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How Does State Fragility Affect Rural Development?

Evidence from Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo,
Yemen, Nepal, and Bolivia

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List of Acronyms

AIHRC	Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission
ANDS	Afghan National Development Strategy
AREU	Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
BTI	Bertelsmann Transformation Index
CDC	Community Development Councils
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latin
CFSS	Comprehensive Food Security Survey
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIFP	Country Index for Foreign Policy
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPN-M	Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
DFID	Department for International Development
EVAW	Elimination of Violence against Women
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHI	Global Hunger Index
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
ICAF	Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDLG	Independent Directorate of Local Governance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPC	Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
IRD	Integrated Rural Development
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
JSEA	Joint Social and Economic Assessment
MAS	Movement toward Socialism
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MONUSCO	UN Stabilization Mission in the DRC
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NIEC	National Islamic Education Council
NRVA	National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
NSP	National Solidarity Program
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDRY	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
PRSP	Poverty Reduction strategy Paper
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Indicators
SPA	Seven-Party-Alliance
SSRP	School Sector Reform Plan
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
VAW	Violence Against Women
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
YAR	Yemen Arab Republic

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Executive summary and key findings

International development agencies are focusing increasingly on fragile and conflict-affected states and the challenges they are facing in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Recognizing that fragile states are ‘different’ from more stable and less vulnerable (though not necessarily poorer) developing countries, donors are nowadays paying more attention than before to specific problems of governance, service delivery, the development of core state functions, and – more recently – conflict resolution, peace-building and violence mitigation in fragile and conflict-affected settings. However, despite the fact that many fragile states have large rural populations and (subsistence) agriculture and associated, non-farm economic activities constitute significant sectors of their economies, the relationship between state fragility and rural development remains underexplored.

Using Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia as country cases, the evidence presented in this study suggests that there are some particular and big challenges for rural development in fragile states. State fragility – disaggregated along the dimensions of state authority, legitimacy and capacity – affects levels of rural poverty, public service delivery and violence against women in a number of ways, making the achievement of rural development on the whole more difficult. The lack or limitations of development in rural areas in fragile countries, in turn, enhances the fragility of the state overall, creating a kind of vicious circle of fragility that is difficult to break.

The study operationalizes the concept of state fragility as follows: “States are fragile when they suffer major authority and/or legitimacy and capacity deficits, diminishing their ability

to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction and development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations [in urban and rural areas]”. The selected countries represent a spectrum of variation, with

Afghanistan, DRC and Yemen belonging to the group of most fragile countries in the world in the study period (2007-2012) while Nepal and Bolivia are considered to be less fragile (in this order). Building on the concept of ‘integrated rural development system’, which acknowledges a shift from the *government* led idea of integrated rural development to a more *governance* inspired definition which involves active local citizen participation in both public and private sectors, the study adopts a thematic focus on rural poverty and service delivery and violence against women in rural areas in the five study countries.

Key findings:

- Extensive rural poverty is both related to (a) significant deficits in state authority, legitimacy and capacity, particularly in settings with violent conflict (and associated external interventions); and (b) persisting high levels of social inequality and ethnic cleavages in states where authority and capacity deficits are less pronounced.
- Social inequalities between rural and urban areas are related to authority and capacity deficits, including the absence of strong, consistent and legitimate political leadership, and an historical urban elite bias.
- The provision of social welfare safety nets by non-state, traditional and customary organizations, including with respect to basic food security in rural areas, is related to state authority and capacity deficits, and deepens existing legitimacy deficits.
- Particularly in fragile settings affected by violent conflict, deficits in state authority result in increased pauperization of rural populations due to the disruption of rural livelihoods and wage-labour migration.

- Uncertain status of land tenure and land ownership in rural areas is related to, and compounded by, deficits in state authority and capacity.
- Ineffective service delivery in rural areas is found in countries with both higher and lower deficits in state authority and capacity, and it undermines state legitimacy.
- Higher levels of violence against women in rural areas are possibly related to deficits in state authority and capacity, particularly because of the absence or weakness of formal justice institutions and the prevalence of traditional and customary authorities.
- Food insecurity in rural regions is significantly affected by state fragility.
- Agricultural prices are subject to significant shocks which further exacerbates levels of rural food insecurity.
- Livelihood diversification in the countries is key to household food security strategies either as a form of survival or as a strategy of accumulation and as the primary means of enhancing household safety nets; this diversification is often dependent on illicit economies.

Supporting evidence:

Unsurprisingly, higher levels of state fragility are correlated to armed conflict and violence. The cases of Afghanistan and DRC, and to a lesser extent Yemen, show that conflict and violence increase the risk of serious human rights violations committed by state security forces (and outside military forces, such as the International Security Assistance Force, ISAF, in Afghanistan), and compound the difficulties of governments and donors to strengthen the rule of law and create viable and sustainable local economies. While rural poverty rates are variable across the sample countries, they are extensive in all of them, with countries such as DRC and Yemen, for instance, showing significant increases in rural poverty in parts of the study period and prior to it, and directly as a result of protracted conflict in Afghanistan, DRC and Nepal. The observed increasing pauperization of rural populations, such as in Afghanistan, DRC

and Yemen, can also partly be explained by armed conflict as rural livelihoods have been disrupted and sustained agricultural cultivation is difficult to undertake.

Further, external military, security assistance and counter-narcotics interventions (as, for instance, in Afghanistan) as well as international peacekeeping/stabilization missions (as, for example, in DRC) can contribute to deepening state fragility and hindering rural development. The evidence suggests that this is the case because in complex conflict settings outside actors, such as ISAF and the UN Stabilization Mission in DRC (MONUSCO), have great difficulties to establish a modicum of security in large parts of the national territories of the intervention countries, rebuild effective and legitimate national security forces and support the establishment and implementation of comprehensive strategies for strengthening governance at the central, regional and local levels, including in rural areas.

As vast rural and peri-urban areas in conflict-affected and post-conflict states tend to remain outside of the control and reach of the central government, formal state hierarchies and authority are eclipsed by traditional and customary actors and networks. The evidence shows that this is the case in many areas in Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen and Nepal. In Afghanistan, for instance, the central state and international donors compete with local traditional and customary institutions (jirgas, shuras, maliks and mullahs), which have historically been in charge of exercising political authority, administering justice and providing other public services. The difficulties experienced by the National Solidarity Program (NSP) reveal that the introduction of ‘modern’ governance structures in rural areas in conflict settings in which the state has historically been absent or weak can lead to the ‘capture’ of those structures and funds by traditional authorities and local leaders as well as the Taliban and other armed groups.

Another problematic case is DRC, especially in the eastern regions of the country, where local chiefs have fanned inter and intra-communal conflicts over land and the (illegal) exploitation of natural resources (e.g. in the mining sector). In several of the study countries, conflict and unrest have given rise to the lack of formalized enforcement of land tenure and ownership, with

the state either not delivering on promised land reforms, such as in Nepal, or where it has actively enabled the illegal exploitation of natural resources, such as in DRC.

At the same time, however, traditional and customary authorities can also contribute to stability and social welfare and safety nets at the local level in rural areas. In effect, the evidence from across the study countries indicates that social welfare and safety nets, including in terms of basic food security, are likely to be primarily provided by the more embedded social organizations of tribe, ethnicity, caste and clan rather than by the state. Yet the evidence suggests that overall service delivery in the study countries is of poor quality, which is acutely apparent in the lack of functioning formal justice systems and the prominence of traditional and customary forms of arbitration and redress. The lack of courts and police services has serious implications for incidences of violence against women, which appears to be higher in rural areas.

It is therefore important not to lose sight of the fact that a lack of consistent, legitimate and strong political leadership at the national level can enhance problems of state fragility. Afghanistan under President Karzai and DRC under President Kabila are telling examples in this regard. Both of them have been unable to exercise legitimate and strong leadership because of widespread charges of electoral irregularities and fraud, the centralization of political power in the executive office, very high levels of official corruption and impunity, and, in the case of Afghanistan, heavy dependence on an external intervention force with its priority focus on

counter-insurgency/anti-terrorism and counter-narcotics strategies. In both countries intricate patronage networks served to bolster the power of those in government and inhibited the establishment of transparent and accountable governance which could reduce the vulnerability of impoverished and marginalized sectors of the population and prevent the exacerbation of social inequalities in rural areas, which was found in all study countries with the possible exception of Bolivia.

Evidence from the Andean country shows that the strong leadership exercised by indigenous President Morales and his Movement toward Socialism (MAS) on the basis of two resounding election victories and high popular approval ratings was key to mitigate and defuse entrenched conflict between the central government and the coca grower federations in the Chapare region. Relatively well resourced due to high revenues from hydrocarbon exports, the government also made consistent and significant efforts to address deep-seated issues of discrimination, marginalization, inequality and poverty in rural majority indigenous communities. This notwithstanding, indigenous income and educational levels in Bolivia remain low in comparison to the non-indigenous population, pointing to the fact that across the five study countries the persistence or exacerbation of social inequalities may be related to an historical urban elite bias which is correlated to greater social exclusion, weak institutional and geographical political representation and unequal patterns of resource allocation between urban and rural areas.

1. Introduction and methodology

This study examines the relationship between state fragility and development challenges/deficits in rural areas in a group of five countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. The sample of selected countries includes Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia. For each of these countries the study provides empirical analyses of state fragility and rural development. To depict

possible trends in the evolution of the relationship we have chosen the period 2007-2012 as the study's timeframe. Cross-country comparisons are drawn from this empirical work with the aim of highlighting how fragility factors affect

- (a) poverty, (b) public service delivery and
- (c) violence against women in rural areas.

The selection of the country cases is based on the following reasoning. To begin with, we were tasked to include a minimum of five countries located in all three developing world regions, i.e. Asia, Africa and Latin America. In conversations with our counterparts in GIZ it was decided to cover Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia, as well as Tajikistan (and potentially Mali). After a thorough review of the existing data, the research team decided to limit the scope to the first five countries mentioned above due to the scarcity of available data on Tajikistan (and Mali). Further, the selected countries represent a sufficiently broad spectrum of variation, allowing for useful cross-country comparison. Afghanistan, DRC and Yemen belong to the group of most fragile countries in the world according to the Country Index for Foreign Policy (CIFP) fragility index (see below), Nepal is less fragile and ranks in a position that is close to Tajikistan and Mali, and Bolivia, finally, is significantly less fragile than all of the other four sample countries. In other words, the group of selected countries can be divided into two clusters: very fragile states and less fragile states.

The study builds on and adapts (see below) the commonly used Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) definition of ‘state fragility’: “States are fragile when state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations” (Fabra Mata and Ziaja 2009: 5). Fragile states suffer from serious deficits or ‘gaps’ with respect to three core dimensions of statehood: authority (control of violence), legitimacy (acceptance of rule) and state capacity (provision of public services and goods).

Authority deficits include the existence of significant organized political violence or internal armed conflict, the inability of the state to extend its authority to significant parts of the national territory, and high levels of criminality with limited state action to control it through the justice system; legitimacy deficits include the absence of civil and political liberties, the exclusion of significant groups of the population from power and decision-making processes, a strong role of the military in the political process, and suppression of the political opposition and human rights violations; and capacity deficits include state failure or limitations to provide adequate (access to) health

services, basic education, water and sanitation, and transport and energy infrastructure (Stewart and Brown 2010:10).¹

Due to the absence of a universal definition of rural development the study adopts an approach which adheres to the concept of an ‘integrated rural development system’ where the relationship between central state and local/municipal institutions in rural areas is key in terms of administration, knowledge, information, political and social authority and networks. This approach acknowledges a necessary shift from the government led idea of integrated rural development (IRD) to a more governance inspired definition which involves active local citizen participation in both public and private sectors (Nemas, 2005). Thematically, our focus is on rural poverty, and service delivery and violence against women in rural areas (see below).

A number of indices have been developed to measure state fragility and provide a picture of how individual countries perform over time.² Yet “fragility indices are limited to countries as their fixed unit of analysis; they cannot ‘zoom in’ (i.e. display changes beneath the national level) to monitor specific interventions” (Fabra and Ziaja 2009:9). As fragile states cannot be considered to be ‘homogeneously fragile’ but often exhibit both some weaknesses, e.g. with respect to their capacity to deliver public services, and some strengths in other dimensions of statehood, e.g. with respect to their legitimacy or authority, it is important to disaggregate the analysis. Fragility is also non-homogeneous within regions and localities of states, and across urban/rural

¹ It should be noted that there is inevitably some overlap between state authority, legitimacy and capacity deficits. For instance, the role of the military in the political process and human rights violations can be interpreted as representing both authority and legitimacy deficits; and state failure or significant state limitations to provide basic public services can have a negative effect on the state’s legitimacy as well as reflecting its capacity deficit. However, for the purpose of analysis in this study the three dimensions of state fragility are distinguished as outlined.

² Among the fragility indices are the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Fragility Index (Carleton University), the Failed States Index (Fund for Peace), the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World (Brookings Institution) and the State Fragility Index (George Mason University). Since the methodologies used in the construction of the indices and the number and types of indicators they employ vary, a vibrant debate has emerged about issues of the indices’ comparability, reliability, validity and, indeed, usefulness for measuring state fragility (Call 2011; Fabra Mata and Ziaja 2009; Graevingholt et al. 2012).

divides. There can be pockets of fragility in states not considered to be fragile, and pockets of relative stability in fragile ones. Disaggregation is therefore important in order to spell out relationships between fragility and rural (under)development/poverty in a more precise and meaningful way. Furthermore, in fragile states informal/traditional/customary forms of public authority and governance involving civil society organizations, faith based organisations, traditional chiefs and the private sector have to be taken into account. A focus on formal state structures and their weaknesses alone would be insufficient and the study therefore seeks to take informal forms of public authority and governance into account in the study countries where they are significant and data is available.

In this study, the concept of state fragility is operationalized as follows: “States are fragile when they suffer major authority and/or legitimacy and capacity deficits, diminishing their capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction and development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations [in urban and rural areas]”. The assumption is that state authority, legitimacy and capacity deficits in rural areas can be different from those in urban areas.

The study presents analyses of the characteristics, degrees and evolution of state fragility for each of the selected country cases in the period 2007-2012, using the CIFP index produced by Carleton University (Canada) as a first, general approximation. This is followed by disaggregated analytical narratives for each of the country cases which are presented focusing on issues related to:

- The lack of political will/capacity of the state with respect to extending its authority to significant parts of the national territory and the existence of significant political and/or criminal violence (including violence related to the production and trafficking of illicit drugs) and corruption (authority);
- The exclusion of significant groups of the population from power and decision-making processes due to, for instance, ineffective decentralization or lack of citizen participation and voice, and the violation of their human rights (legitimacy);

- Failure to provide adequate (access to) health services, basic education and employment opportunities (capacity). Subsequently, we provide some evidence on the characteristics of state fragility in rural areas, using a select number of sub-national, rural regions for illustrative purposes (depending on data availability), and a rural development profile for each of the study countries, disaggregated by ‘rural poverty’, ‘service delivery’ and ‘violence against women’.

The empirical analyses of state fragility in Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia over the period 2007-2012 are based on a wide range of official and non-official sources and the academic and grey literatures. In the elaboration of the individual country fragility narratives the research team synthesized large amounts of quantitative and qualitative data contained in CIFP and Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) reports, including available country reports. This was complemented and triangulated with a broad array of qualitative and quantitative data contained in UN, World Bank and bilateral donor documents, scholarly articles and grey literature documents (see the full list of references at the end of the study).

With respect to rural development in the sample countries, a focus on forms and levels of rural poverty informs the understanding of authority, legitimacy and capacity deficits in rural areas in the country cases. Close attention is given to the types of social exclusion and inequality in the selected study countries using World Bank Poverty Assessment data on the rural conflict/violence zones within these countries. All countries selected for this study have been covered by World Bank Poverty Assessments in some form. The Assessment data is disaggregated between rural and urban regions and deals with a comprehensive range of indicators which are useful to any analysis of state fragility and rural development, including employment and rural to urban migration rates, employment levels correlated to education, and household income and consumption measures. These can be used in tandem with estimates of food security and livelihood sustainability, which are also part of most Poverty Assessment analyses. There have, however, been difficulties with the chronological inconsistency of the Poverty Assessments, which have been undertaken at various points in the respective

countries, and where their irregularity is often probably indicative of state fragility itself. Equally, these assessments have not provided much in the way of process data particularly in terms of the sociological and institutional dynamics of rural development and state fragility.³

The dynamics of service delivery, including health, education and agricultural extension services, in the selected countries are examined primarily in order to understand the problems of capacity deficit in rural areas, which are often marginalized in terms of basic service provision and technical capacity, and experience specific governance problems like weak accountability, multiple/overlapping state and non-state forms of public authority, corruption and the existence of criminal networks/markets. It is important to note that in fragile states a great deal of basic service provision is often through non-state systems (informal/traditional/customary institutions, NGOs or Faith Based Organizations, for example) which raises further problems of monitoring, evaluation and accountability, while also often being instrumentally key. In the areas of health and education, little process orientated information exists on the relationships between state fragility, rural development and service delivery (Batley and McLoughlin, 2010), and again the study has been primarily reliant upon donor policy review documents rather than any longitudinal secondary or primary data.

