

# Dimensions of fragility

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# Defining fragility

- No precise definition possible.
- Term itself questionable.
- Here will:
  - Briefly review alternative definitions
  - Propose three fold definition
  - Consider connections between three aspects
  - Discuss some policy issues

# Definitions proposed

- DFID: ‘the government cannot or will not deliver core functions to the majority of its people, including the poor’ [core functions include service entitlements, justice and security]
- Canada’s Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project (CIFP) : ‘lack the *functional authority* to provide basic security within their borders, the *institutional capacity* to provide basic social needs for their populations, and/or the *political legitimacy* to effectively represent their citizens at home or abroad’ (CIFP 2006).
- World Bank ‘low-income countries under stress’ (LICUS). ‘LICUS are fragile states characterised by a debilitating combination of weak governance, policies and institutions, indicated by ranking among the lowest (<3) on the country policies and institutional performance assessment (CPIA),’<sub>3</sub>

# Proposed three fold definition:

1. Authority failure
2. Service failure
3. Legitimacy failure

## Differentiating:

- Failing countries and at risk of failure
- Absolute failure and progressive failure

# Authority failure: where state lacks the authority to protect its citizens from violence of various kinds:

- Significant organised political violence. E.g. Iraq and Afghanistan.
- The state authority does not extend to a significant portion of the country. Somalia, Afghanistan, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sri Lanka.
- Periodic political or communal violence causing deaths and destruction; e.g. Nigeria or Indonesia in immediate post-New Order period.
- Very high levels of criminality with almost no state action to control it nor a working justice system – Guatemala or Haiti examples.

*Service failures* :state fails to ensure access to basic services to all citizens

- Criteria, comprehensive
  - Health services
  - Basic education
  - Water and sanitation
  - Basic transport and energy infrastructure
  - Reduction in income poverty:

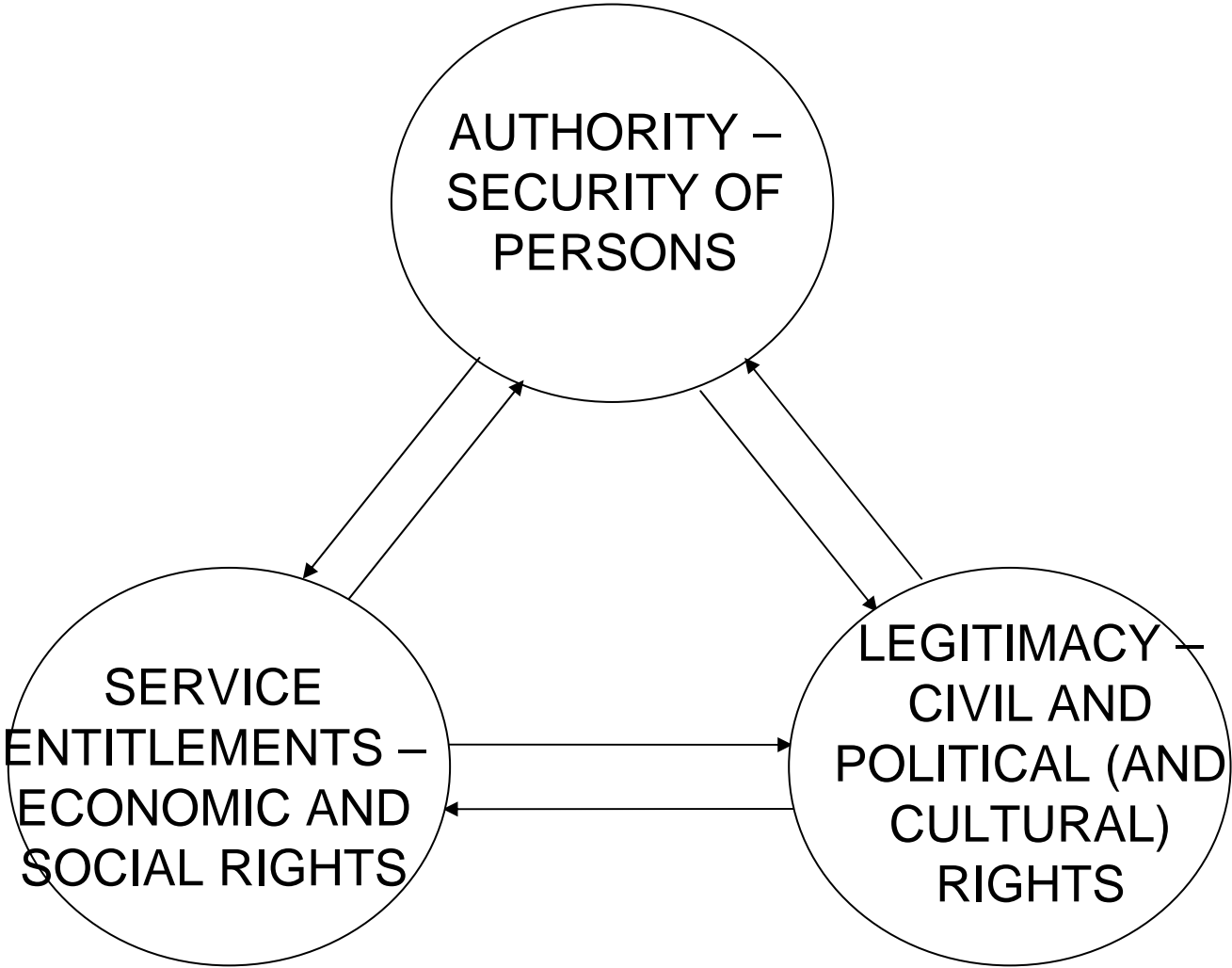
## *Legitimacy failures* : characteristics

