Covid-19, Conflict, and Governance Evidence Summary No.5

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This weekly Covid-19, Conflict, and Governance Evidence Summary aims to signpost DFID and other UK government departments to the latest evidence and opinions on Covid-19 (C19), to inform and support their responses.

This week, features resources on: virtual parliaments and virtual qualitative research methods; and how C19 is affecting positive peace, conflict dynamics and peacekeeping.

Many of the core C19 themes continue to be covered this week, including: increasing gender based violence and hunger, C19-related media suppression, the evolving new world order (or 'disorder'), and corruption.

The summary uses two main sections – (1) literature: – this includes policy papers, academic articles, and long-form articles that go deeper than the typical blog; and (2) blogs & news articles. The articles in section (1) that are journal articles, or that explicitly state having been peer reviewed, are highlighted in yellow (none again this week). See the end of this reports for details on the method taken for this rapid summary. It is the result of one day of work, and is thus indicative but not comprehensive of all issues or publications.

LITERATURE

GOVERNANCE

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type	Summary
Virtual Parliaments: Principles and Practices	Asia Foundation; Paper	Can virtual parliaments operate efficiently during C19? This paper provides examples, principles, and practices to address these questions: How can a parliament's most critical functions be identified and maintained? How inclusive are virtual parliaments? How can virtual parliaments communicate their work effectively? What are the logistical and resource impacts for virtual parliaments? How will the experience of a virtual parliament shape the future?
GAGE virtual research toolkit: qualitative research with young people on their covid-19 experiences	Małachowska, et al; Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence; Toolkit	How have young people experienced C19? This toolkit analyses virtual data collection methods, and provides illustrative responses from virtual research in developing countries on young people's knowledge, attitudes, and behavioural responses to C19 in areas of: education and learning; health, nutrition and sexual and reproductive health; psychosocial well-being, economic empowerment, voice and agency, and bodily integrity.
Reconstructing our understanding of the link between services and state legitimacy	Aoife McCullough, with Antoine Lacroix & Gemma Hennessey; Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium; Report	What is the relationship between services and state legitimacy? While this paper does not focus on C19, it's findings are relevant. It finds: state legitimacy is co-constructed, not transactional; services become salient in the construction of legitimacy if they (re)produce contested distribution arrangements; basic services may not necessarily break or make a state, but they provide 'teachable moments'; and the state may not need to legitimate its power to all citizens in order to maintain its power. It argues that:

		• If we accept that state legitimacy is a co-constructed process, supporting state legitimacy becomes not just about fixing institutions to improve service delivery, but also about recognising power dynamics at different levels of state and society. It also means understanding the history of the formation of political settlements, and how this feeds into the construction of narratives about state legitimacy; • Instead of focusing on the process of service delivery and aiming to increase people's perceptions of fairness across all services, it may be more strategic for donors to identify which service(s) is/are salient in the construction of legitimacy, and focus resources on addressing the contested issues in the delivery of that service; • Instead of designing interventions that aim to increase the inclusivity of services, a more fruitful approach may be to identify situations where the state is incentivised to co-opt rather than repress groups and work to support the transition from repressive strategies to co-option.
India: Media's Crackdown During COVID-19 Lockdown	Rights and Risks Analysis Group; Report	How is C19 affecting journalism in India? This report finds there is a systematic crackdown on C19 reporting, with about 55 journalists in India facing arrest, registration of an alleged offence (First Information Report), physical assault and threat, alleged destruction of property and threats for reporting on C19 and/or exercising freedom of opinion and expression during the national lockdown (March to May).

