

COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT IN POST- CONFLICT & CONFLICT- AFFECTED AREAS

Sean Bradley

24 January 2012

What is CDD?



- Community Driven Development— *“as broadly defined— is an approach that gives control over planning decisions and investment resources to community groups and local governments.”*
- Estimated \$12.7 Billion in WB support (2009)
- ~10 percent of WB lending
- Used in all regions of world; used for all sectors of support
- Widely used in post-conflict settings

CDD and conflict-affected areas

- CDD in theory
 - ▣ More efficient use of resources + stronger local institutions + enhanced state legitimacy = **Better Development**

- CDD and conflict in theory
 - ▣ Extra development barriers (poverty, social cohesion, eroded institutions) = **Cycle of Deprivation and Insecurity**
 - ▣ **CDD can help to break this cycle**

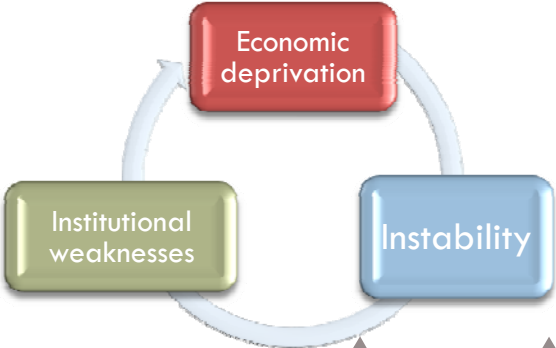
- Wide-spread use in fragile/conflict-affected env.
 - ▣ Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, DRC, E. Timor, Liberia, Nepal, Rwanda, S. Leone, N. Uganda, Aceh, Mindanao

The theory:
A framework
for assessing
impacts



CDD in Conflict; Theoretical Model

CHALLENGES IN
CONFLICT SETTINGS



PROJECT AIMS

Improved public infrastructure, services and more private assets

Improved social relations and cohesion

More effective and responsive institutions

MECHANISMS

- Better matching resources with needs
- Improved efficiency
- Better maintenance
- Ability to work in high conflict areas

- Greater participation in civic life and improved relations
- More accepted resource distributions
- Mechanisms for defusing problems

- Demand for more responsive institutions
- Improve citizen-state relations
- Common platform for programming

Economic deprivation



□ Challenges

- ▣ Greater needs; human capital deficits; weak institutions; low investment and growth

□ CDD aims

- ▣ Impact on micro-level determinants of growth and poverty reduction
 - Repairing and supplementing local infrastructure
 - Improving services
 - Replacing private assets or credit

Instability



- Challenges
 - ▣ Weak social cohesion and social capital
 - ▣ Risks of violence

- CDD aims
 - ▣ Improved social relations and cohesion
 - ▣ Targeting conflict-affected groups
 - ▣ Ensuring development ‘does no harm’

Institutional weaknesses



- Challenges

- Weak state capacity and legitimacy
- Weak civil society institutions

- CDD aims

- Improve capacity of institutions
- Make institutions more responsive/democratic
- Build trust in the state

The evidence:
The impacts of
CDD



Dealing with economic deprivation



- Projects can be effective at addressing sources of deprivation that lie within communities (services and assets)
- Impacts across range of different contexts (inc. where large-scale violence occurring, where social divisions large)
- Limits of evidence
 - ▣ Some evaluations for national programs (Phil and Indo) that don't disaggregate impacts by area
 - ▣ No proper impact evaluation for many (E. Tim, S. Leone, Nepal, etc.) or too soon (Afghan)

Economic deprivation mechanisms

1. Matching with local needs
 - ▣ Strong evidence of pro-poor/pro-vulnerable targeting & smaller leakages
 - ▣ Where evidence, high levels of satisfaction
 - ▣ Limitations of CDD in promoting growth
2. Unit costs
 - ▣ Strong evidence of lower unit costs (Indo & Phil)
3. Maintenance and sustainability
 - ▣ Little evidence that infrastructure is better maintained
4. Working in conflict-affected areas
 - ▣ Little formal evidence but most programs managed to operate

Promoting stability



- CDD projects tend not to affect likelihood of violent conflict
 - ▣ Indo, Aceh, Phil/ARMM, Afghan
 - ▣ Phil/Mindanao – increases in violence?
 - ▣ Fits with global evidence
- Sources of violence often exogenous to communities
- CDD no silver bullet, but potential for impact on some local factors

Stability mechanisms



1. Participation, trust and social relations

- ▣ Indo: big impacts on social relations across range of cleavages; impacts increase over time
- ▣ Phil: Intra-village trust increased, but impacts vary between areas
- ▣ Aceh: No impact on social tensions and lower acceptance of ex-combs; Afghan: little change in trust
- ▣ Mixed evidence on willingness for collective action

2. Limits on project-related conflict

- ▣ Very limited evidence except for Indonesia (strong positive impacts)
- ▣ Grievance and complains systems important, but often weak

Strengthening institutions



- Mixed evidence of local institutional impacts
 - Positive: Indo, Phil, Afghan
 - Little impact in (most) high conflict areas
- Large variation within projects in impacts
 - Time; facilitation; project design
- Little evidence of higher level impacts

Institutional mechanisms



1. Improved trust/confidence between state officials and communities
 - ▣ Some supporting evidence; (Afghan, SL, Phil, Aceh)
2. Bolstering demand for good governance
 - ▣ Increased participation in non-project meetings (Indo, Phil)
 - ▣ However, mostly appears in “project bubble”; few channels to link preferences to higher levels
3. Common platform for programming/coord.
 - ▣ Project mentalities work against this in practice
 - ▣ Donor squabbling and fragmentation

Conclusions



- CDD able to work in difficult places and generally with positive welfare impacts
- CDD does not lower risk of violence
- Some impacts on social cohesion (generally intra-community) but large variance
- Programs can affect local institutional structures, but rarely impact on broader state-citizen relations
- Large variance within and across projects
 - ▣ State factors as important as community or local institutional factors
- But evidence base is still shallow

Conclusions (in relation to DDR)

- Allocation efficiencies
- Shown can work in parallel w/ DDR (Aceh)
- Can help to reduce intra-community tensions around project \$
- But...
 - ▣ Not a silver bullet— expectations need to be tempered
 - ▣ Is not a “quick-win”... takes time to set up the “software” before brick/mortar investments
 - ▣ Not a short-term solution either... more is better for recovery and for norms to take hold
 - ▣ Requires sound socio-political analysis to understand local dynamics

Selected References

- Barron, P.; “Community Driven Development in Post-conflict and Conflict Affected Areas: Experiences from East Asia”, July 2010, World Bank (background paper for the 2010 WDR);
- Crost, B. and P. Johnston; “Aid Under Fire: Development Project and Civil Conflict”, November 2010, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper No. 2010-18.
- Casey, K., R. Glennerster and E. Miguel; “Experimental Evidence on External Aide and Community institutions in Sierra Leone”, preliminary draft, December 13, 2010.
- Morel, A., M. Watanabe and R. Wrobel; “Delivering Assistance to Conflict-Affected Communities: The BRA-KDP Program in Aceh”, Indonesia Social Development Paper No. 13, World Bank, December 2009.
- Beath, A, F. Christia, R. Enikolopov, S. A. Kabuli; “Randomized Impact Evaluation of Phase-II of Afghanistan’s National Solidarity Programme (NSP)”, National Solidarity Programme, July 2010