- No democracy (i.e. no free, fair and regular elections).
- A strong role for the military.
- Acquisition of power by force.
- Suppression of opposition
- Control of media
- Exclusion of significant groups of the population from power.
- Absence of civil and political liberties, with arbitrary arrest, absence of free speech etc.

# Comparison of existing donor definitions of fragility

Proposed definition	A state of actual failure of high risk of failure with respect to:		
	Authority	Service entitlements	Legitimacy
<b>DFID</b>	Instrumental for service entitlements	Prime emphasis	Related to emphasis on 'justice'
<b>CIDA</b>	Intrinsic aspect	Emphasises institutional capacity	Intrinsic aspect
<b>World Bank</b>	Emphasis on high conflict risk	Emphasis on institutional capacity	Includes voice and accountability

# Causal connections



# Causal connections

- Lack of authority – impedes service delivery; can imply lack of legitimacy
- Lack of services delivery, especially with horizontal inequalities threatens authority; and legitimacy.
- Lack of legitimacy, again especially with political exclusion (political HIs) may threaten authority.

# Empirical interpretation

- Authority
  - Failure = civil war
  - Risk of failure = serious violence.
- Service delivery
  - Absolute Failure = Countries falling two standard deviations below average performance of all countries with a GDP per capita of US\$1,500 or less (2000 purchasing power parity).
  - Absolute at risk: falling one standard deviation below.
  - Progressive failure: one or two standard deviations below regression for all countries.
- Legitimacy
  - Democracy index from Polity IV, again absolute and [progressive; and failure and at risk].

# Empirical results

- 0 countries fail on 3 dimensions
- 5 countries fail on 2 dimensions (Burundi; Congo, Dem. Rep.; Iraq; Cambodia; Saudi Arabia)
- 2 at risk on 3 dimensions (Uganda; Congo Re).
- 5 at risk on 2 dimension (Uganda; Gambia; Cameroon; Rwanda; Angola).
- 43 fail on 1 dimension.
- 39 at risk on 1 dimension.

## Kendall's tau-b correlations between dimensions of fragility

	Authority	Service entitlements (abs.)	Service entitlements (prog.)	Legitimacy (abs.)
Authority	-			
Service (absolute)	0.266	-		
Service (progressive)	0.146	0.616	-	
Legitimacy (absolute)	-0.011	-0.145	0.057	-
Legitimacy (progressive)	-0.109	-0.199	0.088	0.767

# Correlations

- High correlation between absolute and progressive services.
- And absolute and progressive legitimacy
- Some correlation – lowish – between authority and services.
- Negative between legitimacy and authority and legitimacy and services delivery.

# Fragility and major development approaches

Relationship to fragility	<b>Authority</b>	<b>Services</b>	<b>Legitimate Governance</b>
Human Rights failure= <b>strong</b>	Failures on authority = failures with respect to the 'security of persons'.	Failures on economic and social rights = failures on service access	Failures on civil and political rights = lack of legitimacy
Horizontal Inequalities= <b>fairly strong</b>	Significant: His raise risk of conflict	Significant HIs = failed service entitlements; fragility may occur without significant HIs,	Significant political HIs imply lack of legitimacy.
MDGs = <b>modest</b>	Probable connection with conflict due to failure of social contract	Failures on MDGs imply service failures -- service failures may still occur with realisation of MDGs	Not relevant

# Policy implications?

- Need to identify source of weakness.
- Authority failure serious because of connection with service delivery.
- HIs important aspect because of connection with service, authority and poss. Legitimacy.
- Legitimacy ('democracy') may be luxury because possible negative impact on other dimensions.

# Problems/Obstacles

- Entrenched political interests (Guatemala).
- Military and police autonomy, plus govt. sponsored militia (Sudan; East Timor; Colombia).
- Lack of any accepted central authority (Afghanistan; Somalia)
- Low capacity.
- HR approach sounds best: but can it be implemented; how? Best can be enemy of the good. In a way, outcome of success as much as cause

# HR Approach

- Desirable outcome
- But what does it mean in practice?
  - HRs have to be incorporated into local norms
  - Into constitution, legal system, monitoring
  - To be claimed and reclaimed [Some backward movement in developed countries]