# METRICS FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND STABILIZATION

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#### PURPOSE

To establish a system of metrics that will assist in formulating policy and implementing strategic plans to transform conflict and bring stability to war-torn societies. These metrics provide both a baseline assessment tool for policymakers to diagnose potential obstacles to stabilization prior to an intervention and an instrument for practitioners to track progress from the point of intervention through stabilization and ultimately to a self-sustaining peace. This metrics system is designed to identify potential sources of continuing violent conflict and instability and to gauge the capacity of indigenous institutions to overcome them. The intention is to enable policymakers to establish realistic goals, bring adequate resources and authorities to bear, focus their efforts strategically, and enhance prospects for attaining an enduring peace.

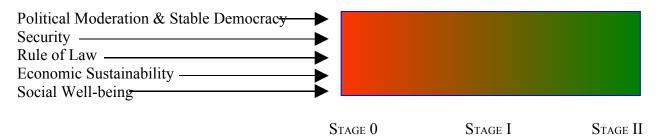
## STAGES OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND STABILIZATION

<u>STAGE 0 – IMPOSED STABILITY</u>: Drivers of violent conflict persist, requiring the active and robust presence of external military forces, in partnership with a sizable international civilian presence, to perform vital functions such as imposing order, reducing violence, delivering essential services, moderating political conflict, and instituting an acceptable political framework pursuant to a peace accord.

<u>STAGE I – Assisted Stability</u>: Drivers of violent conflict have been reduced to such an extent that they can be largely managed by local actors and developing indigenous institutions, enabling the reduction of outside military intervention and civilian assistance to levels that can be sustained by the intervening parties over the long term. (Note: Elsewhere this stage has been called viable peace<sup>1</sup> or sustainable peace).

<u>STAGE II – SELF-SUSTAINING PEACE</u>: Local institutions are able to cope effectively with residual drivers of violent conflict and resolve internal disputes peacefully without the need for an international military or civilian administrative presence. (Note: The Fund for Peace defines this condition as 'Sustainable Security.'<sup>2</sup>)

#### MAJOR MISSION ELEMENTS OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND STABILIZATION



In devising measures to assess initial conditions and measure progress for each Major Mission Element identified above, two issues are paramount:

- What are the motivations or means that drive conflict, and
- What is the capacity of indigenous institutions to resolve conflict peacefully and maintain stability?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Jock Covey, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Leonard R. Hawley, Eds. *The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press and the Association of the United States Army, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See "Conflict Resolution: A Methodology for Assessing Internal Collapse and Recovery," by Pauline H. Baker, in *Armed Conflict in Africa,* Carolyn Pumphrey and Rye Schwartz-Barcott, eds. (Triangle Institute for Strategic Studies, Lanham, MD and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2003).

#### Methodologies

**Content analysis (CA):**<sup>3</sup> Involves surveying media publications in order to gauge popular and/or elite impressions of an issue.

<u>Advantages</u>: Relies on readily available publications; newspapers, in particular, can be important shapers of public opinion.

*Disadvantages:* Difficult to choose which publications to survey; Labor intensive process of conducting the analysis.

**Expert opinion (EO):** Entails creating a panel of independent, knowledgeable, and experienced experts to assess an issue of interest (e.g. the capacity of law enforcement agencies to perform essential administrative and bureaucratic functions). In this case, a panel of 3-5 experts might be used to observe operations in the field and to report on their quality. The reliability and replicability of the findings depend on specifying the evaluation criteria and data gathering methodology in advance and following them consistently in the field.

<u>Advantages:</u> Experts have the knowledge and expertise to offer informed and useful opinions on a situation and can make sound qualitative judgments in a relatively short period. They may be used to study program documents, interviews participants, and make observations in the field. The major costs involved are salaries and travel rather than complicated data-collection procedures.

<u>Disadvantages</u>: Experts may have political agendas to advance; one needs to be wary of relying on a biased sample of experts. It is especially important that the panelists be capable of independent judgment. They cannot be permanent employees of the contracting agency or have a financial stake in the future of the program being evaluated.

**Statistical Analysis (SA):** Utilizes a variety of statistics about security, standard of living, and economic development to assess the situation in a country.

<u>Advantages:</u> Statistics can appear to be a more objective way of assessing progress; Provide a useful standard for comparing progress at two different times.

<u>Disadvantages</u>: Can be difficult to locate reliable indicators of the larger issue one is assessing--for example, some have argued that number of deaths per month alone is not a particularly good indicator of the strength of the insurgency in Iraq; Statistics are easily manipulated to accommodate a variety of interpretations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Fund for Peace's Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) uses content analysis to assess the degree to which drivers of conflict improve or worsen as well as to determine the strength of key institutions (based on three criteria: legitimacy, representativeness and professionalism). CAST scans data from over 11,000 sources (including reports from the media, government and NGOs). CAST currently evaluates a number of rule of law and human rights areas, including the degree of criminalization and corruption of the state and evaluations of the domestic police force, corrections system, and judicial system. CAST can be used for countrywide or province-level analysis.

**Survey/Polling Data (S/PD):** Involves conducting public opinion surveys in order to assess how the public views a variety of issues.

<u>Advantages:</u> Can provide useful general overview of societal views and values; can easily be conducted on a large number of people, which provides more confidence in the findings.

<u>*Disadvantages:*</u> Surveys must be carefully designed to ensure that the sampled public is representative; Poorly worded questions or untrained survey conductors can lead to inaccurate responses.

## Political Moderation and Stable Democracy

<u>STAGE I OBJECTIVE:</u> Competition for power and political grievances that spawn violent conflict are being addressed and channeled into nonviolent processes and participatory institutions with a level of continuing international involvement and oversight that is sustainable.

<u>STAGE II OBJECTIVE:</u> Political institutions and participatory processes function legitimately and effectively *without international intervention* to manage competition for power peacefully and mitigate incidents of political violence.

#### GOALS:

#### I. Diminish the Drivers of Conflict

- A. Competition for Exclusive Power Diminished
- B. Political Grievances Diminished
- C. External Destabilization Diminished

#### II. Strengthen Institutional Performance

- A. Peace Settlement Strengthened
- B. Delivery of Essential Government Services Strengthened
- C. Governmental Legitimacy, Responsiveness, and Accountability Strengthened
- D. Political Parties Strengthened
- E. Minority Participation Strengthened
- F. Citizen Participation and Civil Society Strengthened
- G. Free and Responsible Media Strengthened

# DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

## A. Competition for Exclusive Power

- Perception of the political process in exclusive (i.e., "zero-sum") terms
  - Perception among identity group members that loss of power (e.g. to other identity groups) will preclude the prospect of regaining power in the future. (S/PD)
  - Perception among identity group members that loss of power (e.g. to other identity groups) will preclude the prospect of progressing economically in the future. (S/PD)
  - Public rhetoric from political elites/leaders asserting that their rivals have negotiated the peace settlement in bad faith (i.e. that the settlement is a trick or that their rivals will manipulate the peace settlement to assert control over security forces). (CA)
  - Number of assaults and assassinations perpetrated by members of one of the former warring factions against leaders of other identity groups. (SA) (EO)
  - Number of assaults and assassinations perpetrated by members of one of the former warring factions against other members of their own identity group. (EO)
  - Revisions to the Constitution or legal framework to permit continuation in power of the incumbent. (EO)
  - Revision of the electoral code to favor the incumbent. (EO)
- Political elites/leaders polarization on the basis of identity
  - Self-ascribed importance of identity group membership as a determinant of political leadership. (S/PD)
  - Prominence of inflammatory and exclusionary rhetoric in the discourse of political elites/leaders. (CA)

## **B.** Political Grievances

- Unresolved War Aims
  - Assessment of the peace settlement to determine the extent to which issues that have instigated violent conflict remain unresolved or are treated ambiguously (e.g., Resource-rich areas not under effective government control, geographic flashpoints not under impartial management). (EO)
- Atrocities against opposition groups (See Rule of Law)
  - Number of incidents of political violence, to include extra-judicial killings, disappearances, massacres, vandalism, "ethnic cleansing." (By identity group) (SA) (CA)
  - Prosecution rates for these crimes (By identity group). (SA)
- Political exclusion, repression of dissent, or scapegoating on the basis of group identity

- Representation of identity group members in state entities (Ministries) or institutions controlled by the state (schools, parastatals, etc.) relative to their share of the total population. (SA)
- Official disruption of public assemblies, marches or demonstrations organized by opposition groups. (SA)
- Prevalence of hate rhetoric and scapegoating in the discourse of dominant groups vis-à-vis repressed groups. (CA)

