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PEACE THROUGH PROSPERITY Integrating peacebuilding into economic development

Summary

Understanding conflict. Building peace.

#### **About International Alert**

International Alert helps people find peaceful solutions to conflict.

We are one of the world's leading peacebuilding organisations, with nearly 30 years of experience laying the foundations for peace.

We work with local people around the world to help them build peace and we advise governments, organisations and companies on how to support peace.

We focus on issues which influence peace, including governance, economics, gender relations, social development, climate change, and the role of businesses and international organisations in high-risk places.

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Cover: A trader dispenses palm oil ready for sale at Petite Barrière, Goma, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where International Alert supports improved relationships between traders and their counterparts across the border in Rwanda through commerce. © Carol Allen-Storey for International Alert

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Summary

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# 1. Introduction

Despite major gains for peace in the past few decades, violent conflict remains a factor in too many places: 1.4 billion people live in 50 fragile and conflict-affected countries.<sup>1</sup> The situation of people in places as diverse as Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), India, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, Ukraine and Yemen – and in other countries where political, gang- and crime-related instability and violence prevails – reminds us of the need to focus national and international efforts on peacebuilding.

Economy and conflict are linked. Competition over access to resources is at the heart of most wars and other forms of organised violence. Sustainable peace within and between societies is only possible when people have fair opportunities for a sustainable livelihood and the accumulation of assets, combined with general wellbeing, justice and security in a context of good governance.

Economic success is clearly the main preoccupation of businesses, and economic development is often the major preoccupation of governments and their citizens. So those promoting economic development are influential in defining how societies make progress. In countries affected by violent conflict, or where fragility increases the likelihood of violent conflict, the *nature* of economic development is particularly important. Not all economic development is good for peace. For example, economic growth based on narrow, non-labour-intensive sectors like mineral extraction has often contributed to instability and violence because people feel excluded from the benefits of growth, which are instead captured by elite interests who do their best to retain control of the levers of political and economic power. A more diverse and labour-intensive economy on the other hand can allow wider participation, thus more people have a stake in stability and further development.

This means the actions of people and organisations leading economic development efforts are of fundamental importance to peace. Politicians, civil servants, businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international organisations play a role in shaping the economy, and thus peace, or the lack of it. They do so through their policy, business and investment decisions, as well as development programmes and projects. International agreements and norms, and those who determine them, also play a role.

<sup>1</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), States of fragility 2015: Meeting post-2015 ambitions, Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015

But mostly, these people and organisations pay little attention to this aspect of their role, and little guidance is available for those who are more interested. The larger report summarised here provides such guidance. It describes a framework they can use to integrate peacebuilding goals and strategies into economic plans, with practical advice on how to do so. As well as that, the report provides recommendations, which – if taken on board – would enable economic development promoters to combine economic development, profitable business and investment, and still be able to contribute to sustainable peace.

### Figure 1: A peace-conducive economic development framework

This figure shows four broad outcomes of peace-conducive economic development on the right, the seven levers of change that can be used to contribute to these, the four constituents of political economy that determine what changes are possible, and the combination of leadership, agency and opportunity that energise and promote sustainable change.



# 2. A peace-conducive economic development framework

Figure 1 illustrates the main elements of a peace-conducive economic development framework. This is organised in four categories, described below.

# 2.1 Outcomes of peace-conducive economic development

'Sustainable peace' can seem very vague and distant to those defining policy, project or business outcomes. So the first challenge is to identify simple, practical indicators of progress towards peace. Drawing on Alert's experience and research, we isolated four broad outcomes of peace-conducive economic development:

- Decent livelihoods: People are gainfully employed in decent work (employed or self-employed). They earn enough to live with dignity and are treated fairly. Decent livelihood opportunities are both available and fairly accessible, to minimise exclusion and maximise mobility. This requires per capita economic growth.
- Capital: People can accumulate economic assets securely, to provide them with a cushion in time of need, to improve their income, and to invest in and improve the economy; and can do so in a way that is fair to others. Capital may be individually or jointly owned and managed, including by the community or the state as in the case of welfare safety nets.
- **Revenue and services:** The state, or other legitimate authorities, collect sufficient revenue and invest it to provide the infrastructure and services needed for the economy and peace to flourish. They do so fairly and strategically, with both economic growth and strengthening peace as explicit policy intentions.
- Environmental and social sustainability: Economic development enhances or at least avoids damaging the environment, and enhances or at least avoids undermining peace-positive attributes in society. Both environmental and social sustainability require effective governance.

