensitive design of reforms is absolutely essential. Decentralisation may bring benefits but it can also bring great problems and should not be seen as an easy solution or a way of bypassing strengthening the central government: “in PC countries, the danger that a programme of decentralisation will further weaken an already weak government and work against the restoration of national unity, if its goal is not to strengthen both central and local capacity at once, is very real” (p,27, Woodward).

Part E: The Forward Agenda

Concluding Policy Implications

The following are some of the key, repeated policy implications emerging from the literature:

- LG is a stabilising or exacerbating factor in PC contexts. The donor community must recognise the significance of LG and begin to engage with LG in PC environments.
- Donors should not focus exclusively on central government in PC contexts. Working with LG presents many additional challenges, but ultimately the strength of the central is dependent on the strength of the local, and vice versa.
- ‘One-size-fits-all’ policy prescriptions do not work. The international community must ‘tread carefully’ in PC contexts, and tailor their interventions to the local social, political and economic context, taking note of informal and traditional institutions as well as the formal.
- Do not be misled into thinking PC means there’s a ‘clean slate’. Even when there’s a dramatic regime change (for example in Iraq) past economic, social, cultural and political circumstances must be taken into consideration.
- LG reform in PC contexts is not just a technical exercise. Conflict centres on access to power. LG reform is all about the location of power and so is a highly political, controversial and potentially conflict-exacerbating exercise.
- Donors should not rush to introduce democratic reforms in PC contexts.
- Short time horizons are inappropriate for donor interventions in PC states. They increase the risks of relying on inappropriate existing power structures to gain quick results.
- Donors must consider local ownership and build the legitimacy of their interventions to ensure their effectiveness and sustainability.

Gaps in the literature

- Gender: We found no resources that addressed LG in PC environments from a gendered perspective, despite searching specifically for such material.
- Security: No substantial research was found on the role of LG in improving security. Several authors noted that poor security hampers the governance efforts of LG and emphasised the role of central government in maintaining a monopoly of violence. It was also commonly noted that security was worst in the regions. However, no-one addressed the issue of what (if anything) LG can do in an environment with weak security, or how LG may be able to improve security.
- Accountability: Apart from general assertions about improved participation improving LG performance, no research was identified that addressed accountability mechanisms for LG in PC contexts.
- Local Councillors: details regarding the role and functions of local councillors in PC environments was not addressed in the literature reviewed.
- Civic education: very little mention was made in the research of either the need for civic education or the practicalities of how this should be addressed.

A proposed research agenda

The following areas require further research to guide development policy-making in this field. The areas are identified and specific research questions suggested.

Conflict prevention

- Can the theory that LG and decentralization reduces conflict be proved with empirical evidence?
- What evidence is there to support the theory that LG can reduce / prevent conflict?
- Why does LG so often fail to fulfil this potential? What are the barriers that prevent LG from mitigating conflict?

Legitimacy

- What builds the legitimacy of LG in PC contexts?
- How can we measure legitimacy over time?
- How does LG legitimacy link with central government legitimacy?
- Can donors facilitate local ownership? If so, how?

Service Delivery

- What role should LG play in service delivery?
- Can services be provided in a way that reduces the risk of violence in PC states?

Security

- What role can LG play in establishing security and facilitating SSR in PC contexts?
- How can LG improve SSR and DDR?

Tools

- Creating tools / analytical framework for ascertaining whether to rebuild pre-conflict local government systems or redesign them entirely in the PC environment.

Part F: Resources

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Online Resources

Below are a selection of websites, online tools and resources on various aspects of conflict, public administration and local government. No organisations or websites were found that exclusively, or even predominantly, addressed issues of local governance in PC environments.

ACCORD: The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
A South African based civil society organisation aiming to bring creative African solutions to the challenges of African conflict. ACCORD specialises in conflict management, analysis and prevention and intervenes in conflict through mediation, negotiation, training, research and conflict analysis.

<http://www.accord.org.za/web/home.htm>

Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation

This website provides knowledge and experience on transforming violent ethno-political conflict. The website content comes from two central resources: 1) commissioned Articles by leading experts from current practice and scholarship; and 2) a Dialogue Series on key issues, in which practitioners and scholars critically engage with and debate one another in light of their varying experiences.

<http://www.berghof-handbook.net/>

CAPAM: Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management

CAPAM has a global membership of public service practitioners, academics and organisations across 53 Commonwealth nations. In late 2007 the CAPAM Practice Knowledge Centre will be opened as an online library of articles and research collected from CAPAM members.

<http://www.capam.org/>

Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI)

The Institute is an independent research institute and international centre in policy oriented and applied development research. They have a specific research workstream on Public Sector Reform.

<http://www.cmi.no/>

The Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF)

CLGF works to promote and strengthen effective democratic local government throughout the Commonwealth and to facilitate the exchange of good practice in local government structures and services.

<http://www.clgf.org.uk/>

ConflictSensitivity.org

Conflictsensitivity.org aims to inform on issues of conflict sensitivity and encourage further thinking and discussion on how humanitarian, development and business operations – on the project, national and international level – interact with conflict

<http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/>

Conflict Prevention Web

This is a USAID funded project for the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative. The website provides tools and strategies on conflict prevention for practitioners.

http://www.caii.com/CAIStaff/Dashboard_GIROAdminCAIStaff/Dashboard_CAIIAdminDatabase/resources/ghai/default.htm

CRISE: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity

CRISE is a DFID-funded Development Research Centre based at Oxford University. Its research covers horizontal inequalities, ethnic identities, and policy levers for addressing the causes of conflict.