A highly under-researched area of rural development is the impact of state fragility and economic change on gender dynamics that reflect broader power relations and include serious forms of violence against women (VAW). VAW is a useful independent indicator of poverty and rural power relations as it is distinct from and not always associated with conflict-related violence. As such, this is a particularly useful area for analysis in order to further understand the legitimacy deficits of state fragility in rural areas, where the absence of civil and political liberties is key, particularly in terms of access to justice systems. Authority deficits are also at stake, particularly in relation to the reach of state authority.

Some studies indicate that the incidence of domestic and sexual violence is higher in rural areas (Garcia Moreno et al 2005), and there is an

emerging literature on the relationship between domestic and sexual violence in conflict areas (Ward et al 2006). However, further work could begin to synthesize these two areas and expand the analysis to wider dynamics of state fragility and rural development. For example, state fragility is often correlated with weakened livelihood opportunities for men with increased reporting of domestic violence against women (Marc et al 139: 2013). This needs to be disaggregated in terms of rural or urban prevalence. Equally, fragility has often shown a 'hardening' of societal attitudes towards women, supporting violence, which also needs disaggregation (ibid: 139). In this regard the study deals primarily with specially commissioned respective government and donor reports on VAW.

Limitations of the study

We found that CIPF fragility data for the period 2007-2012 were not available for all years and all sample countries. Particularly, for Bolivia the data are limited to the years 2006 and 2007 and for Nepal to 2007, 2008 and 2009 (with additional data available on Nepal's 'authority' score in 2011). However, we believe that this is not a major drawback because we did have access to qualitative fragility data for all sample countries over the whole study period through the BTI country reports and complementary donor, academic and grey literature sources.

It is nonetheless important to acknowledge that condensing large amounts of information and data on five countries in a multi-year timeframe (2007-2012) in one single study turned out to be a challenge. It is possible that the reader might find that our country narratives on state fragility are quite sweeping at times. This, however, is inevitable due to the broad scope of the study and the limited space and time available for presenting the material and carrying out the research. In order to mitigate this problem the researchers have attempted to triangulate and validate as much of the qualitative data and information contained in the CIPF and BTI country reports as possible by working with a broad range of additional academic, donor and grey literature sources. We also sought to provide as much detail as possible on the differences with respect to state fragility at the sub-national level in recognition of the fact that even highly fragile states contain pockets of stability or regions where fragility is less severe. Yet it was not possible to do this as

³ On further limitations of the study see below.

systematically as we would have liked. Further, it has to be underlined that it proved to be a big challenge to find disaggregated data on state fragility in rural areas in our sample countries, though for some countries there was more data available than for others. Formally disaggregating our rural fragility narratives by ‘authority’, ‘legitimacy’ and ‘capacity’ would have been more consistent with the analyses of national-level fragility, but this turned out to be not feasible within the scope of this study and considering the mentioned problems of data scarcity. There is certainly a need for more micro level analysis of state fragility in rural areas.

In terms of the disaggregated data available on development in rural areas in the sample countries this cannot be seen as strictly comparable in all cases. While most survey data in the sample countries have used consumption based assessments of poverty, countries such as

DRC have used data simulations to try and predict longitudinal trends within the country. As with some of the fragility data it has also not been possible to find data that evenly covers the study period, but data for some of the period has been highlighted whenever possible. It has also become clear that both macro level data of poverty indicators and micro level studies of livelihood strategies and women’s access to justice are needed for all the sample countries. This notwithstanding, we believe that the empirical analysis presented in this study is overall sufficiently robust to allow us to draw comparative conclusions about the characteristics, degrees, trends and variations of state fragility in the sample countries in the study period and the relationship between state fragility and rural development.

2. State fragility and rural development: the empirical evidence from the sample countries

2.1. Afghanistan

CIFP fragility scores

CIFP data on state fragility in Afghanistan in the period 2007-2012 is limited to the years 2007, 2008 and 2011. The available data indicates that Afghanistan has consistently exhibited fragility scores above 6.5, on an aggregate level and across the dimensions of ‘authority’, ‘legitimacy’ and ‘capacity’, with the exception of ‘capacity’ in 2008, when the country saw a slight, temporary improvement only to drop significantly again thereafter, however (see Table 1 below). CIFP considers a country which scores above 6.5 to ‘be performing poorly relative to others’ (CIFP 2006: 4). In 2011, Afghanistan ranked 2 out of 197 countries on the CIFP Global Fragility Ranking, after Somalia,

and therefore was among the group of ‘worst global performers’ (CIFP 2006: 4).⁴

Table 1: CIFP Fragility Scores, Afghanistan, 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.99	7.01	6.35	6.55
2008	6.93	7.40	7.09	6.24
2011	7.54	7.54	7.25	7.36

Source: CIFP 2007a; CIFP 2008; CIFP 2012

⁴ The nominal index maximum of the CIFP index is 9. For a detailed overview of CIFP’s methodology see CIFP (2006), ‘Failed and Fragile States 2006. A Briefing Note for the Canadian Government’ (Ottawa: Carleton University).

National fragility trends disaggregated by authority, legitimacy and capacity⁵

Authority

In the study period, the extremely weak authority of the Afghan state was put to a serious test, up to the point that beyond the capital Kabul and a few other larger urban centres (e.g. Kandahar) it actually did not exist or was heavily challenged by the Taliban insurgency and other anti-government groups, including local militia commanders, warlords and Al Qaeda operatives.

The state's monopoly of the use of force was consistently undermined or limited by both the insurgents and anti-government forces and the presence of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-led ISAF military personnel, which numbered some 31,000 in 2006 and expanded to approximately 150,000 by 2010. Despite the steady military build-up in Afghanistan, including the internationally-supported growth of the Afghan security forces from 36,000 army troops in 2006 to 134,000 by 2010, violence in the country worsened and insecurity increased. The number of casualties among Afghan and ISAF forces reached a peak in 2010 when 711 foreign soldiers were killed; civilian casualties also rose from an estimated (likely underestimated) 1,500 in 2007 to an average of 2,000 per year in 2008-2010. In this escalation of warfare, regions of the country that previously had been relatively peaceful, including in the north and west, became increasingly affected and destabilized by violence. The Taliban insurgency not only attacked Afghan and ISAF forces and institutions of the state but also started targeting traditional governance structures in rural areas, such as tribal elders.

The government of President Hamid Karzai, elected in 2004 and re-elected among massive charges of electoral fraud and vote-rigging in 2009, proved on the whole unable to set and maintain strategic reform and policy priorities. Propped up by major external support⁶ and compelled to constantly bargain and negotiate with local militia commanders and warlords, the government's capacity to provide security

was severely limited in many parts of Afghanistan, though some progress was achieved in some areas (including in the notoriously insecure Helmand province). Though the road infrastructure between provincial centres and between them and Kabul was improved with international assistance large swaths of the vast rural hinterland were not well integrated and security problems along the roads persisted.

Further, the government's will to govern was seriously compromised by the influence exerted by drug-traffickers on the country's political affairs, including at cabinet level. In the study period, the illicit opium industry and drug-trafficking overall increased (though there were periods when opium poppy cultivation in some provinces temporarily decreased; see below) and drug-related corruption pervaded all levels of the state (from the district to the central government). Revenues from illicit drugs and drug-trafficking accounted approximately for more than half of Afghanistan's GDP in the period 2006-2010.

Afghanistan's formal justice system was basically non-operational due to corruption, understaffing and administrative weaknesses. The US and its international allies enjoyed judicial impunity for engaging in extrajudicial activities, such as killings of civilians in raids or air and drone strikes (UN Human Rights Council 2009), adding to a loss of trust in the justice system on the part of common Afghans. For the most part, Afghans viewed traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, such as those provided by community or tribal councils (jirga and shura) more positively than the formal courts because they delivered justice more cheaply and quickly than the formal system. These traditional institutions are of particular importance in rural areas, where some 80 per cent of the population lives. Yet there have been reports that in some rural areas people also turned to the Taliban to resolve disputes and punish wrongdoers. There was a degree of cooperation between traditional or customary justice mechanisms with the country's ailing formal justice system, but it tended to be tenuous.

⁵ Based on CIFP Afghanistan country reports 2007b, 2008; BTI 2008, 2010, 2012; Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) reports and other sources cited in the text.

⁶ In 2006-2007, for instance, international aid accounted for 90 per cent of Afghanistan's national budget.

Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the Karzai government and the extremely fragile Afghan state was consistently in question during the study period, not least because of massive charges of electoral fraud and election rigging in the 2009 presidential polls mentioned earlier and because the country's transitional justice process failed to produce the expected results. The legitimacy of the international community and ISAF did not fare much better, though some development interventions such as the NSP were received more positively by Afghans.⁷

Despite large security and development efforts, including in rural areas, supported by international assistance, the central government could on the whole not provide security and basic public services to large numbers of citizens and reduce high poverty rates.⁸ This resulted in the loss of public confidence in the state. At the same time, the Taliban insurgents, who established parallel government structures including, for instance, local defence councils, were quite successful at (re-)building a popular base, especially in southern and south-eastern parts of the country. They portrayed ISAF as an illegitimate external occupation force and the Karzai government as a puppet of the US-led international alliance. Providing certain services to people in remote regions (see above) and selectively protecting opium poppy farmers against government eradication efforts and opium poppy bans helped the Taliban to increase both their legitimacy and resource base by collecting 'taxes' and other payments from poppy farmers. Actions by the international forces and donors that were 'above the law', in turn, discredited them in the eyes of common citizens.

In addition, deepening ethnic cleavages undermined the legitimacy of the central government/state. Pashtuns, the largest ethnic group, felt marginalized and discriminated against by the Karzai administration, contending that non-Pashtun groups,

especially Tajiks and Uzbeks, were being privileged.

Capacity

Afghanistan's state is highly centralized (Biddle et al 2010), dependent on international assistance and essentially 'structured and resourced to maintain control, not provide services' (Rubin 2009:17). In the study period, its capacity to provide public goods, such as security, and services, such as education, health and social safety nets, to any satisfactory degree beyond Kabul and a few other larger urban centres (e.g. Kandahar) was severely limited. The state institutions for basic administrative matters formally operated but were on the whole ineffective due to the spiralling violence, weak governance, pervasive corruption and the lack of fiscal decentralization which made service delivery at the local and regional levels so much more difficult and volatile. This was compounded by international donors who often focused on the national level and sidelined local administrative structures by implementing projects with their own staff.

Afghanistan's 34 provinces are subdivided into 398 administrative districts. In the study period, they were poorly resourced and had very low administrative capacity. While not the case throughout the country (such as in Balkh province, for instance), many governors' offices at the provincial level de facto had a modest role only in decision-making with respect to administrative structures, recruitment of senior staff and the composition of the workforce. At the provincial level, line ministries were unable to provide public services of a sufficient level of quality or reliability.

The NSP was supposed to overhaul local governance structures and provide basic infrastructure in villages and rural settlements across the country. Since its inception in 2003 the program has been rolled out in some 29,000 villages and has had some success with delivering development projects at the local level.⁹ In 2007, the Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG) was established but

⁷ See sections on 'capacity' and 'state fragility in rural areas' below for more information on the NSP.

⁸ See the section on 'rural development' below for more information on public services.

⁹ See section on 'state fragility in rural areas' below for more information on the NSP.

it had great difficulties to build staff capacities in local governance institutions at the levels of the community and district development councils and the provincial councils.

State fragility in rural areas¹⁰

The availability of data and information on state fragility in rural areas in Afghanistan in the period 2007-2012 is limited. In 2011, an estimated 76.5 per cent of the Afghan population lived in rural areas (CIA 2013). In many of those areas, the presence of the state has historically been weak or non-existent. 'Villages have largely been self-managed institutions in which the state has had limited engagement' (AREU 2010: 16). This is reflected in the persistence and significance of customary practices and traditional institutions, such as jirgas or shuras (village councils), maliks (village executives), and mullahs (village lawgivers); and the fact that most local public services in villages are provided through informal channels, if at all. In villages and rural areas the formal state justice system faces competition as populations have resisted the imposition of laws by the central government, regardless of whether the law was Shari'a law or the modern, Western style law. Crimes and conflicts have traditionally been handled under tribal or customary law (Jensen 2011). 'Most rural households gain what welfare and security they can through informal means' (AREU, Pain and Kantor 2010: 1). The survival, security, welfare and economic prosperity of rural communities has been dependent on their 'ability to build patronage relationships with the district and [regional] political elites' (AREU, Pain and Kantor 2010: 31), which in turn are linked to the central government through patronage networks.

Since the ouster of the Taliban in 2001, the weak and besieged central government/state – artificially propped up by the international intervention force – has made considerable efforts to expand its reach across the national territory and into rural areas. The NSP and the creation of CDCs has been a flagship programme in this regard. Bypassing the state's dysfunctional administrative structure, the NSP provides communities with block grants for

development projects chosen and implemented by elected Community Development Councils (CDCs) with very significant support from international NGOs. 'By mid-2010, [the program] had ... been implemented in over 29,000 villages across 361 of Afghanistan's 398 districts at a cost of nearly US\$1 billion' (Beath et al 2012:8). According to Barnett Rubin, 'the program appears to work well in delivering projects to the village level, but it has not sparked any major institutional change. The CDCs exist in parallel to the historically rooted local institutions (for example, village shura, or local councils, meeting in the mosque). Afghans understand that the NSP depends on yearly aid appropriations of foreign donors and is not sustainable. Therefore, they treat it as a windfall rather than as an institution. Attempts to have the CDCs recognized as representatives of communities within the administrative structure have been met with fierce resistance' (Rubin 2009:20).

Another limiting factor has been that much of this effort was driven by counter-insurgency and counter-narcotics concerns and not by a coherent development strategy. The Afghan state and its international supporters were on the whole not successful on both counts in the study period. While in some years significant reductions in opium poppy cultivations were observed in a number of provinces (e.g. Helmand, Nangarhar and Balkh), this was not primarily related to state interventions, such as the forced eradication of crops or the provision of development assistance to farmers, but rather to the actions of provincial governors and other powerholders or 'shifts in the terms of trade between wheat and opium poppy and continuing concerns [on the part of farmers] over food security' (AREU, Mansfield, 2010: 3).

For instance, in 2005-2006 the governor of Balkh produced reductions in opium poppy cultivation over a 12-month period in an attempt to gain political advantage. Yet 'the [...] enforcement of the opium ban in Balkh [was] not an indication of improved governance; rather, it [was] a sign of a more comprehensive and organized attempt by local powerholders to gain political and economic support from the international community (AREU, Mansfield, 2007: 15). In this process, 'the rural population [saw] themselves as irrelevant and powerless bystanders or victims of a corrupt political process, through which local [strongmen] [were]

¹⁰ Based on Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) reports; and sources cited in the text.

protected by authorities in Kabul' (AREU, Mansfield, 2007: 10).

The legitimacy of the local, provincial and national governments was undermined for the Karzai government's willingness to risk deepening rural poverty in the pursuit of counter-narcotics policies alienated rural populations. 'In many areas where eradication or a ban on cultivation [was] implemented, some farmers actively looked to oppose the government and seek the support and protection of the insurgency. [...] The Taliban and other anti-government forces [appeared] to be exploiting this sentiment. [...] There [was] a very real possibility that they encouraged cultivation to provoke the government to adopt a more aggressive eradication strategy [e.g. through aerial spraying of opium poppy fields] that would drive a wedge between the rural population and the government and its international supporters' (AREU, Mansfield, 2007: 17).

Rural development profile

Poverty¹¹

Poverty head count for rural areas

Data on Afghanistan does exist within our time period but it is difficult to discern trends in rural poverty from this. Most of the current understanding of poverty trends in Afghanistan comes from the 2007/9 National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA). While also not strictly comparable it is possible to discern some trends by going outside our time period and look at comparisons between the 2005 NRVA and the 2007 round. Broadly, according to a 2010 World Bank report which cites the 2007 data, the urban poverty rate is estimated at 29% of households with the rural poverty rate at 26% (WB, 2010: 27).

Rural households account for 80% of the total population, with "36% of Afghan households relying on farming as their main source of income while another 6% depend on farm wages as their main source of income" (ibid.).

However, between 2005 and 2007 it seems that access to rural irrigated land had increased by 11% (formerly 57% and now 69%), and that

12% of households with irrigated land were engaged in opium production as their first crop; a worrying trend given it was reported as 3% in 2005 (NRVA, 2007: 48). More positively, this also included a rise in cereal production of 8% (ibid. 41).