To integrate peacebuilding, businesses, governments and others should thus explicitly map how they will contribute to these outcomes through their policies, projects, business plans and approaches.

# 2.2 The political economy

Political economy analysis enables us to understand the intersection of political and economic power, where power over different opportunities is held and resources allocated, and by whom. All development policies and projects must be devised and implemented within the realities of the political economy, so as to capitalise on opportunities and avoid being obstructed by vested interests. Otherwise they will fail.

As nicely summarised by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID),<sup>2</sup> political economy analysis frameworks converge on four fundamental interlinked parameters:

- interests of individuals and groups in relation to changes versus the status quo;
- incentives for stasis or change as they apply to different specific interests;
- ideology and values underpinning people's perception of what is in their interests, and which may modify the most obvious rational economic preferences; and
- institutions, inasmuch as they provide opportunities for particular courses of action, especially in terms of mediating between the different interests of different actors. Institutions are as often informal for example, culturally determined approaches to decision-making, deference to older people, civic duty, informal taxation paid to gangs as they are formal.

Interests and incentives help explain how those with or without power will respond to a given situation or opportunity, either seeking change or to maintain the status quo. People's interpretation of their interests is coloured or modified by their values or ideology. And institutions are the norms and mechanisms through which people's and organisations' actions and transactions are mediated in line with their interests and the incentives operating on them, and which tend to reflect and reinforce the prevailing values – or at least the values of those with power. In short, the political economy determines where opportunities for change do and don't exist.

# 2.3 Levers of change

We identified seven domains of intervention – 'levers of change' – in which economic development promoters can make a contribution to peace. These are summarised below.

### The make-up of the economy

# The kinds of economic activity that prevail, and how people contribute to and benefit from them.

The make-up of an economy defines who can participate, and how, and is linked to creativity and dynamism in society. It can be described in terms of variables such as imports and exports; openness and diversity; the strength of consumer demand; the relative proportions of primary, secondary and services sectors, and of small, medium or large enterprises; and vulnerability to supply chain or market risks. Over the long term, peace is correlated with diversity, a high jobs-to-investment ratio, dynamism and creativity; long, multi-stranded value chains providing opportunities for new business and for jobs, progressive taxation and regulation; and economic sectors, which are by nature dynamic. Natural resource sectors or 'shadow', illicit practices can reinforce clientelism, corruption and exclusion. It is important to contextualise these kinds of issues, e.g. open markets are better for peace, but, if powerful elites retain privileged access and economic power, this can provide short-term stability; informal economies are hard to tax, but may be the best way to maximise livelihood opportunities in the short term.

# Human capital

The capacity and capability of individuals, groups and society as a whole to make economic and social progress through the application of spirit, knowledge and skills.

Peace benefits from a well-educated population, for example in skills relevant to important economic sectors, creative problem solving, entrepreneurship and teamwork; a spirit of inclusion, and an openness to human capital improvement across gender and identity groupings; and a reasonably healthy population with sufficient access to meet their basic needs and to entertain and fulfil aspirations. These attributes are beneficial for peaceful conflict management and resolution, and for economic development.

# Relationships

# *Functional relationships across and between societies enable communication and foster predictability and trust, which in turn underpin functional relationships.*

Collaboration and resilient relationships within and between gender and other identity groups are a critical element of peace. They allow people to understand the interests and needs of others, and provide the opportunity for the development of trust, empathy and collaboration that is essential for routine, non-violent conflict management.

# The rule of law

The availability and accessibility of formal and informal mechanisms, based on clear a priori rules, for avoiding and adjudicating disputes and punishing those who break rules and norms.

The rule of law ensures the predictable production and execution of judgements by authorised parties, and in this predictability resides its power to prevent violence. It is the application of clear, consistent and fair rules, emphasising property rights and the rights of the individual; and with an absence (or rareness) of impunity. The rule of law replaces and discourages arbitrary, unfair and violent behaviours, encourages investment, and is thus good for peace. Impunity, on the other hand, undermines accountability and peace.

# Security

The degree to which individuals, families, communities and organisations are and feel safe, now and in the foreseeable future.

Security is the result of service provision by state and other providers, of individual and group capacity, and of the strength and quality of social norms, relationships and social capital. Cicero wrote, "the security of the people is the highest law", and it is one of the key components of peace. Without it, the risk of violence and harm increases and pre-emptive violence becomes more likely. Security allows people to build trustful relationships, encourages people to accumulate assets and build human capital, thus increasing their resilience to shocks, and enables economic activity.

