

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

United Nations Development Program is the largest development agency and also the backbone and coordinator of the United Nations system. As the UN global development network, UNDP plays a big role in advocating, working, assisting, and connecting for change to knowledge, experience, and resources for the lives of human being. This entity also offers global perspective and local insight of development in order to empower the lives of the people and build resilient nations that can resist the crisis, and push the kind of growth that can improve the quality of life for everyone. (United Nations Development Programme, 2017)

Since the world is going through an unpredictable changes and transition where global balance of power is shifting, the violent and conflict tensions are getting higher, The marginalize persons are struggling for their voices, competition is undeniable, some people are vulnerable to a crisis and even collapse, and the threat of climate change is destructed the needs of the future and challenge the sustainability of tomorrow particularly for the poor. As a responsibility toward those issues, UNDP had divided their role and strategic into three main focuses that are sustainable development, democratic governance and peacebuilding, and climate and disaster resilience (United Nations Development Programme, 2017)

On September 2015, the World leaders had a rare opportunity to shift the world onto a path of inclusive, sustainable and resilient development. At the Sustainable Development Summit on September 25th, 2015, the United Nations member States adopted the post-2015 development agenda, which included a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to end the problems of poverty, fight the inequality and injustice, and tackle climate change by 2030, where each goal has specific targets to be achieved over the next 15 years. (United Nations, 2015)

I might say this new agenda is a perfect plan from what we face today to something that we expect in the future. This could be one of the most ambitious and holistic development plans in the history because it requires many actors involved and works hand in hand for the targets, where it is expected to be implemented and adopted in all countries refers to their national sustainable development strategy. In this agenda, UNDP works to promotes an integrated approach that can handle the multidimensional issues such as poverty, inequality and exclusion, and sustainability. Provides a friendly environment for the groups that are most vulnerable and excluded from the working area of the national strategic plan to get the access to opportunities. The last is to strengthen the sustainable development elements on economic, social, and environmental standpoints, while also enhancing knowledge, skills, and production of technologies to reduce the risks of development and sustain development gains.

Another issue that is essential to be addressed is the threats of climate change and disasters. UNDP sees this issue as one of the most destructive for the development. If it is not put into an account to be tackle

down, it could be a serious nightmare for the future generations. As the ground step, UNDP tries to support all actors are enabled to protect against losses and active simultaneously boost their economic growth, create jobs and livelihoods, strengthen access to health and education, and ensure that no one is left behind by building resilience and ensuring that all development is risk-informed (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development features for the first time a universally agreed goal for achieving peaceful, just and inclusive societies. UNDP sees Goal 16 not only as an enabler for achieving all the 17 SDGs but also as a Goal that is worthwhile achieving in itself. For the success of this goal and target, UNDP will support the peaceful resolution of conflicts and inclusive participation, promote the rule of law and access to justice, citizen security and human rights, assist the governments in strengthening their public institutions, and help countries reduce corruption (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

To ensure those three main focuses are work on point, UNDP collaborate directly with 177 UN countries as a groundbreaker to find the solution and strategy of global and national development challenges for the successful of the design, policy adoption, and implementation of the goals of post-2015 development agenda in all countries especially in developing and country-affected by conflict. UNDP helps these countries for transformational change that leads to the improvements in people's lives. UNDP provides support to governments to integrate the SDGs into their national development plans and policies for an inclusive sustainable growth.

Hence the goal toward peace, just, and inclusive society just became one of the focus for the development of the new agenda. Some people might have an argument on how this entity work in implementing this goal to achieve the ideal target in the country that affected by conflict, or on how they can assist the government to rebuild their nation from the impact of the internal or external conflict toward the sustainable national development.