## C. External Destabilization

- Sanctuaries in neighboring states
  - Presence of armed faction leaders in neighboring countries. (EO)
  - Refusal by neighboring states to extradite indicted members of armed factions. (EO)
  - Refusal of neighboring states to take measures to control the common border. (EO)
- External manipulation of domestic political affairs
  - Domestic political actors received political direction and/or resources from authorities or groups based in other states. (EO)
  - Volume of print and broadcast propaganda originating in other states that is disseminated domestically, including the extent and intensity of inflammatory rhetoric. (CA)
  - Actions by provocateurs from hostile states. (EO)
  - Level of support within Diaspora or affinity groups for use of violence by warring faction to achieve political aims. (S/PD) (CA)

# INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

#### A. Peace Process

- Process for addressing continuing violent conflict and ambiguities that the peace settlement failed to resolve
  - Dispute resolution mechanisms exist and are being used to clarify or resolve remaining vital issues among parties to the conflict (EO)
  - A consultative process exists to incorporate elites/factions that were not original signatories into the peace process. (EO)
  - Communication between the heads of key international missions and the various faction leaders is active and productive. (EO)
  - Faction leaders/elites have learned from previous failed attempts at peace settlements and are avoiding past mistakes. (EO)
- Acceptance of the peace settlement by political leaders/elites
  - Percentage of parties to the conflict that have signed the peace settlement. (SA)
  - Number and severity of violations of the peace settlement by faction (e.g. ceasefire, cessation of operations, disarmament, and demobilization of troops).
    (SA) (EO) (Negative indicator)
  - Faction leaders renounce use of violence and condemn its use. (CA) (EO)
  - Faction leaders implement power-sharing arrangements without recourse to violence. (EO)
  - Degree of support for the peace settlement in the mass media. (CA)
- *Popular acceptance of the peace settlement* 
  - Implementation of the peace settlement is meeting popular expectations. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Marches and public demonstrations indicate public support for, or opposition to, the peace settlement. (SA) (EO)
  - Sanctions imposed for obstructionist behavior receive popular support. (By identity group) (EO) (CA)
  - Influential figures (e.g. clerics, social icons) publicly repudiate acts of violence and other obstructionist behavior. (By identity group) (EO) (CA)
- Peace settlement implementation
  - Extent to which the provisions of the peace settlement have been implemented.
    (EO)
  - Perception of the general public that the peace settlement is being implemented. (S/PD)
  - Perception of the international community that the peace settlement is being implemented. (EO)
  - The composition of the security forces reflects the breakout called for in the peace

agreement. (SA)

- International support for the peace process
  - Neighboring states are committed to the success of the peace settlement and the resulting power-sharing arrangement. (EO) (CA)
  - Regional and major powers provide consistent and even-handed political attention and adequate and timely resource support to the peace process. (EO)
  - International entities and NGOs provide adequate resource support to sustain the peace process. (EO)

## B. Delivery of Essential Government Services

- Public expectations for essential government services
  - Perception about change in the quality of life following international intervention (By identity group). (S/PD)
  - Level of public satisfaction with accessibility of education and health care. (By identity group) (S/PD)
- Government ability to provide essential services
  - Percent of population and percent of territory receiving essential government services (By level of government). (SA)
  - Number of essential government functions that are being performed by international actors. (SA)
  - Distribution of essential public services to identity groups relative to their percentage of the total population. (SA)
- Professional civil service
  - Percentage of government employees with training and education requisite for their positions. (SA)
  - Perception of minority and majority identity groups of the degree of corruption in the civil service. (S/PD)

#### C. Government Legitimacy, Responsiveness and Accountability

- Legitimacy of leadership selection (Elections or other participatory processes) (By identity group)
  - Assessment by international monitoring organizations of the legitimacy and transparency of elections or other government leadership selection processes. (EO
  - Public perception of the legitimacy and transparency of the government leadership selection process. (S/PD)
  - Evaluation of elections by independent domestic monitors (EO)
  - Executive terms in office are constitutionally limited. (EO)
    - If a parliamentary system exists, there is a clear and respected maximum duration for government tenure.
    - If a presidential system exists, the length of the President's term in

office is clearly defined.

- Succession is rule-based:
  - Conforms to predetermined and widely accepted rules (vs. self-justificatory)
  - Opposition acquiesces because rules have been honored (vs. possession of superior force) (EO)
- The process for modification of the constitution/legal framework is participatory and inclusive and requires involvement of more than the chief executive. (EO)
- Internal and international oversight mechanisms exist to oversee the succession process. (EO)
- *Confidence in state institutions* 
  - Perception that the government is responsive to individual needs (By identity group and gender). (S/PD)
  - Confidence in the government's ability to improve the situation (By identity group and gender). (S/PD)
- Legislative responsiveness (By identity group).
  - Perceptions by identity group members that their vital concerns can be addressed and protected by the legislative process. (S/PD)
  - In practice, the ruling party or coalition of parties is distinct from the state. (EO)
  - Legislators seek to broaden their appeal by forming coalitions that respond to issues that cut across identity groups. (EO, SA)
- Budget process transparency
  - The budget is published and available to the public. (EO)
  - Degree of openness of the budget process to the media and public (Scope of budget item data available to citizens and NGOs on request.) (EO, S/PD)
- Government Accountability
  - Rating of government accountability systems according to international standards and best practices (e.g. the IMF's Code of Best Practices for Fiscal Transparency). (EO)
  - Where applicable, judicial review of the actions of the executive and legislative branches is effective and enforced. (EO, SA)
  - A national ombudsman, oversight body, or independent audit organ is able to investigate and expose government abuses. (EO, SA)
  - Perceptions of the public that the actions of political officials are transparent and accountable. (S/PD)
  - Misconduct by senior government officials (e.g. head of state, ministerial-level officials, legislators, and/or judges) has been investigated and appropriately punished. (By identity group). (S/PD, EO)
- Legislative oversight of the executive branch (where applicable)
  - The legislative branch is able to use its legal authorities to expose and counteract abuse of executive powers (e.g. investigations, hearings, revisions to budget

submissions, etc.) (EO)

• Degree to which the enacted budget is followed: level of under-funding, overspending, or non-budgeted spending. (EO)

## **D.** Political Parties

- Party commitment to non-violent and accountable electoral processes
  - Former warring factions participate in party formation. (CA) (EO)
    - Participation in elections (By identity group) (SA)
    - Perception by party members that parties are responsive to their interests. (S/PD)
    - A system of campaign finance regulation exists and is enforced. (EO)
- Inclusionary party formation, campaigning and conduct in government across identity group lines
  - Diversity of the political base of major parties. (By identity group) (S/PD) (EO)
  - Parties form governing coalitions that cross identity group lines. (EO)
  - Percentage of independent voters in the electorate. (SA)

## E. Respect for Minority Rights

- Respect for fundamental civil and political rights of minority groups
  - Freedom of religion, assembly, press, speech, association and movement are effectively protected under law (By identity group and gender). (EO) (CA)
  - Perception that it is possible to exercise political and civil rights freely and without fear of retribution (By identity group and gender). (S/PD)
  - Percentage of citizens who (By identity group and gender): (S/PD)
    - Feel they could file a human rights complaint without fear of reprisal.
    - Have confidence that they will obtain a fair hearing.
    - Perceive that the government has a commitment to pursuing human rights cases.

#### F. Citizen Participation and Civil Society

- *Citizen participation in local government* 
  - Citizen participation in volunteer positions in local government, including service on unpaid citizen advisory bodies. (S/PD)
- *Citizen support for civil society?* 
  - Data from the UN World Values Survey regarding citizen values that support active citizen participation in the public sphere and are favorable to the growth of civil society. (S/PD)
- *Citizen capacity to check government abuse* 
  - Citizen awareness of their rights, responsibilities, and opportunities to influence the policies and actions of the government (By identity group and gender). (S/PD)

- Demonstrated capability of civil society organizations to mobilize members to protest against government abuse. (EO)
- Resources and know-how of independent civic groups to educate citizens about the democratic process and lobby for democratic reforms. (SA, EO)
- Diversity and sustainability of civil society organizations
  - Profile of civil society to include number of organizations and diversity of issues/interests they represent, membership, funding. (EO)
- Capacity of civil society organizations to provide oversight and scrutiny of government actions
  - Absence of reports that civil society activists have been imprisoned without reason, threatened, physically harmed, or killed. (CA) (SA)
  - Number of complaints filed by civil society organizations before anticorruption agencies, number addressed by the agency, and results. (By identity group) (SA)
  - Absence of government-imposed obstacles to formation of civic groups. (EO)
- *Minority representation in civil society* 
  - Size, resources, and level of activity (e.g. demonstrations, petitions, lobbying) of NGOs representing the interests of minority and women's groups. (EO) (SA)

#### G. Free and Responsible Media

- *Media oversight of government* 
  - Extent of editorial criticism and news unfavorable to the government in power. (CA)
  - Number of opposition and nonofficial media outlets and readership. (SA)
  - Absence of credible reports of violence and threats against journalists related to their political coverage. (SA)
  - Absence of credible reports of official censorship. (CA)
- Professional standards to control incitement to violence
  - Amount of inflammatory rhetoric in public media. (CA)
  - Standards of professional integrity and ethics in journalism exist and are used to address incendiary language or hate speech. (EO)
- Access to external media
  - Number of foreign periodicals available in the conflicted country, including circulation/readership. (SA)
  - Access by foreign journalist to government, security, and public information and persons. (EO)
  - Number of external broadcast stations and services accessible in the conflicted country, including size of viewing/listening audience. (SA)
  - Extent of Internet access and connections, including absence of measures by the government to filter access to users in country. (SA)

## SAFE AND SECURE ENVIRONMENT

<u>STAGE I OBJECTIVE</u>: Armed factions responsible for political violence have largely been defeated, subordinated to legitimate government authority, or disarmed and reintegrated into society. National security forces, increasingly operating lawfully under legitimate government authority, provide a safe and secure environment for citizens, *assisted by a sustainable level of involvement by international forces (e.g. combat troops and police).* 

<u>STAGE II OBJECTIVE</u>: National security forces, operating lawfully under legitimate government authority, maintain a monopoly on the legitimate use of force and provide a safe and secure environment for all citizens, *without the operational involvement of international forces*.