# Infrastructure

The existence of and access to an enabling physical infrastructure, especially in terms of energy, communications and transport, and essential services such as water, sanitation, health facilities and education.

Infrastructure should be tailored to needs and opportunities across society, not favouring particular groups unless there is a peacebuilding need for this. It should be accessible and well maintained. Public infrastructure should be managed for the public good. Access to information prevents distorted rumours from exacerbating conflict, while access to infrastructure allows needs to be met and enables progress on the other levers of change, and is essential for economic development.

# Land and capital

The opportunity to accumulate or borrow financial capital for investment, and/or to acquire and retain the rights to own or use land.

When capital is widely accessible, based on business merit rather than identity or relationships, it allows for a more diverse and resilient economy, which helps build resilience to violence as it provides more options and a wider competitive field. Access to capital and/or land is important for peace in that it allows for inclusion, and for the creation of jobs and business opportunities. Land also often has cultural value, linked to identity and stability. People who have invested capital or developed land (i.e. have a stake) are less likely to fight, provided their rights are secure.

# 2.4 Opportunity, leadership and agency

The economies of conflict-affected societies are by definition insufficiently conducive to peace. They tend to resist transformative change, not least because their political economies are dominated by those with interests in the status quo. Changes of the kind needed to support peace are often incremental, organic and non-linear, and they benefit from a combination of three factors: opportunity, leadership and agency.

Opportunities propitious for change need to be seized by the right leaders with sufficient capacity and agency. The risks of conflict associated with large investment projects in a fragile context are well known. By the same token, the arrival of disruptive projects (such as a mining or energy project), with multiple stakeholders and potential winners and losers, also represents an opportunity to practise good governance. By engaging multiple stakeholders and respecting their interests, those leading such projects can create an experience of participation, consensus and compromise, resulting in improved relationships among citizens – and between citizens, government and businesses, which can be built upon for other governance purposes. Likewise, new technologies, the end of a war or reconstruction after a natural disaster represent opportunities to use or test new approaches.

Leadership is when people stand up and take a risk to push through a change that they believe is important, or to prevent a change they see as wrong against the prevailing view or powerful interests. Leadership for peacebuilding through economic development can be provided by politicians and government, as in the case of structural changes to the rural economy underway in Rwanda, designed to promote the twin aims of economic growth and long-term stability; by businesses, for example by reaching across conflict lines; by civil society activists promoting local livelihoods and economically literate education, etc.; by international agencies operating within the country in question; or by international actions with cross-border impacts, such as anti-money laundering measures or moves to decriminalise drugs.

Despite concerns about 'doing no harm', and the complexity and limits of causeand-effect models, the role of progressive agency is critical, at whatever level or scope. Agency is the combination of resources, energy and power to translate leadership into action and change. It can be harnessed in many forms: it is most obvious in organisations (government, business and civil society) with their hierarchies, budgets, etc., but agency is also present in communities and other societal institutions.

# 2.5 Tensions between economic development and peace

Economic development and peacebuilding go hand-in-hand. By promoting one, we can often promote the other. But this is not automatic, and there are undeniable tensions between some economic development initiatives and the needs of peace. These include:

- Growth initiatives with the greatest absolute economic return may undermine peacebuilding processes if they are insufficiently inclusive or conflict-sensitive.
- Economic growth/transformation initiatives that make land or other resources accessible for commercial investors may create new land- or resource-based grievances.
- Promoting socio-economic mobility too rapidly may undermine the perceived or actual interests of incumbents.
- There may be competition between human capital and infrastructure needs for public investment funds, with infrastructure having the faster economic return, but the latter having a greater sustainable peace return.
- A trade-off between enabling rational strategic economic investment opportunities, focused in a few geographical areas, and the need for more widespread investment in infrastructure to enable peace dividends across society.
- In general, there is a tension between short-term stability and long-term sustainability; and between incumbency and openness.
- Peacebuilding processes may ignore economic factors, for example, the interests of potential peace spoilers, and thus fail. New democratic institutions seen as good for peace may hinder existing economic norms and thus be subject to spoilers.

Managing these tensions is critical in ensuring that economic development contributes sustainably to peace.