Historically, war, conflict, and violent extremism have become the main challenges for the development over time. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a downward trend in such deaths. However starting from 2000 to 2017 conflicts has counted more than 50.000 deaths with the escalation of conflict and extreme violence in the Syrian Arab Republic (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

Incidents of violent extremism and conflict that cause by civil war, internal conflict, and terrorist action are around 5,000 in 2006 to nearly 15,000 in 2014. It is also increasing in deaths since 2000 from 3,329 victims to 32,685 in 2014. In Iraq, an estimated 50,000 people have died since 2003. In 2016 more than 20,000 people died during internal conflict in Afghanistan, and more than 10,000 died in Yemen. (United Nations Development Programme, 2016, p. 37)

According to UNDP data on human development index, those countries affected by conflict have a lower development index in all indicators including human security, health outcomes, education, work and unemployment, and multidimensional poverty. The countries affected by conflict also have lower sustainability on their environment, economic, and social aspect, because violent conflict clearly

impacts on the ability of states to function effectively, and they become trapped in what seems like an endless cycle of poverty, conflict, and under-development, which affected the increases of vulnerability and fragility of the states that impede economic growth and development. UNDP has calculated economic losses from conflict are estimated at \$742 billion a year, dwarfing the \$167 billion in annual gross disbursements of official development assistance (United Nations Development Programme, 2016, p. 37). However, the costs of conflicts and violence are not limited to economic only. It is also cost the life of the people, where they are being uprooted because they lose their belongings, they are on the run, their families are broken up and too many dies. About 600 million young people live in the situation that vulnerable to the conflict with no work and little hope. Despair sometimes leads them to get involved in violent extremism. Many children and adolescents are being jailed in the refugee camp without education with serious implications for building their capabilities.

Liberia was one of the country samples that faced a long journey of civil war with cost 14 years of the citizen's rights to have their freedom and enjoy life without the threat of conflict. Hundred thousand of people died, and more than million moves as the refugee to their neighboring country. The economic was very affected by the lest capacity of the country to have even little growth due to the power struggle of the government and the opposition. The development in every aspect was such as no change at all. The 14 years of civil war was about to leads Liberia from their existence as a sovereign state.

Picture 1.1 Map of Liberia



Source: Nations Online - "Map of Liberia". *Published online at nationsonline.org*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nationsonline.org/onenworld/map/liberia-map.htm> [online source]

The emergence of 14 years of civil war first occurs after a native Liberian Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe elected as the president of the country overthrew the previous coup d'etat, president Tolbert. During his period, Sergeant Doe deactivates the constitution and assumed full power for his reign. Since then, human suffering, atrocities, massive destruction of the infrastructure, and economic collapse has brought Liberia into political turmoil and civil war. (Global Security, 2011)

In 1989, the head of the party of National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Charles Taylor came to prominence to uprising voices against the government of Sergeant Doe. The NPFL was a trained rebel in Libya, which gained support from the Liberian neighboring state and a large section of Doe's regime opposition to against the reign of President Sergeant Doe (Global Security, 2011). No need more time, the

NPFL seized their power and gained much support from Liberians because of the repressive system of Doe's regime and his government.

To respond to the rebel group led by Charles Taylor, President Sergeant Doe sent the military troops and set up a provincial security force in Nimba County to counter the insurgency. However, the troops had indiscriminately killed the noncombatants that estimated 200 people died. The NPFL rebel group had also targeted to kill the civilians which were considered as supporters of Doe's government and recruited the young people to join his rebel group against Doe's government.

At the very beginning, the conflict was not about the seeking of power dominance from one tribe toward other tribes but rather attempted to re-establish the Americo-Liberians to dominate the political force in Liberia. Due to the conflict circumstances, it turned out the tribes as a prominent part of the conflict where one tribe against another tribe. Ceasefire and solution had never been made, but the conflict continued without an end. It even became more complex where two factions split into seven factions, including the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), the United Liberation Movement with two wings referred to as ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K, the Liberia Peace Council, NPFL-CRC, the Lofa Defense Force and remnants of the Armed Forces of Liberia loyal to former president Samuel K. Doe (Vinck & Pham, *The First Phase of the Civil War: 1989-1997*, 2011).