CONFLICT

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type	Summary
Global Peace Index 2020	Institute for Economics & Peace; Report	How peaceful is the world in 2020, and how will C19 influence this? This report suggests C19, particularly its economic consequences, will likely severely impact the way societies function which could decrease 'Positive Peace' and increase risks of violence and conflict. Europe is likely to see increases in civil unrest due to economic recession, while many African countries will face famine conditions, creating further stress on fragile contexts. Countries with strong Positive Peace have higher resilience to absorb, adapt and recover from shocks (like C19) and the ensuing recession - in particular, countries that perform well on the 'Well-Functioning Government' and 'Sound Business Environment' Pillars of the Positive Peace Index are more likely to recover relatively quickly. There is also some evidence to suggest that countries with higher levels of Positive Peace have been quicker to adapt and respond to the pandemic.
The cost of living: COVID-19 Humanitarian cash transfers to prevent hunger and hardship	Daphne Jayasinghe; International Rescue Committee; Report	How to improve living conditions for the poor amidst C19? In this paper, IRC estimate an extra 54 million people will be hungry in 2020 following the C19-related economic shock, this is particularly risky for child development, with devastating, lifelong effects. It calls for US$1.7 billion extra humanitarian funding for 2020. It highlights that humanitarian cash transfers are a proven, cost efficient tool, which are delivered directly to people in need to make their own choices. Cash transfers can support health costs and reduce risks of spiralling debts and negative coping.
Protest and conflict in Ukraine	Andrea Carboni;	How is C19 affecting protests and conflict in Ukraine? The official number of C19 cases and related deaths appear to be fairly low. Ukraine

	ACLED; Infographic	experienced a dip in the number of demonstrations following the declaration of the pandemic, and a ban on public gatherings introduced in mid-March. Despite the ban, in May demonstrations returned to pre-C19 levels. This new wave of discontent is linked to the national C19 response, corruption, police violence and the proposed reconciliation policies for the war in Donbas.
COVID-19 in Africa: Driver of conflict, or too early to tell?	Sophie Desmidt & Ashley Neat; ECDPM; Briefing note	How is C19 affecting conflict? This briefing note details diverging narratives and urges against making overarching statements at this early point in the pandemic – e.g. while some authors point to examples of the 'expanding footprints' of terrorist groups while international troops 'scramble home', others find no evidence that the rise and fall of attacks by violent or extremist groups in recent months is caused by C19. It draws attention to the impact of C19 on longer-term causes and drivers of conflicts and inequality, in particular gender inequality due to global reports of a rise in gender-based violence. It calls for rigorous conflict- and gender-sensitive data gathering to inform recovery and response.
Peacekeeping in the shadow of Covid-19 era: Short-term responses and long-term consequences	Richard Gowan & Louise Riis Andersen; Danish Institute for International Studies; Policy brief	What is the impact of C19 on peacekeeping? This policy brief highlights: the immediate impact on UN peace operations as troop rotations are frozen, and interactions with local populations minimised; and potentially severe long-term economic and political consequences (with a global recession and geopolitical spats threatening multilateral cooperation). It recommends: Sustain and where necessary boost funding for UN operations; Commit to current levels of UN deployments; and offer specialists (in public health management and related) to strengthen planning and help manage the crisis.

BLOGS & NEWS ARTICLES

GOVERNANCE

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type	Summary
Uganda should tax "Covid-19 winners" to fill revenue gaps	Graeme Stewart-Wilson and Ronald Wasiwa; International Centre for Tax and Development; Blog	How can Uganda fill its revenue gaps created by C19? This blog argues that sectors that have benefitted from C19 should be taxed more – e.g. agriculture and health. Currently most C19 'winners' contribute very little to the overall tax burden in Uganda, with challenges around political interference and exemptions, and weaknesses in the existing tax administration and tax laws. It suggests short- term strategies, including: avoiding talking about taxing farmers and health facilities in a general sense to avoid political interference; and expanding tax compliance enforcement on suppliers in the winning sectors. Medium-and long-term strategies, including: updating the e-tax system; and effectively taxing e-commerce transactions; among others.
The new world disorder	The Economist; Article	How is the new world order evolving? This article argues that if America pulls back from global institutions, other powers must step forward – e.g. with the UN. Without a multilateral effort, old problems are likely to deepen and new problems are more likely to go unsolved – e.g. C19 not only calls for global solutions (like treatments and vaccines), but also aggravates local insecurity. It is the same with climate change and organised crime
'Political vandalism': DfID and Foreign Office merger met with anger by UK charities	Liz Ford; Guardian; Article	What will be the impact of merging DFID into the FCO during the C19 crisis? Widespread concerns are raised by international development and foreign policy organisations - e.g. advocacy group ONE argues: "This is not the right decision if Britain is to truly be a global player in addressing challenges such as Covid-