# 3. Using the framework

The framework is designed for analysis and planning by politicians, civil servants, businesses, NGOs and international agencies – separately or together. Its utility is in working out how to integrate peace into economic development: in practical terms, to *adapt* economic approaches so they promote peace. The starting point for most planners will therefore be their own initial economic development niche or project. Obviously the processes for determining public policy or planning business development projects are rarely linear. But for the sake of clarity, we outline a generic five-step planning process.

### Step 1: Mandate

Many economic development promoters ignore their potential contribution to peace, so a critical first step is clarifying that this is a legitimate part of their mandate in fragile contexts. For governments and many international agencies this should present no problem *a priori*, and businesses are increasingly aware of their responsibility to create 'shared value', i.e. "identifying and expanding the connections between societal and economic progress".<sup>3</sup> International agencies increasingly recognise a role in contributing to peace, as illustrated by the World Bank's creation of a Center for Conflict, Security and Development.

### Step 2: Relationship to the four peace and prosperity outcomes

The next step is to determine a more specific ambition in terms of the four 'outcomes' of peace-conducive economic development: sustainability, decent livelihoods, revenue and services, and safe capital accumulation. By default, economic projects expect to have an impact on some of these. But we must go beyond default mode. This means examining all four characteristics to determine whether and how the agency and its project can make a difference to them – ideally all four – as they link to peace and conflict in the context. This also requires identifying any tensions between peace and economic development and working out how to resolve or manage them.

# Step 3: Analysis of the political economy and the seven levers of change

The next step is to identify the extent to which the planned contribution will be possible within the constraints of the political economy, the likely opportunities for change, the leadership and agency needed, and the mechanisms for adaptation in terms of the seven levers of change. This requires a thorough analysis of the context and proposed strategy, using a political economy lens.

3 M. E. Porter and M. R. Kramer, Creating shared value, Harvard Business Review, January–February 2011, https://hbr.org/2011/01/the-big-idea-creating-shared-value

### Step 4: Plan

Once the analysis has been done, pathways through which to achieve the peaceful prosperity outcomes using the levers of change are defined. This should involve a wide range of stakeholders, to ensure buy-in, and also that the plans are grounded in reality and take account of diverse interests.

# Step 5: Implementation, adaptation and evaluation

Implementation is done at a pace and with resource allocation that allows both peace and economic development goals to be met. It requires continuous participatory monitoring to ensure that assumptions about the political economy were sound, and the intended outcomes *for the combined aims of peace and economic development* are being achieved as planned. Plans are adapted as needed, and lessons learned and shared.

# 4. Examples

The full report explains how this framework can be used by governments, businesses, NGOs and international agencies, and in setting international norms. In this summary, we provide only a few illustrations, applied to the political economy and to each of the seven levers of change. Taken together, they reinforce the idea that change is incremental, indirect and often small in scale, and requires leadership, agency and opportunity. They also show that integrating peacebuilding into economic development is practical and feasible.

#### Political economy

The incidence of piracy in Somalia is lower in areas where clan leaders (i.e. institutions) benefit from informal taxation of imports and exports, as piracy disrupts this trade and thus their interests. Piracy grew when livestock exports to Saudi Arabia were banned and then reduced when the ban was lifted.<sup>4</sup> In another example, business leaders with access to a high level of government in the Philippines have come together to provide politicians with advice on bringing the country's long-running civil wars to a sustainable close,<sup>5</sup> and in Kenya to help avoid election violence.<sup>6</sup> In both cases, close links to politicians combined with a business interest in stability.

### The make-up of the economy

Economic dependence on small farms, poor soils and limited consumer markets provides insufficient resilience to the demographic and social pressures, all of which contributed to instability in Rwanda. The country has joined the East African Community to enlarge its markets, is modernising its agricultural sector, and is developing the information technology sector through specialised training and infrastructure. Banking rules in Peru require businesses seeking loans to complete a social impact study including conflict mapping as part of their loans process, to ensure projects contribute to shared value in society. NGOs, the government and international organisations all contributed to restructuring Burundi's coffee sector, with the aim of making it less corrupt, more efficient and more open to participation, as a contribution to peace.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A. Shortland and F. Varese, The protector's choice: An application of protection theory to Somali piracy, British Journal of Criminology, 54(5), 2014, pp.741–764

<sup>5</sup> Internal International Alert communication

<sup>6</sup> V. Odundo Owuor and S. Wisor, The role of Kenya's private sector in peacebuilding: The case of the 2013 election cycle, Denver, CO: One Earth Future, 2014