A disaggregated analysis of the poverty gap shows it is at its lowest in the urban areas, where it is 6% (ibid: 26). Moreover, the Bank estimates that the "urban poor are on average just as poor as the rural poor because the poverty gap is lower in urban areas, but in the same proportion to the headcount as in rural areas" (ibid.).

Relative food consumption

According to World Bank data from 2012, "food insecurity certainly appears to be more pronounced in rural parts. For example, calorie deficiency affects 30% of the population in rural areas compared to 24% in urban areas, while 21% of the rural population is affected by poor dietary diversity compared to 14% of their urban counterparts" (WB 2012: 13).

In terms of agricultural production approximately 70% of the cultivated crop area is devoted to wheat and about 15% is devoted to rice, barley and maize (Chabot and Dorosh 2007), where "wheat is both a major production crop and the main staple of the Afghan diet, with wheat flour contributing 57% to the total caloric content of the average bundle of food items of the relatively poor" (WB 2012: 8). The local production of cereals met nearly three-fourths of the total national demand during 2004-2008, with wheat and barely the first crops, maize, rice and vegetables or fodder crops etc. the second crops, with the second crops often using the same amount of land than the first crop in total, depending on the water availability. It would, therefore, be useful to understand the degree of second cropping and what types of households have the resources to undertake it.

Livelihood Dynamics

According to the Government of Afghanistan agriculture is the main source of livelihood in the country, where "seasonality is a strong correlate of poverty in Afghanistan" (WB 2010: 30). Indeed, rural households are the most vulnerable to seasonality, generating the majority of their incomes from agricultural activities and are unable to sustain their key livelihood source for half of the year, depending on the region. On average, only 4% of Afghan households generate

¹¹ Based on World Bank 2010, 2012; UN 2009, 2011 and other references indicated in the text

any revenue from their principal income source during winter months. Afghanistan is particularly subject to extreme temperatures events with droughts and severe winter conditions affecting livelihoods of exposed communities (ibid. 30).

Diversification is certainly a fundamental characteristic of Afghan households' livelihood strategies (ibid. 39). Again, according to the WB "rural households – on average – engage in twice as much income generating livelihood activities than their urban counterparts" (ibid. 39). Such diversification had been highlighted earlier in a 2004 study by the AREAU which pointed to the fact that "the majority of households, both rich and poor, have diversified income sources and many are involved in a combination of farm and non-farm work. For wealthier households livelihood diversity is generally a strategy of accumulation, but diversity of income sources is more of a coping mechanism for poorer wealth groups" (Grace and Pain 2004: 44).

Educational Inequalities

In terms of other inequalities the 2010 estimates for "urban poor school enrolment was 46% while for the rural poor it was 36%, with the poverty rate among households whose head does not have any education being as high as 35%" (WB 2010: 53). The rate of poverty does in fact fall gradually as the head of the household becomes more educated, with the rate dropping to 23% among households where the head has had some form of high school education (ibid.). When comparing primary enrolment rates among the non-poor and the poor, urban areas show a larger disparity (55% vs. 46%), while there is no meaningful disparity in rural areas (35% vs. 36%) (ibid: 56).

Service Delivery

As Lister puts it, 'centralised state institutions in Afghanistan have co-existed uneasily with fragmented, decentralised traditional society since attempts at state-building began there' (Lister 2007: 3). The difficulty of this state building exercise is perhaps reflected in the paucity of data on service delivery, which is not well disaggregated in terms of rural and urban ratios. The 2010 World Bank PRSP strategy progress report on the Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS) does provide a fairly impressive list of efforts and achievements in the agriculture and rural development sector. This ranges from a vast number of rural development projects (over 12,000), the

development of new land ownership laws, to the large scale distribution of wheat seed and fertilizer but it is not clear to whom and where these benefits have accrued (WB 2010: 38).

Much the same can be said for data on the health and education sector. In Afghanistan, the school population has grown from under one million in 2001 to 5.7 million in 2007. In the same period the number of schools has trebled to 9,062 in 2007 including 1,337 all girls and 4,325 co-educational schools. Similarly, the number of teachers has increased seven-fold to 142,500 of whom nearly 40,000 are female. Fifty thousand of these teachers have received in-service teacher training

The number of reformed religious schools that teach a broad-based Islamic education curriculum has also increased to 336 and the National Islamic Education Council was established to oversee and monitor the delivery of Islamic education across the country (IMF 2008: p-112).

However, health services have not experienced such a significant improvement. In Afghanistan there are only 1.9 doctors per 100,000 citizens and 25% of the deaths of child under 5 year are caused by the completely treatable condition of pneumonia (WHO 2012). In 2012, there were 56 district hospitals, 30 provincial hospitals and 20 regional hospitals, out of a total of 106 hospitals nationally (WHO 2012b). However, while we can discern these national trends this information is not disaggregated in terms of rural and urban ratios.

Violence against Women

The types of socio-cultural inequalities faced by women

It is well known that women in Afghanistan have little access to education. In 2010 the literacy rate for women aged 15 to 24 was 22%, compared to 51% for men, with the enrollment rates for girls aged 6 to 9 28 % lower than for males (31% compared to 43%) (WB, 2010: 12). However, while child labour is almost "three times as high in rural areas" it is twice as high amongst boys than girls (ibid: 11). This may well reflect cultural practices around female segregation and purdah norms in predominantly tribal areas.

Violence Against Women (VAW)

The correlations between cultural norms and VAW are often complex but it is clear that “women in both rural and urban settings are at risk of rape, but the risk appears to be greater for women in rural areas [...] and] when it comes to sexual violence in the family, observers note that illiterate or poor women are less likely to report cases of violence, including rape” (UN, 2009: 22).

The forms of response by public authorities (shelters, policy formulation etc)

In 2009 a law on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (EVAW) was drafted explicitly obliging the Afghan National Police to support victims, secure an individual’s rights and freedoms, and to investigate crime, while also requiring them to register all complaints of violence against women. This was to be wide-ranging, with the High Commission for the Prevention of Violence against Women stipulating that all 34 provinces had to create provincial level EVAW commissions. However, it has been noted that the EVAW law “does not create a separate offence for crimes perpetrated in the name of “honour” and does not clearly define some other crimes, including rape, and the element of coercion that is required to distinguish it from consensual zina (sexual intercourse outside of marriage)” (UN 2011: 7). However, in the same year this draft law was undermined by Karzai and his government deciding to further implement Shia Family Law, further reducing women’s rights and legalising rape.

What is clear is that systematic official statistics on the incidence of complaints of violence against women in Afghanistan do not exist and that most incidents go unreported. The only data that does exist is through the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, which recorded “2,299 incidents of violence against women that could be defined as crimes under the EVAW law between 21 March 2010 and 21 March 2011”(UN 2011: 1). This can be partly explained by the limited number of female police officers who can handle these cases in a culturally sensitive manner, as well as there being few options for women after they have reported a case occurring in their household as they are largely economically and socially dependent on their husbands.

Women’s ‘safe houses’ (mazar) are one of the very few places women can go after reporting such cases.

There is also some evidence to suggest that implementation of the law is at its weakest in remote rural mountainous provinces. For example, in Kapisa and Uruzgan a lack of legal enforcement seems to have been consolidated by weak or inattentive government, insecurity and ‘traditional’ practices. As the UN puts it, ‘in these provinces, women and girls rarely left the home and few can attend school. Even if they know about the EVAW law, women were usually unable to gain access to police or prosecutors, the offices of the Department of Women’s Affairs or the AIHRC’ (ibid: 10).

2. 2. Democratic Republic of the Congo

CIFP fragility scores

CIFP data on state fragility in DRC in the period 2007-2012 is limited to the years 2007, 2008 and 2011. The available data indicates that DRC has consistently exhibited fragility scores at or above 6.5, on an aggregate level and across the dimensions of ‘authority’, ‘legitimacy’ and ‘capacity’, with the exceptions of ‘legitimacy’ and ‘capacity’ in 2007, when the country was below 6.5, though above 6.0. In both 2008 and 2011, the scores drop significantly on the aggregate level and across the dimensions of ‘authority’, ‘legitimacy’ and ‘capacity’, with only a very small reversal of this trend experienced with respect to ‘capacity’ in 2011 (see Table 2). CIFP considers a country which scores above 6.5 to ‘be performing poorly relative to others’ (CIFP 2006: 4). In 2011, DRC ranked 4 out of 197 countries on the CIFP Global Fragility Ranking, after Somalia, Afghanistan and Chad, and therefore was among the group of ‘worst global performers’ (CIFP 2006: 4).

Table 2: CIFP Fragility Scores, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 2007-2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.50	6.91	6.15	6.33
2008	6.91	7.12	6.56	6.76
2011	7.10	7.31	7.40	6.72

Source: CIFP 2007a; CIFP 2008; CIFP 2012

National fragility trends disaggregated by authority, legitimacy and capacity¹²

Authority

In the study period, the extremely fragile Congolese state proved unable to exercise a monopoly of the use of force in many parts of the huge country, above all in the eastern regions, despite the signing of a formal peace agreement in South Africa's Sun City resort in 2002 and some initial progress with peace-building. The state's authority was challenged by armed rebel groups and social protest movements, particularly in the east and west. The government's armed forces and police were involved in serious human rights violations, corruption and other wrongdoings; the legislative branch of government and the justice system remained subdued to the executive or largely inoperative. Traditional customary chiefs exerted significant unchecked authority in rural parts of the DRC, at times contributing to inter and intra-communal conflict over land and other assets (see below).

On numerous occasions and in several parts of the country, particularly in the east along the Rwandan border and the west close to the capital Kinshasa, the state armed forces were challenged by insurgent groups in the Kivus and Ituri regions and protest movements in the province of Bas Congo. In the process, hundreds of thousands of civilians were displaced, particularly in the east. These outbreaks of rebellion compelled the government of President Joseph Kabila, elected in 2006, to constantly renegotiate truces and terms of peace with a large number of non-state armed groups. But 'the Congolese authorities [...] were perceived [...] as [having] no real desire to bring stability to the

east of the country, either because it [was] not in their interests or because they [did] not feel it really [concerned] them' (International Alert 2012).

At the same time, the ill-disciplined, ill-equipped and badly trained national army (FARDC), into which large numbers of fighters from numerous of the former warring factions had been integrated, were involved in many instances of serious human rights violations. 'The national army remained a ragtag gang of criminal elements, which committed human rights abuses wherever it was deployed, according to the United Nations' (BTI 2010). The UN Mission in the DRC/UN Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) deployed over 20,000 peacekeepers, military observers and police personnel in the country under chapter VII of the UN Charter, and played a significant role in supporting government military operations against rebels and militias in the North and South Kivu and Ituri regions as well as in negotiating new truces and terms of peace.

President Joseph Kabila, who was elected in 2006 in what international observers said were the first relatively free and fair polls in more than four decades (though 'considerable irregularities' were also reported), centralized power in the presidency. The role of the judiciary and parliament, enshrined in the 2005 constitution, were curtailed for both branches of government were under-resourced and depended on the political patronage dispensed by the executive and his inner circle. Checks and balances did not function and the prime minister's office was controlled by the president. A government campaign to curb very high levels of corruption in the state undermined the independence of the judicial branch of government because it was politically biased and failed to produce tangible results. The re-election of President Kabila in 2011 failed to strengthen the authority of the central government and provincial and local elections remained to be held (see below).

Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the Kabila government and the extremely fragile Congolese state were consistently in question during the study period, not least because of charges of election irregularities, especially in the 2011 presidential polls, and the administration's failure to hold provincial and local elections. The central government's inability and unwillingness to

¹² Based on CIFP DRC country report 2007b; BTI 2008, 2010, 2012; International Crisis Group 2013, 2007, 2010, 2012; International Alert 2012.

provide security and basic public services to the great majority of citizens and reduce very high poverty rates among them resulted in the loss of public confidence and trust in the state.¹³

The political climate deteriorated considerably in early 2011 due to rapidly passed constitutional changes, including the abolition of the second round of presidential elections and the introduction of a simple majority vote for the presidential contest. The opposition claimed that the changes were tailored for President Kabila, and contradicted the Sun City peace agreement of 2002 and the consensus that had emerged around the 2005 constitution. In late 2010, two heavyweight opposition candidates, declared their intention to run for president and intimidation of opposition members by government security forces increased. Following irregularities, chaos and violence surrounding the elections in many parts of the country, the Independent National Electoral Commission declared President Kabila the winner in December 2011. The political opposition denounced the result as unacceptable; international observers, including from the Carter Center and the European Union, questioned the credibility of the polls; and armed rebel and militia groups in the east of the country called for Kabila's resignation.

Capacity

With the exception of the capital Kinshasa and a few other larger urban centres and important mining areas, the state maintained either no or only a very rudimentary presence and infrastructure across the country. The provision of public services, including health and education, was severely limited. There were almost no state-sponsored social safety nets. Most local services were offered by churches and social and civil society organizations. The administration's ability to operate was handicapped by corruption, underfunding and weak professionalism. As mentioned above, the state only rarely maintained law and order. State agents and civil servants often went unpaid and lacked equipment, relying on petty corruption to survive.

State fragility in rural areas¹⁴

The availability of data and information on state fragility in rural areas in the DRC in the period 2007-2012 is limited. It appears that state fragility in the DRC's vast rural hinterland, in which some 66 per cent of the population lived in 2011 (CIA 2013), was essentially determined by:

- The weakness and heavily contested legitimacy of the central government and state, including the state armed forces and police;
- The lack of functioning administrative structures and the near absence of state-sponsored public services and social safety nets beyond the capital and a few other larger urban centres;
- The presence of rebel groups and militias, especially in the eastern Kivu provinces and the Ituri region, that openly challenged the central government's authority and its monopoly of the use of force, and actively contributed to heightened levels of insecurity among rural populations
- The existence of large communities of displaced persons and returning Congolese refugees living in conditions of humanitarian crisis;
- The unchecked power of local traditional chiefs, who played a leading role in the country's politics and administration and were tied into political patronage networks linking them to provincial and national institutions.

In many rural areas of the country, customary chiefs, whose role is recognized in the 2005 constitution but not clearly defined, were left in charge. The chiefs used their 'key position between the state and communities to benefit from any state and international investments and to protect their own interests'. This fuelled conflict, 'with intercommunal rivalries playing out in state institutions and among local and national politicians' (International Crisis Group, ICG 2013). There were significant problems with respect to access to, and management of,

¹³ See the sections on 'capacity' and 'rural development' below for more information on public services.

¹⁴ Based on International Crisis Group 2013, 2007: International Alert 2012.

land in rural areas. Land problems existed both because of significant levels of land insecurity and because of inter- and intra-community tensions. Such tensions were caused by competition over access to power, dysfunctional administrative institutions (land registries, etc.), and the duality between written land legislation and local customs. Land mediation projects in eastern DRC remained heavily dependent on external support and failed to take into account the structural causes that underpinned the most destabilizing land disputes, i.e. power struggles between groups or the dysfunctional land institutions like registries.

Further, in North Kivu and other highly unstable regions the ‘illegal exploitation of natural resources continued unabated as [...] communities armed, animated by deep mutual resentments over land security, mass human rights abuses during the war and control over natural resources’ (ICG 2007). In North and South Kivu the mining sector is a fundamental part of the economy and a source of income, however small, for people living in the provinces. The development of the agricultural sector, which in the past used to be larger and more significant, at least in North Kivu, was impossible due to persisting insecurity in rural areas.

Sexual violence against women in rural areas also continued to be a significant problem. ‘Access to medical care [was] much more readily available in the provincial capitals; however, most victims [had to] cover long distances, often for several days or even weeks, before they [could] reach a health centre’ (International Alert 2012).

Rural development profile

Poverty¹⁵

Poverty head count for rural areas

According to a 2013 International Monetary Fund (IMF) report, within the DRC “the proportion of the population living on less than one dollar per day was 70%” (IMF 2013: 37). There is a definite rural-urban disparity to this. In the DRC an average of seven out of ten households are categorised as poor whereas eight out of ten rural households are poor, with seven

out of ten households poor in urban areas (ibid: 14). Food makes up 62.3% of the expenditure of Congolese households (ibid: 25) with the ratio of “children under five who are moderately underweight decreasing from 31.1% in 2001 to 25.1% in 2007 and 24% in 2010” (ibid: 28). However, this average disguises inequalities both in terms of areas of residence (27% in rural areas and 17% in urban areas) and provinces (ibid: 28).

Again, it is difficult to show trends in the incidence of poverty within our study period. Much of the IMF data relies on simulations from data generated after government surveys carried out in 2005. These simulations indicate only a 1% decrease in poverty just before our study timeline from 2005-2007, but this figure must be treated tentatively and it is not disaggregated in terms of rural and urban ratios.

Relative food consumption data

Conflict has certainly exacerbated food insecurity in the DRC. The most recent Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) analysis shows that the incidence of people in acute food insecurity was calculated at about 6.4 million in June 2013, showing an increase of about 75,000 people compared to October 2012 (FAO, 2013: 1). The analysis goes on to show that “two-thirds of them (about 4.2 million persons) are considered severely food insecure and are mostly concentrated in Northern Kivu province in the east and in Katanga province in the south, where the escalation of civil conflict in recent months severely damaged livelihood systems and caused massive displacement” (ibid.).

