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Master's Thesis of International Studies

Integrating Development with Peacebuilding

- World Bank's Engagement in Peace Activities

개발과 평화구축의 통합:
세계은행의 평화구축활동을 중심으로

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- World Bank's Engagement in Peace Activities

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Abstract

Integrating Development with Peacebuilding

- World Bank's Engagement in Peace Activities

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This paper aims to examine the background of the World Bank's efforts to build peace and the transition process of its approach. Today, linking development with peace is viewed as a natural approach. Still, the World Bank's efforts to connect peace to development seem interesting, considering its original purpose as a Multilateral Development Bank. The World Bank has developed its own peacebuilding funds since 1997 in that it has learned from historical experiences that development projects cannot succeed in developing countries without a ground for peacebuilding. This paper explains what kind of changes have occurred within the World Bank's Peacebuilding Fund as it integrated development and peace. The study claims that it is possible to understand the World Bank's attempt to integrate development and peacebuilding through three phases: reactive, proactive, and integrated engagement. The paper uses document-based review as a methodology, focusing on official reports published by the World Bank and research papers by

distinguished scholars. In conclusion, the World Bank had a limitation in its existing approaches to responding to conflict and recovering crises in turning countries in fragile and conflict situations into resilient states, and to overcome this, it has developed a holistic peacebuilding approach by consolidating its peacebuilding funds.

Keyword: Development, Peacebuilding, DP Nexus, Integrated approach, World Bank, State and Peacebuilding Fund

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List of Acronyms

CCSA	: Cross-Cutting Solution Areas
CPF	: Country Partnership Framework
CPIA	: Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CPR	: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit
DGF	: Development Grant Facility (World Bank)
FCS	: Fragile and Conflict-affected Situations
FCV	: Fragility, Conflict, and Violence
FY	: Fiscal Year
GP	: Global Practice
GPFD	: Global Program for Forced Displacement
HDP	: Humanitarian-Development-Peace
IBRD	: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	: International Development Association
LICUS	: Low-Income Countries Under Stress
LICUS TF	: Low-Income Countries Under Stress Trust Fund
MDB	: Multilateral Development Bank
MDTF	: Multi Donor Trust Fund
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	: Official Development Assistance
OED	: Operations Evaluation Department (World Bank)
PBF	: Peacebuilding Fund (UN)
PBSO	: Peacebuilding Support Office (UN)

PCF : Post-Conflict Fund (World Bank)

PCNAs : Post-Conflict Needs Assessments

PCU : Post-Conflict Unit (Former name of the CPR)