		19. A global pandemic requires a global response – driven by those with real expertise in fighting disease and extreme poverty. Capitals around the world will be dismayed that the UK appears to be stepping back from global leadership at the very moment it is needed most."
The Coronavirus Is Spreading Through Indigenous Communities In The Amazon	John Otis; American University Radio (WAMU); News article	Indigenous people, the majority of the Amazonas' population, are especially vulnerable to C19. Some live on reservations near Leticia (Colombia) and lack internet access to get information. There are few medical facilities in Leticia. It should be home to a new public hospital, but government corruption meant it was not built.
The Pandemic and Political Order	Francis Fukuyama; Foreign Affairs; Comment	How will C19 change the political order? In a follow-up blog, Fukuyama suggests C19 could lead to the US' relative decline, the continued erosion of the liberal international order, and a resurgence of fascism around the globe. It could also lead to a rebirth of liberal democracy, a system that has confounded sceptics many times, showing remarkable powers of resilience and renewal. Elements of both visions will emerge, in different places. Unfortunately, unless current trends change dramatically, the general forecast is gloomy. He reiterates that countries with capable, legitimate governments will come through relatively well and may embrace reforms that make them even stronger and more resilient, thus facilitating their future outperformance. Countries with weak state capacity or poor leadership will be in trouble, set for stagnation, if not impoverishment and instability. The problem is that the second group greatly outnumbers the first.
The IMF on Corruption and COVID-19	Transparency International; Interview	Interview with IMF Managing Director Kristalina Georgieva on corruption and governance during C19
COVID-19 Corruption Risk Spikes amid Global Procurement Race	Yigal Chazan;	An April survey of 58 countries (and over 500 respondents of mostly anti-fraud professionals working in business or government) by Berlin

	Geopolitical Monitor; Blog	anti-fraud consulting firm Nemexis found that the delivery of C19 related healthcare around the world was significantly affected by financial crime. It identified corruption involving personal-protective equipment and the embezzlement of healthcare funds in 81% and 58% of the countries covered, respectively.
Fighting corruption during the coronavirus	Global Initiative; Interview	Interview with University of Birmingham Professor Heather Marquette on the threat C19 poses to public and private corruption, and the need for urgent action.

Extra blogs & news articles – without summary

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type
Girls at greatest risk as COVID-19 threatens to leave a generation of African children behind	Plan International; Press release
Coronavirus: EU supports with €60 million a regional response to the pandemic in the Horn of Africa	European Commission; Press release
Jared Diamond and Nathan Wolfe on the value of preparation	Jared Diamond & Nathan Wolfe; The Economist; Article
At least 37 Political prisoners in Nicaragua have presented C19 symptoms say CSOs	Civicus; News
Election period sees clampdown on freedoms: Outgoing President Nkurunziza dies suddenly	Civicus; News
Coronavirus Poses Leadership Test for Africa's Heads of State	Salem Solomon; Voice of America; News
Amidst COVID-19 challenges, UN 'remains operational' across Central Africa	United Nations; News