It also seems that the prices of cereals increased sharply in the areas disturbed by civil conflict, escalating to record levels and showing a pronounced instability. In June of 2013 “prices of maize in Bunia in the eastern Ituri province, and Lubumbashi in the southern Katanga province, despite having declined as newly harvested crops increased supplies, were still about 44% and 52% higher respectively, than in Kisangani, Bandundu, Kikwit and Mbandaka markets, which were located in relatively peaceful areas of the country” (FAO, 2013: 1)

¹⁵ Based on IMF 2013, ITUC, 2011 and other relevant sources indicated in the text.

Increases/decreases in employment levels correlated to poverty ratios (youth unemployment).

The average national unemployment rate is 6.5%. However, this estimate needs to be understood in a context where the majority of the population live on subsistence agriculture (IMF 2013: 43). In these terms the unemployment rate in rural areas is near to zero, whereas the unemployment rate for urban areas in 2005 was 17.8% (ibid.).

This situation contrasts formal employment versus the informal sector where underemployment or disguised unemployment is around 75% in urban areas and 95% in rural areas (IMF, 2013.). Young people constitute more than half of the workforce and are most affected by unemployment, particularly in urban areas. Consequently, the unemployment rate for the 15-24 age bracket (32.2%) is about twice the national average for urban areas (17.8%) (ibid.). This could be the result of high unskilled seasonal rural to urban migration amongst the youth but this would need systematic verification. Unfortunately, the data is not well differentiated in terms of gender. However, we do know that the percentage of women employed in the non-agricultural sector has witnessed a marked evolution from 21% to 34% between 2001 and 2007 (ibid: 34). A key area that needs investigation is to what degree the non-agricultural sector has increased as a result of illicit activities such as mining, but where no data currently exists.

Table 3: Livelihood panel data (non)-PRSP livelihood reports

Main household activities, excluding Kinshasa

Agriculture	92.6%
Fishing	19.8%
Livestock	11.3%
Hunting	9.7%
Gathering	4.8%
Agricultural products	17.6%
Petty trade	12.3%
Day jobs	6.9%
Civil service	5.5%
Crafts/small businesses	10.3%

Source: WFP et al. 2008, p.41

Service Delivery

Fiscal decentralisation is certainly key to recent constitutional reforms, where the 2006 constitution “assigns a key role to the provincial authorities in the delivery of health, education and agricultural services” (IMF 2013: 2). However, according to the IMF, it seems that the “devolution of services has been uneven across provinces due to varying degrees of institutional capacity” (ibid.). Resources available to the provincial authorities are slowly increasing and amounted to some 2% of GDP in 2009, minus the salaries paid directly to provincial civil servants by the central government (ibid.). However, current data shows that despite the plentiful fresh water resources of the country, access to drinking water still remains low, although it rose from 22% to 26% of households between 2005 and 2010. This is worse in rural areas where the sector has had less investment (ibid: 32).

Violence Against Women

Nationally, there is a high level of violence against women: 64% of women have reported experiencing violence since the age of 15 and 49% within the past 12 months (IMF, 2013). Moreover, women are generally seen as being more exposed to the risks of prostitution (forced or otherwise), diseases and AIDS, where consequently women have a higher mortality rate than men (ibid.).

There is also a definite link between sexual and gender-based violence and conflict. However, the politicised representation of this violence needs acknowledging where many commentators have argued that the primary international focus on VAW has led to the invisibility of other forms of sexual violence and torture against men, while undermining the incidence of non-conflict based violence against women, such as intimate-partner violence. Nonetheless, it has been well documented that sexual violence has been used as an instrument of war in eastern DRC. In 2010 the UNFPA stated that 44% of perpetrators were civilians and 49% armed men in North Kivu, while in South Kivu civilians were slightly less with 33% of all actors (ITUC 2011: 26). Indeed, some calculations have been put forward; UNFPA further estimated that in the eastern DRC more than 8,000 cases of sexual violence took place annually in 2009 and 2010, with 5,485 cases in North Kivu and 2,928 in South Kivu in 2010.

In terms of its rural development implications sexual and gender-based violence in eastern DRC is often linked to the exploitation of natural resources, where it has been associated with the control of both mining activities and military interests with rebel groups committing serious acts against the population, including murder and rape (ITUC 2011). This has been particularly true of provinces such as North and South Kivu. Many of these cases have involved gang rape in front of family members, as well as genital mutilation and forced incest (ibid.).

The forms of response by public authorities (shelters, policy formulation etc) In response to these atrocities a new law on sexual violence was passed by parliament in 2006. The legal framework prosecutes acts of sexual violence in more specific terms, where crimes of sexual mutilation and sexual slavery are now explicitly criminalised (ITUC 2011: 28).

However, currently these actions may mean little in practice where, as the ITUC puts it the Congolese justice system is seen as “dysfunctional, under-sourced and staffed, and highly politicised due to frequent interferences by political and military authorities” (ibid: 27). It is also unclear how such legal systems operate within rural regions.

2.3. Yemen

CIFP fragility scores

CIFP data on state fragility in Yemen is limited to the years 2007, 2008 and 2011. The available data indicates that Yemen exhibited aggregate fragility scores below 6.5 in 2007 and 2008, but saw this score increase significantly in 2011. Regarding ‘authority’, the country witnessed a consistent increase in fragility; regarding ‘legitimacy’ there was a significant decrease between 2007 and 2008, which was followed by a significant increase in 2011, however; regarding ‘capacity’, the trend was more even, with a small decrease in 2007-2008 followed by a more significant increase between 2008 and 2011. In 2011, Yemen ranked 5 out of 197 countries on the CIFP Global Fragility Ranking, after Somalia, Afghanistan, Chad and DRC, and therefore was among the group of ‘worst global performers’ (CIFP 2006: 4).

Table 4: CIFP Fragility Scores, Yemen, 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.46	5.94	7.06	6.57
2008	6.45	6.20	6.11	6.29
2011	7.0	7.38	7.24	6.62

Source: CIFP 2007a; CIFP 2008; CIFP 2012

National fragility trends disaggregated by authority, legitimacy and capacity¹⁶

Authority

Created in 1990 through the unification of the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) and the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), the Republic of Yemen has since remained a divided nation with deep tribal, political, economic, religious and regional cleavages. National unification was followed by a brief civil war in 1994, which consolidated northern dominance over the rest of the country and President Ali Abdullah Saleh’s hold on power (which lasted for more than three decades, ultimately ending in 2011-12, when the ‘Arab Spring’ protest movement reached Yemen). In the study period, the state’s authority was challenged by a rebel group known as the Huthis in the Zaidi tribal area in the north-western Sa’ada region and secessionist Hiraak and affiliated armed groups in the south, as well as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, which became more active.

While some limited state-building progress was made in the years after the civil war, including administrative and political decentralization and the expansion of some public services, the central state’s authority was put to the test. Always tenuous and weak, particularly in the southern parts of the country and some northern regions along the border with Saudi Arabia, in the 2000s the state’s control of the national territory and its monopoly of the use of force came increasingly under pressure from the Huthis in the Zaidi tribal area in the north-

¹⁶ Based on CIFP Yemen Risk Assessment 2007b; BTI 2008, 2010, 2012; World Bank Yemen Country Social Analysis 2006; CDFAI The New Terrorism: Understanding Yemen, 2011; International Crisis Group 2003, 2009, 2011, 2012; Lewis 2013.

western Sa'ada region and secessionist Hiraak and affiliated armed groups in the south. Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula also became more active, up to the point that one observer concluded that 'Yemen stands alongside Pakistan as one of the most important al-Qaeda strongholds in the world' (Carment 2011). The army was divided and some commanders escaped the executive's authority. Despite efforts to control the distribution and possession of personal weapons, the male population in rural areas remained armed.

By comparable regional standards not a very repressive and more of an adaptable regime, the Saleh government 'perfected the art of coopting its [tribal and political] opposition, and the extensive patronage network [...] discouraged many from directly challenging the president' (ICG 2011:ii). Local, parliamentary and presidential elections have been held regularly without reports of major irregularities or election-rigging. The intricate government-controlled patronage network extending from the capital Sanaa to, especially, the north of the country has fomented pervasive corruption among the civil service, the judiciary and the military and security services. 'Overlaying a modern state upon Yemen's traditional governance system has proved difficult, and both state formation and nation-building remained works-in-progress. [...]. To ensure its survival, the government [...] created informal political alliances with traditional shaiks, religious leaders, and powerful interest groups through intensive patronage networks outside of the formal state structures – which has given rise to the so-called parallel state' (Lewis 2013: 6).

This 'parallel state' allowed President Saleh to stay in power for a long time but ultimately undermined official state structures and the legitimacy and capacity of his administration. Heavily reliant on oil revenues the state's tax base has been very small and its accountability therefore limited. The country's formal education system was weak and service delivery was poor, with military spending among the highest in the Middle East and North Africa region.

Legitimacy

In the study period, the legitimacy of the central government/state was questioned by tribal, regional and religious groups that were excluded from the 'official' patronage networks,

especially in the south but also some north-western areas of Yemen, or which resisted stronger government authority, sometimes by force (see above). The country's political leadership constantly and systematically – though not necessarily successfully – sought to disable opposition groups: NGOs critical of the regime were refused registration and thus kept in a legal limbo, arrests of and attacks against opposition leaders increased. The Saleh administration's heavy-handed military response to the crisis in Saada and other violent hotspots around the country was accompanied by serious human rights violations by the state security forces and the displacement of large numbers of people, significantly adding to the state's legitimacy deficit. The state's limited capacity to provide basic public services through formal channels and reduce high levels of poverty among the majority rural and peri-urban population further undermined its legitimacy.¹⁷ Decentralization did not help in this regard as it was limited to administrative and political decentralization and did not include financial transfer mechanisms targeted at reducing poverty (see below).

Capacity

Social security functions were largely fulfilled not by the state but by families, the tribe, village structures and private welfare organizations. Public expenditure for social safety nets was very low and programmes had a distinctly urban bias. In the early 2000s, only 28 per cent of the rural population were covered compared to close to fifty per cent of urban households. There was a significant shortage of courts, police stations and appropriately trained state employees, especially in rural areas where the majority of Yemenis live.

Despite administrative and political decentralization, which became effective in 2002, 'the overall trend [has been] toward a state that is more centralized than at any time in its history. Though services [expanded] these [were] unevenly distributed and [had] an anti-poor bias. The quality of service provision [represented] a significant challenge. [...] The incorporation of informal but influential local leaders into the state structure [risked] undermining customary systems of accountability. Whereas traditional

¹⁷ See the sections on 'capacity', 'state fragility in rural areas' and 'rural development' below for more information on public services.

leaders in the past [had been] accountable to their local constituents through a complex set of rules and practices, the support they [received] from the central government [...] changed the 'rules of the game' and [provided] autonomy from their traditional base. Local communities [were] increasingly dependent on such leaders because goods [were] redistributed through patronage networks' (WB 2006: 7). Decentralization, which did not include financial transfer mechanisms targeted at reducing poverty, overall failed to increase the capacity of the Yemini state to deliver public services and goods across the country but especially in rural areas.

State fragility in rural areas¹⁸

The availability of data and information on state fragility in rural areas in Yemen in the period 2007-2012 is very limited. It appears that the Yemeni state's reach into rural areas, where the majority of the population lives - approx. 68 per cent in 2011 (CIA 2013) - has been hampered by several factors. 'With the exception of villages that are close to urban areas, the structure of the modern nation state [...] only marginally touched rural areas. While rural inhabitants were increasingly relying on government services and institutions, they often had to go outside their villages to access these. As a result tribal shayks [...] played a convening role in both mobilizing the community for collective purposes and serving as the community's interlocutors, lobbying local and central government for development projects' (WB 2006: 8-9). This process has been described as the 'amalgamation of formal and informal governance systems' or the '[incorporation of] traditional authorities into the state's formal institutions' in which a weak central state sought to extend its reach across the national territory by both formal and informal, patrimonial means (World Bank 2006: 9, 10).

The outcome of this process has varied across the country depending on the strength and legitimacy of the existing tribal governance structures. In the highlands, where the capital Sanaa is located, there has been more of a 'continuity of traditional governance systems albeit in the new context of the state which is modernizing yet whose reach remains limited. [...] In contrast, in the southern governorates

where the traditions of tribal leadership were less consensual and had also been seriously weakened by socialist rule the incorporation of formerly discredited sultans and shaykhs [generated] greater inequality and less accountable leadership' (WB 2006: 10). It should be added that for political reasons the Saleh government was less committed to cater to the southern governorates, as well as some areas in the north, where tribes other than those associated with Saleh and his kin were competing with the government for authority and control, such as in the governorate of Saada (see above).

Given the inadequate infrastructure of courts and police stations in rural areas, people there had little recourse to formal justice. In areas of the country where the tribal system was still largely intact and functioning, i.e. mostly in the northern governorates, rural populations could seek recourse to traditional forms of justice administered by shaykhs and other tribal leaders. Poor reliance on official state justice mechanisms, particularly in the peripheries, meant that people tended to take justice into their own hands, turning personal confrontations into family, tribal or religious ones (Lewis 2013).

Rural development profile

Poverty¹⁹

Poverty head count for rural areas

The 2007 World Bank Poverty Assessment states that "urban areas benefited remarkably from the predominantly oil-led growth, which resulted in the rapid decline in the percentage of urban poor from 32.2% to 20.7%, despite an increase in urbanization" (WB 2007: 7). However, the report also shows that in "three of the seven rural regions where nearly 40% of the country's poor live (Central North, Central South and Eastern) poverty unambiguously worsened by 10 to 15 percentage points" (ibid). Poverty is shown to be at its worst in the rural part of the Amran governorate north of the capital Sana'a where 71% of the population is poor. Next are the south-western Shabwah and Al-Baida governorates (60%), with the incidence of poverty at its lowest in the south-eastern Al-Maharah and Sana'a City governorates (ibid: 8).

¹⁸ Based on World Bank, Country Social Analysis Yemen, 2006; Lewis 2013.

¹⁹ Based on World Bank Poverty Assessment 2007, World Food Programme report 2012, FAO, 2011 and the OECD Social Institution and Gender Index, SIGI

These figures, however, are just prior to our study period and before the political crisis of 2011, where it has been difficult to discern data for our actual study period. However, a more recent Joint Social and Economic Assessment (JSEA) report does exist which states that the political crisis caused an 11% drop in economic growth (JSEA 2012). Consequently, the report goes on to assert that although urban poverty rates rose even higher (possibly because of the urban concentration of the protests), the rural poverty rate also rose considerably from 47.6% just before the crisis to 59% afterwards. This negative correlation was also true for food security (ibid.).

Relative food consumption data

In parts of Yemen food insecurity is chronic. Yemen is currently ranked the 11th most food-insecure country globally with one in three Yemenis suffering from acute hunger (WFP 2012: 12). The country is almost entirely dependent on food imports and consequently Yemenis are highly vulnerable to any instability in prices, with the poorest households the most vulnerable (ibid: 7).

Using 2009 Comprehensive Food Security Survey (CFSS) data, a 2012 WFP report estimates that 44.5% of the population is food-insecure. This means that approximately 10 million people in Yemen have restricted or no access to sufficient nutritious food, and are consuming a low quality diet according to agreed international standards. Proportionally, “over half the rural population (51%) is food-insecure compared to 27% in urban areas” (ibid.).

Furthermore, the number of severely food insecure households almost doubled between 2009 and 2011, when in December 2011 the number rose from 12% to 22%. As the WFP states, “this means that an additional 2.7 million Yemenis have become severely food insecure during that tumultuous two-year period” (WFP 2012). In addition, the CFSS shows that 13% of children under five years old are acutely malnourished.

Fundamentally, agriculture in Yemen is affected by the lack of groundwater where the production of qat is seen as the major culprit as its production consumes 40% of the water supply; stemming the consumption of qat is currently seen as a key priority although it is acknowledged that this may cause widespread

resistance within Yemeni society. It is now a major income source with qat production now contributing to 6 percent of all GDP and 33 percent of agricultural production, with over 600,000 estimated small scale qat farmers in Yemen, accounting for more than half of all small-scale farmers in the country. Moreover, qat production does also adversely affect food security by diverting agricultural production away from food production (JSEA 2012).

Rural-urban disaggregated data on educational attainment, correlated to poverty ratios.

Citing the 1998 Household Budget Survey data, the 2007 WB Poverty Assessment asserts that “the poverty rate for households headed by an illiterate person was 47.3% nationally - 48.8 % in rural areas and 39.9% in urban areas. These rates declined over the next few years to 44% nationally by 2005/6 - with 47% in rural areas and 34% in urban areas respectively” (WB, 2007: 32). Perhaps not surprisingly the lowest poverty rate was among households headed by persons with a university degree and above, with the difference between the poverty rates of university graduates in urban and rural areas extensive - 5% versus. 29% (ibid: 32).

