The Nexus of Corruption and Conflict

Workshop in the framework of the strategic partnership

between the Goethe University and the Tel Aviv University

Project Leaders

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Time and duration

12th - 13th of December, 2018

Beginn: 12 December 2018, 10am

End: 13 December 2018, 5pm

Outline

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1 Abstract

While research on the causes and effects of corruption has been booming, the interplay between corruption and conflict is only recently receiving some attention. This workshop aims to formulate a few steps towards a new common research agenda between our two partner universities. We broadly identify two research goals, which coincide with two levels of analysis of the nexus between corruption and conflicts. On the one hand, we analyse corruption as a phenomenon that rules the dynamics of conflict environments. In this sense, we aim to examine the particular interplay of corruption and conflict, meaning in our case both intrastate as well as interstate conflict. Encompassing both types of conflict allows our choice of possible case studies to be particularly rich, including not only corruption as a cause or effect of intrastate conflicts, for example in the aftermath of civil war or state failure, but also in terms of conflicts pertaining to extractive resources. On the other hand, we inquire on how and with what impact international actors deal with this vicious cycle and incorporate anti-corruption into conflict resolution or post-conflict reconstruction.

2 Topic of the workshop and motivation

The aim of this workshop is to explore the role of corruption in conflict and post-conflict environments. Increased awareness of the detrimental effects of corruption on development, as well as strategies to fight it are now a top priority in policy circles. Through its immense impact on all areas of individuals' lives, corruption helps to maintain and reproduce social inequality and injustice, ultimately also fostering more corruption. Furthermore, dishonest practices and abuses of power or authority undermine citizen's sense of moral responsibility to follow the rules in the interests of wider society (Hoffmann and Patel 2017).

While the anti-corruption governance regime is increasingly active in post-conflict reconstruction, the dynamics between corruption and conflict still remain underresearched. Endemic corruption has been described in relation to the Arab Spring as one of the partial drivers of the uprisings and corruption is also an important factor in violent conflicts (Peleg/ Mendilow 2014). The two main questions we address in our common research project are as follows:

First, we ask what are the mechanisms that influence the interplay between corruption and conflict? Second, we inquire on how international organizations address this interconnection in their work in post-conflict reconstruction and conflict resolution.

In the corruption-conflict nexus, corruption is considered not only a benchmark of a fragile state, but also as an obstacle to long-lasting peace (Chayes 2016). This position is mirrored by national officials who advocate for a view of corruption as „a first-order, national security priority" (Kerry 2016) and also argue that corruption is a radicalizer because it destroys faith in legitimate authority. Moreover, corruption is described as a destabilizing factor and ultimately a "driver of conflict" (USIP 2010, 7) because of its detrimental effects on trust in political institutions such as the government. On the other hand, conflict and post-conflict environments provide enhanced possibilities for corruption, not only because of various illegal activities such as arms trade or smuggling, possibly remnants of civil war, play a role in increasing incentives for paying off officials but also due to the opportunities of corruption in the aid allocation process (Rose-Ackerman 2008, 406-408). This workshop is aimed at both practitioners and academics researching the corruption-conflict nexus, as well as from the field of migration and international border management. At the practitioner's level, the discourse on corruption centers around the 'peacebuilders' dilemma' (USIP 2010, 18) in relation to corruption, since they may have to choose to cooperate or 'make deals' with the perpetrators of conflict in order to avoid new spurges of violence, even if this means reproducing a corrupt system of governance. Cheng and Zaum (2011, 1) refer to this phenomenon as "selling the peace".

Nevertheless, while the anti-corruption regime is increasingly active in post-conflict reconstruction, we still know very little about the role of international actors in these kinds of interventions. Corruption needs to be increasingly considered in terms of its implications for peacekeeping and peacebuilding. This workshop aims to look not only at the particular dynamics of corruption and conflict, but also at the discourse about this nexus at the practitioner's level.

While Israel is an important case for interrogating the role of corruption, particularly in terms of border management, Germany represents an important international actor involved in many anti-corruption projects all over the world, specifically also in conflict and post-conflict environments, including also the German presence at the Israeli border (GIZ 2018). To incorporate the practitioner perspective, we aim to engage also with German actors particularly

active in international anti-corruption initiatives worldwide, such as the German Foundation for International Development Cooperation (GIZ) and more specifically its Anti-corruption and Integrity working group. Furthermore, we aim to inquire on the role of corrupt transactions in the context of migration trails and displacement, while directing particular attention to entrenched corruption in international border management systems.