The escalation of conflict into a civil war threatened Liberia to return to a country of brutality and terror. Africa Watch had monitors that the situation in Liberia at that time is reflected as a state of human rights disaster. In 1996, Taylor and his party

seemed to be a dominant actor of the civil war by winning the election. However, the new opposition from democracy front Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) were very active to oust President Taylor from his power. The war continued, both factions were massively recruited the underaged soldiers. A dozen of a young man was forcefully conscripted and took them to the military camp where they had been trained before sent to the battle zone. By 2003 the opposition had taken over the control of west and northwest Liberia, with the backing of Guinea, Sierra Leone, and to some extent the United States. (Vinck & Pham, *The Second Phase of the Civil War: 1999–2003*, 2011)

The 14 years of civil war finally ended after president Taylor resign from his power on August 2003 due to much international pressure. On August 18, 2003, Taylor's regime signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with both opposition faction from democracy front, and with civil society representatives in Accra, Ghana, and the National Transitional Government of Liberia establishment which leading to Liberia's elections in 2005 that formally ended the conflict. (Vinck & Pham, *The Second Phase of the Civil War: 1999–2003*, 2011)

Years of conflict have had highly destructive consequences for the development and humanitarian condition in Liberia, where the United Nations World Human Development Index currently ranked 174 out of 175 countries which measure health, living conditions, infrastructure, economy, and security.

Liberia's civil war between 1989 and 2003 left big trauma for the whole Liberian where hundreds of thousands people dead, and more than million were

affected by the devastating violence throughout the country. Since President Sirleaf's government elected as a president in 2006, good progress has been made, but various challenges remain since almost all aspects of the state and people's lives were destroyed. One of the most serious issue to be solved is the challenges of post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction including a legitimate and effective government, security and justice reforms, and economic and social revitalization, hence these aspects are the key for the sustainable development of a country. (Gariba, 2011)

That situation left Liberia as one of the country that has low human development index at all level of development aspect. According to the data from UNDP Human Development Index report from 1990-2015, Liberia recorded in the rank 177 of country HDI. During the happening of the civil war in 1989-2003, Liberia has a zero HDI during the period of civil war in 1990-1999, but it slowdown reached the point 0.386 in the three years before the civil war end during 2000-2003.

Table 1 1.1 Liberia Human Development Index 1990-2000

HDI rank	Country	Human Development Index (HDI)							Change in HDI rank		Average annual HDI growth (%)			
		Value							2010-2015	1990-2000	2010-2015			
		1990	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014			2015	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2015
174	Ethiopia	-	0.283	0.411	0.422	0.427	0.435	0.441	0.448	1	-	3.79	1.71	-
175	Mali	0.222	0.2297	0.434	0.411	0.421	0.430	0.438	0.442	4	2.94	3.14	1.92	2.80
176	Congo (Democratic Republic of the)	0.356	0.331	0.388	0.407	0.412	0.419	0.425	0.435	4	-0.73	1.99	1.79	0.81
177	Liberia	-	0.386	0.436	0.416	0.419	0.425	0.427	0.427	0	-	0.51	1.09	-
178	Guinea-Bissau	-	-	0.410	0.416	0.415	0.419	0.421	0.424	-2	-	-	0.97	-

Source: UNDP Human Development Index - "Trends in the Human Development Index 1990-2015". *Published online at hdr.undp.org*. Retrieved from: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/trends> [online source]

The writer takes this issue very essential to be discussed in my thesis because, in post-conflict societies, managing expectations in a changing environment remains a complex endeavor. In one hand,

the needs are enormous and urgent; on the other, because of limited resources and weak institutions, it is hard to achieve immediate results on the pressing needs. This requires various actors including the global governance to get involved actively in transforming the situation of post 14 years civil war in Liberia. How they are being empowered and developed by the existence of UNDP will be the important point of the discussion. This thesis will also lead the reader to understand why global governance is crucial to assist the country in the post-conflict situation, and in which aspect their involvement is vital to plays the role for the achievement of peace, just, and inclusive society.