<http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/>

Crisis States Research Centre

The Crisis States Research Centre at London School of Economics is a DFID funded Development Research Centre investigating the causes of crisis, breakdown and conflict in the developing world and the processes of avoiding or overcoming them.

<http://www.crisisstates.com/>

The Centre for International Cooperation and Security (CICS)

CICS is an internationally recognised centre of excellence for research, training and learning in conflict, integrated co-operation and democratic governance.

<http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/cics/>

Do No Harm Project, Collaborative Development Action (CDA)

CDA is a US development consultancy firm, with an online web resource on the 'Do No Harm' agenda originally proposed by Mary Anderson in a seminal 1996 book. It is concerned with limiting the negative impacts of development and humanitarian interventions in conflict situations.

http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/project_profile.php?pid=DNH&pname=Do%20No%20Harm

ELDIS

ELDIS is an online knowledge management resource on development. It has an online library and resource guides containing various materials on conflict and public administration.

<http://www.eldis.org/>

EU Conflict Prevention and Civilian Crisis Management

This page provides an introduction and documents on the European Union's policies in this area.

http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/cpcm/rrm/index.htm

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict

GPPAC is an international network of organisations working in conflict prevention and peacebuilding worldwide. One of its research programmes examines relationships between civil society, governments and the UN.

http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/cfsp/cpcm/rrm/index.htm

The Governance and Social Development Resource Centre

This online resource centre is funded by DFID and contains an extensive document library and topic guides on conflict, politics, decentralisation, civil service reform and other aspects of governance.

<http://www.gsdrc.org>

International Crisis Group

ICG is a multinational organisation working to prevent and resolve conflict through field-based analysis and high-level advocacy. Its website hosts a number of databases and publications of interest, including the 'conflict histories database' which includes brief detailed histories of conflicts over five continents.

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>

International Development Department (IDD), University of Birmingham, UK

This university department specialises in development research on multiple aspects of governance, public administration and security.

<http://www.idd.bham.ac.uk/>

International Alert

International Alert is an NGO working to build lasting peace through capacity building, mediation and dialogue. It carries out advocacy and produces policy analysis covering the conflict aspects of themes including the international causes of conflict.

<http://www.international-alert.org/>

International IDEA, Stockholm

IDEA is an inter-governmental organisation that seeks to promote democracy across the world, through research, training and capacity development, and the production of tools for practitioners. It works on post-conflict democracy and transitional justice.

<http://www.idea.int/>

Institute for Security Studies

The ISS aims to enhance human security in Africa and has many publications relating to conflicts in the region, democracy and governance.

<http://www.iss.co.za/>

The International Peace Academy

IPA is an independent, international institution aiming to promote the prevention and settlement of armed conflicts through policy research and development. IPA's Conflict Prevention webpage contains many online publications and workshop reports on donor approaches in this area.

<http://www.ipacademy.org/>

Local Government Information Unit

The Local Government Information Unit is an independent research and information organisation that represents the interests of local authorities by providing practical, independent advice, resources and training.

www.lgiu.gov.uk

Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research:

NIBR is an interdisciplinary social science centre for urban and regional research. The Institute conducts environmental research and works internationally on urban and regional research from an environmental and developmental perspective.

<http://www.nibr.no/content/view/full/66>

The OECD-DAC Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation

This network is an international forum working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, involving experts from bilateral and multilateral development agencies, including from the UN system, EC, IMF and World Bank.

http://www.oecd.org/department/0,3355,en_2649_34567_1_1_1_1_1,00.html

Oslo Governance Centre

The centre was established by UNDP in 2002 to facilitate knowledge sharing in all aspects of democratic governance. There are 4 main areas of focus: 'governance and poverty eradication', 'governance and conflict prevention', 'civil society, empowerment and governance' and 'learning and capacity development'.

<http://www.undp.org/oslocentre/>

Peacewomen.org

This project monitors and works toward rapid and full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

<http://www.peacewomen.org/wpsindex.html>

PRIO: International Peace Research Institute, Oslo

PRIO is an independent research institute, which has produced research on themes including identities and conflict, and natural resources.

<http://www.prio.no/>

SIPRI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

SIPRI conducts research on questions of conflict and cooperation with the aim of contributing to an understanding of the conditions for long-term peace and stability.

<http://www.sipri.org/>

UK Government Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PCRU)

This interdepartmental unit was created to build the UK Government's capacity to deal with post-conflict stabilisation.

<http://www.postconflict.gov.uk/>

UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery:

This website outlines UNDP's conflict-sensitive approach and includes several webpages and publications on aspects of conflict work.

<http://www.undp.org/cpr/>

United States Institute for Peace

USIP is an independent US federal institution created to support the development, transmission, and use of knowledge to promote peace and curb violent international conflict.

<http://www.usip.org/>

USAID Office of Conflict Mangement and Mitigation

USAID's internal department on Conflict Mangement and Mitigation develops this web-resource on Conflict Management which houses conflict assessments, toolkits and resources on conflict warning and analysis.

http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/

WIDER Conference on Making Peace Work

The United Nations University held a conference addressing sustainable reconstruction in Helsinki during June 2004.

<http://www.wider.unu.edu/conference/conference-2004-1/conference2004-1.htm>

World Bank Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit

This website includes online topic guides, documents and information on World Bank activities in relation to conflict.

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTCPR/0,,menuPK:407746~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:407740,00.html>