RPBAs : Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessments

RRA : Risk and Resilience Assessment

SCD : Systematic Country Diagnostic

SPF : State and Peacebuilding Fund

TF : Task Force / Trust Fund

UN : United Nations

WB : World Bank

WBG : World Bank Group

I. Introduction

1. Background and Purpose of Study

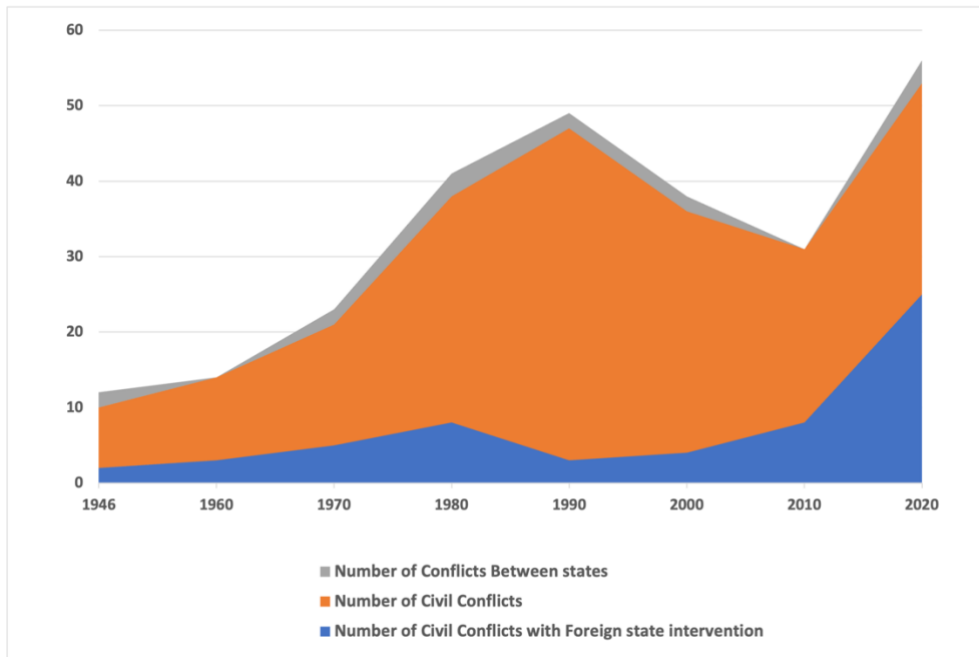
Background

As of 2020, the World Bank reported that half of the poor in the world lives in countries affected by Fragility, Conflict, and Violence(FCV) (World Bank 2020a). The number of people living close to conflict has doubled in a decade since 2007, from 99 million to 220 million. The poverty rate in countries affected by the Fragile and Conflict-affected Situations (FCS) has increased significantly from 22% in 2012 to 37% in 2019. If this trend continues, it is predicted that by 2030 two thirds of the poor around the world will belong to a country affected by FCV(World Bank 2020a). This means that poverty caused by conflict is deepening, which suggests that the international community's poverty problem cannot be improved if we don't resolve the conflict.

In this context, the importance of external intervention through international organizations in resolving conflicts and building peace has long been supported. The beginning of it can be seen as the creation of the United Nations and the World Bank after World War II. In particular, the United Nations was created to maintain international peace and security, and has largely contributed to preventive diplomacy and mediation, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, counterterrorism, and disarmament. The role of international organizations for peace mediation and

peacebuilding was limited to the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War, but it has been expanded since the post-Cold War.

[Figure 1] Number of Active State-based Conflicts, 1946 to 2020



Source: War and Peace, Our World in Data, n.d.

During the Cold War, the World Bank played a role in facilitating their development by providing loans for the reconstruction of underdeveloped countries recovering from the war. However, around the end of the Cold War, as shown in Figure 1, conflicts around the world increased dramatically, and post-conflicts activities began to increase.

Conflicts generally refer to armed conflicts, including both conflicts between states and internal conflicts. It was after the 1980s that the UN and the

World Bank began peacebuilding activities in earnest. Between 1987 and 1994, the number of resolutions passed by the United Nations Security Council more than quadrupled from the Cold War, the number of peacekeeping operations tripled, and the number of economic sanctions increased sevenfold(Doyle and Sambanis 2006). In the case of the World Bank, loans to post-conflict countries increased by more than 800 percent between 1980 and 1994, reaching 6.2 billion US dollars, covering all regions and economic sectors(World Bank 1998).

Paul Collier gave two main reasons why the conflict should be resolved from the perspective of the World Bank. The first reason is because conflicts usually have devastating consequences. This causes the opposite effect of development and exacerbates the global poverty problem that the international community is trying to solve. The second reason is that development is an effective means of preventing conflicts. The risk of conflict is much higher in low-income countries than in middle-income countries, and “it shows development failure, not development problems”(Collier et al 2003).

In the late 1990s, the World Bank became aware of the limitations of existing post-conflict intervention activities. It established Post-Conflict Units in the organization and separately created Post-Conflict Funds (PCF) in addition to existing loans to participate in peacebuilding more actively. Since PCF has undergone a gradual process of development, and in 2008, it has been integrated with the separately operated Low Income Countries Under Stress Trust Fund (LICUS TF) to create State and Peacebuilding Fund (SPF)(World Bank 1998). This study aims to

examine how the World Bank has developed its operating model for peacebuilding in the FCV context.

Purpose of Study

This paper aims to review the background and the transition process of the World Bank's participation in peacebuilding. Today, it seems that linking development and peace is a reasonable approach, but the World Bank's efforts to build peace are certainly noteworthy, considering its original focus was economic development in developing countries.