A. Research Question

Based on the background of the problem explained above, a research question was made: *“How is the role of United Nations Development Programme in advancing the peacebuilding, social transformation, and development process after effects of a conflict in Liberia?”*

B. Purpose of Research

This thesis is aimed to explain that UNDP’s role is essential in assisting the government to seize the sustainable development goals number 16 in the country affected by the conflict with the struggle of Liberia in rebuilding their nation from 14 years of civil war as the study case, by applying such relevance theory and concept that is commonly known in international relations.

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research question, I will use one concept and one theory that expected to explain the responsibility of UNDP as the global governance for development network and explain factors that cause peace, just, and inclusive society by showing the capacity and role of UNDP in each aspect. This two ways of explanation are also expected to deliver a systematic cause and effect of the issue.

1. Global Governance

Global Governance is one of the controversial concepts in international relations. Since two decades ago where Global Governance mainly focused on political theory overview, currently it changing a lot to any discipline. This transformation leads to the essential role of the international institution in tackling the massive issues in the world order. Global Governance is commonly known as a technique, institutions, rules, norms, and legal arrangements that used to manage relations between states and to facilitate cooperative action across various issue-areas (Martin Griffiths, Terry O'Callaghan, 2002, pp. 124-126). In the current international context, governance is carried out in the name of the global polity by both governmental and non-governmental organizations.

According to Pattberg and Dingwerth, Global Governance is a concept that strongly related to high politic including legitimacy authority, democracy, and poverty reduction programmes. In addition, Pattberg and Dingwerth divide Global Governance into two major parts, normative and analytical uses. (UK Essays, 2013)

Normative use it is explained as a political programme that captures a vision of how the actors of world order should address the most pressing global problem. It emphasizes that the Global Governance focuses on political struggle, social transformation, democracy, power and rule of law. While the analytical use takes the level of implementation as one of the essential things for global governance. It emphasizes on the important and necessary of global governance to get involved in finding a solution of problems in state, regional, and international levels.

J. Whitman on his book *The Fundamentals of Global Governance* argues that global governance suffices to outline the scope of global governance as an efforts to bring more systematic arrangement and reliability to social and political issues that are beyond the capacity of the state to address individually (Whitman, 2009). There are many complex and difficult issues to be dealt with by a single state or even a coalition of states. Consequently, the state should be subordinate to evolving supranational institutions whose power should increase at the expense of the sovereign state. In another word, individual states may not alone solve the existing or emerging humanitarian and political problems. Therefore global governance can be one of the tool or instrument to assist the state in managing the emerging problems.

To prove how important UNDP as global governance for the global development network in the after effects challenges of the countries affected by conflict where in this case Liberia as my focus country of research, I will make short elaboration

by using both normative and analytical uses of global governance into the following:

a. Normative used

Liberia experienced 14 years of bloodiest civil war which claimed the lives of 200,000 Liberian and displaced more than a million others into refugee camps in the neighborhood countries (Global Security, 2011). The main cause of the war was about the political power of the elected president with the opposition. Master Sergeant Samuel Doe was elected as the president of Liberia in 1985. Two years before the next election scheduled in 1991, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor begins an uprising against the government and Sergeant Samuel Doe being executed by the member of NPFL on 1990. In 1997 after years of chaotic, Taylor win the presidential election. However, after three years the stability remains elusive. Government reports first attacks by rebels who identify themselves as Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). (BBC, 2017) I identify there was a lack of democratic governance and low development growth during the period.

Normative role of UNDP in Liberia seeks to strengthen good governance, build a democratic society and the rule of law following 14-years of civil conflict in which Liberia's political, social, and economic structures and systems collapsed. UNDP supports the Government of Liberia, among others, to

re-establish civil authority and the rule of law across the country, improving the efficiency and accountability of the public sector as well as reduce corrupt practices in public service. UNDP supports a more accountable and efficient government, together with a public sector that delivers quality services, while advocating for reforms and institutional capacity development in Liberia.