#### <u>Goals:</u>

#### I. Diminish Drivers of Conflict

- A. Political Violence Diminished
- B. Threat from Ex-combatants Diminished
- C. Popular Support for Violent Factions Diminished
- D. Use of National Security Forces for Political Repression Diminished
- E. Criminalization of National Security Forces Diminished
- F. External Destabilization Diminished

#### II. Strengthen Institutional Performance

- A. Compliance with Security Agreements Strengthened
- B. Performance of National Security Forces Strengthened
- C. Subordination and Accountability to Legitimate Government Authority Strengthened
- D. Public Confidence in National Security Forces Strengthened
- E. Consent for Role of International Security Forces Strengthened

# DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

## A. Political Violence

- Use of political violence by armed factions
  - Number and frequency of attacks against government forces and officials. (SA)
  - Number and frequency of attacks against international forces and nongovernmental organizations. (SA)
  - Number of casualties (civilian vs. military) resulting from attacks. (SA)
  - Number of attacks against infrastructure. (SA)
  - Continuing indications of recruitment by armed groups (SA) (EO)
  - The abduction of children and women into armed factions
  - Percentage of national territory that is controlled by armed factions. (SA)
  - Percentage of population not under control of the legitimate government. (SA)
- Arms caches and illegal trafficking in weapons
  - Number of usable arms caches discovered. (SA)
  - Amount of illegal weapons (heavy weapons, small arms and munitions) and equipment seized by government and international forces. (SA)
- Status of command and control structure of armed factions
  - Recruitment and training of new combatants. (EO)
  - Response of demobilized combatants to orders from a former commander to take up arms (Accept or refuse?). (EO)
  - Rogue intelligence structures under the control of violent factions continue to be used to intimidate, coerce, and assassinate political rivals. (EO)
- Partisan infiltration of military and intelligence services
  - Extent to which the Ministry of Defense is controlled by partisan political actors. (EO)
  - Percentage of military and intelligence services that are not loyal to the legitimate government. (EO)

#### B. Threat from Ex-combatants

- Perception of ex-combatants that compliance with the peace process holds more promise than a return to conflict
  - The degree to which ex-combatants (leaders and rank-and-file) and members of their support base believe their personal safety is guaranteed (e.g. against prosecution, revenge killings, or punishment from former commanders). (S/PD)
  - The degree to which ex-combatants (leaders and rank-and-file) and members of their support base express confidence in the political process. (S/PD) (CA)

- The degree to which ex-combatants (leaders and rank-and-file) and members of their support base believe the peace process fairly represents their self interests and the interests of their family. (S/PD)
- Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants
  - Number of heavy weapons placed in cantonment as a percentage of heavy weapons in possession (both government and opposition forces). (SA)
  - Ratio of individual weapons and ammunition relinquished to number of demobilizing combatants (both government and opposition forces). (SA)
  - Percentage of eligible combatants (both government and opposition forces) registered for DDR (SA)
  - Percentage of ex-combatants (both government and opposition forces) who have met demobilization requirements established in the peace settlement. (SA) (EO)
  - Number and percentage of ex-combatants employed or included in the official security sector. (SA)
  - Number and percentage of ex-combatants returned to their original communities or resettled elsewhere. (SA)
  - Incidence of involvement of ex-combatants in violent crime. (SA) (EO) *(Negative indicator)*
  - Incidence of attacks or intimidation or discrimination against ex-combatants. (SA) (CA) (Negative indicator)
  - Level of participation in the political process and civil society by ex-combatants (leaders and rank-and-file). (S/PD)

## C. Popular Support for Violent Factions

- *Popular support for violent armed factions* 
  - Percentage of military-aged population that expresses an inclination to support or join a violent faction. (By identity group) (SA)
  - Intensity of popular support (passive sympathy, devotion, or active support) given to violent factions. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Degree of collaboration (passive sympathy, devotion, or active support) between various political-social institutions (e.g., tribal associations, religious groups, social welfare networks, educational centers, local media associations, or financial institutions) and violent factions. (S/PD) (EO)
- Coerced support for violent armed factions
  - Percentage of the population that feels intimidated resulting from the threats or actions of violent factions. (By identity Group) (S/PD)
  - Accusations of treason against individuals within their own identity group for cooperating with opposing identity groups or supporting the peace process. (S/PD)
  - Menacing letters, threats of harm, and cruel punishment for cooperating with opposing identity groups or supporting the peace process. (S/PD)

- Popular resistance to the use of force against violent armed factions
  - Percentage of people who strongly condemn of the use of force against the violent faction with which they affiliate. (S/PD)
  - Incidents of public dissent (e.g. demonstrations, funeral processions, or symbolic marches) in response to the use of force by state security forces and/or the international mission against violent factions. (SA) (CA)

## D. Use of National Security Forces for Political Repression

- Use of security forces to repress political opposition groups
  - Number of assassinations or attempted assassinations of opposition group members attributed to state security forces. (SA) (CA)
  - Number of arbitrary arrests and disappearances of opposition group members attributed to state security forces. (SA) (CA)
  - Incidents of torture attributed to state security forces. (EO) (CA)
  - Percent of the public who report they or their family members have suffered from abuses or excessive use of force at the hands of state security forces since the intervention. (S/PD)
- Use of overt state-sponsored or covert state-supported private militias to attack political opponents
  - Number of assassinations or attempted assassinations of opposition group members attributed to overt state-sponsored or covert state-supported private militias. (SA) (CA)
  - Number of arbitrary arrests and disappearances of opposition group members attributed to overt state-sponsored or covert state-supported private militias. (SA) (CA)
  - Incidents of torture attributed to overt state-sponsored or covert state-supported private militias. (SA)(CA)

#### E. Criminalization of National Security Forces

- Linkages between leaders of the military and intelligence services and organized criminal networks
  - Heads of military and intelligence services are known or reported to collaborate with organized crime groups. (EO) (CA) (S/PD)
  - Heads of military and intelligence services profit from illicit exploitation of natural resources. (EO) (CA)
  - Heads of military and intelligence services control or derive profit from illegal trafficking in commodities or persons. (EO) (CA)
  - Heads of military and intelligence services control and divert revenue from customs duties. (EO)
  - Extent to which personnel rosters are inflated with phantom soldiers. (EO)

• Extent to which soldiers fail to receive the pay and compensation to which they are entitled. (S/PD) (EO)

## F. External Destabilization

- Destabilization by foreign states or transnational actors (e.g., Diasporas, political movements, trans-border communications media, illicit commercial enterprises, private security forces, terrorist networks)
  - Percentage of national territory controlled by neighboring states. (SA)
  - Number of foreign fighters killed or captured. (SA) (EO)
  - Number (type and impact) of armed incursions by neighboring states. (SA) (EO)
  - Number (type and impact) of armed incursions by non-state actors from neighboring states. (SA)(EO)
  - Flow of funding from foreign states or transnational actors to violent factions. (EO)
  - Flow of weapons from foreign states or transnational actors to violent factions. (EO)
  - Evidence of organizational linkages between Diaspora or affinity groups and warring factions. (EO)
- Cross-border sanctuaries
  - Number (type and impact) of armed incursions by non-state actors from neighboring states. (SA)(EO)
  - Number of insurgents based in neighboring states. (EO/intelligence assessment)
  - Refugee camps in neighboring states exploited as sanctuaries and recruitment grounds. (EO)
  - Number of arms smugglers interdicted at border. (SA)
- Linkages between violent armed factions and transnational criminal networks
  - Involvement of transnational criminal networks in operational activities of warring factions. (EO-- reports of investigations, prosecutions, and convictions.)
  - Flow of arms from transnational criminal networks to warring factions. (By recipient and form of payment) (EO)

# INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

#### A. Compliance with Security Agreements

- Ability to resolve cases of non-compliance with cooperative security agreements
  - Number of cases of compliance versus non-compliance. (Itemize each cooperative security arrangement, associated timelines, and degree of compliance with each.) (EO)
  - Percent of non-compliance cases investigated and resolved. (By former armed faction) (SA) (EO)