<sup>7</sup> I. Baghdadli, B. Harborne and T. Rajadel, Breaking the cycle: A strategy for conflict-sensitive rural growth in Burundi, World Bank Working Paper No. 147, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2008

#### Human capital

Recent research described how a mining company supported the establishment of a multi-stakeholder forum to explore alternative livelihoods for land-poor communities in its area of operation. This was a contribution to local stability through wider economic participation and social stability.<sup>8</sup> The formal disciplines and cultures of many modern businesses are often quite different from local, informal and sometimes clientelist approaches, and can thus create a model of different, fairer approaches. These values sometimes 'leak' out into society through the business gates.<sup>9</sup> The idea of job creation for peace was popularised by the 2011 World Development Report,<sup>10</sup> but has not yet been translated into practice on a wide scale. International agencies, businesses and host governments could consider jointly developing programmes to create jobs in very large numbers, over sufficient time – perhaps 25 years – in fragile contexts to provide work for young people who might otherwise become radicalised for violence, an economic boost and peacepromoting infrastructure development, all at once.

### Relationships

The study Local Business, Local Peace gives examples of employers consciously integrating staff from different ethnic or religious identities at work in contexts of mutual mistrust outside, as a contribution to improved harmony and economic success.<sup>11</sup> Business networks in many countries have lobbied for improved relationships across conflict divisions, or better local justice and security provision. Trade can strengthen relationships. In Uganda, the Lord's Resistance Army - a rebel group associated with the Acholi tribe – attacked Lira town. The population of Lira, predominantly from the Langi tribe, boycotted Acholi businesses. Commerce as a whole stagnated and it was business leaders who initiated a process to reopen trade relations.<sup>12</sup> NGOs have bridged the communications gap between government, community members and oil companies in Uganda, helping to reduce misunderstandings and conflicts and help ensure the oil sector contributes to prosperity and peace.<sup>13</sup> Last year in Colombia, over 120 businesses launched a #Soy Capaz ("#I can") peace campaign, aimed at reinforcing the peace process, using symbols of togetherness linked to their products, such as "I can ... wear my enemy's shoes" and "I can ... buy him a drink". 14

<sup>8</sup> International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) and International Alert, Learning from company-community conflicts: Understanding practical dilemmas, Workshop Report, Santiago, 27–28 November 2014

<sup>9</sup> Personal communication from staff of various international companies

<sup>10</sup> World Bank, World Development Report 2011: Conflict, security, and development, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2011

<sup>11</sup> J. Banfield, C. Gündüz, N. Killick (eds.), Local business, local peace: The peacebuilding potential of the domestic private sector, London: International Alert, 2006

<sup>12</sup> J. Banfield, Mobilising the Ugandan business community for peace, London: International Alert, 2006

<sup>13</sup> Internal International Alert communication

<sup>14 &#</sup>x27;Soy capaz', una campaña para ponerse en los pantalones del otro ['I can', a campaign to put oneself in another person's position], El Tiempo, 8 September 2014, http://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/camapana-dereconciliacion-soy-capaz/14499875

### Rule of law

Businesses can help improve justice mechanisms. In Colombia, the rebel group *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (National Liberation Army, ELN) attacked oil pipelines in the 1980s and 1990s to extort money from oil companies. When the latter tried to deal with this through the justice system, they found it corrupted and of no help. They collaborated with the central government to resource an independent justice task force, which contributed to a drop in ELN attacks on the pipeline and local people.<sup>15</sup> The Ugandan NGO Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment has supported communities and local governments to use the courts to prevent large agricultural economic projects taking over land and undermining relations in society, as well as between citizen and the state.<sup>16</sup>

#### Security

All businesses can contribute to improved local security by ensuring their security guards or contractors, or government security services with which they collaborate, operate in line with the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights.<sup>17</sup> They can go further, making improved human security a specific part of their own planning as a contribution to enhancing social sustainability, and design their projects and practices accordingly. Mobile phone companies can maximise coverage in insecure areas. Government and NGOs in the Philippines are piloting new approaches to gun control in areas affected by civil war and criminal violence, aiming to improve people's safety without undermining the informal economic activities on which many people depend.<sup>18</sup>

The United Nations (UN) Global Commission on Drug Policy's (GCDP) 2014 report proposes replacing the failed 'war on drugs' approach with a policy regime centred on health and safety, ending the criminalisation and incarceration of drug users, and emphasising prevention, harm reduction and treatment strategies.<sup>19</sup> It recommends governments regulate drug markets and adapt their enforcement strategies to target only the most violent and disruptive criminal groups, rather than punish low-level players.