The Multilateral Development Bank (MDB), which is the essence of the World Bank, is a bank that provides development funding for developing countries to build infrastructures and grounds for economic development. MDB provides funding only to countries that are profitable and have a clear outlook for debt repayment with the financial contributions of their members, investments, and loans. The World Bank established the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) - so-called the origin of the World Bank - in 1944 to provide funds to rebuild European countries devastated by World War II.

Over time, the World Bank has gradually shifted its focus from reconstruction in European countries to development in developing countries, with a major focus on building infrastructures such as dams, electric grids, and roads. The World Bank established the International Development Association (IDA) in 1960, responding to the need to provide support to the poorest countries that could not meet the prerequisite required by the IBRD. Since then, the World Bank – the IDA and

IBRD - has contributed to the development of low-income developing countries by supporting loans, especially long-term and low-interest concessional loans.

Today, the role of the World Bank has been expanded to build peace in poor and fragile countries. However, considering its original mandate, peacebuilding was not the main purpose of the Bank. In this regard, this paper aims to figure out the following questions:

- What caused the World Bank to get involved in Peacebuilding?
- How have the World Bank peacebuilding funds changed over 24 years?

The next chapter briefly introduces the concepts of peacebuilding, Multi-Donor Trust Fund(MDTF), integrated approach, and Humanitarian-Development-Peace (HDP) nexus to explain trends in peace activities. Chapter 3 introduces the document-based qualitative research method, focusing on historical approaches. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will examine the peace activities of the World Bank from 1997 to 2020. This study aims to find out in what context development and peacebuilding are integrated by examining the World Bank's 24-year activities such as Post-Conflict Fund, LICUS Trust Fund, and State-Peacebuilding Fund.

II. Literature Review

1. The Concept of Peacebuilding

The concept of "peacebuilding" was coined about 50 years ago in the field of peace studies. Johan Galtung explained the concept in his seminal book *Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding* in 1975. He insisted that peace has a different structure from peacekeeping and peacemaking and that the structure itself on which peace is based should eliminate the cause of war and suggest alternatives even in situations where war may occur (Johan Galtung 1976). John Paul Lederach, another famous scholar in the field of peace studies, explained peacebuilding as follows: It "is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships." According to him, peacebuilding includes a wide range of activities involved in the process of promoting and achieving peace accords (Lederach 1997).

By negotiating peace accords and assisting in their implementation, the United Nations has played a role in lowering the level of conflict in many parts of the world. However, it was only after United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali mentioned it in 1992 that the term 'peacebuilding' began to be discussed at the United Nations. Following the introduction of the idea of 'post-conflict peacebuilding' in *the Agenda for Peace* by the Secretary-General, peacebuilding became a crucial concept in peace strategy. In the paper, Boutros-Ghali defines

preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding as guiding themes, as below(UN 1992).

- **Preventive diplomacy:** “action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.”
- **Peacemaking:** “action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.”
- **Peacekeeping:** “the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.”
- **Post-conflict peacebuilding:** “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict.”

However, peacebuilding was still described as a complementary concept to the existing organization's peacemaking and peacekeeping functions in the United Nations(Barnett et al. 2007). It was partially the result of existing organizational mandates and networks. Boutros-Ghali elaborated on the fundamental principles behind peacebuilding, defining its primary objective as "the creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace" in his paper *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace*

(UN 1995). It means that the UN gradually started to consider peacebuilding goes beyond simply ending military conflicts.

The definition of peacebuilding was improved by the *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* in 2000 as "activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war". Then Secretary-General Kofi Annan asked for more detailed actions in his 2003 *Review of Technical Cooperation in the United Nations* to "identify the ways in which different parts of the UN system might properly work together to devise country-specific peacebuilding strategies." In UN's 2004 report, *the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change: A More Secure World*, the idea of creation of a Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office has come out. The specific institutional structure was finally established in 2005 with the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), and Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) to address the unique challenges that post-conflict states face (Peacebuilding Initiative, n.d.).

The World Bank tended to avoid the concept of peacebuilding in its strategy, using the term 'post-conflict reconstruction' and 'post-conflict recovery' when the World Bank's first funding for its peace activities came out in 1997 (Barnett et al. 2007). Even though James D. Wolfensohn, the World Bank president at that time, raised the question how the Bank can integrate conflict prevention into its development operations in the report *Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of The*

World Bank (1998), the term ‘peacebuilding’ was not mentioned directly in the report. Instead, the report insisted the importance of conflict prevention and suggested some ways such as social assessments, engagement with civil society, increased focus on governance, and a frank exploration of the costs of both random and organized violence(World Bank 1998). This implies that the Bank started to recognize the need to analyze the underlying factors that cause conflicts but didn’t have specific strategies for it yet.