## B. Performance of National Security Forces

- *Government control over national territory* 
  - Percentage of national territory that is not under control of the legitimate government. (SA)
  - Number of checkpoints or roadblocks set up by armed factions. (SA)
  - Percent of national territory controlled by external forces. (SA)
- Safe and secure environment
  - Positive changes in patterns of daily activity:
    - Safe and sustainable resettlement in mixed identity group neighborhoods;
    - Use of public/private institutions, such as schools, banks, markets;
    - Community-based celebrations;
    - Amount spent by businesses on private security (negative indicator). (EO-Direct observation)
  - Percentage of residents who feel more secure today than they did six months before. (By province and identity group) (S/PD)
  - Percentage of residents who believe that they will be more secure in the months ahead than they are today. (By province and identity group) (S/PD)
- Freedom of movement
  - Degree to which members of formerly warring factions and competing identity groups can travel freely in areas controlled by their rivals. (EO)
  - Percentage of the population that feels they can travel safely within the country (By identity group). (S/PD)
  - Number of checkpoints/roadblocks set up by armed factions. (SA)
  - Cost and amount of time required to negotiate check points (SA)
- Appropriate roles and missions for security forces
  - A division of labor exists between the police and military and intelligence services, with the former performing public safety roles and the latter involved in national security missions. (EO)
  - $\circ$  A national security strategy and threat assessment exist. (EO)

- The force structure matches the national security strategy and officially stated threat assessment. (EO)
- Training and operating procedures are designed to meet officially stated current and anticipated security threats (EO)
- Cost of military and intelligence services relative to GDP. (SA)
- Percent of population in military and intelligence services. (SA)
- Effectiveness of intelligence service
  - A legal framework to regulate intelligence services exists and is effective. (EO)
  - Extent to which threats to internal and external security have been prevented or disrupted because of intelligence-led operations. (EO)
  - Extent to which prosecution and conviction for crimes relating to threats to internal or external security have been supported by intelligence services. (EO)
  - Availability of actionable intelligence and other information regarding the illicit transit of goods and services across the borders. (EO)
- Effectiveness of border-control and customs services
  - Extent to which national borders land, sea, and air are under border-control surveillance. (EO) (SA)
  - Extent of bribery of border officials to secure transit of illicit goods through Ports of Entry. (S/PD)
  - Amount of revenue collected by customs officials (Trend line and in comparison to revenue colleted neighboring state). (SA)
  - Percentage of arrests for illicit border activity leading to convictions. (SA)
  - Level of cooperation with non-hostile neighboring states regarding illicit border crossings as indicated by frequency of information sharing, coordinated or joint-operations, resolution of ambiguous border incidents. (EO)

## C. Subordination and Accountability to Legitimate Civilian Authority

- Subordination of military and intelligence services to legitimate civilian authority
  - The roles and missions of military and intelligence services are clearly defined and are observed. (EO)
  - Degree to which the military officer and NCO corps regard use of the military and intelligence services for partisan political purposes as strictly forbidden. (S/PD) (EO)
  - Degree to which the military officer and NCO corps accept that they have neither the obligation nor the right to overthrow the civilian leadership. (S/PD) (EO)
  - Protections against violations of privacy (e.g. unlawful surveillance and wiretaps) exist in law and are enforced by the courts. (EO)
  - Civilian executive structures and procedures exist and are used to direct and control the military and intelligence services effectively (e.g. Command and control structures, internal control processes, periodic inspections and audits, etc.). (EO)
  - Any security force official can be held accountable for serious misconduct either by a military tribunal or a civilian judicial process. (EO)

- The exercise of legislative authority over the military and intelligence services includes approving budgets, access to off-budget program expenditures, power to investigate misconduct by members of the military and intelligence services, and approval of senior appointments. (EO)
- Respect for human rights by military and intelligence services
  - Members of military and intelligence services are aware of, accept, and respect domestic codes of conduct and international standards regarding human, political, and civil rights. (S/PD) (EO)
  - Violations of these standards are investigated, adjudicated, and sanctioned. (EO) (SA)
  - Citizens consider these standards to be routinely observed. (S/PD)
  - Regional and international oversight mechanisms (e.g. Regional human rights courts, UN special rapporteurs) function, and their recommendations are acted upon. (EO)
  - Those convicted of abuses are dismissed from the armed forces.
  - Control over private security companies (PSCs)
    - PSCs are licensed and registered and unlicensed PSCs are disbanded. (EO)
    - Regulations governing possession of firearms and use of force are enforced. (EO)
    - Number of reports of extortion, intimidation, assault, and murder committed by PSC members. (CA) (SA)
    - PSCs are perceived as non-threatening and legitimate by members of rival identity groups. (S/PD)
- Effectiveness of internal oversight mechanisms for monitoring, investigating and prosecuting misconduct by military forces
  - An Inspector General (IG) (or similar system) conducts inspections, and its findings are acted upon by the chain of command. (EO)
  - A military justice system holds officers and NCOs accountable and punishes them for misconduct. (EO) (SA)
  - The IG process includes effective safeguards against undue command influence. (EO)
- Ability of civil society to redress human rights abuses by the military and intelligence services
  - Individuals and groups adversely affected by the conduct of military and intelligence services are able to seek and obtain redress through domestic institutions (e.g. Ombudsman, public complaints commission, national human rights institution, civilian audit agency, legislative hearing, executive branch investigation). (EO) (S/PD)
  - Opposition politicians and civil society organizations are able to assemble and express concerns about misconduct by military and intelligence services and press for investigation and reform without interference. (EO)
  - The media engages in investigative reporting about misconduct of the military and intelligence services without fear of reprisal. (CA) (EO)

## D. Public Confidence in National Security Forces

- Confidence in impartiality of military and intelligence services
  - Do you consider that the military and intelligence services are used for partisan political purposes? (S/PD)
  - Percentage of refugees and displaced persons who have returned to their former communities or resettled elsewhere. (SA)

#### E. Consent for International Forces

- Consent for international forces
  - Perception that the presence of international security forces is vital for one's personal security. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Popularity of international security forces. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Degree to which international security forces are seen as neutral. (By identity group) (S/PD)

# Rule of $Law^4$

<u>STAGE I OBJECTIVE</u>: Impunity, injustice, and criminalization of state institutions are diminished to the point that the justice system, *supported by a sustainable level of essential international involvement*, provides an accepted process for resolving disputes peacefully by maintaining public order and safety, bringing perpetrators of major crimes to justice, holding governing authorities accountable through an independent judiciary, protecting fundamental human rights, and applying the law equally, in increasing compliance with international norms and standards.<sup>5</sup>

<u>STAGE II OBJECTIVE</u>: The domestic justice system, without international involvement, provides a well functioning and accepted process for resolving disputes peacefully by maintaining public order and safety, bringing perpetrators of crimes to justice, holding governing authorities accountable through an independent judiciary, protecting fundamental human rights, applying the law equally and efficiently, and providing equal access to justice, in compliance with international norms and standards.<sup>6</sup>

#### GOALS:

#### I. Diminish the Drivers of Conflict

- A. Impunity Diminished
- B. Injustice Diminished
- C. Criminalization of State Institutions Diminished

#### **II. Strengthen Institutional Performance**

- A. Public Order and Safety Strengthened
- B. Administration of Justice Strengthened
- C. Judicial Independence and Government Accountability Strengthened
- D. Respect for Human Rights Strengthened
- E. Equality Before the Law Strengthened
- F. Societal Support for Rule of Law Strengthened

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The development of these measures for the rule of law was immensely enhanced by the expert professional scrutiny of David Bayley, Alex Berg, Scott Carlson, David Edelstein, Deborah Isser, Richard Mayer, Laurel Miller, Margaret Prothig, Alex Their, James Walsh, and Ed Zedlewski.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As defined in the Model Criminal Codes developed by USIP (Need proper citation).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid.

# DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

## A. Injustice

- Use of the legal system as an instrument of repression
  - Percent of citizens who fear law enforcement agencies as instruments of repression or that they will be treated unfairly if arrested. (By province and identity group) (S/PD)
  - Whether detainees/prisoners are subjected to torture, cruel, or inhuman treatment, beatings or psychological pressures (By identity group). (EO/Human rights assessments) (CA)
- Discrimination (By identity group)
  - Percentage of known prison population detained beyond the period specified in the law who have not had their case reviewed by an appropriate authority. (By identity group) (SA)
  - Percentage of prison population (by identity group) relative to their proportion of the overall population. (SA)
- Use of traditional/non-state justice systems as an instrument of repression or discrimination
  - Traditional or other non-state justice systems give preference to specific identity groups. (EO)
  - Traditional or other non-state justice systems have been co-opted or distorted resulting in discriminatory treatment of specific identity groups. (EO)

#### B. Impunity

- Untouchable political elites
  - Inability or unwillingness of the legal system to investigate, prosecute, and convict perpetrators of politically destabilizing crimes ((e.g. inter-group murder, use of political violence against rivals, and terrorism) when political leaders/elites are suspected of involvement. (EO)
  - Perceptions of law enforcement officials and victims of the crimes cited above that suspects involved are untouchable and that cases are abandoned for this reason. (S/PD) (CA)
  - Ratio of incidence of politically destabilizing crimes to investigations, prosecutions, and convictions for these crimes. (SA)
- Obstruction of justice in cases involving political elites
  - Percent of cases where witnesses recant testimony. (SA)
  - Number of witnesses, police, judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys and their family members who suffer assaults or assassination. (SA)

 Percent of judges with personal security details, or who have taken other security precautions (e.g. sleeping in their offices or sending their family members to safer locations). (S/PD)

## C. Criminalization of State Institutions

- Existence of parallel or informal governing structures sustained by illicit revenue within formal government institutions
  - Political leaders/ruling elites are involved in or linked to criminal looting of natural resources, drug trade, human trafficking, money laundering, smuggling of arms or contraband. (EO)
  - Public perception that organized crime has a substantial influence on the development of national policies, operation of ministries, and allocation of resources. (S/PD)
  - Known criminals or individuals linked to crime syndicates occupy key government positions. (EO)
  - Extent to which government expenditures are hidden and unaccounted for. (EO)
  - Militias/paramilitary groups allied with the government operate with governmentissue equipment and/or funding. (EO)

## INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

#### A. Public Order and Safety

- Public order and Safety (By province)
  - Patterns of daily activity:
    - Safe and sustainable return of displaced persons and refugees to former neighborhoods;
    - Use of public/private institutions, such as schools, banks, etc.
    - Level of market activity;
    - Amount spent by businesses on private security. (SA) (S/PD) (CA)
  - Percent of population that has been the victim of violent crime in the past month/year (S/PD)
- Accountability of law enforcement agencies (By province)
  - Complaints of serious misconduct such as excessive use of force by law enforcement agencies are properly investigated and prosecuted or pursued through administrative procedures. (EO) (SA)
  - Public complaints are registered and investigated and sanctions are imposed by an independent agency with subpoena power external to the police. (SA) (EO)
  - Codes of conduct emphasizing adherence to law and to international standards of human rights are enforced by the courts and by supervisors in law enforcement agencies. (EO) (CA)
- Public confidence in law enforcement agencies
  - "Whom do you trust to protect your personal safety?" (S/PD)
  - "Do you feel safer in your neighborhood today compared to six months ago" (S/PD)
  - "Do you feel safe walking in your neighborhood?" (S/PD)
  - "How would you rate security conditions today?" (S/PD)
  - Victims report crimes to the police and are satisfied with the response. (S/PD) (Survey questions)
    - "Have you been a victim of crime?"
    - "Did you report the crime to the police?"
    - "Were you satisfied with the response?"
  - Parents teach their children that when they need help they should seek out the police. (S/PD)

## B. Administration of Justice

- Willingness to use the justice system (formal and informal) for non-violent resolution of disputes (By identity group)
  - Percent of citizens who say that they have access to and are willing to use court systems to resolve criminal disputes. (By identity group) (S/PD)

- Percent of population who perceive they have been treated fairly by the legal system in the past and/or expect to be treated fairy in the future. (By province and identity group)(S/PD)
- Extent to which citizens resort to use of the legal system to settle inter-group conflicts. (SA) (S/PD)
- Effectiveness of the criminal justice system

#### Criminal Laws and Procedures

• Criminal laws and criminal procedures address contemporary criminal activity and provide effective means of law enforcement for terrorist financing, trafficking, transnational and organized crime, extradition, mutual legal assistance, cyber crime, etc. *(See Model Criminal Codes)* (EO)

## Entry into the system

- Average time after detention until formal charges are brought (SA)
- Percent of those arrested, detained, or charged with a crime who have access to legal representation. (SA) (S/PD)
- Percent of pre-trial detention facilities operating in compliance with international human rights standards (EO)

#### Prosecution and pre-trial services

- Average time from entry into system on serious crimes charges until seeing a lawyer. (SA)
- Number of convictions for serious crimes as a percent of indictments for serious crimes per province (SA)

#### **Adjudication**

- Average time between filing of formal charges and trial (SA)
- Percent of those accused of serious crimes not represented at trial (SA)

#### Sentencing and sanctions

- Sentences in criminal cases comply with international standards for proportionality. (EO)
- Prison terms and fines are enforced. (EO)

#### Incarceration

- The penal system is able to enforce sentences on political leaders/elites and the most dangerous criminals. (EO)
- Per cent of prison population beyond stated capacity of prison system (SA)
- Number of prisoners who escape per year (SA)

## Appeals

 $\circ$  There is a fair and authentic appeals process, as measured by:

o Cost

- Access (By identity group)
- o Time
- Appeals by prosecutors are disproportionately used against disadvantaged identity groups. (SA)
- Effectiveness of the civil justice system (where there is a separate civil justice system) (At national, provincial, and local levels)

Civil Laws and Procedures

• Civil laws and procedures address contemporary civil needs for adjudication, enforcement and recordkeeping. (EO)

#### Entry into the system

- Percent of those involved in a civil case who have access to legal representation. (SA) (S/PD)
- Percent of citizens who say that they have access to court systems to resolve civil disputes. (S/PD)
- Percent of citizens who are aware of what forms of recourse are available to them to resolve a dispute. (S/PD)

#### **Adjudication**

- Average time between filing of claim and adjudication. (SA)
- Percent of claims that remain un-adjudicated. (SA)

#### Enforcement of Judgments and Orders

• Percent of judgments enforced relative to the number awarded. (SA)

#### Appeals 1

- There is a fair and authentic appeals process, as measured by:
  - o Cost
  - Access (By identity group)
  - o Time
- Complementarity of formal and traditional/non-state justice systems
  - Inconsistencies in substance or process between traditional/non-state justice systems and the formal legal system that lead to tension and confusion (Negative indicator). (EO)
  - Inconsistencies traditional/non-state justice systems and international human rights standards (Negative indicator). (EO)
  - Boundaries between formal and informal dispute resolution mechanisms are clear and uncontested. (EO) (CA)
  - Restoration of traditional/non-state justice systems that contributed to the peaceful resolution of disputes that may have been deliberately weakened or eliminated during the conflict. (EO)

- Accountability of judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and penal system employees
  - Perceptions of the public about the probity of judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and penal system employees. (S/PD)
  - Percentage of complaints against judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and penal system employees that result in disciplinary action (SA)
  - Percent of those involved in legal proceedings who report paying bribes to judges. (S/PD)

#### C. Judicial Independence and Government Accountability

- Judicial independence
  - The selection and promotion of judges is based on objective, merit-based criteria (e.g., training, education and performance), or elections as opposed to identity group membership, political affiliation, or patronage. (EO)
  - Removal of judges is limited to specified conditions such as gross misconduct. (EO)
  - Judicial expenditures are not controlled by the executive. (EO)
- Accountability of governing authorities
  - Government officials have been tried and convicted of abuse of authority (SA) (EO)
  - In cases where the State is one of the litigants, outcomes are not automatically in the State's favor. (SA) (EO)

#### D. Respect for Human Rights

- *Respect for human rights by government authorities* 
  - The legal framework conforms to international human rights standards *(see Serious Crimes Handbook, Chp3, and Model Codes).* (EO)
  - Freedom of religion, assembly, press, speech, association and movement, and other civil rights are effectively protected under law (EO) (CA)
    - Identify if they are in compliance with treaties they have ratified.
  - Number of political prisoners. (EO)
  - Percent of prisons and detention centers operating in compliance with international human rights standards. (EO)
  - Frequency with which lawyers suffer retribution on account of representing controversial clients. (EO)
- Effectiveness of measures to protect human rights (e.g. human rights commission, human rights court, or ombudsman)
  - Percentage of citizens who (By identity group): (S/PD)
    - Feel they could file a human rights complaint without fear of reprisal.
    - Have confidence that they will obtain a fair hearing.
    - Perceive that the government is committed to pursuing human rights cases.