Moreover, within the education sector there are significant supply side problems. The WB points to the fact that, “for both poor and non-poor, the share of supply-side reasons (no schools, no teachers, no female teachers, no sanitary facility) in rural areas are very large for both boys and girls. More than 35% of boys and about 50% of girls in rural areas do not attend school for these reasons” (ibid).

Livelihood panel data (non)-PRSP livelihood reports

Agriculture, including both livestock and crop production, is the key form of livelihood for about 85% of the population in Yemen (FAO, 2011: 91). Agriculture provides only 15% of the national GDP, but it employs over half the labour force (ibid). Activities such as beekeeping, petty trading (including selling of qat), and the sale of pump water by land owners are some of the forms of livelihood diversification for rural communities (ibid.). However, as the FAO asserts “Yemen relies heavily on imported food items, importing 90% of wheat requirements and 100% of rice. As 97% of poor rural households are net food buyers, high food prices are one of the determining factors of food insecurity” (ibid.).

Increases/decreases in employment levels correlated to poverty ratios (youth unemployment).

Youth unemployment (ages 15–24) is considerably higher than for the average general population at 28.3% (FAO, 2011: 44). As the WB states “unemployment in Yemen (ages 15+) increased from 13.7% in 1999 to 16.3% in 2004, even though there was a significant decline in poverty (from roughly 40% to 35%) (ibid: 13). However, the rural regional implications of this are unclear as the data is not disaggregated in terms of rural and urban ratios.

Service Delivery

In the study period, there were marked differences between rural and urban areas with respect to access to basic and secondary education. In the mid-2000s, female youth illiteracy in the age group 15-24 reached 73 per cent in rural areas compared to 18 per cent in urban areas. Rural families were exposed to poor-quality schooling and the education system was not adapted to rural livelihood systems. The main obstacles to women's education are poverty and a cultural bias in which parents prefer to send sons to school, avoiding placing their daughters in a mixed-gender environment (WB 2007). There is also some evidence to show that the proportion of public expenditure on education was slightly skewed in favour of higher education for the middle classes (ibid.). However, the 2012 JSEA report does indicate that there have been improvements in the education sector with girls' enrolment having improved from 42% in 1997/98 to 66% in 2010/2011, while acknowledging that gender gaps in education are still large, particularly in rural areas (JSEA 2012: 116).

In terms of public healthcare, in 2012, Yemen had 2,774 hospitals with only 2 doctors and 15.9 nurses for every 100,000 citizens. Rural areas are certainly more poorly serviced than urban areas. Geographical access to health facilities was severely limited with only 24 per cent of the rural population having access to health facilities compared to 42 per cent across all areas (Lewis 2013). Unfortunately, data on the rural and urban ratios of health service delivery is sparse. There is some 2005 data on measles immunisation cited by the WB, which shows a noticeable urban and rural gap at 12% (WB 2007: 38).

Violence Against Women

The types of socio-cultural inequalities faced by women

The current status and rights of women have been significantly affected by the 1994 constitution drafted upon unification and particularly article 31, which declares that, "women are sisters of men and they have rights and duties as guaranteed by Shari'a and the law." This article has been the cornerstone of a number of Yemen's laws, with Yemen's male clergy and legislators citing the Shari'a as the basis of its legal principles. As SIGI argues, "the wording of Article 31 implies that women are not the equal citizens but rather are the sisters of male citizens" (OECD, 2013).

Currently, Yemeni women constitute 24.6% of the workforce, where nearly 86% of women in the workforce are in the agricultural sector, with most of this classified as informal and unregulated labour, with 8% of women employed in paid jobs and 9.3% of these in the civil service and public sector (OECD, 2013.). The number of women registered to vote has risen from 15% of the total electorate in 1993 to 42% in the 2003 parliamentary elections. However, only 2 women have been appointed to the 111-member Shura Council, with women comprising a low 0.6 % of the total membership of local councils (OECD 2013.).

The forms of response by public authorities (shelters, policy formulation etc)

Despite there being very few women in positions of authority in Yemen, there are some highly active women's rights organisations in the country, whose members operate in an often inhospitable environment. Women's rights NGOs have been central in drafting a law to increase the minimum age of marriage, which also requires marriage contracts to be certified by a judge (this has been waiting for presidential approval since 2009). These groups have also been highly engaged in improving awareness of domestic violence and the damage caused by early marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM) (OECD 2013.).

Forms of legal redress

Currently, as SIGI states, "there is no legislation in place in Yemen addressing domestic violence (OECD 2013). This is despite the fact that domestic violence is believed to be common in Yemen" (OECD 2013), but accurate figures on

prevalence rates are not obtainable, and certainly not in terms of rural and urban proportions (ibid.). Moreover, female genital mutilation is not illegal in Yemen and attempts to criminalise it were rejected by parliament. It is banned in state hospitals but continues to take place in private clinics.

The prevailing view is that a small minority of women actually report domestic abuse, due to a lack of trust in the police and judiciary, but also because many people in Yemen perceive physical violence by husbands as a legitimate means of ensuring marital obedience (OECD 2013.). SIGI cites Human Rights Watch reports which state that women who report domestic violence to the police are often themselves imprisoned, and are only released when a male relative collects them (ibid.).

Given the lack of women's representation on local councils and the low rates of school enrolment by girls in rural areas there does seem to be a fairly minimal increase in women's formal and informal rights in recent years within Yemen, which may have significant implications for violence against women in rural areas. This needs careful and timely investigation.

2.4. Nepal

CIFP fragility scores

CIFP data on state fragility in Nepal is limited to the years 2007, 2008 and 2009/2011 ('authority'). The available data indicates that in this period Nepal has consistently been under the 6.5 mark or only slightly above it, on an aggregate level and across the dimensions of 'authority', 'legitimacy' and 'capacity'. One notable exception to this trend was the increase of the 'authority' score between 2007 and 2008, which remained on a relatively high level in 2011 (see Table 3). As such, Nepal is not in the group of seriously fragile countries, as are Afghanistan, DRC and Yemen. In 2011, Nepal ranked 31 out of 197 countries on the CIFP Global Fragility Ranking, next to Tajikistan (30) and close to Mali (29).

Table 5: CIFP Fragility Scores, Nepal, 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.15	6.42	5.72	6.14
2008	6.55	7.02	6.50	6.20
2009	6.20	6.64 (2011)	n/a	n/a

Source: CIFP 2007; CIFP 2008; CIFP 2010; CIFP 2012

National fragility trends disaggregated by authority, legitimacy and capacity²⁰

Authority

In the study period, Nepal embarked on a protracted and as of yet inconclusive transition from the end of the decade-long armed conflict between the state and Maoist insurgents to the establishment of a new post-conflict order based on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which had been negotiated between the Seven-Party-Alliance (SPA) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M) and entered into effect in November 2006. Yet in the following years Nepal's unitary, centralized and non-inclusive state structure was left largely intact and unable to accommodate and respond to the demands of the country's large number of ethnic groups. Political instability prevailed. While the first president of the newly founded Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal was elected and a new coalition government was formed in July 2008, in the following three years three prime ministers were confirmed in office. The state's monopoly on the use of force was established in many parts of the country, though it remained weak in the southern Tarai region along the border with India as well as in several other regions in the highlands (see below).

The 2006 ceasefire held but the progress of peace and state-building was slow and little advances were made on implementing crucial elements of the peace plan. Following the nomination of an interim parliament and the election of a constituent assembly in 2008 in polls that were generally regarded as free and fair, the Maoists and the largest opposition

²⁰ Based on BTI Nepal 2008, 2010, 2012; International Crisis Group 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012a 2012b; International Alert 2012; ICAF 2011; DFID and WB 2006.

political parties (UML and Nepali Congress) were locked in prolonged negotiations over the substance of the new constitution, the form and implementation of federalism, and the future of the demobilized Maoist combatants. Unable to reach agreement on the country's new constitution, the deadlock generated by the political parties caused atrophy in Nepal's corrupt and fragile state bureaucracy, decreasing the authority, effectiveness and legitimacy of governance across the country. The constituent assembly was ultimately dissolved in 2012, failing to produce a new constitution.

Among the few achievements was a deal in 2011 on the Maoist fighters. They were scheduled to leave the cantonments where they had been concentrated since the end of hostilities and enter the army or civilian life. The state's monopoly on the use of force was established in many parts of the country, though it remained weak in the southern Tarai region along the border with India, where half of Nepal's population lives and Madhesis, plainspeople, organized in sometimes violent protest against the discrimination that excluded them from public life. Several Madhesi armed groups sprang up in the region, which was also affected by organized criminal and terrorist splinter groups. Underlying the protest and violence in the Tarai were grievances related to the non-resolution of critical issues, such as the return of land seized during the conflict, wider land reform, and the re-establishment of elected local government in a federal political system.

Political authority remained centralized in the hands of minority elite groups, such as the high-caste Brahman, Chhettri and Kshatriya. 'The dominant order [...] remained largely confined to male Brahmans (Bahuns) and Kshatriyas (Thakuris and Chhetris) from the traditionally influential Parbatiya or Hill Hindu group, and the urban-based and generally well-educated Newars. [...] The [traditional] political parties continued to operate on the basis of deeply embedded and mutually reinforcing feudal, caste and patriarchal norms and networks. [...] Those left at the margins were women; the 'tribal' indigenous ethnic groups, the Adivasi Janajatis or 'indigenous nationalities'; and the formerly 'untouchable' castes now calling themselves Dalits ('oppressed', 'broken' or 'crushed').

Muslims [...] and the plains dwellers or Madhesis, who have substantial numbers but are largely excluded from political influence, [...] were also on the margins' (DFID and WB 2006: 3).

The Nepalese state was largely unable to administer and deliver justice and in many parts of the country, especially in more remote rural areas, state justice mechanisms were used only for the most serious criminal cases, while people otherwise turned to non-state justice provision comprising traditional and indigenous mechanisms for dispute resolution or had no access to justice at all. 'Cost, geographic obstacles, corruption, social stigma, and lengthy and complex processes all [presented] significant obstacles to the average Nepali citizen in accessing state justice services. Women, the poor and those belonging to marginalised groups [experienced] extremely limited access to state justice mechanisms' (International Alert 2012: 9). There were concerns that 'in the absence of a strong state justice sector to counterbalance and oversee the non-state sector [that] non-state mechanisms [went] beyond their mandates and [mediated] criminal cases, thereby superseding the criminal justice system of the state. Some traditional non-state mechanisms also [delivered] verdicts and punishments which [did] not take human rights and gender equality norms into account (International Alert 2012: 9). Further, throughout the study period the administrative system was bogged down by pervasive corruption, seriously undermining its effectiveness and legitimacy.

Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the Nepalese government and state was in question throughout the study period. There was 'widespread dissatisfaction with the quality and amount of government services, especially education, health, infrastructure and agricultural support' (ICAF 2012: 9).²¹ This was particularly noticeable in the Tarai region along the border with India where trust between many Madhesis and several other ethnic groups and the government in Kathmandu all but collapsed. People there were angry about what they perceived as discrimination by the central government and minority elite groups and the failure of the

²¹ See sections on 'capacity', 'state fragility in rural areas' and 'rural development' below for more information on public services.

constituent assembly to finalize a new constitution which would allow for the holding of local elections, which were believed to improve the responsiveness of local government and the quality of public services. 'This belief [was] grounded in their positive experience with elected local government before the war' (ICAF 2012: 23). While the 'government [...] offered to address issues such as increased electoral representation, affirmative action for marginalised groups and federalism [it] dragged its feet over implementing dialogue [with the people in the Tarai region]' (ICG 2007:i).

Capacity

Nepal's administrative system remained ineffective, corrupt and quite authoritarian throughout the study period. The weak to nonexistent infrastructure (especially in rural areas) did not provide a sound administrative basis for political, social and economic development. Communities, traditional organizations and civil society organizations filled some of the governance gaps by providing services, including health, education and non-state justice, and resolving disputes. 'In addition to location-related service delivery problems, other supply side issues that influence public healthcare [included] the type of services offered, flexibility in timing for care provision, the public's perception of the quality of care and attitudes of providers. The number of both public and private health facilities [...] increased [since the early 2000s] but the services [remained] easily accessible only to the richest groups or those closest to urban centres. Most healthcare facilities, including trained personnel, [were] concentrated in urban areas while rural facilities [remained] under-staffed and under-supplied (DFID and World Bank 2010:71). Further, there was virtually no social welfare system outside of social networks based on family structures. Private initiatives were isolated and public services were underdeveloped and insufficient, although access improved somewhat in the course of the study period. The state implemented a few social programmes, including a civil service pension, food-for-work programmes, social pensions, and microcredit and micro-insurance programmes. But these programmes only reached a small number of beneficiaries and had a narrow budget base.

State fragility in rural areas²²

The availability of data and information on state fragility in rural areas in Nepal in the period 2007-2012 is very limited. In 2006, Nepal was still largely a rural country, with some 86 and 83 per cent of the population living in rural areas in 2005 and 2011, respectively, with the remaining population living in the capital Kathmandu and a few other larger urban centres (DFID and WB 2006: 18; CIA 2013). It appears that rural areas, particularly but not exclusively in the Tarai plain, were characterized by high levels of state fragility along all three dimensions of authority, legitimacy and capacity.

As mentioned above, in the study period the Tarai region, a long-neglected border land, saw persisting insecurity and some violence due to the existence of criminal and Madhesi armed groups involved in kidnapping, extortion and robbery. 'The open border with India [contributed to these problems], as armed groups, drugs and human trafficking [were able to] freely cross in many places' (ICAF 2012: 9). Further, the state was unable to mediate and resolve disputes over land in the region. 'In the mid-west Tarai [...] Pahasis displaced from the Hills by the conflict [...] decided to stay, attracted by the fertility of the land [...] Meanwhile in the same area, the Kamaiya indigenous group [had] still not [received] land that was promised to them ten years ago by the government. Madhesis in the Midwestern, Western and Eastern Tarai also [complained] about Pahadis, but here they focused not on land but on feeling threatened by Pahadi dominance of government, lack of access to government services and lack of recognition of Madhesi rights and identity (ICAF 2012: 11). Consequently, most Madhesis did not trust the government and their demands became more radical. Yet 'the Madhesi issue must be seen in the broader context of the centre-periphery divide and the interplay of geography, caste, ethnicity and politics in Nepal. Discrimination spans the country, with several communities in the hills facing similar exclusion' (ICG 2007: 1).

State service provision in the Tarai and other rural areas was highly deficient, with women, the poor and groups that are marginalised due to ethnicity and caste membership experiencing

²² Based on DFID and WB 2006, 2010; ICAF 2012; ICG 2007.

hardship. This state of affairs clashed with ‘the consciousness of Nepalis who – even in rural areas – increasingly [saw] themselves as sovereign rights holders. Nevertheless, many formal and informal institutions and policies [remained] stubbornly exclusionary in terms of gender, caste and ethnicity, and most demands of those excluded [remained] unmet’ (DFID and WB 2010:47).

Rural development profile

Poverty²³

Poverty head count for rural areas

A recent DFID report shows that chronic poverty is primarily concentrated in the mountainous mid and the far western regions of Nepal, but vulnerability is spread across the country (2013: 4). Using a multi-index of chronic poverty, the region of Karnali had the most chronic poverty (70%), followed by Seti (49%), Mahakali (43%), Bheri (30%) and Rapti (23%) (ibid: p-6). As the report puts it, “this contrasts strikingly with the 9.6% rate found in urban locations” (ibid: 10).

Relative food consumption data

A 2009 study conducted by the WFP ranks Nepal 57th out of 88 countries on the Global Hunger Index (GHI). With a GHI of 20.6, the severity of hunger in Nepal is acute. The eastern region fares the best at 20.40, whereas the mid-west is the most severe with a hunger index of 28.20. The mountain zones (27.90) are also highly insecure in comparison to both the Terai (23.10) and the Hills (21.50) (ODI 2012: 11).

The report indicates that there is certainly “a negative correlation” between Nepal’s recent history of civil conflict and livelihood/food security indicators (ODI 2012: 14). It shows that local food production was affected by factors such as: “the reduced amount of family labour available; out migration and conscription; the confiscation of farmland; disruptions to agricultural services and inputs” (ibid.), although the report is unclear about which regions are most acutely affected.

Rural-urban disaggregated data on educational attainment, correlated to poverty ratios

DFID’s 2013 data indicates that in Nepal “chronically poor households are particularly disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment” (DFID 2013: 11). For example, “only 15% of chronically poor household adults can read and write while the percentage is 42 for non-poor households” (ibid.). These rates are also highly gendered in terms of the following literacy rate:

Table 6: Gendered urban and rural literacy levels

Urban	Rural
Male - 78%	Male - 51.9
Female - 54.8	Female – 22

Source: DFID, 2013.