By far UNDP progress A National Policy on Decentralization launched and a costed Decentralization Implementation Plan formulated. A Local Government Act drafted for submission to the Presidency and onward submission to the Legislature for enactment. Over 200 local government officials trained in leadership, procurement, financial management. This has helped improve the delivery of services at the local government level. Support from the Elections Basket Fund to 95 women's organizations and 419 women representing 17 political parties, helped enhance their confidence to contest key political positions and enhanced their participation in voters' registration. As a result, over 100 women participated in the primaries of their various political parties to gain seats in the Presidential and Legislative elections. As a result of support to the elections process through the Elections Basket Fund managed by UNDP, 1.8 million voters registered and 71.6% participated in the 2011 Presidential and Legislative elections in Liberia. Statistics

from the National Elections Commission showed that an impressive 49% of women participated. (UNDP Liberia, 2016)

b. Analytical Used

After the last civil war in 1997-2003 in the period of president Charles Taylor, Liberia faces a lot of problems including economic, environment, energy, peace, and politic. UNDP continues to be one of the leading agencies providing interventions for the sustainable management of Liberia's natural and environmental resources through many different tailored projects and activities. However, the support has tended to be emergency-focused in nature rather than longer-term strategic aims. Also given the enormity of needs in the sector, UNDP's support has been broad rather than focused resulting in small islands of successes.

UNDP with The Justice and Security program seeks to support the Government of Liberia through the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) and the Judiciary to reform and strengthen security and justice institutions including the Liberia National Police (LNP), Bureau for Immigration and Naturalization (BIN) and the Bureau for Corrections and Rehabilitation (BCR) to provide effective services to Liberians. With the Agenda for Transformation (AfT), the goal of the Government is not only to further growth but to also ensure that it can be sustained and ultimately lead to a more inclusive

society. (UNDP Liberia, 2016) Thus, the strategy encompasses economic growth but also inclusion, equity, justice, peace, reconciliation, and human development.

2. Theory of Peace as Freedom

This theory formulated by Jon Barnett from School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne. This theory merges some of the most useful aspects of both Johan Galtung's theory of peace as the absence of violence and Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom. It is a view that merges peace and development into a single framework. (Barnett, 2008)

Theory of Peace as freedom suggests that the means and ends of peace and development practices should be to ensure the six factors which are the equitable distribution of economic opportunities, political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security and freedom from direct violence. It is more than defining peace as the opposite of violence and/or the absence of war but rather it close meaning to human security to all people in the notion, where focusing more towards freedom from fear and want are central tenets, and it also has strong synergies with a rights-based approach to peace and development.

This theory argues that peace is more or less present based on the degree to which each factor is present and the degree to which they are collectively present. The peace as freedom view considers both agents and structures where much more focusing on partial structures that can create freedoms and guarantee opportunities principally.

In another hand, it means a concern for the state wherein this thesis uphold the role of UNDP in realizing the relationship between the six factors with the development and peace framework in Liberia.

Through this thesis, later on, in chapter IV the writer will elaborate the six factors of development for the achievement of peace, just, and inclusive society. This will focus more on how the UNDP works can adjust to the assisting and implementing process of those factors in the country affected by conflict. Based on the document studies, the data shows that UNDP has done all factors assistance as one of their strategy towards peace stability in Liberia after the 14 years of conflict.

Before I going through the six factors, here I will provide the basic aspects on where the global governance suppose to have a strategic role for the sustainable development which is social, environment, and an economic aspect where those three aspects have a strong correlation with the development of explanation and discussion of the six factors from the theory of peace as freedom later on.