2. Multi-Donor Trust Fund

The Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF), which is often administered by the World Bank and United Nations agencies, is a fund that is jointly supported by several donors for specific development targets and projects. As trustee and administrator, the international organization can be a vehicle for providing financing to single or multiple recipient countries(Scanteam 2007). The decision to concentrate large-scale global aids on certain states or challenges has been made mostly for political reasons. Donors have employed trust funds to collect money for specific initiatives, draw on the resources and procedures of the trustee organization, and stay clear of activities that might be viewed as controversial by some political communities, which makes them overcome the limits of bilateral aid(IEG 2011).

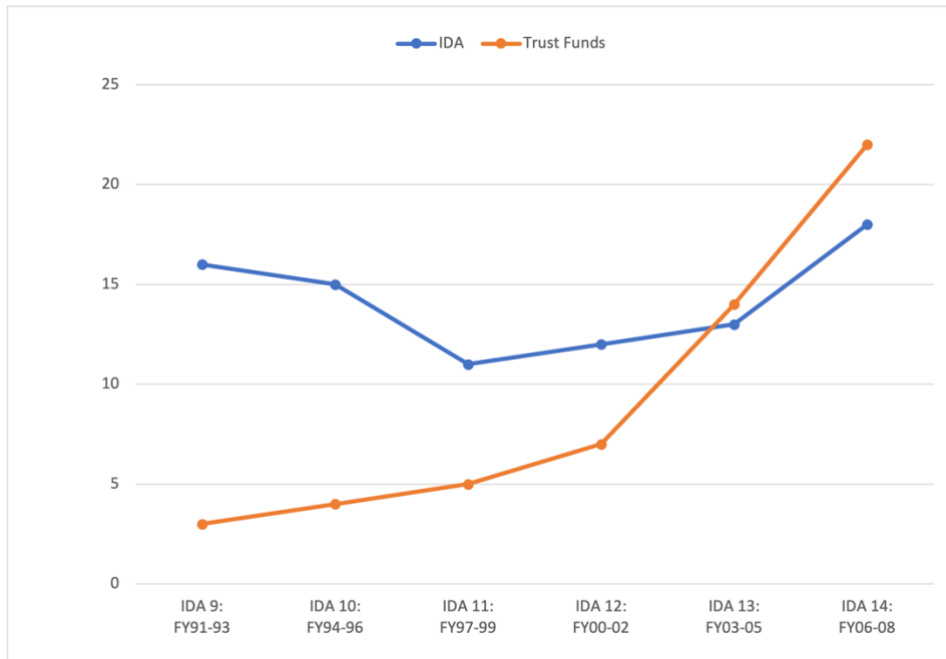
MDTF’s advantage is that several international organizations and governments participate in the creation of trust funds, making it easy to raise stable

funding and target specific areas or countries. For recipient countries, funding can be proceeded in a predictable way, decreasing the administrative costs with multiple donors. For the multilateral organizations, it can be more easily possible to provide global or regional public goods such as environmental resources and vaccines for infectious diseases(IEG 2011).

The trust fund has existed since the 1960s, but it began to be activated in the 2000s. Since the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the international community has been striving to improve the quality of aid to combat poverty(Barakat et al. 2012). The five key principles of the Paris Declaration were adopted in 2005, which aim to enhance aid effectiveness by strengthening partner countries' ownership, alignment, harmonization, management for results and mutual responsibility.

The World Bank's portfolio of trust funds has grown from a small beginning in the 1960s to include a sizable portion of the Bank's operations. As shown in figure 2, through the mid-1990s, trust fund contributions were much lower than IDA contributions, but during both IDA 13 and IDA 14, they exceeded overall IDA contributions(fiscal 2003–05 and fiscal 2006–08)(IEG 2011).