Increases/decreases in employment levels correlated to poverty ratios (youth unemployment).

The Asian Development Bank estimates that, “Nepal’s labor productivity or GDP per worker is the lowest in South Asia when, in 2006, Nepal’s GDP per worker was estimated at \$614 in 2000 terms (ADB et al. 2009: 15). Farmers with small landholdings are particularly vulnerable to underemployment and the provision of more productive employment opportunities, “particularly to people in subsistence or near-subsistence agriculture, the youth, people internally displaced by the conflict, and former People’s Liberation Army members” is seen as major problem for Nepal in the future (ibid: 16).

²³ Based on UK Department for International Development report 2013, ODI 2012, Asian Development Bank report 2009, the OECD Social Institution and Gender Index, SIGI and other literature cited in the text.

Underemployment is especially critical in rural areas, due to weak agricultural growth (DFID 2013: 12), where inequitable economic opportunities are caused by unequal access “to education and skills development, infrastructure facilities (roads and electricity) and productive assets (land and credit)” (ibid.).

Livelihood panel data

As noted, armed civil conflict is understood to have seriously affected livelihoods and new opportunities in Nepal. However, a 2010 study by Upreti and Müller-Böcker cited by ODI, argues that the “reduction in livelihood opportunities has been accompanied by a trend towards diversification” (ODI 2012: 17.), and where the ratio of people living in urban areas is still comparatively low at 17% (ibid.18). In this sense, the prevalence of poverty is symptomatic of the fact that poverty in rural areas is a result of low returns from agriculture but where households whose head is reliant on wage labour are also the poorest in comparison to those self employed in agriculture (DFID 2013: 11).

Service Delivery

The WFP views the quality of services across the country as being poor, where the quality was particularly severe in the mountains and the mid-Western regions (DFID 2013: 12). However, there are a mixed number of service providers, with the Government of Nepal stating that it will spend “at least 20% of its allocated budget on the basic services sector” (ibid.29).

Within the health sector there are government, non-government as well as private teaching hospitals, together with a fairly extensive network of female community health volunteers. Over 2 million people have used the family planning services, and child vaccination is fairly good with 87% coverage in rural areas (DFID 2013.).

Nepal’s education sector has followed a policy of decentralising school management to local communities. Over the period of 2002/03 to 2009/10, “a total of 9,810 schools (including 6,644 primary level, 236 lower secondary level and 1,030 secondary level) were decentralised in a bid to empower communities” (ODI 2012: 34). From 2009 onwards the government has also introduced School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP), “with an estimated total cost of US\$ 2.6 billion over its first five years” (ibid.). By 2007 Nepal had 27,525 primary schools, 299,000 certified

teachers, with 9.6 percent of the national budget allocated to education (IMF 2007: 45). However, current data does not differentiate between the rural and urban sectors, or discuss how educational institutions have been affected by the years of civil conflict.

Violence Against Women

The types of socio-cultural inequalities faced by women

Again, the 2013 DFID report states that, “gender differences are very apparent with males having higher educational attainment than women and with the difference widening in more remote areas and in successive levels of educational attainment” (2013: 12), with these divisions most acute in rural areas. The report shows that, “women’s empowerment and gender disparity was worst in the Far-West (86%) and Mid-West (77%) followed by Central (40%), Eastern (27%) and Western regions (14%) (ibid: 29). These figures were ascertained using a gender disparity index which had the following six indicators: literacy status (%); years of schooling; percentage of female headed households; women’s participation in local elections; women in professional occupations; women in administrative occupations.

The level and forms of legal address, such as current legislation on domestic violence, rape etc. as well as attrition rates

As the OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index shows, “the Gender Equality Bill of 2006 redefined the definition of rape to include instances of marital rape, as reasons for divorce, although the maximum penalty for marital rape is still only six months’ imprisonment” (OECD 2013). The law has also raised the criminal punishment for all other forms of rape to between five and twelve years imprisonment. Finally, in 2009 Nepal passed its first law against domestic violence - the Domestic Violence and Punishment Act 2065. However, criminal sanctions are still poor (ibid.), and it is not known what regional reach the legal provisions have had. The maximum penalty is 25,000 rupees (US\$330) and six months imprisonment, with punishments doubling for repeat offenders. Equally, sexual harassment is now also a criminal offence, “with punishments of a fine of up to 10,000 rupees and prison sentences of up to one year” (ibid.).

2.5. Bolivia

CIFP fragility scores

CIFP data on state fragility in Bolivia in the period 2007-2012 is limited to the years 2006-2007. Relative to the other country cases that are analysed in this study, Bolivia is something of an outlier. The available data for 2006 and 2007 indicates that Bolivia was well below the 6.5 mark, on an aggregate level and across the dimensions of 'authority', 'legitimacy' and 'capacity'. The country obtained its highest scores in the dimensions of 'legitimacy' and 'authority' in 2006, but overall the trend was one of decreasing fragility (see Table 5). In 2011, Bolivia ranked 68 out of 197 countries on the CIFP Global Fragility Ranking, way above the other four countries included in this study.

Table 7: CIFP Fragility Scores, Bolivia, 2006 and 2007

Year/score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2006	5.86	5.68	5.91	5.98
2007	5.13	5.37	4.74	5.13

Source: CIFP 2006; CIFP 2007a

National fragility trends disaggregated by authority, legitimacy and capacity²⁴

Authority

In the study period, the Bolivian state proved able to prevail over a significant challenge to its authority from powerful economic and civic groups in the eastern and southern lowlands. A breakup of the Bolivian nation-state was avoided. A new constitution was enacted and pressing issues in relation to the social welfare and livelihoods of hitherto marginalized and poor, mostly indigenous sectors of the population, especially in the highlands, were addressed. This notwithstanding, the Bolivian state continued to exhibit a number of significant weaknesses, including with respect to the functioning of the judiciary, the persistence of widespread corruption and political patronage in a new guise, and the increase of drug-trafficking activity in the country. While inter-regional conflict has subsided, new tensions have

emerged involving elements of MAS's core constituencies, such as indigenous farmers and local communities.

The election of Evo Morales of the MAS party as Bolivia's first president of indigenous descent in December 2005 marked the beginning of a process of significant political, economic and social change in South America's poorest country. At the same time, the levels of confrontation and violent conflict between the new, indigenous-dominated central government/state in the highland capital of La Paz and the traditional non-indigenous political elites and the authorities, business associations and civic committees in the eastern and southern lowland departments (Santa Cruz, Tarija, Pando, Beni) first rose to dangerous levels but then subsided.

The stand-off and deepening polarization between the two camps clearly limited the authority of the Bolivian state, especially in the period 2006-2009. It is important to note, however, that the state's authority had already been severely constrained prior to 2006 due to the exclusionary nature of the political system and policy-making processes since Bolivia's return to civilian-electoral rule in the early 1980s and the mounting contestation of this state of affairs by indigenous social movements, trade unions and the powerful coca-grower federations of the Chapare region near Cochabamba led by Morales. In 2003 and 2005, Bolivia saw the forced ouster of Presidents Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and Carlos Mesa, respectively.

In the period 2007-2012, the Morales administration used the levers of state and indigenous social movement power to launch and push through a broad reform agenda. This agenda prominently included the 'nationalization' of Bolivia's hydrocarbon sector (the natural gas industry is located in the eastern and southern lowlands); measures to empower the majority indigenous population (mostly in the highland regions); the furthering of decentralization which had started in the first half of the 1990s; the strengthening of indigenous peoples' and regional autonomies; the improvement of social welfare and social policies for the poor; the pursuit of land reform benefitting landless indigenous peasants; and the drafting of a new constitution by means of a Constituent Assembly. Preceded by a difficult, heavily contested and drawn-out drafting

²⁴ Based on CIFP Bolivia country report 2007b; BTI 2008, 2010, 2012; International Crisis Group 2004, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008; UNODC, World Drug Reports 2007-2012.

process, the new constitution was approved by referendum in January 2009 and thereupon enacted.

Throughout the period significant state weaknesses persisted, such as in the judiciary and other parts of the state apparatus which were plagued by problems of access, especially for indigenous and rural sectors, underfunding, corruption, inefficiency, and political patronage and bureaucratic infighting. Drug-trafficking also increased during Morales' tenure posing a significant concern to the Bolivian state, though the government introduced novel mechanisms to control the cultivation of illicit coca crops in the Chapare region by working closely with and not against coca farmers. The state's monopoly of the use of force was challenged by a few local groups, some of them armed, in the eastern lowlands associated with the anti-MAS movement for departmental autonomy, particularly in Santa Cruz, as well as transnationally-networked drug-trafficking and criminal organizations.

The confrontation between the central government/state and the departmental governments and powerful business associations, civic committees and their armed spin-offs in the eastern lowlands reached its peak in September 2008. Seeking autonomy from the central government/state non-indigenous lowlanders blocked access to cities and gas pipelines, occupied local state institutions and engaged state security forces and members of indigenous groups in violent clashes. At the height of the confrontation there were fears that the Bolivian nation-state could break apart as some radical lowland groups openly used secessionist rhetoric and did not stop short of using violence. This scenario, however, did not materialize.

Following the enactment of the new constitution, the first-round election victory of Evo Morales (64 per cent) and the strong performance of MAS in the congressional polls (obtaining a two-third majority in both chambers) in late 2009, the conflict between the central government/state and the eastern lowlands calmed down. A spate of new conflicts emerged, however, due to elite infighting within MAS and stepped up protest by dissenting indigenous groups, mostly peasants, trade unions and local communities.

Legitimacy

In the period 2007-2012, the legitimacy of the Bolivian government/state was first put to a serious test by traditional non-indigenous political elites and business and civic associations in the lowlands, but ultimately it was strengthened. The Morales administration's push for sweeping political, economic and social reforms that sought to benefit previously marginalized and indigenous sectors of the population and include them in governance and policy processes contributed to strengthening the Bolivian state's legitimacy in the eyes of those majority sectors.

Under Morales, access to public office for members of indigenous groups and women increased significantly. Further, the 2009 constitution enshrines a series of social rights, prohibits the privatization of public social services related to the supply of water/sewage, public health and social security, and foresees special autonomies for indigenous peoples. Public spending on poverty reduction and social welfare for the most vulnerable sectors of Bolivian society increased, though the inequality gap between indigenous and non-indigenous sectors did not diminish greatly. This was perceived favourably by formerly excluded and discriminated groups of impoverished indigenous peoples, including in rural areas (especially but not exclusively in the highlands), contributing to the approval of the new constitution by referendum and the re-election of President Morales, both by wide margins. President Morales's popular approval ratings fluctuated during the study period but overall remained on the higher end.

As noted above, the policies and reform course of the Morales administration were at first met with fierce resistance from traditional non-indigenous elites and powerful groups in the eastern and southern lowlands. In no small measure this was related to deep ethnic, social and class cleavages that have characterized Bolivian society for decades and centuries; resistance was further propelled by the determination of the new government to get the state to work in the interest of Bolivia's impoverished, indigenous masses. In this process the Morales government often bypassed or bent the formal rules of the game and exhibited strong traits of bias or even discrimination against traditional non-indigenous elites and other groups that did not belong to its broad base of

social support. Evidently, this resulted in the government's and the central state's loss of legitimacy in the eyes of those sectors of Bolivian society.

Yet in keeping with a Bolivian tradition of averting crisis through last-minute compromise and negotiation the Morales administration proved able to find ways to avoid the emergence of a full-blown crisis of national proportions and reach compromise with the less intransigent elements of the political opposition. This gradually reduced the room for manoeuvre of the more radical opponents of the Morales government, especially in the eastern and southern lowlands. The opposition fragmented and after the enactment of the 2009 constitution and the re-election of President Morales key representatives of the regional autonomy and civic movements came round to accepting the legitimacy of the central state, if not agreeing on many counts with government policies. At the same time, growing dissent started to emerge from within the broad MAS constituency, presenting the government/state with a new challenge to their legitimacy.

Capacity

During the period 2007-2012, the Bolivian state was hamstrung by significant capacity deficits, though some improvements appear to have occurred over time. State capacity to provide basic public administration and adequate (access to) social services, primary and secondary education, justice, and employment opportunities has historically been limited, especially in rural and peri-urban areas.²⁵ Both indigenous and non-indigenous communities in more remote areas of the high and lowlands have a long history of self-administration and self-provision of public services; though it is important to recognize that historically the state has not been absent but rather played a paternalistic role as a provider and guarantor of jobs and subsidies for specific (elite) sectors of Bolivian society.

The Morales government came into office without much previous experience in public administration, and some sectors of the state and civil service were alienated for political reasons. Yet there were significant government efforts to increase access to education for men and women in rural areas, especially in indigenous communities; to modernize and extend the

coverage of the public social welfare system to the great majority of people who had not been included, particularly in rural areas; and fight poverty and generate employment among the lower-paid workers in both the formal and informal sectors.

It remains to be seen what the impact of these efforts has been. There are some indications that persisting administrative weaknesses, short-term approaches to policy planning and implementation, corruption, and political influences undercut the capacity of the Bolivian state to deliver public services and goods across the country and administer the significantly increased funds it has had at its disposal due to growing national income from the export of natural gas in an appropriate and transparent manner. This has been clearly evident with respect to the delivery of justice which has suffered from limited access for ordinary, poor people, particularly in rural and peri-urban areas.

State fragility in rural areas²⁶

The availability of data and information on state fragility in rural areas in Bolivia in the period 2007-2012 is very limited. It appears that state fragility in rural areas, in which 23 per cent of the population lived in 2010 (CIA 2013), across the dimensions of authority, legitimacy and capacity has historically been broadly correlated to the percentage of indigenous and non-indigenous populations in a given community. That is, prior to the arrival of Evo Morales and MAS in government state authority, legitimacy and capacity was lower in majority indigenous communities and higher in majority non-indigenous communities. This is reflected in the consistently higher poverty, illiteracy and inequality rates in indigenous communities and lower levels of delivery of basic social services in majority indigenous communities, mostly in the highlands.

There are some indications that this picture changed after 2006, when the central government/state started investing much more in indigenous majority communities in rural and peri-urban areas in the highlands but also in some parts of central Bolivia (e.g. the coca-growing Chapare region; see below) and the eastern and southern lowlands. At the same time,

²⁵ See sections on 'state fragility in rural areas' and 'rural development' below for more information on public services.

²⁶ Based on World Bank, Country Social Analysis Bolivia, 2006; Ledebur and Youngers 2012.

the authority, legitimacy and capacity of the central state overall appears to have declined in the eastern and southern lowlands, at least temporarily, as the Morales administration became locked in conflict with dominant groups in those regions of the country. It is an open question whether departmental and municipal state entities in the eastern and southern lowlands were able to compensate for this loss of authority, legitimacy and capacity of the central state in general and in rural areas in particular.

With respect to the Chapare region, there are some indications that the change in government counter-drug policy had a positive impact on state fragility in that rural region in central Bolivia. President Morales introduced a ‘cooperative coca reduction strategy’ also known as ‘social coca crop control strategy’ which ‘hinges on the voluntary participation of farmers from all coca-growing regions in the country and on balancing pressures from the international community with the demands of its coca-growing constituents’ (Ledebur and Youngers, 2012: 5). At the core of this strategy is the consent of the coca farmers of the Chapare to cooperate with the central government in controlling and monitoring the cultivation and commercialization of (illicit) coca leaf. The six local coca grower federations play a vital role in enforcing the agreement, which stipulates that each Chapare farming family may grow one cato of coca (1,600 square metres), and that the cultivation, transit, sale and marketing of coca leaf is monitored by means of a biometric registry of coca producers. ‘As a result of the cato agreement, the violence and conflict generated by forced eradication in the Chapare has, with rare exceptions, ceased’ (Ledebur and Youngers 2012: 5). It may be inferred that this has helped bolster the authority, legitimacy and capacity of the Bolivian state in this particular rural area.²⁷

Rural development profile

Poverty²⁸

Poverty head count for rural areas

It has been difficult to obtain figures for the entirety of our study period although data for

some of this period and immediately prior to 2007 has been found. The following depiction of rural development and poverty in Bolivia broadly follows a multidimensional poverty index profile in line with some of the UN Human Development Indicators. According to a 2007 CEPAL study “Bolivia has one of the highest poverty rates in Latin America: 78.5 per cent of the rural population was living in poverty in 1997 compared to 77.7 per cent and 76.6 per cent in 2001 and 2006, respectively, while the figures for extreme rural poverty were 61.5 per cent, 59.7 per cent and 62.3 per cent, respectively” (CEPAL, 2007). The report attributes these high rates of rural poverty to low agricultural production, and the restricted demand for agricultural commodities, with efforts at reducing poverty hampered by the country’s institutional fragility and the weakness of its public institutions (Cristobal 2011).