What Role Should the IMF Play in Responding to COVID-19?	Brad Setser; Council on Foreign Relations; Blog
Violence against women in Turkey during COVID-19	Burcu Karakas; Middle East Institute; Blog
Africa: COVID-19 exposes the vulnerability of urban food systems	Nicole Madariaga, Chloe Pinty & Alix Francoise; Ideas for Development; Opinion
Domestic Violence in the Context of Covid-19: State Responses & Alliances in Latin America	Melanie Ordóñez; The Dialogue; Blog
How can we promote community wellbeing during COVID 19? Voices from West Africa	Miranda Dobson; Orchid Project; Blog
The deterioration of Australia–China relations	International Institute for Strategic Studies; Blog
Coronavirus in the Pacific: weekly briefing	The Guardian; News
Mounting hunger in the Sahel: the unintended impact of COVID-19 prevention	Alexandra Lamarche; Refugees International; Issue brief
Policy-Relevant Rigor: What Governments Need From Researchers for Effective Crisis Response	Heidi McAnnally-Linz, Nassreena Sampaco-Baddiri, Bethany Park and Shahana Hirji; Innovations for Poverty Action; Blog
Six concrete measures to support women and girls in all their diversity in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic	UNAIDS; Manual and Guideline
Covid-19 has squeezed migrants' remittances to their families	The Economist; Article
Keep the well-being of children at the centre of COVID-19 response and recovery	UNICEF; Statement

Co-creating During a Crisis	Sebastian Chaskel & Bethany Park; Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA); Blog
Alan Doss and Mo Ibrahim on preventing covid from killing democracy in Africa	The Economist; Blog

CONFLICT

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type	Summary
Covid-19 raises the risks of violent conflict	The Economist; Article	How is C19 influencing conflict? This article explores the various possible impacts of C19 on conflict – e.g. how conflict can help to spread infectious diseases (e.g. through displacement), and how diseases may worsen wars (e.g. more people died from the 1918 Spanish flu than died from the World War 1). And how C19 appears to be empowering some non-state armed groups (e.g. where militaries have stood down troops) while in other places it has strengthened the state's ability to target insurgents.

Extra blogs & news articles – without summary

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type
How the United States Can Address Global Fragility in a Pandemic	Frances Brown & Megan Doherty; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
The Belt and Road Initiative: promoting peace in a post-pandemic world?	Bernardo Mariani and Robert Swaine; Saferworld; Blog

Beyond the Pandemic, Boko Haram Looms Large in Nigeria	John Cmapbell; Council on Foreign Relations
Latin America sees largest decline in peacefulness as COVID-19 poses further threat	Teresa Welsh; Devex; News
Mediating between the state and its poor and marginalised during Covid-19	Institute of Development Studies; Opinion
Violence surges in Yemen after coronavirus truce expires	Middle-East Monitor; News
Between Despair and Hope for Millions of Children in Armed Conflict, Imperative to Actively Implement Ceasefires & Peace Processes	UN Office of the Special Representative Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict; Press Release
Afghanistan: Spike in violence against health care amid COVID-19 threatens millions	International Committee of the Red Cross; Press release
Remarks of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict: Segment II – Gender Equality & Rights in addressing GBV in COVID-19 Response	Pramila Patten; UN; Speech
What's Happened to the UN Secretary-General's COVID-19 Ceasefire Call?	Richard Gowan; ICG; Speech
COVID-19 jeopardises progress made towards protecting women and girls from violence and harmful practices	Justine Coulson, Roberta Clarke & Mohamed M. Fall; UNFPA; Statement

DASHBOARDS, TRACKERS & RESOURCE HUBS

K4D - Covid-19 Resource Hub

Global Voices - Covid-19: Global voices for a pandemic

ICNL - COVID-19 Civic Freedom Tracker

ECPR Standing Group on Organised Crime - Controcorrente (dedicated Covid-19 blog series)

The Syllabus - The politics of Covid-19 readings

Political Settlements Research Programme - Conflict, development and Covid-19 resources

IDS - Covid-19: the social science response to the pandemic

GI-TOC - Covid Crime Watch

CGD - Coronavirus preparedness & response

ODI - Reforms, initiatives and campaigns on migrants' contributions to the Covid-19 response

OECD - Tackling coronavirus (COVID-19) Contributing to a global effort resource hub