[Figure 2] Contributions to Trust Funds Have Surpassed those to IDA



Source: Trust Fund Support for Development: An Evaluation of the World Bank's Trust Fund Portfolio, IEG, 2011, p12

Trust-funded projects have not always functioned in an efficient manner, even though trust funds contribute to bridge operational gaps in terms of the multilateral assistance system and overcome limitations in bilateral aid. However, the trust fund's size has grown greatly as a result of the discussion and implementation of the efficacy of international aid, and steps are being taken to enhance its administration and operating procedures (Barakat et al. 2012). According to the UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund (MPTF) Office, the UN currently operates 234 funds in 142 countries. Donors from 196 countries are participating and the volume of all funds by the UN is equivalent to \$8.4 billion dollars (MPTF 2022). The World Bank Group operates \$40 billion dollars, of which \$12.4 billion belongs to a trust fund operated by IBRD/IDA according to the 2021 World Bank Group Trust Fund Annual Report (World Bank 2021).

3. The Integrated Approach in Development Cooperation

The first time the integrated approach was mentioned in the international community was at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio in 1992. This was an attempt to integrate economic and social development with environmental sustainability and could be seen as an international effort to identify and reduce human influence on the environment. Agenda 21 was an action plan that requires countries to consider environmental protection such as energy, forest conservation, soil, and biodiversity when developing national development plans(Wijkman 1999). However, this considers the environmental impact on social and economic development, not referring to all-sector integration today. Thus, in 2000, when the MDGs were created, discussions on an integrated approach only referred to environmental and economic growth in terms of sustainable development.

The discussion of the integrated approach we talk about today is based on what the international community has realized in the 2010s as a decade of efforts for MDGs. The international community has realized that the efforts to achieve each goal are siloed approaches, which have limitations in leading to eventual development. In 2012, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, which is the Rio+20 Summit, emphasized the consideration of various contexts of achieving goals so that development goals could be combined rather than approached individually, which resulted in the Sustainable Development Goals(SDGs) after MDGs. The SDGs' 16th goal "promote a peaceful and inclusive society for

sustainable development, make justice accessible to all, and establish an effective, responsible and inclusive system" shows that not only the concept of "development for peace" but also the awareness of "peace for development" has increased.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a 2030 development agenda agreed upon by 193 countries at the UN General Assembly in September 2015, emphasizes synergies and linkages among targets. The SDGs not only continued the previous social development-oriented goal of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which was the global development norms from 2001 to 2015, but also showed a new development paradigm, including a more environmental, governance, and peace agenda. According to UNDESA (2015), the new goals can be seen as “a network of targets connecting the different goal areas”.

Even though there is no single official definition of an integrated approach in international organizations, some literatures give similar explanations about it is. PAGE(2016) illustrates that ‘integrated development approaches’ are to pursue various advantages across the three pillars of sustainable development(social, economic, and environmental). To fully comprehend and manage the complex interactions between economic growth, poverty eradication, and the environment, as well as to guarantee that policies and plans are designed and implemented in ways that do not harm one dimension at the expense of another, they require effective governance, policy coordination, and coherence among agencies. FHI 360(2016) defines that ‘integrated development’ is a deliberate strategy that connects the development, implementation, and assessment of programs across sectors to have a more significant and long-lasting influence on people's lives. UNDESA(2015) explains the concept of an integrated approach as “not only its multi-sectoral nature

but also the broad range of actors involved”. Multi-stakeholders such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations, regional and central government, private sector donors could be included. In other words, an integrated approach is to have a comprehensive perspective to achieve a specific development goal by understanding the various factors required to achieve it.

4. Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus

a. Humanitarian assistance

The definition of humanitarian assistance is “to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity following conflict, shocks and natural disasters”(OECD 2022). Humanitarian aid activities include: (1) prevention activities such as building infrastructure and establishing early-warning systems to reduce risk before a disaster, (2) response activities to deliver emergent basic services such as food, housing, health care, and sanitation when a disaster occur, (3) and recovery activities to restore infrastructure such as housings, schools, and hospitals.