- Percentage of human rights cases that result in remedies (By identity group) (SA)
- Property dispute resolution
  - Percent of property dispute claims adjudicated relative to claims registered (By identity group and province) (SA)
  - Percent of claims adjudicated relative to the number enforced (By identity group and province). (SA)
  - Perception of parties involved with property disputes that the process was fair and the case resolved satisfactorily (By identity group and province). (S/PD)

#### E. Equality Before the Law

- Equal protection before the law
  - Percent of victims who reported crimes to law enforcement authorities and percent who were satisfied with the response (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Perception of the population that the judicial system and law enforcement agencies apply the law equally to all identity groups. (S/PD)(CA)
  - Assessments by human rights or other independent professional organizations about the fairness of the judicial system. (EO/ direct observation of court proceedings)
  - The staffing of the judiciary, law enforcement agencies, and penal system is reflective of the demographic composition of the broader society (SA) (S)
- Access to justice
  - Right to legal counsel is recognized by law. (EO) (See ABA)
  - Laws, codes or other normative acts set forth a standard timeframe by which persons detained shall be given access to a lawyer. (EO) (See ABA)
  - Individuals are regularly informed of their right to counsel at the time of arrest or detention. (EO) (See ABA)
  - Extent of availability of legal aid or public defense. (EO)
  - Per cent of population at least half-a-day removed from nearest court house or police post (SA)
  - Number of interpreters per 100,000 minority language population (SA)
  - Per cent of court cases dropped due to inability of victim to pay (SA) (S/PD)
- Corruption in public office
  - If available, use Transparency International
  - Percent of citizens reporting that a gift or informal payment is required to obtain:
    - A government service;
    - A government job;
    - To avoid arrest or a fine by police or to pass through a police checkpoint. (S/PD)
  - Percent of businesses reporting that a 'gift' or informal payment was required to obtain:

- A construction permit
- An import license
- An operating license (S/PD)
- Public perception that corruption has lessened, increased or stayed the same (S/PD)

#### F. Societal Support for Rule of Law

- Support for peaceful resolution of disputes from social attitudes and norms (By identity group)
  - $\circ$  Extent of voluntary compliance with the law (S/PD)
  - Percent of the populace who would consult with a legal advisor and use the formal court system if they have a dispute (S/PD)
  - Knowledge of population about their legal and civil rights and the legal process, including how to access the legal system (S/PD)
  - Belief that justice is administered fairly by members of other identity groups (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Efforts to arrest identity group leaders who commit serious crimes are violently resisted by their identity group.
- Strength of legal profession
  - Laws and normative acts establish the independence of the profession and sets forth professional standards and ethics that are binding. (EO) (See ABA)
  - Cases have been successfully brought to court involving claims that the independence of lawyers has been violated through interference or intimidation by state authorities or non-state actors. (EO) (ABA)
  - There is a process of accreditation to enter the legal profession and for sanctioning misconduct. (EO) (See ABA)
  - Number of practicing lawyers and other legal advisors (such as notaries) per capita (By identity group). (SA) (See ABA)
  - Access to continuing legal education programs and practical training/apprenticeship (By identity group). (SA) (See ABA)
  - Presence and strength of professional associations, such as a Bar Association, for members of the legal profession (EO)

## SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

<u>STAGE I OBJECTIVE:</u> Illicit wealth does not determine who governs, conflict no longer pays, and inequality between groups in conflict is diminishing. An enabling environment for a marketbased economy is being established, employment is being generated, and revenues for provision of essential public services are being collected and protected. *International involvement and oversight that may be needed to foster an enabling environment can be maintained until economic sustainability is attained*.

<u>STAGE II OBJECTIVE:</u> An enabling environment for a market-based economy is established and is capable of preventing capture by predatory power structures. The formal economy is growing, generating increasing employment relative to the informal economy, and revenues sufficient for provision of essential state services are being collected and protected. *Economic performance meets qualifications for integration into international economic regimes.* 

GOALS:

#### I. Diminish the Drivers of Conflict

- A. Political Impact of Illicit Wealth Diminished
- B. Economic Incentives for Conflict Diminished
- C. Economic Inequality between Groups in Conflict Diminished
- D. Effects of Economic Decline Diminished
- E. External Drivers of Conflict Diminished

#### II. Strengthen Institutional Performance

- A. Infrastructure Strengthened
- B. Fiscal Integrity Strengthened
- C. Regulatory and Corporate Governance Framework Strengthened
- D. Financial Institutions Strengthened
- E. Employment Strengthened
- F. Private Sector Strengthened
- G. Management of Natural Resources Strengthened
- H. Economic Performance and Self Reliance Strengthened

# DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

## A. Political Impact of Illicit Wealth

- Size of illicit market
  - Estimated percentage of GDP accounted for by illicit economic transactions. (SA) (EO)
  - Estimated amount of revenue generated by looting of natural resources. (EO)
  - Gap between prices for a market basket of essential goods and services in open vs. gray markets. (S/PD)
- Government corruption
  - Ranking on international indices of corruption. (EO) (SA)
  - Existence of incentive structures that reward smuggling, rent-seeking, looting of natural resources, or other forms of large-scale criminal activity/corruption. (EO)
  - Public perception of the degree of corruption and abuse of office by government leaders. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Survey of a panel of local and international companies (Have you withdrawn investment or are you considering doing so owing to government corruption?) (S/ PD)
- *Linkage between government officials and criminal syndicates* 
  - Known criminals or individuals linked to crime syndicates occupy key government positions. (EO)
  - Number of senior government officials implicated by foreign governments or international law enforcement bodies (e.g. Interpol) in transnational criminal activity (SA)
- Illicit revenue generated by opposition groups
  - Militant power brokers (e.g. warlords) maintain spheres of influence where they exercise de facto authority to collect taxes or exploit criminalized economic activity, etc. (EO)
  - Estimated amount of revenue generated by looting of natural resources, drug production, collection of taxes, smuggling networks, trafficking in cultural/historical artifacts, etc. (EO)

## B. Economic Incentives for Conflict

- Economic incentives for conflict
  - Frequency of reports that government officials profit from arms trafficking. (CA) (EO)
  - Frequency of reports that faction leaders and government officials profiting from the control of trade in commercial goods made illicit by international sanctions. (CA) (EO)

- Amount of relief supplies expropriated by belligerents. (SA)
- Amount of protection money that public officials and rebel groups secure from those who are spared violence or confinement. (S/PD)

## C. Economic Inequality between Groups in Conflict

- *Group-based inequality (By identity group)* 
  - Per capita income of politically disadvantaged identity groups relative to the national average. (SA)
  - Literacy rates of politically disadvantaged identity groups relative to the national average. (SA)
  - Unemployment rates of politically disadvantaged identity groups relative to the national average. (SA)
- *Group-based inequality as a source of conflict* 
  - Trend in perceived relative deprivation. (S/PD)
  - Number of land occupations. (SA)
  - Number of violent confrontations and extra-judicial killings over land, water, or grazing rights. (CA) (SA)
  - Prevalence of the use of private security forces to protect land/resources (CA)
- Benefit derived by identity group in power
  - Allocation of jobs in the public sector (By identity group). (SA)
  - Distribution of government expenditures (By province and identity group)
  - Distribution of government subsidized food (SA)
  - Perception of the quality of and access to public goods and services (e.g. reliability of electrical power supply, responsiveness of utilities to maintenance and repairs calls, etc.). (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Extent of any disparity in the cost (e.g. fees, taxes, charges) of public goods and services. (By identity group) (SA)

#### D. Effects of Economic Decline

- Effects of economic decline
  - Infant mortality rates. (SA)
  - Incidence of demand for care related to malnourishment and exposure. (SA)
  - Incidence of looting for staple products. (CA)
  - Availability of power. (SA)
- ♦ Brain drain
  - □ Reports of professionals, technical experts, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs leaving the country. (CA)
  - □ Applications for visas by the above groups, including applications for visas in categories that allow for work or permanent residence. (SA)

#### E. External Drivers of Conflict

- Diaspora funding for warring factions
  - Evidence that support (funding, arms) is provided clandestinely by Diaspora or affinity groups to warring factions. (EO)
- Foreign governments support for warring factions
  - Dollar value of arms transferred to the target country by foreign governments. (By recipient) (EO)
  - Amount of financial or in-kind support provided by foreign governments for warring factions. (EO)
- Looting of natural resources by external actors
  - Control of territory containing natural resources by forces belonging to or supported by foreign governments. (SA) (EO)
  - Value of natural resources purchased and marketed by multinational corporations without payment of customs duties. (EO)
  - Decline in the annual amount of the value of natural resources exported and concurrent increase in the value of the natural resource exported by neighboring country. (EO)

#### INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

#### A. Infrastructure

- Availability of electrical power
  - Level of public satisfaction with electrical power delivery. (By identity group and region) (S/PD)
  - Gross electrical power output compared to pre-conflict levels. (SA)
  - Extent of reliance on non-network, site-specific electrical power generation units. (By identity group and region) (SA)
  - Prevalence, duration, and extent of brownouts and cutbacks in electrical power. (By identity group and region) (SA)
  - Proportion of electricity generated domestically versus external sources (SA)
- Availability of essential services
  - Percent of essential services (e.g. water, sewage, telephone, trash removal, public transportation) functioning compared with pre-conflict levels (By identity group and region) (SA)
  - Distribution of essential services to identity groups relative to their percentage of the total population. (SA)
  - Level of public satisfaction with essential service delivery (By identity group and region) (S/PD)
  - Prevalence, duration, and extent of interruptions in delivery of essential services. (By identity group and region) (SA)