Table 8: Poverty Levels, Bolivia, 2007 and 2009

Poverty Level	2007	2009
Relative Poverty	60.1	50.6
Urban	50.9	43.5
Rural	77.3	66.4
Extreme Poverty*	37.7	26.1
Urban	23.7	16.1
Rural	63.9	45.5

*Extreme poverty denotes those living under \$1 a day.

Source: International Monetary Fund, IMF (2009:34)

The vast majority of the rural population employed in agriculture is poor, with the most recent figures estimating that 85% living in poverty and 75% in extreme poverty (WB, 2011). There has, however, been a decline in the rural population, which in 2011 constituted 33% of the total population. The agricultural sector itself currently accounts for 13% of GDP, rising to 27% if agribusiness is also considered (ibid.). However, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) the cultivation of coca has

²⁷ See Study 2 for an in-depth analysis of the coca issue in the Chapare and how the Morales administration’s change in coca policy has contributed to reducing conflict, violence and state fragility in this particular region.

²⁸ Based on CEPAL 2007, IMF, 2009, World Bank 2005, 2011, and other literature indicated in the text

decreased notably by about 7% from the 2011 figure of 27,200 hectares to the 2012 estimate of 25,300 hectares. This confirms a downward trend shown in 2011 when cultivation had fallen 12% since 2010 (UNODC, 2012).

However, despite problems in the agricultural sector and ‘historically low’ public expenditure on agriculture geared mainly towards productive infrastructure and less on agricultural innovation (13% of GDP in 2008, predominantly on roads and rural electrification) public spending both nominally and in real terms has increased significantly on average between 2003 and 2008, where sub-national government spending has become more pronounced (WB 2011: 8).

Relative food consumption

In terms of relative food consumption, the extreme poor consume 60% less than the national average. At the municipal level, 62% of municipalities were categorized in 2007 as having a moderate to very low vulnerability to food insecurity, while 38% were highly vulnerable to food insecurity. Again, positive gains were seen in the fact that the percentage of municipalities with high or very high levels of vulnerability to food insecurity decreased from 51% in 2003 to 38% in 2007, but weak correlations have been shown between these reductions and actual agricultural spending, and this has been attributed to the focus on poverty alleviation rather than growth (WB 2011:11). Unfortunately, there is no food consumption data disaggregated in terms of female headed households or panel data on levels of household livelihood diversification.

Inequalities

Further indicators of poverty point to a very high net primary school enrolment rate, remaining constant at 94% during the whole period of 2001-2008 (WB 2013), with a target set of 100% for 2015 (GoB 2010). Equally positive is the decreasing rate of unemployment which fell from 8.2% in 2005 to 5.5% in 2011 (IMF 2009), although it is unclear from the current data how this is disaggregated in terms of rural and urban ratios.

However, indigenous inequalities are obvious where labour earnings that indigenous peoples derive from each year of schooling are lower than those for non-indigenous people. These inequalities are evident in the following estimates:

Table 9: Average monthly income per geographic area (in Bolivianos) and language spoken at home

Geographic /Language Area	Urban	Rural	Country as a whole
Quechua	577	213	302
Aymara	584	168	306
Guarani	419	262	289
Other Indigenous	236	243	242
Spanish	931	373	783

Source: Gigler 2009.

A 2009 study by Georgetown University found that “the average per-capita income of indigenous peoples was on average less than two-thirds the income of the Spanish-speaking population. In terms of poverty trends, the data shows that the poverty gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people widened between 1997 and 2002” (Gigler 2009: 8). While the poverty rate of the non-indigenous population declined from 57.0 to 52.5%, during a period of relative political stability during 1993 and 1999, poverty among indigenous peoples decreased only slightly, from 74.6 to 73.9% (Jiménez et al. 2005 in Gigler 2009: 8). This trend is due to the sharp differences between urban and rural poverty. The overwhelming consensus is that urban poverty has responded reasonably well to macroeconomic developments but that rural development has followed its own trajectory, where poverty remains at high levels and is further heavily exacerbated in rural indigenous areas (Klasen et al. 2004 in Gigler, 2009: 7).

Service Delivery

In terms of service delivery available data is sparse nationally, and not well disaggregated in term of rural and urban ratios, nor is there substantial material on the administration and process of service delivery within rural areas, and we can only really speculate about the effectiveness of service delivery organisations from statistical outcomes. Current figures available estimate that the infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) was 44 in 2007, while immunization against measles (% of children under 12-months) was 82.6% in 2006. Meanwhile, the maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) was 176 in 2007, with the

proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel 65% in 2006 (IMF 2009). While access to portable water was possible for 75.5% of the population in 2007, access to improved sanitation facilities was available to 46.8 of the population in 2007. In 2010, Bolivia had 2,810 health facilities, 8,346 trained health personal and it is estimated that around 54 percent of the medical equipment nationally is in bad shape. Currently, 21 percent of the child deaths under 5 are caused by the treatable condition of pneumonia, while in 2008 the health budget represented 4.6 of expenditure (UNASUR 2012).

Certainly improvements have been made in terms of reaching MDG targets. However, these figures are still relatively low by international standards. While not substantiating the figures in much detail a 2009 IMF report states that “child and maternal mortality rates remain high, especially in the rural and poor-marginal urban areas” and where access to water and sanitation services is low (2009: 36).

The report cites World Bank data which estimate that only two thirds of the rural population have access to portable water and only 9% to sanitations services (ibid.).

Violence Against Women

The types of socio-cultural inequalities faced by women

While providing minimal methodological detail (particularly in terms of the sample group), a 2005 WB document which assessed gender relations as part a participatory rural alliances project found that “women were seen as participating in many economic activities, but as disadvantaged compared with the men in terms of decision making, control over resources, and access to economic benefits” (2005: 13). Further gender inequalities were:

Table 10: Gender inequalities, Bolivia

More women than men are fluent only in their native language, and less able to negotiate in the market
Illiteracy rates are higher among women
Formal ownership of land and other assets tends to be in the name of men rather than women, making it harder for women to access credit and other opportunities
Women frequently lack formal identity papers, making it harder for them to meet eligibility criteria for various development opportunities
Women are generally more constrained than men in terms of available time for new activities
Most of them are responsible for household activities in addition to economic activities
Perceived negligence of their household duties may lead to criticism or even violence
In some cases economic empowerment of women is perceived by men as a threat to their identity, and reactions such as violence, withdrawal and alcoholism are not uncommon.

Source: WB 2005: 13

The forms of response by public authorities

Public policy responses to violence against women in Bolivia have culminated in the 2013 adaptation of the Comprehensive Law to guarantee women a life free from violence in Bolivia (Law 348), which broadens protection of women against various forms of violence and establishes the eradication of violence against women as a priority of the state. Available figures estimate that nationally 52% of women reported experiencing physical violence and 14% reported experiencing sexual violence (Hindin et al. 2008), while among the Tsimane Forager-Horticulturalists in the eastern Beni department, over 85% of women report being physically abused by their spouse, with 38% experiencing physical violence in the previous year (Stieglitz et al. 2011). It is clear that further work needs to be done in this area, which is more sensitive to rural regions, ethnicities and class differences.

3. Comparative conclusions: state fragility and rural development

Comparing the presented empirical evidence²⁹ on Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia, several themes emerge that help to deepen our understanding of state fragility and the relationship between state fragility and rural development. As will be discussed in more detail below, it appears that higher levels of state fragility are correlated with armed conflict and violence. External intervention, especially if it has significant military, security and counter-narcotics dimensions, can also contribute to exacerbating state fragility. The existence of parallel and traditional structures of authority and local institutions can both diminish the authority, legitimacy and capacity of states and compensate for the weakness or absence of the state, especially in rural areas. And the lack of consistent, legitimate and strong political leadership seems to enhance state fragility, though this appears to depend on the particular form in which leadership is exercised.

The relationship between state fragility and rural development is also highly varied. Rural poverty rates are indeed high in all the study countries, but this does not necessarily correlate with their state fragility ranking. Consequently, with such poverty rates it might be argued that local forms of household exchange and reciprocity become even more central to enhancing livelihoods and food security in the rural areas of fragile states. Where information on rural service delivery does exist (education, health, security) levels of decentralisation seem to be central to the efficacy of their operation. The problems in the delivery of security and justice are no more acutely seen than in the police services and in the judiciary. This has serious implications for violence against women and their ability to

seek justice in often highly volatile and violent contexts and where more 'traditional' judicial systems are the only recourse available, and which are often unwarrantably exerted.

3.1. Drivers and characteristics of state fragility in the sample countries

Unsurprisingly, the existence and persistence of **armed conflict and violence** on a larger scale and the absence of a modicum of security have significant negative effects on the authority, legitimacy and capacity of states. The cases of Afghanistan and DRC - and to a lesser extent Yemen - show that conflict and violence increase the risk of serious human rights violations committed by state security forces (and outside military forces, such as ISAF in Afghanistan), and compound the difficulties faced by governments and donors to strengthen the rule of law and create viable and sustainable local economies, including in the agricultural sector. An escalation of violence and militarized efforts to control it can distort or derail well-conceived and well-intentioned efforts to address local development and governance issues, such as the NSP in Afghanistan. In contested regions, where insurgents and other armed groups have consistently and effectively challenged the state's monopoly of force and the implementation of key policies, such as opium poppy eradication, local populations may turn to the rebels instead of the government and state for protection and the provision of basic services. The Taliban's capacity to enforce order and compliance with certain rules and establish parallel governance structures in southern and south-eastern parts of Afghanistan gave them a degree of legitimacy there that both the weak Afghan state and ISAF lacked.

In contrast, much lower levels of violence in Bolivia allowed the Morales government to increase public investment and strengthen governance in impoverished and marginalized areas of the country. This has even been the case in coca-growing regions like Chapare that for years had been the site of violent contestation between coca grower federations and the central government and state. Significant opposition in the eastern lowland departments to key policies of the central government (which also manifested itself in the establishment of a few

²⁹ See Annex 1 for colour-coded tables depicting fragility performance of the five study countries in the period 2007-2011 (2006-2007 for Bolivia) on the basis of CIPF data; and Annex 2 for an overview of fragility-enhancing factors in the five study countries.

small armed groups in Santa Cruz department) and some violent clashes between central government supporters and members of the civic opposition in the lowlands had a negative impact on the authority, legitimacy and capacity of the Bolivian state in those regions of the country. This negative impact was temporary, however, because the prospects of violent confrontation between the central government and other key political actors in the high and lowlands were dispelled through a process, however flawed and difficult, of political negotiation and bargaining that involved the writing and promulgation of a new constitution.

Our analysis further shows that **external intervention** can become part of the problem and contribute to deepening deficits foremost with respect to state legitimacy but also authority. This is particularly evident in the case of Afghanistan, where a very large and protracted external military presence (ISAF) managed to prop up and guarantee the survival of the Karzai administration but ultimately proved unable to establish even a modicum of security across the country. While the Western alliance made major efforts to build up a new national security apparatus, the Afghan army and police have on the whole been unable to exercise the monopoly of force, adding to the state's lack of authority, legitimacy and capacity in large swaths of the national territory. This has been due to rampant corruption in Afghan state institutions, including the security forces, the relative military strength and political astuteness of the Taliban and other armed groups, the limited legitimacy of both Afghan and external security forces (related also to human rights violations and an elevated death toll among Afghan civilians because of the 'collateral' damage of the counter-insurgency war caused, for instance, by allied air and drone strikes), and the counter-narcotics campaign mostly targeting opium poppy farmers and their crops and less so the powerful trafficking networks.

While an external intervention of a very different kind than in Afghanistan, the presence of sizeable contingents of UN peacekeepers in DRC has also not been able to prevent ongoing armed conflict in large eastern parts of the country, i.e. the two Kivu and Ituri regions. It appears that the problem here has not been that the very survival of the Kabila government depended on the presence and military muscle of MONUSCO, as with the Karzai administration and ISAF in

Afghanistan, but rather that the UN mission has been instrumental in supporting the government's piecemeal approach to pacifying the eastern regions in which human rights violations abounded and which has not been embedded in a more comprehensive strategy of building effective and legitimate governance at the central, regional and local levels. In effect, in some regions local traditional chiefs have remained outside of the control and oversight of the Kabila government or linked to it through patronage networks of limited transparency, fuelling violent conflicts over land and other assets (e.g. in the mining sector) in the eastern parts of DRC.

Our country cases also reveal that state authority and capacity deficits are conditioned by the effectiveness and legitimacy of **parallel and traditional structures of authority** that exist alongside formal state institutions. This is the case in many (rural) areas in Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen and Nepal. These parallel and traditional/customary networks can eclipse formal hierarchies of state authority and in the process both prevent and fan conflict and violence at the local level. In Afghanistan, the central state and international donors competed with local traditional, customary institutions (jirgas, shuras, maliks and mullahs), which historically had been in charge of exercising political authority, administering justice and providing other public services, especially in rural areas. The difficulties experienced by the NSP show that the introduction of 'modern' governance structures in rural areas in a conflict-affected country where the state has historically been absent or weak can lead to the 'capture' of those structures and funds by traditional authorities as well as insurgents and other armed groups. At the same time, in some localities a degree of stability and order was provided by traditional authorities, such as shuras in Afghanistan, but also armed non-state actors, such as the Taliban.

In other settings, such as in the eastern DRC, local traditional, customary chiefs and institutions in rural areas fanned inter and intra-communal conflicts over land and the (illegal) exploitation of natural resources (e.g. in the mining sector). In Yemen, the outcome in terms of providing public goods and services of a process of the 'amalgamation of formal and informal governance systems', driven by the Saleh administration as a means to extend its

reach and political control across the country, depended on the strength and legitimacy of the existing tribal governance structures (which were more consolidated in the north and weaker in the south). This parallel system of governance contributed to relative stability and relatively low levels of violence and repression in Yemen after the 1994 civil war. In Nepal, following the signing of the CPA in 2006 and despite the emergence of the Maoists as a significant political force political authority remained centralized in the hands of minority elite groups differentiated by caste membership and ethnicity. This continued the exclusion of large lower caste and indigenous population groups, including in the Tarai and other rural regions.

A lack of **consistent, legitimate and strong political leadership** can enhance problems of state fragility, particularly with respect to deficits in state authority and legitimacy. Afghanistan under Karzai and DRC under Kabila are telling examples in this regard. Both Karzai and Kabila were unable to exercise legitimate and strong leadership because of widespread charges of electoral irregularities and fraud, the centralization of political power in the executive office (which in Afghanistan was seen as necessary to ensure the survival of the Karzai administration, while in DRC it was actually against the constitution), very high levels of official corruption and impunity, and, in the case of Afghanistan, heavy dependence on an external intervention force with its priority focus on counter-insurgency/anti-terrorism and counter-narcotics strategies. Further, in both countries patronage networks served to bolster the power of those in government and inhibited the establishment of transparent and accountable governance which could reduce the vulnerability of large marginalized and impoverished sectors of the population.

While on the whole less repressive and boasting a less tainted election record, until its downfall in 2012 the Saleh administration exercised leadership by means of an intricate government-controlled patronage network that extended from the capital Sana'a and was based on informal alliances with traditional shaiks, religious leaders and powerful interest groups, especially in the north of Yemen. Although this 'parallel state' allowed Saleh to stay in power for a long time it ultimately undermined official state structures and the legitimacy and capacity of his

administration, adding to the Yemeni state's fragility.

Although certainly not without significant political problems and tensions, the case of Bolivia under Morales reveals, in turn, that entrenched conflicts can be prevented and resolved by relatively consistent, legitimate and strong political leadership. This is evident, for instance, in the much improved relationships between the central government and the coca grower federations in the Chapare region on the back of a more tolerant approach to coca leaf cultivation and its 'social control'. Morales was elected by a wide margin in 2005 and re-elected by yet another wide margin in 2009, which provided him the legitimacy and political muscle to draft a new constitution (in what certainly was a very difficult political process) and prevail over a serious challenge to his authority and government from powerful groups in the eastern lowlands without resorting to a larger measure of repression and violence. Relatively well resourced due to high revenues from hydrocarbon exports, the government was also able to make consistent and substantial efforts to address deep-seated issues of discrimination, marginalization, inequality and poverty in rural majority indigenous communities.

3.2. Relationships between state fragility and rural development

Despite the data problems that have been discussed earlier the existing evidence does elicit some interesting relationships between state fragility – understood as deficits in state authority, legitimacy and capacity – and rural development.

Summary of Findings

Finding 1: Extensive rural poverty is both related to (a) significant deficits in state authority, legitimacy and capacity, particularly in settings with violent conflict (and associated external interventions); and (b) persisting high levels of social inequality and ethnic cleavages in states where authority and capacity deficits are less pronounced.

Supporting evidence: Rural poverty rates are variable across the sample countries, but they are clearly extensive in all of them, with countries such as Yemen and the DRC, for example, showing significant increases in rural poverty in parts of the study period and prior to it, and directly as a result of protracted conflict in the cases of Afghanistan, the DRC and Nepal. What is particularly arresting is the very high poverty rates in Bolivia, which is simultaneously the least fragile and violence-affected state among the study countries. This apparent paradox could indicate that higher poverty levels are not necessarily always correlated to higher degrees of state fragility and armed conflict and violence, but could also be related to persisting high levels of social inequality and ethnic cleavages.