The main contributions in this workshop will focus on:

1. Causes, consequences and mechanisms of corruption in violent conflict or post-conflict societies:
    - Corruption and conflict potential of extractive resources and initiatives against it (e.g Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI))
    - Corruption transactions in the migration trail

2. General approaches to include anti-corruption measures in conflict resolution:
    - Conflict management in corrupt environments
    - Anti-corruption trainings for conflict resolution
    - Anti-corruption as part of international border control
    - Corruption and post-conflict reconstruction

References:
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- GIZ (2018). Palestinian territories. https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/379.html, 28 September 2018.
- Hoffmann, Leena Koni/ Patel, Raj Navanit (2017). Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions. Chatham House Report. The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Kerry, John (2016). Full remarks at the Davos World Economic Forum: http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2016/01/251663.htm, 27 March 2018.

- Peleg, Ilan/ Mendilow, Jonathan (2014). Corruption and the Arab Spring. Comparing the pre and post-spring situation. In: Jonathan Mendilow and Ilan Peleg (Eds.): Corruption in the Contemporary World: Theory, Practice and Hotspots. Lanham MD: Lexington Books. pp. 99-115.
- Rose-Ackermann, Susan (2008). Corruption and Post-conflict peacebuilding. Yale School of Law. Faculty Scholarship Series. 405-443.
- United States Institute of Peace (USIP): Making Peace Possible. http://www.usip.org/vision-mission-core-principles, 27 September 2018.

3 Workshop Program

The following presentations have been confirmed and a few more will follow:

Day 1: 12th December 2018, Wednesday

09:30am	Welcome and get to know each other, Prof. Yossi Shain, Tel Aviv University
10:00am	International organizations and their fight against corruption in post-conflict societies, Miranda Loli (PhD Candidate), Goethe University Frankfurt
11:00am	Coffee Break
11:30am	Corruption and Norms in the Middle East, Dr. Ina Kubbe, Tel Aviv University
12:30pm	Lunch
2:00pm	Ethics of Anti-Corruption Policies and Imposing Risk, Dr. Maria Paola Ferretti
3:00pm	Reflection Session
4:00pm	Anti-Corruption in Post-Conflict States: Experiences from UNODC, Sigall Horovitz, UNODC
5:00pm	Summary and Brainstorming session
7:00pm	Dinner in the Center of Tel Aviv

Day 2: 13th December 2018, Thursday

09:30am	Corruption and Migration, Master-Student from the international program on Global Migration and Policy, together with Dr. Ina Kubbe, Tel Aviv University
10:00am	Corruption and gender-based violence, Miriam Gvaram, Senior Consultant for Gender and Human Trafficking, Israeli School of Humanitarian Action
11:00am	Coffee Break
11:30am	Corruption as a security risk, Susan Pond, NATO
12:30pm	Lunch
2:00pm	The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and its role in conflict prevention, Yasemin Altintop, Master Student International Relations / Peace and Conflict Studies
3:00pm	Starbursting Session: Project Discussions
4:00pm	Summary and Future Prospects
7:00pm	Dinner in the Center of Tel Aviv

4 List of participants

- Yossi Shain, Head of the Department of Political Science, Governance and International Relations, Tel Aviv University
- Dr. Maria Paola Ferretti, Senior Research Fellow, Goethe University Frankfurt
- Miranda Loli, (PhD Candidate) Cluster of Excellence "The formation of normative orders", Goethe University Frankfurt
- Dr. Ina Kubbe (Post-Doctoral Fellow), Department of Political Science, Governance and International Relations, Tel Aviv University
- Miriam Gvaram, Senior Consultant for Gender and Human Trafficking, The Israeli School of Humanitarian Action
- Yasemin Altintop, Master Student, Peace and Conflict Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt
- Sigall Horovitz, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer, Corruption and Economic Crime Branch, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
- Susan Pond, Founder and head of the NATO Building Integrity Programme.
- Corey Gil-Shuster, The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation, Tel Aviv University, Director
- Yonit Schacher, The International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation, Tel Aviv University, Program Manager
- Rosa da Costa, Lecturer, International Program in Global Migration and Policy, Tel Aviv University
- Einav Levy, Founding Director of The Israeli School of Humanitarian Action
- Vanessa Jones, Master Student, International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation, Tel Aviv University
- Aviya McGuire, Master Student, International Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation, Tel Aviv University
- Master Student, International Program in Global Migration and Policy, Tel Aviv University
- Representative of GIZ
- Representative of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Jerusalem