In the social element included global governance as one of the key actors for the development in the sustainable development era where global governance expects to provide an empowerment program for the society as well as act as a consultant in framing the development along with the government. In Liberia, UNDP has provided support to the ministries, institutions, agencies, and civil society organization to increase the transparency and accountability at the

government level. UNDP also seize an empowerment program for the youth and women to have a role in the national development. (UNDP Liberia, 2016)

The post-conflict environment in Liberia is being affected by a number of factors ranging from shifting cultivation, soil erosion, unregulated timber exploitation, poaching and hunting, inappropriate mining schemes, insufficient public education and awareness, inadequate law enforcement, and insufficient training in biodiversity management during the 14 years of conflict (UNDP Liberia, 2016). Poor management and over-exploitation of the natural resources of Liberia helped fueled the 14 years civil conflict in the Country where the effects were the potential sources of the increasing level of poverty and threatening the country's biodiversity. There is a direct correlation between the environment and security and the environment and development. UNDP has helped the Liberian in implementing of two pilot project in solar energy technology and provide training to maintain the facilities. Environmental field offices established in the counties to strengthen environmental awareness activities. Financial support also provides to train about 48 people as inspectors for the environment, where those trained inspectors are expected to strengthen their capacity for environmental protection and rehabilitation assigned across the country. (UNDP Liberia, 2016)

Given Liberia's transition from early recovery to development, it is imperative that the government has access to sound economic and policy management advice, good statistical data and analysis and tools to design and implement

appropriate policies and programmes that will result in sustained but inclusive economic growth. In this part, UNDP focused on reviewing the necessary policy instrument and developing strategies to support the national economic development which enable private sector development and employment creation. UNDP has also assisted the production of baseline data and promotes human development by building the national capacities to monitor the progress. (UNDP Liberia, 2016)

D. Research Argument

Based on the background and the short analysis in the theoretical framework on the important role of UNDP in realizing peace, just, and inclusive society of sustainable development goals number 16 in Liberia after effect conflict, here I come to a point of argument:

- a. As the biggest global development network, UNDP plays a big role both normative and analytical used in the level of low and high political issues in order to assist and support to low-capacity countries on rebuilding their nation toward peace, just, and inclusive society for sustainable development after conflict.
- b. UNDP can successfully help the government of Liberia in advancing the achievement of sustainable peace, social transformation, and development of Liberia's post-conflict since they has the capacity with huge contribution of material, program, project, financial, link and partnership at all aspect of human and peace development.

E. Methodology of Research

This research is expected to explain why the involvement of UNDP can affect the peacebuilding, social transformation, and development process in Liberia by showing their important role as a groundbreaker for national development. To make sure the objective of this research is well achieved and well understood by the readers, I will explain it by using exploratory and explanatory methods through a common theory and concept. The data collection techniques used in this research were document studies done by collecting secondary data, in this case, the information is derived from several relevant published materials such as a report, journal, news in the United Nations, and its related agencies website. I will also collect the data from another researcher as the standard of my research objectives.

F. Research Scope

The writer sees that the role of global governance in countries affected by conflict such Liberia, can bring significant progress for peace, just, and inclusive society and good progress for national development. In accordance with that point, in this research, I will focus on the approach, strategy, and role of UNDP towards the National Sustainable Development Strategy of Liberia from 2003 until 2017.

G. Organization of Writing

In order to deliver good and systematic content to the readers, I will divide the topics into chapters where it involved each other as a united structural topic.

Chapter I: Introduction which consists of Background, Research Question, Purposes of Writing

Theoretical Framework, Research Argument, Research Scope, Methodology of Research, and Organization of Writing).

Chapter II: Explain the track record of UNDP's involvement in advancing the peacebuilding, social transformation, and development process in countries affected by conflict

Chapter III: Explain the situation in Liberia after 14 years of conflict in various aspect, and the challenges for the government capacities towards the process of conflict resolution, inclusive society, and the re-integration for the national development planning.

Chapter IV : Analyzes and Discusses the importance of UNDP involvement on the national strategy for the realization of sustainable development goals and targets number 16 in Liberia post-conflict situation by elaborating the concept and theory with the issue, and giving the relevance data where the result is expected to answer the question why their role is crucial for the development rebuilding towards peace, just, and inclusive society after the 14 years of civil war.

Chapter V: Conclusion of the research