Revisiting Conflict, Exclusion and Governance

INDICATORS FOR GOAL 16 CRITICAL ADDITIONS REQUIRED

BY
DR. MAZHER HUSSAIN

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COVA HYDERABAD, INDIA

Some Background Facts:

- × 72 countries were involved in Second World War
- × 87 countries experienced terrorist incidences in 2013
- 54 countries today have groups and communities engaged in active armed conflicts with each other or with the state.
- End of Second World War saw 14.9 million (1.49 crore) soldiers killed
- Ongoing armed conflicts in different countries have already claimed 10. 2 million (1.02 crore) lives – mostly civilians- and this seems to be just the beginning.

Some Background Facts:

- There are more refugees due to conflicts in the world today than even during the Second World War
- Number of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) exceeded 59.5 million by end 2014
- up from 51.2 million in end 2013
- On an average, 32,200 individuals were forced to flee their homes each day at the end of 2013
- × 11.75 million in a year
- × Half of them children mostly travelling alone
- The cost of supporting refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) has increased by 267 percent since 2008 to \$128 billion in 2014

Still Goal 16 has no mention whatsoever of Refugees-That could provide the most direct and measurable indicator-Either in its Indicators or Targets

Some Background Facts:

- Impact of violence on the global economy in 2014 reached a whopping USD 14.3 trillion or 13.4 per cent of global GDP,
- Equivalent to the combined economies of Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom
- The cost of violence to India's economy in 2014 was \$342 bn
- Equivalent to 4.7 per cent of India's GDP or USD 273 per person or Rs. 1458 per person per month
- Pakistan suffered economic losses of USD 107 bn due to terrorism during 2014
- Intensity of conflicts increasing dramatically with the number of people killed rising to 180,000 in 2014 from 49,000 in 2010.
 - Goal 16 has no indicators and targets on consideration of cost of conflicts and its reduction. The most quantifiable of indicators

Understanding Current Conflicts

- All this when the last formal war that the world witnessed was in 1991
- When US led coalition forces clashed with Iraqi army after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq
- Ever since, it has only been conflict between communities along sectarian lines
- Or between armed forces and armed groups
- No formal war between armies of two or more countries.

The Third World War:

- The scale, spread and devastation by violence we are experiencing today is fast approaching the dimensions of World Wars
- Nobody is realizing that the world seems to be already in the middle of the Third World War
- Being fought on the basis of identity / sectarian differences
- Mostly on issue of access to resources
- Between communities or between armed forces and communities
- At times instigated and supported by other countries
- Even though there is no formal declaration of war between countries.
- Important to realize and recognize that the grammar and dynamics of "war" as a conflict between countries involving armies has changed
- The apparently unconnected clashes and conflicts being fought on sectarian lines in different locations scattered across the globe
- Between communities or between armies and armed groups
- Are generating as much violence and devastation as any traditional war involving armies

Understanding Current Conflicts

- But are all these clashes and conflicts indeed as unconnected as they appear?
- Why is it that clashes on grounds of identity and Sectarian considerations are on the upsurge across the world?
- Is there any relationship with access to resources?
- Why are democratic societies experiencing polarisation along sectarian lines and increase in conflict?
- Why is it that these sectarian conflicts have increased during the last 25 to 30 years and more and more seem to be getting added in new locations with each passing year?

Are the Indicators being suggested for Goal 16 able to capture and address the issue of sectarianism and its implications for peace detailed above?

Growth-Inequality Paradox

- Economists and governments are privileging growth over equality
- General presumption: growth would automatically lead to equality
- Records show that higher growth need not necessarily lead to greater equality
- During 2007 to 2012 when India had an average GDP growth of 7.9%
- India's ranking on the Human Development Index (HDI) slid from 127 in 2005 to 134 in 2009
- In 2009 for the first time in history, four Indians joined the list of ten richest persons in the world,
- In the same year, three out of every ten poorest persons in the world were also Indians
- Governments are focused only on estimation of GDP and do not factor in issues of equality, human development, implications for peace and sustainability while assessing growth
- * As vast majority of people are getting excluded
- Facing displacement, deprivations and increasing destitution
- Leading to ever increasing social conflicts
- That are degenerating into armed violence.

Need for Growth, Equity, Conflict and Sustainability (GECS) Audit

- To have a growth that is sustainable, equitable and contributes to promotion of greater peace
- It is necessary to evolve and adopt a "Composite Tool"
- That could measure economic growth, income inequity, social development, conflict assessment and a sustainable development matrix.
- This Composite Tool could be designated as Growth, Equity, Conflict and Sustainability Audit- GECS Audit.
- Formulation of Parameters for GECS Audit and their application for all development processes could ensure peace and sustainability

Goal 16 has no indicators to measure inequity induced by development-One of the key factors responsible for the generation of social and sectarian conflicts

For details on GECS Audit Please see the article of the author titled "Can G 20 Summit Deliver" published in EPW Web Edition dated 7th September 2013

Degeneration of Democracy:

From Ensuring Citizenship Entitlements to Securing Group Privileges

- All democratic countries are Increasingly tending towards Majoritarianism
- Paradigm of governance is shifting from equal entitlements of all citisens irrespective of race, gender, creed, colour, language etc to demands for special / extra privileges for specific groups
- * Formulation of state policies and apportioning of public resources is increasingly depending on voting strengths of specific groups and not on principles of equality and justice.
- This is degenerating democracy to a matter of winning elections
- And transforming political process in democratic and tother societies From politics of Ideology to Politics of Identity
- This is leading to Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Exclusion of Groups-Especially Minorities, Marginalised Women and handicapped
- * As a result, generation of multiplicity of conflicts is being witnessed
- Though Goal 16 talks of voting and participation, there is no mention of assessment of the guarantee of entitlements for citizens as against privileges for groups in different countries and societies

INDICATORS FOR GOAL 16

Critical Additions Required

- Inclusion of Refugees and IDPs as an indicator-16. 1.3
- Equitable Distribution- Measurement of wealth distribution 16. 10. 3
- Non Sectarian Polity- Political- Economic- Social-Cultural- 16.7.3
- Measuring costs of conflicts: Defense-Policing-Non State Actors- Disruptions and Damages-16.4.2
- GEPS AUDIT- Could also serve as Access to Justice Index

INDICATORS FOR GOAL 16

Conclusion:

- Important but many peripheral issues like corruption, illicit financial flows, organised crime etc considered
- Core Concerns emerging from
- Sectarian politics like:
 - Number of Refugees
- Cost of ConflictsEquity
- Sustainability
- Nature of Democracy
- Are Totally Ignored