# B. Fiscal Integrity

- Effectiveness of independent oversight systems (to ensure the integrity of state revenues and expenditures and to prevent diversion by predatory power structures)
  - Extent of legal infrastructure for the conduct of regular independent audits of state fiscal operations (including budget, staffing, adoption of SOPs, and calendar of audits independent of the Executive Branch). (EO)
  - Percentage of state-entity budgets/fiscal operations audited. (SA)
  - Percentage of questionable financial practices investigated, prosecuted, and punished. (SA)
- *Revenue generation and expenditure* 
  - Size of fiscal deficit in relation to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (in comparison to pre-conflict levels). (SA)
  - Delays in payments of salaries to government employees (By job type and identity group of employee). (SA)

# C. Regulatory and Corporate Governance Framework

- Regulation of commercial and financial transactions
  - Strength of regulatory infrastructure regarding corporate investment, trade, hiring and procuring and exploitation of the environment. (EO)
  - Evaluation of state enforcement of the above regulations. (EO)
- Effectiveness of property rights systems
  - Percent of property dispute claims adjudicated and resolved relative to claims registered. (By identity group) (SA)
  - Perception of parties involved with property disputes that the process was fair and the case resolved satisfactorily. (By identity group) (S/PD)
  - Property settlements and contracts are enforced. (SA)
- Effectiveness of legal restraints on black market activity
  - Investigation, prosecution, and conviction of black marketers. (SA)
  - Decline in illicit drug revenues and other transnational criminal transactions as a percentage of the GDP. (SA)
- Effectiveness of controls on money-laundering and suspicious financial-transactions
  - Strength of legal and administrative systems for monitoring and adjudicating cases of money laundering and suspicious financial transactions. (EO)
  - Number of cases of money-laundering and suspicious financial transactions investigated and number of convictions. (SA)
  - Amount of assets seized as a result of enforcement of suspicious financial transaction laws. (SA)
- Integrity of privatization of publicly owned businesses (conducted transparently and with safeguards to deter capture by predatory power structures)
  - Development of a transparency framework that includes public posting of offers of public property, bids and tenders for the purchase of such property, identity of purchasers, financing of sales, any codicils regarding the subsequent use of property required (e.g. right of resale, restrictions on the use of assets). (EO)
  - Percent of privatization sales/transfers compliant with a transparency regime. (SA)
  - Public disclosure of transfers that includes book and market value of assets transferred and identity of individuals and groups acquiring assets, and percentage of privatized firms whose equity is publicly traded and whose operations are officially reported. (EO)
  - Percent of public property that is transferred by means of equity shares priced to allow widespread ownership of the privatized firm. (SA)
- Accountability of publicly owned companies
  - Scope of state regulations and enforcement mechanisms for internal enterprise governance; relations with state entities; and reporting of financial status and operations. (EO)

• Compliance with the enterprise governance regime. (EO)

## D. Financial Institutions

- External subsidies and debt service arrangements
  - Amount involved in international arrangements for debt relief. (SA)
- Strength of domestic public and private financial institutions
  - Monetization of the economy. (EO)
  - Use of the national currency. (EO)
  - Stability of the exchange rate of the national currency. (SA)
  - Strength of the Central Bank or like mechanism. (EO)

## E. Employment

- Employment of groups associated with conflict (i.e., ex-combatants, military-aged youth, and disenfranchised groups)
  - Unemployment rates (By identity group and among ex-combatants and militaryaged youth)
  - Perceptions about availability and desirability of jobs in the formal vs. informal sector. (By identity group and among ex-combatants and military-aged youth)
- National employment and underemployment
  - Rate of growth in employment in the formal sector. (National and provincial) (SA)
  - Survey of job-age individuals indicating, if employed, source of jobs (i.e. formal or informal economy) (National and provincial) (S/PD)
  - Survey of job prospects: "Where do you expect it will be easiest for someone like you to get a job in the next 12 months—formal or informal economy?" (National and provincial) (S/PD)
  - Estimated rate of underemployment. (National and provincial) (EO)
- *Caliber of the work force* 
  - Perception of business owners and entrepreneurs of the match between laborers' skills and their employment needs. (By identity group) (By sector of the economy) (S/PD)

# F. Private Sector

- *Private sector growth* 
  - Trend in number of businesses registered. (SA)
  - Trend in amount of business activity reported (e.g. via annual reports). (SA)
- Supportive legal framework and societal attitudes

- Perception by domestic and foreign businesses that the legal regime favors free and open markets. (S/PD).
- Entrepreneurial attitudes and understanding of free-market principles by businesspersons, government officials, and the general public. (S/PD)
- Access to capital and external markets
  - Volume of capital lent to borrowers by type (consumers, micro-lending, small businesses, large private firms, government enterprises). (SA)
  - Amount of lending by domestic banks to domestic businesses (as % of GDP).
    (SA)
  - Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (as % of GDP). (SA)
  - □ Foreign capital (other than FDI) (as % of GDP). (SA)
  - Volume of exports subject to high tariffs, quotas and non-tariff restrictions. (SA)

## G. Management of Natural Resources

- Sustainable and effective management of natural resources
  - Amount of government revenue generated from primary commodity exports. (SA)
  - Degree of compliance with any international regimes for certification of natural resource commodity origins to restrict entry of "looted" resources into trade. (EO)
  - Percent of mines, forests, wells, etc. brought under transparent government regulation. (SA)
  - Level of investment (public and private sector) in renewable natural resources. (SA)
  - Compliance with arrangements for the management of renewable and nonrenewable natural resources. (EO)

# H. Economic Performance and Self Reliance

- *Economic performance* 
  - Per capita income, adjusted for inflation. (SA)
  - GDP growth rate, adjusted for inflation. (SA)
  - Per capita national debt. (SA)
  - Savings and investments as a percentage of the GDP. (SA)
  - Rate of unemployment and underemployment. (National and provincial) (SA)
  - Trend in business bankruptcy. (SA)
  - Income distribution (e.g. as measured by the Gini Coefficient) (National and provincial) (SA)
  - Poverty levels. (National and provincial) (SA)
  - Inflation rate. (SA)
  - Public perception of the health of the economy. (National and provincial) (S/PD)
- Financial self reliance
  - Percent of government expenditures funded by external sources. (SA)

- Ratio of public borrowing and debt to government income. (SA)
- Debt and debt service costs relative to GNP. (SA)
- "Graduation" (vs. relief) from special debt servicing arrangements (e.g. Paris Club). (EO)
- o Debt rating. (SA)
- *Economic diversity* 
  - Primary commodity production/income as a percent of GDP. (SA)
  - Running profile of national production by sector (agriculture, mining, manufacture, finance, etc., as per Standard Industrial Classification Manual, OMB). (SA)
- International confidence in the economy
  - Performance of government bonds in international capital markets. (SA)
  - Progress toward meeting standards of regional economic/trade organizations. (EO)
  - Number of bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. (EO)

## SOCIAL WELL-BEING

<u>STAGE I OBJECTIVE</u>: Societal cleavages, social disintegration, population displacement, and demographic pressures no longer actively fuel violent conflict. Local institutions, *with the support of a sustainable level of international assistance,* provide access to basic necessities (i.e., food, water, shelter) and deliver social services (i.e., health care, education, and sanitation) in an increasingly equitable manner. Local reconciliation processes have recognized and are addressing past abuses and are promoting peaceful coexistence. Development of social capital provides a basis for internal comity, and consent for the peace process is prevalent.

<u>STAGE II OBJECTIVE</u>: Social institutions can manage societal conflict peacefully. Access to basic necessities and delivery of social services are sufficiently equitable to preserve peace *without international intervention*. Social comity is sustainable.