The New Humanitarian – Coronavirus news, data, and policy response tracker

ACLED – Covid-19 disorder tracker

Various - Crowd-sourced cross-disciplinary coronavirus syllabus

African Arguments - Coronavirus in Africa Tracker

Insecurity insight – Covid-19 and security monitoring

Council on Foreign Relations - Peace, Conflict, and Covid-19

KPMG – Covid-19 tax developments

European Council on Foreign Relations - European solidarity tracker

Westminster Foundation for Democracy - Pandemic Democracy Tracker

ACAPS - Covid-19 ACAPS Resources

ReliefWeb – Covid-19 Global Hub

The Economist – Covid-19 news

IPA - RECOVR Research Hub

PODCASTS & VIDEOS

Title/URL	Name of author; publisher; publication type	Summary
Mick Moore on COVID-19 and taxation in Africa	United Nations University; Video	Tax after the pandemic: can Africa raise the revenue it needs? In this video, Mick Moore discusses post-C19 public revenue mobilisation, and Milly Nalukwago focusses on tax and Uganda's Revenue Authority.
Caught in shifting tides: ASEAN, Australia and the geopolitics of the South China Sea	IISS; Podcast	What does China's activity in the South China Sea means for ASEAN, Australia, the US and Europe? Meia Nouwens, Lynn Kuok and Euan Graham discuss China's activity in the South China Sea, the implications for ASEAN, Australia, the US and Europe, and whether such actions are indicative of shifting geopolitical power dynamics.
The Debate on Sex Trafficking and Prostitution	CFR; Video	How is C19 affecting sex trafficking and prostitution? Catharine MacKinnon, Elizabeth Long and James Barr Ames discuss prostitution and sex trafficking in the time of C19, with the UN warning that C19 has exacerbated the many risks to those harmed in the sex industry.
How to Vote During a Pandemic	CFR; Video	How to vote during C19? This short video explains mail-in voting, and safe and secure elections during C19.
Are Democracies Handling COVID-19 Better Than Authoritarian Countries?	Asia Society; Podcast	Are democracies handling covid-19 better than authoritarian countries? Fareed Zakaria and Kevin Rudd discuss whether certain kinds of governments have been more effective in managing C19, C19 policy responses, and the murder of George Floyd.

EVENTS

24 June - 15:00 – 16:30 (GMT) – The New Authoritarianism: COVID-19 and the challenges facing democracy, LSE – This event explores the rise of anti-democratic forces around the world and in the UK that started pre-C19 and presents findings from a forthcoming paper that argues that a new state-dependent capitalism is coalescing in response to C19 that fits organically with the agenda of authoritarian populists.

29 June - Corruption, civil society and Covid-19: Digital empowerment for social accountability, U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre – This event explores the role that digital tools and platforms can play in supporting civil society and donors in this time of social distancing. Through a dialogue between the different actors involved, and the review of case-studies, they will explore how donors can tap into citizens as resource for digital monitoring.

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Methodology

Due to the emerging nature of the Covid-19 crisis, this rapid weekly summary includes blogs, and news articles, in addition to policy and academic literature. The sources included are found through searches of Google Scholar, Google, and ReliefWeb with the keywords:

> ("COVID-19" OR "coronavirus") AND ("developing countries" OR "Africa" OR "Asia" OR "Middle East" OR "Latin America" OR "Pacific") AND ("conflict" OR "peace" OR "violence" OR "resilience" OR "fragility") OR ("authoritarian*" OR "democra*" OR "corrupt*" OR "transparency" OR "state legitimacy" OR "non-state actors" OR "state capacity" OR "state authority" OR "politic*" OR "state institutions")

The searches are restricted to articles published in the previous seven days, in English. This is complemented by: a focussed Twitter search (using just the pages of a small selection of research organisations, and key scholars/thinkers, including those funded by the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID)); and through email recommendations from DFID advisors and leading experts. This is trial and error approach, which will be refined and changed over the coming weeks. If you have literature to include in the weekly summary, please email – s.herbert@bham.ac.uk

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About this report