b. Development

The definition of development can be explained in the concept of Official Development Assistance(ODA). ODA is “a government aid that promotes and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries”(OECD 2022). As a broader concept than ODA, international development cooperation has expanded, and it can be explained by the definition of the United Nations. Development includes the following activities: (1) “supporting

and complementing efforts of developing countries to guarantee the provision of universal social basic standards to their citizens, as a means for people to exercise their basic human rights”, (2) “promoting the convergence of the developing countries to higher levels of income and wellbeing, correcting extreme international inequalities”, (3) “supporting efforts of developing countries efforts to participate actively in the provision of international public goods”(Alonso and Glennie 2015).

c. Peace

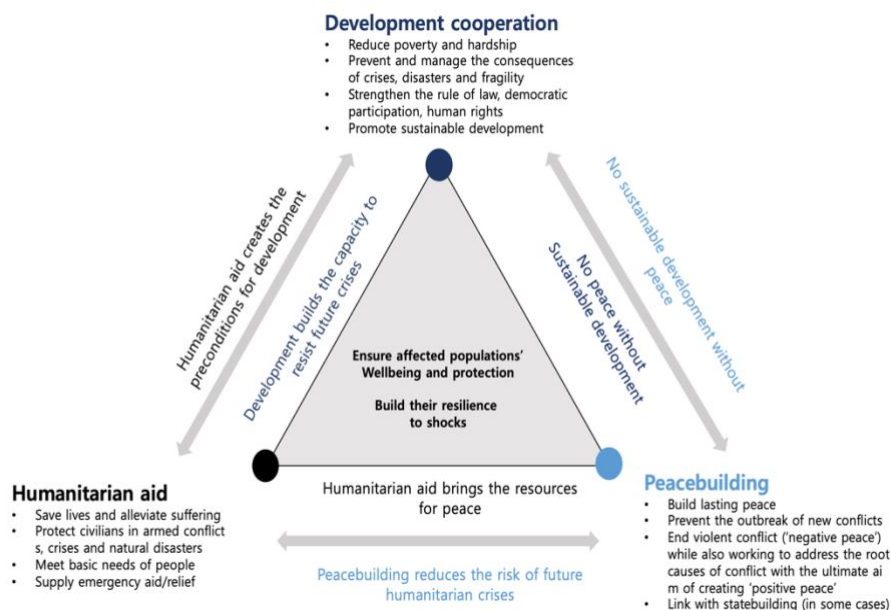
The concept of peace can refer to two aspects of peace written by Johan Galtung. According to his definition, peace can be divided into negative peace, which means the absence of violence like a cease-fire while positive peace means eradicating violence created by social structures and promoting reconciliation of the community(Galtung 1996). Peace-related activities includes multi-dimension actions such as conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding.

d. HDP NEXUS

Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus (HDP Nexus) is a method of coordinating different activities and financing methods used in the fields of humanitarian aid, development, and peace. HDP Nexus is based on a growing understanding that humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding activities are complementary and must be strengthened by each other to pursue sustainable development. Through mutual improvement in each area, it is expected that the cooperation will boost the response to multidimensional risk factors and improve the

efficacy of policies. The figure below shows an interconnected relationship among three areas(Medinilla et al. 2019).

[Figure 3] Linkage among ‘Triple Nexus’



Source: Think local. Governance, humanitarian aid, development and peacebuilding in Somalia,

Medinilla et al, 2019, p2

The concept of HDP Nexus officially appeared after the World Humanitarian Summit(WHS) in 2016. The WHS was designed to link humanitarian assistance and development as humanitarian crisis appeals have been prolonged for more than seven years, and the crisis appeals have increased by more than 400 percent over the past decade. The United Nations agreed to a "New Way of Working" (NWoW) with various international organizations, donors, and NGOs at the WHS. The "New Way of Working" aims to that various actors could work together through a multi-year time frame to achieve collective outcomes based on their comparative

advantages(UN OCHA 2017). ‘A collective outcome’ means the result that humanitarian, development, and other relevant actors want to attain in 3-5 years. It should be concrete and measurable, acting as a bridge between the existing level of need, risk, and vulnerability and the SDGs.