GOALS:

#### I. Diminish the Drivers of Conflict

- A. Societal Cleavages Diminished
- B. Social Disintegration Diminished
- C. Population Displacement Diminished
- D. Demographic Pressures Diminished
- E. External Destabilization Diminished

#### II. Strengthen Institutional Performance

- A. Access to Basic Necessities Strengthened
- B. Provision of Basic Social Services Strengthened
- C. Consent for the Peace Process Strengthened
- D. Reconciliation Processes Strengthened
- E. National Identity and Social Capital Strengthened

# DRIVERS OF CONFLICT

## A. Societal Cleavages

## Societal polarization ((By identity group)

- Social divisions converge and reinforce each other (e.g. social status, political influence, wealth, income, residence). (By identity group) (SA)
- Incidence of hate crimes and attacks on symbols of group identity. (SA/CA)
- Group acceptance of exclusionary social paradigms, readiness to use violence to achieve socio-political ends, including killing of noncombatants/innocent civilians. (S/PD)
- Prevalence of rhetoric indicative of a culture of "honor and revenge" or all-or-nothing rhetoric by identity group leaders (through hate speech, artistic expression, or in educational curricula)(CA)
- Marginalization of disenfranchised groups (through government policy or social discrimination)
  - Perceptions of discrimination in government policies (By identity group). (S/PD)
  - Practices by social elites that restrict mobility and voice/social-standing to excluded groups (i.e. groups with minimal participation in or benefit from state institutions). (EO)
  - "Invisibility" of the marginalized (isolation/distance of excluded groups from centers of power/influence; out-of-sight/out-of-mind). (EO) (CA)
  - Prevalence of laws and policies that either enforce or prohibit expressions of group identity (e.g. requirements or prohibitions regarding dress). (EO)
- Polarized worldviews (e.g. authoritarian-traditional vs. modern-liberal-egalitarian)
  - Competing worldviews exist in population. (CA)(S/PD) (EO)
  - Resentment and antagonism between groups with different worldviews is a rationale for resorting to violence. (S/PD)
- Ideological polarization
  - Competing ideologies exist in population (e.g. fundamentalism, Maoism) (S/PD) (EO)
  - Sense of fear and threat ("siege mentality") between ideologically identified populations. (S/PD)

# B. Social Disintegration

- Disintegration of informal and traditional social support structures (extended family, clan, and tribe)
  - Individuals perceive themselves as disconnected from society (Generalized distrust, discontent, pessimism, alienation, estrangement) (S/PD)
  - Family break-up, homelessness, and street children. (SA)(EO)
  - Prevalence of gangs. (SA)
  - Extent to which illicit power structures have replaced informal social support networks as a source of basic needs and social services. (EO) (CA)

- Disintegration of formal social structures
  - The prevalence of schools devoted to indoctrination or social control (EO) (CA)

# C. Population Displacement

- Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) return and resettlement
  - Number of refugees and IDPs who desire to return to their homes who have done so. (SA)
  - The number of refugees and IDPs who have resettled in locations other than their original homes. (SA)
  - Number of refugees and IDPs who remain in camps. (SA)
  - Number of refugees and IDPs who remain embedded in host communities. (SA)
- *Refugees and IDP perceptions (that conditions are suitable for return or resettlement)* 
  - Perceptions of refugees and IDPs that the security conditions in their home country are suitable for return or resettlement. (S/PD)
  - Perceptions of refugees and IDPs that the ability to meet basic needs in their home country is suitable for return or resettlement. (S/PD)

## D. Demographic Pressures

- *Population growth pressures* 
  - Percent of youth who are unemployed or underemployed. (SA)
  - A "youth bulge." (Percentage of population between 15 and 29). (SA)
  - Perception by identity group members that divergent rates of population growth or the influx of migrants creates a threat (to way of life, job security, access to resources). (S/PD) (By identity group).
- Urbanization pressures
  - Percent of urban population without access to basic services. (By identity group) (SA)
  - Unemployment rate of urban population. (By identity group) (SA)

# E. External Destabilization

- Cross-border settlement patterns (By identity group)
  Correlation of cross-border settlement patterns with incidents of violent conflict. (SA)
- Perception of threat from transnational socio-economic trends (secularization, globalization) or an external ideological movement (By identity group)
  - Perception by an identity group that its way of life is under siege by modernity, an external ideology, or other global trend. (S/PD)

# INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE

#### A. Access to Basic Needs

- Food security (By identity group)?
  - Number of deaths due to malnourishment. (SA)
  - Perception of heads of households that, under normal conditions, they are able to meet their food needs either by growing foodstuffs/raising livestock or purchasing food on the market. (S/ PD)
  - Perception of heads of households that emergency food needs can be met through support from extended family, kinship networks, or village support systems. (S/PD)
  - Strength of official relief for meeting emergency food needs. (EO)
- Access to water and sanitation (By identity group)?
  - Percentage of households with access to water. (SA)
  - Currently, the potable water service is (Very good, Good, Average, Poor, Very poor) (S/PD)
  - Percentage of households with access to sanitation. (SA)
  - What fraction of this community is served by a public sewage system? (S/PD)
- Access to shelter (By identity group)?
  - Percentage/number of individuals/families without shelter. (SA)
  - Percentage/number of households in makeshift/temporary housing. (SA)
  - In the last three years the quality of housing in this community has:
    - Improved
    - Worsened
    - Remained the same (S/PD)

#### B. Provision of Basic Social Services

- Accessibility of health care (By identity group)
  - Perception that health care is accessible. (S/PD)
  - Ratio of practicing doctors, nurses, and health care workers to population (SA)
  - Time it takes to reach a health care facility. (SA)
  - Willingness of health care providers to tend to a member of another identity group. (S/PD)
- Effectiveness of health care (By identity group)?
  - Infant mortality rate (SA)
  - Maternal mortality rate (SA)

#### • Accessibility of education (By identity group)?

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- Percentage of youth enrolled in primary schools, secondary schools, and college) (By identity group and gender). (SA)
- How far from the community is the nearest public primary school? (S/PD)
- Perception that teachers are neutral. (By identity group) (S/PD)
- Percentage of the population who have graduated from college (indigenous or external) (By identity group). (SA)
- Effectiveness of education (By identity group)?
  - Literacy rates (By age group and gender). (SA)
  - Quality of primary schools, secondary schools, and college) (By identity group and gender). (e.g. Ratio of teachers to school age population, textbooks; school hours/year).
  - Satisfaction with schooling among families with children in school. (S/PD)
  - Extent of classroom integration. (SA)

#### C. Consent for the Peace Process

- Consent for the peace process
  - Perception that the risks of cooperating with international and local efforts to advance the peace process are worth assuming. (S/PD)
  - Perception that the peace process will protect, restore, and respect core social values, norms, practices, or underlying worldview. (S/PD)
  - Perception that the peace process will enhance the overall quality of life of family members, close associates, and community. (S/PD)
  - Perception that the peace process will improve tolerance and social interaction among groups that had been party to the conflict. (S/PD)
  - Perception that the peace process will afford people an appropriate say in local decisions in their community on key issues affecting daily life. (S/PD)
  - Perception that the peace process will advance one's underlying worldview. (S/PD)

#### D. Reconciliation Processes

- *Reconciliation of past abuses* 
  - Public evaluation of the way past abuses have been dealt with (By identity group) (S/ PD)(EO)
  - Extent to which victims have been afforded the opportunity to witness to past wrongs (EO)(S/PD)
  - Extent to which perpetrators have acknowledged past wrongs (EO)(CA)
  - Extent to which victims have forgiven perpetrators (EO) (S/PD)
- Tolerance and peaceful co-existence

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- Degree of tolerance and readiness to compromise with members of other identity groups (S/PD)
- Public support for moderate leaders and their values. (S/PD)
- Prevalence of rhetoric promoting tolerance and peaceful coexistence (or division and conflict) in formal schooling (e.g. textbooks), religious education, local media (print, radio, TV, Internet). (CA)

#### E. National Identity and Social Capital

- Common national identity (that transcends identity group differences)
  - When you think about yourself, how important is your ethnic or racial background to your sense of who you are? (S/PD)
  - When you think about yourself, how important is your religion to your sense of who you are? (S/PD)
  - When you think about yourself, how important is your nationality to your sense of who you are? (S/PD)
- *Trust and reciprocity* 
  - Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? (People can be trusted, You can't be too careful, Depends, Don't know, Refused) (S/PD)
  - Think about people in your neighborhood. Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust them a lot, some, only a little, or not at all? (S/PD)
  - Think about [various racial/ethnic identity groups]. Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust them a lot, some, only a little, or not at all? (S/PD)
  - Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the local community where you live. If public officials asked everyone to conserve water or electricity because of some emergency, how likely is it that people in your community would cooperate would you say it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely? (S/PD)
- Capacity of informal social networks to foster collaboration, dispute-resolution, and comity within society
  - I'm going to read a list; answer YES if you have been involved in the past 12 months with this kind of group:
    - Any organization affiliated with religion
    - An adult sports club or league, or an outdoor activity club.
    - A youth organization
    - A parents' association or other school support or service groups.
    - A veteran's group.
    - A neighborhood association, like a block association, a homeowner or tenant association, or a crime watch group.
    - Clubs or organizations for senior citizens or older people.
      - A charity or social welfare organization that provides services in such

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fields as health or service to the needy.

- A labor union.
- A professional, trade, farm, or business association.
- Service clubs, fraternal organizations, local women's clubs, fraternities or sororities, or school alumni associations.
- Ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations
- Other public interest groups, political action groups, political clubs, or party committees.
- A literary, art, discussion or study group OR a musical, dancing, or singing group.
- Any other hobby-related clubs or societies.
- A support group or self-help program for people with specific illnesses, disabilities, problems, or addictions, or for their families.
- Did any of the groups that you are involved with take any LOCAL action for social or political reform in the past 12 months?
- In the past two years, have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something? (S/PD)
- I'd like to know whether you have warm or cold feelings toward a number of wellknown groups. I'll read out a group and ask you to rate it from zero (0) to one hundred (100). The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward it.
  - Members of X/Y/Z racial/ethnic identity group?
  - Members of X/Y/Z religious group?