18 Internal International Alert communication

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication with those involved

<sup>16</sup> B. Twesigye, Lessons from citizen activism in Uganda: Saving Mabira Forest, Occasional Papers Series No. 7, Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2008

<sup>17</sup> Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, www.voluntaryprinciples.org, accessed 28 April 2015

<sup>19</sup> GCDP, Taking control: Pathways to drug policies that work, Rio de Janeiro: GCDP, September 2014

### Infrastructure

In DRC, NGOs have facilitated discussions and community decision-making to ensure that local infrastructure projects are peace-conducive.<sup>20</sup> The government of Myanmar has worked with NGOs to run participatory consultation processes in designing its Special Economic Zones, so they contribute to economic progress and are socially sustainable. This approach can lead to twin outcomes: a better project that's more likely to succeed *and* a sense of 'democratic' participation in a country with little history of that. The Asian Development Bank in Nepal and the World Bank in Sri Lanka and Kyrgyzstan have integrated positive peace analysis and peace objectives into infrastructure projects, typically aiming to improve local participation in decision-making and governance as important factors in sustainable peace.<sup>21</sup>

# Land and capital

NGOs in the Philippines, including Alert, have supported indigenous communities, settler communities, the government and mining companies to map and plan fairer and clearer access to land in areas where it has been a source of conflict around economic development.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, companies that provide access to pension funds and savings schemes for their employees make an important contribution to stability in fragile countries.

20 Management Systems International, Rebuilding eastern Congo at the community level,

http://www.msiworldwide.com/project/rebuilding-eastern-congo-at-the-community-level/, accessed 20 April 2015
M. Stephen, Fragile reforms: World Bank and Asian Development Bank financing in fragile and conflict-affected situations, London: International Alert, 2014

<sup>22</sup> Internal International Alert communication

# 5. Conclusion

Peace is not yet integrated routinely into economic development policies, programmes and projects. The concept of conflict-sensitivity is increasingly well known and taken into account, but this is usually about mitigating harm. The levers of economic development for positive peacebuilding, however, remain underused, beyond the simplistic notion that 'economic development is good for peace'.

Those integrating peace into economic development need to understand and deal with tensions and paradoxes. This means navigating a careful course between meeting the needs of incumbents in the political economy and opening up opportunities to others. It means getting the balance right between short-term and longer-term benefits, and between the needs of growth and participation. At times, it means balancing starkly different peace and economic development needs, as well as short-term and long-term stability needs. Pathways to peace will often be harder to argue for than economic growth, so navigating these tensions requires analytical and political skills, especially as the pathways to peace are relatively indirect and unpredictable.

In the absence of any other practically oriented framework for analysing how to integrate peace into economic improvement, we have provided one. This aims to simplify and bring together a complex set of issues and integrate peace within a more familiar language of development. It identifies four generic peaceful economy outcomes, recognises the importance of political economy and isolates seven 'levers of change' for programming. It is one framework among many that might have served the same purpose. It makes no claim to be more than a starting point. We nevertheless recommend it to economic development promoters in conflict-affected countries as a way to consider how they might contribute to peace – *as they have a responsibility to do*.

We offer the following broad recommendations designed to enable economic development actors to integrate peacebuilding into their work.

• Governments, international agencies, businesses and economic development NGOs in fragile and conflict-affected countries should integrate making a contribution to peace into their formal mandates, economic policies, programmes and projects.

- To this end, they will need to identify and seize opportunities to pull the 'levers of change' to achieve fair opportunities for decent livelihoods and the safe accumulation of economic assets, to increase government revenues for enhanced services and to ensure the sustainability of change.
- These same actors should place analysis of the political economy at the heart of planning their policies, programmes and projects.
- Practitioners should engage in more public discussion, including with academics, policy-makers and civil society organisations, in order to enhance the quality of what they do and ensure a wide range of stakeholders is involved, and to help shape a discourse of 'peace through economic development'.
- Practitioners should also focus on close monitoring of implementation to ensure policies, programmes and projects are fit for the purpose of contributing to progress towards peace and prosperity in a complex and challenging political economy.
- Researchers should identify how economic interventions have had an impact on peace historically over the longer term, and tease out and share lessons for the present day.
- International and local peacebuilding experts should do more to make their expertise available to economic development promoters, and the latter should do more to engage with and learn from them in a spirit of joint enterprise and collaboration.

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