Finding 2: Social inequalities between rural and urban areas are related to authority and capacity deficits, including the absence of strong, consistent and legitimate political leadership, and an historical urban elite bias.

Supporting evidence: Significant authority and capacity deficits seem to have exacerbated existing social inequalities in rural areas in the study countries, with the possible exception of Bolivia, largely as a result of recent indigenous political gains under the leadership of Morales and MAS. However, indigenous income and educational levels in Bolivia still remain very low in comparison to the non-indigenous population. Across the study countries, the exacerbation of social inequalities may well be down to an historical urban elite bias, where social exclusion is greater, political representation is often institutionally and geographically weak and resource allocation is unequal.

Finding 3: The provision of social welfare safety nets by non-state, traditional and customary organizations, including with respect to basic food security in rural areas, is related to state authority and capacity deficits, and deepens existing legitimacy deficits.

Supporting evidence: Across the sample of countries it social welfare safety nets, particularly in terms of basic food security, are likely to be primarily provided by the more embedded social organizations of tribe, ethnicity, caste and clan rather than by the state. While the data is patchy, livelihood diversification in the countries also seems key to household food security strategies either as a form of survival or as a strategy of accumulation and as the primary means of enhancing household safety nets. These situations have probably increased levels of distrust in the state, accentuating both authority and legitimacy deficits.

Finding 4: Particularly in settings affected by violent conflict, deficits in state authority result in increased pauperization of rural populations due to the disruption of rural livelihoods and wage-labour migration.

Supporting evidence: There has been an increased pauperization of the rural population in Nepal, the DRC and Afghanistan specifically in terms of a trend from agricultural wage-labour to 'casual' non-agricultural and seasonal rural to urban wage-labour migration, where non-agricultural wage labour provides even less household food security than agricultural wage-labour. This can be partly explained by significant state authority deficits due to armed conflict, which disrupts livelihoods and often makes sustained agricultural cultivation difficult to undertake.

Finding 5: Uncertain status of land tenure and land ownership in rural areas is related to deficits in state authority and capacity.

Supporting evidence: Rural state authority and capacity deficits are apparent in the very uncertain land status within many of the sample countries. Conflict and unrest have given rise to the lack of, or impeded the growth of, formalized enforcement of land tenure and ownership, where the state has either not delivered on promised land reforms such as in Nepal, or where it has enabled the easy illegal exploitation of natural resources, such as in the DRC.

Finding 6: Ineffective service delivery in rural areas is found in countries with both higher and lower deficits in state authority and capacity, and it undermines state legitimacy..

Supporting evidence: The data shows that the reach of the state in terms of service delivery in all the sample countries is on the whole weak. There seem to have been some improvements within the education sector in terms of girls' school enrolment in a number of the countries, including Afghanistan, Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia, but the gender gap in these countries still remains high. This may be an indication that the decentralisation of educational services has been more effective in these states than in DRC. Overall the seemingly poor quality of service delivery can be explained partly in terms of largely ineffective decentralization amongst the sample countries (with the exception of Bolivia), particularly financial decentralization, such as in Yemen. This is often the case in developing country contexts but these inefficiencies in service delivery seem acutely apparent in the lack of formal justice systems within the sample fragile country contexts, which largely rely upon 'traditional' and customary forms of arbitration and redress, but which need much closer investigation.

Finding 7: Higher levels of violence against women in rural areas are possibly related to deficits in state authority and capacity, particularly because of the absence or weakness of formal justice institutions and the prevalence of traditional and customary authorities.

Supporting evidence: The lack of courts and police services has serious implications for incidences of violence against women in the sample countries. There is some evidence to suggest that violence against women may be higher in rural areas, such as in Afghanistan, but this data is very tentative involving relatively small samples. However, we can speculate that the conspicuous lack of judicial institutions is likely to have an adverse effect on women's access to justice as far as violence against them is concerned. In addition, the evidence shows that so-called 'traditional' institutions and 'patriarchal' cultural principles do legitimate some forms of violence against women, although this area of discussion is highly problematic in terms of juggling the fine line between cultural autonomy and policy intervention. Despite the formulation of legislation on violence against women in most of the study countries (with the exception of Yemen), coupled with the relative absence of women in public bodies across the selected countries, serious questions arise regarding the lack of increase in women's authority and status and the correlations with violence against women within the study countries specifically as a result of state authority and capacity deficits in rural areas.

Finding 8: Food insecurity in rural regions is significantly affected by state fragility.

Supporting evidence: The available evidence suggests that food security is affected in all of the sample countries with rural populations generally more insecure than urban ones. This means that rural populations often have restricted or no access to sufficient nutritious food, and are consuming a low quality diet according to agreed international standards.

Finding 9: Agricultural prices are subject to significant shocks which further exacerbates levels of rural food insecurity.

Supporting evidence: Cereal prices, particularly in the DRC, seem to fluctuate enormously as a result of civil conflict.

Finding 10: Livelihood diversification in the countries is key to household food security strategies either as a form of survival or as a strategy of accumulation and as the primary means of enhancing household safety nets; this diversification is often dependent on illicit economies.

Supporting evidence: Livelihood sustainability is increasingly dependent on non-skilled wage labour and seemingly on some illicit activities such as mining and drug production, although highly robust figures on the illicit activities are not available.

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Annexes

Annex 1: CIFP fragility scores Afghanistan, DRC, Yemen, Nepal and Bolivia

Table 1: CIFP Fragility Scores, Afghanistan, 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year-variation/score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.99	7.01	6.35	6.55
2008	6.93	7.40	7.09	6.24
Variation: 2007-2008	-0.06	+0.39	+0.73	-0.31
2011	7.54	7.54	7.25	7.36
Variation: 2008-2011	+0.61	+0.14	+0.14	+1.12

At the aggregate level, Afghanistan clearly emerges as the most fragile state among the group of selected countries. The country had the highest aggregate fragility scores (2007, 2008 and 2011) and the third largest variation in terms of increasing aggregate fragility in 2007-2008 and the highest in 2008-2011. Afghanistan's record was particularly bleak with respect to 'authority' (ranking highest among the five countries, though in terms of the variation of increasing authority deficit in 2007-2008 it ranked second and in 2008-2011 third) and 'capacity' (ranking second in 2007, third in 2008 and highest in 2011, witnessing the smallest variation in increasing capacity deficit in 2007-2008 but the largest in 2008-2011).

With respect to 'legitimacy', Afghanistan scored second highest in 2007, highest in 2008 and again second highest in 2011, experiencing the second largest variation in 2007-2008 and the third highest in 2008-2011.

Table 2: CIFP Fragility Scores, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year/score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.50	6.91	6.15	6.33
2008	6.91	7.12	6.56	6.76
Variation: 2007-2008	+0.41	+0.21	+0.41	+0.43
2011	7.10	7.31	7.40	6.72
Variation: 2008-2011	+0.19	+0.19	+0.84	-0.04

DRC had the second highest aggregate fragility scores (2007, 2008 and 2010) and the largest variation in terms of increasing aggregate fragility in 2007-2008 and the third largest variation in 2008-2011. The country's record was particularly bleak with respect to 'legitimacy', a dimension in which it scored third in 2007, second in 2008 and first in 2011, with a significant (second largest) variation in 2008-2011. 'Capacity' was of concern too, with DRC scoring third in 2007, first in 2008 and second in 2011, witnessing the largest variation in terms of an increasing authority deficit among the five study countries in 2007-2008. With regards to 'authority', DRC scored second in 2007, second in 2008 and third in 2011, with the second largest variation regarding an increasing capacity deficit in 2008-2011.

Table 3: CIFI Fragility Scores, Yemen, 2007, 2008 and 2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.46	5.94	7.06	6.57
2008	6.45	6.20	6.11	6.29
Variation: 2007-2008	-0.01	+0.26	-1.05	-0.28
2011	7.0	7.38	7.24	6.62
Variation: 2008-2011	+0.55	+1.18	+1.13	+0.31

Yemen had the third highest aggregate fragility score in 2007, the fourth highest in 2008 and the third highest in 2011, with the second largest variation in terms of increasing aggregate fragility in 2008-2011. The country had the highest score on 'legitimacy' in 2007, but then witnessed a significant improvement scoring fourth in 2008 and third in 2011, with the largest variation in the decrease of its legitimacy deficit in 2007-2008 which was followed, however, by the largest variation regarding an increasing legitimacy deficit in 2008-2011. Regarding 'capacity' Yemen scored first in 2007, second in 2008 and third in 2011, witnessing and increasing capacity deficit over the period, with the third largest variation in 2007-2008 and the second largest variation in 2008-2011. Regarding its 'authority' deficit Yemen scored fourth in 2007 and 2008 and second in 2011, witnessing a significant increase in its authority deficit with the largest variation between the study countries in 2008-2011.

Table 4: CIFI Fragility Scores, Nepal, 2007, 2008 and 2009/2011

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2007	6.15	6.42	5.72	6.14
2008	6.55	7.02	6.50	6.20
Variation: 2007-2008	+0.40	+0.60	+0.78	+0.06
2009	6.20	6.64 (2011)	n/a	n/a
Variation: 2008- 2009/2011	-0.35	-0.38		

Nepal had the fourth highest aggregate fragility score in 2007 and the third highest in 2008, with the second largest variation in terms of increasing aggregate fragility in 2007-2008. No aggregate fragility data was available for 2011. Regarding the country's 'authority' deficit, Nepal scored third in 2007 and fourth in 2011, experiencing, however, the highest variation among the study countries in terms of an increasing authority deficit in 2007-2008.

Regarding Nepal's 'legitimacy' and 'capacity' deficits, it scored fourth on both counts in 2007 and third and fourth, respectively, in 2008, witnessing the second largest increases in 'legitimacy' and 'capacity' deficits from among the study countries. No data was available for 2011.

Table 5: CIFI Fragility Scores, Bolivia, 2006 and 2007

Year/ score	Aggregate fragility score	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
2006	5.86	5.68	5.91	5.98
2007	5.13	5.37	4.74	5.13
Variation	-0.73	-0.31	-1.17	-0.85

Bolivia is clearly the outlier among the country cases selected for this study. It is the only country that witnessed a significant decrease in state fragility, both at the aggregate level and across the dimensions of 'authority', 'legitimacy' and 'capacity', in the period 2006-2007. No CIFP data was available for other years in the study period. In 2006-2007, Bolivia witnessed a significant decrease in fragility with respect to its

'legitimacy' deficit, followed by a decrease in 'capacity' deficit and, finally, a decrease in its 'authority' deficit.

Colour code: **Red** - highest; **Green** - second highest; **Aquamarine** - third highest; **Yellow** - fourth highest; **Grey** - lowest

Annex 2: Overview of fragility factors in study countries³⁰

Fragility factor/country	Afghanistan	DRC	Yemen	Nepal	Bolivia
Internal armed conflict and violence situations	X (high)	X (high)	X (medium)	X (low)	
Negotiated peace agreement		X (2002 and subsequent agreements, have not held up)		X (2006 agreement, has held up)	
No state monopoly on the use of force	X (national and regional insurgencies, warlords, large international military presence)	X (regional insurgencies and sizable UN force)	X (regional insurgencies, Al Qaeda, no UN force)		
Modicum of state monopoly of the use of force				X (pockets of armed insurgency, organized crime in Tarai)	X (very small pockets of armed resistance, some organized crime in eastern lowlands)
Decentralization			X		X
Dysfunctional formal justice system	X	X	X	X (less than in A, DRC, Y)	X (less than A, DRC, Y, N)
Serious and regular human rights violations	X (high)	X (very high)	X (high)	X (medium)	X (low)
Functional traditional customary justice systems	X	X	X	X (less than in A, DRC, Y)	
Significant patronage networks/rule	X	X	X	X (less than in A, DRC, Y due to Maoists)	
Strong tribal, ethnic, caste identities and traditional authorities	X	X	X (esp. in north)	X	X (less strong than in A, DRC, Y, N)

³⁰ This list of factors is indicative, not exhaustive. It is derived from the empirical fragility profiles presented in this study.

Corruption	X (very high)	X (very high)	X (high)	X (high)	X (high)
Election fraud	X	X			
Majority rural populations	X (76.5%)	X (65.7%)	X (67.7%)	X (83%)	
Majority urban populations					X (67%)
Large illicit (rural) economies	X	X (illegal mining)			X
No large illicit (rural) economies			X	X	
High rural authority deficit	X	X	X (esp. south and some northern areas)	X (esp. Tarai)	
Low rural authority deficit					X
High rural legitimacy deficit	X	X	X (esp. south, some northern areas)	X (esp. Tarai)	
Low rural legitimacy deficit					X (exception: some areas in east)
High rural capacity deficit	X	X	X	X (esp. Tarai)	X (eastern and southern departments)
Low rural capacity deficit					X (highlands)

The table indicates that high levels of state fragility in Afghanistan, DRC and Yemen (in order of significance) are correlated to the following ‘fragility factors’:

- Existence of internal armed conflict and high levels of violence, and presence of outside military forces
- Absence of a peace process and/or negotiated peace agreement that would have held up
- No or a severely limited state monopoly of the use of force due to existence of national and regional insurgencies, warlords, international terrorist organizations and the presence of large outside military forces (e.g. ISAF in Afghanistan and UN forces in DRC)
- Dysfunctional formal justice system
- Very high and high level of seriousness and regularity of human rights violations
- Both very high and high levels of corruption
- Existence of functional traditional, customary justice systems
- No or ineffective decentralization
- Existence of powerful patronage networks and rule
- Strong tribal, ethnic and /or caste identities and traditional authorities
- Both fraudulent and/or chaotic electoral processes and relatively clean, fair and regular electoral processes
- Large majority rural populations
- Conversely, lower levels of state fragility, such as in Nepal and Bolivia, appear to be correlated to the following factors:
- Absence or low level of internal armed conflict and violence, no outside military presence

- Existence of a peace agreement which has held up
- Modicum of state monopoly of the use of force, with only relatively small pockets of armed insurgency and political opposition and/or organized criminal groups in specific regions of the country
- A somewhat less dysfunctional formal justice system
- Medium to low level of seriousness and regularity of human rights violations
- Lower levels of corruption
- Both significant and less significant functional traditional, customary justice systems
- Both no decentralization and effective decentralization
- No or less powerful patronage networks/rule
- Strong tribal, ethnic and /or caste identities and traditional political authorities
- Relatively clean, fair and regular electoral processes
- Both majority urban and majority rural populations

Comparing the more fragile countries (Afghanistan, DRC and Yemen) with the less fragile ones (Nepal and Bolivia) reveals that the factor 'strong tribal, ethnic and/or caste identities and traditional authorities' does not appear to have an effect on the level of state fragility for it applies to both groups of countries.

Furthermore, comparison shows that 'quality of elections', 'degree of significance of functional, customary justice systems', 'degree of effectiveness of decentralization', and 'relative size of urban and rural populations' can have an effect on state fragility that goes both ways, either increasing or reducing it.

The primary factors that could explain differences in the level of state fragility therefore are:

- Internal armed conflict and high levels of violence
- Presence of outside military forces
- Existence/absence of peace process and/or negotiated peace agreement that holds up
- Quality and reach of the state monopoly of the use of force
- Quality and effectiveness of formal justice system
- Very high/high levels of seriousness and regularity of human rights violations
- High levels of corruption
- Existence of powerful patronage networks and rule

Under certain circumstances, the above mentioned additional, secondary factors may also apply, i.e. 'quality of elections'; 'high levels of corruption'; 'degree of significance of functional, customary justice systems'; 'degree of effectiveness of decentralization'; and 'relative size of urban and rural populations'.

About the authors

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In the past 15 years Dr Schultze-Kraft has worked extensively on conflict prevention and resolution, peace and state-building, security

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Markus's published work includes a book on comparative conflict resolution and the restructuring of civil-military relations in Central America, numerous book chapters and scholarly and policy articles on a range of political, social and policy issues, as well as some thirty Crisis Group and IDS policy and evidence reports.

Working at the Crisis Group and the UN Human Rights Office in Colombia, Markus gained broad policy advocacy experience at a senior level across the Americas and Europe. He has regularly lectured and presented briefings on diverse conflict prevention and resolution topics, including at UN Headquarters in New York, the European Commission, the foreign ministries of Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Germany, Norway and the U.S., The UK's House of Lords, the Inter-American Dialogue and Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation. Markus's current work at IDS focuses on state fragility, violence and violence mitigation, political settlements, transnational organized crime, drug policy, the rule of law, security, and (global) governance in Latin America, West Africa and the Western Balkans. He teaches the module 'The Governance of Violent Conflict and (In) security' in the IDS MA Governance and Development and also lectures on democracy and conflict, global governance, globalization and state fragility.

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