Amid these discussions, in 2016, the UN described "sustaining peace" as an important factor in achieving SDG16 in its resolution, which called for the triple nexus called HDP Nexus(UN 2016). The World Bank announced a Humanitarian-Development-Peace Initiative (HDPI) with the United Nations in 2016. Countries at danger, experiencing prolonged crises, or those recovering from crises could get comprehensive and coordinated solutions from the UN and the Bank. This includes coordinated multiyear planning, information exchange, cooperative analysis, and joint need assessment across three areas which are important to enabling collaboration in these countries(World Bank 2017). Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) also emphasized an inclusive process for aid, publishing recommendation on the nexus in 2019(OECD 2019).

III. Methodology

This study aims to analyze how the World Bank has integrated peacebuilding with development by exploring the history of the bank's peacebuilding funds. To this end, the paper tries to examine changes in its funds over the past 24 years and analyze the intervention of the World Bank in three stages. This study uses qualitative analysis methods, focusing on historical approaches.

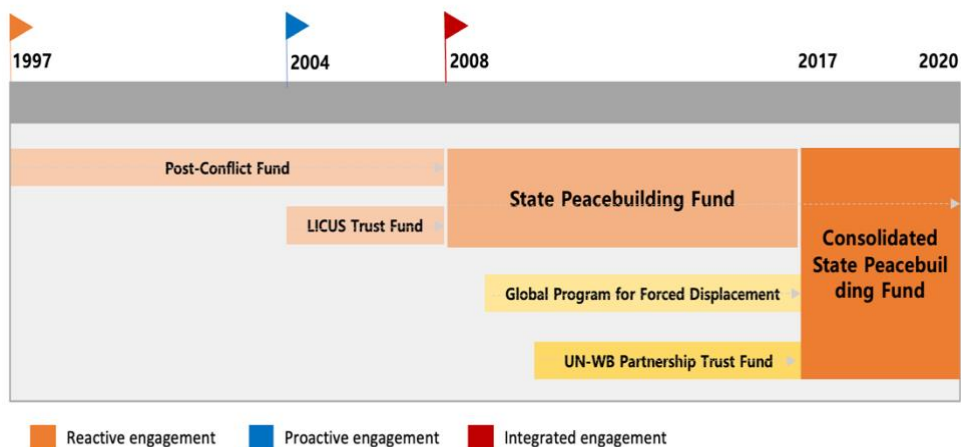
Based on special reports published by the World Bank such as 'Post-Conflict Reconstruction: the role of the World Bank' and 'The World Bank's Experience with Post-Conflict Reconstruction', this paper explains the background of the Post-Conflict Fund(PCF). By examining specific project examples through the PCF annual reports, the paper will evaluate Bank's initial projects and the characteristics of the annual flow of funds, distribution of funds by region, size, and donors.

To explain the background of Low-Income Countries Under Stress Trust Fund(LICUS TF), the paper explains the World Bank's proactive peacebuilding activities in the 2000s through reports published by IEG, the independent evaluation body of the World Bank, and reports written by external scholars. At that time, data published by OECD DAC and UN were also utilized to examine activities with other international organizations such as the United Nations(UN), OECD DAC, and European Commission(EC). Also, I will use specific project cases and statistics from annual reports to capture the situation of LICUS Trust Fund.

For State-Peacebuilding Fund, the study usually cites the 2011 World Development Report and 2012 the Independent Evaluation Group (IEG)'s Report to explain the changes in the paradigm of the overall World Bank Group and official policy documents such as SPF Consolidation Note or Focus Areas Notes to explain detailed activities and changes in strategy. Through these literatures as primary sources, I try to explain why the SPF can be considered as an integrated engagement for development. As secondary sources, this study also use publications written by UNDESA, UNDP and eminent scholar's literatures to explain what peacebuilding, MDTF, integrated approach and HDP nexus are.

This study is mainly based on literature analyses based on prominent scholars' work who evaluated and analyzed the activities of the World Bank and the official reports of World Bank and was not based on staff interviews or field studies. Therefore, there were several limitations to collect detailed data and analyze the situations in depth. Due to the global pandemic, all analysis was based online documents. And some documents related to SPF and LICUS annual evaluation reports are unavailable at this time. Due to these limitations, the author tries to use the World Bank's available online data to the fullest.

[Figure 4] World Bank's Peacebuilding Funds' Timeline



Source: created by author

From chapter IV to VI, this paper explains how peacebuilding funds operated by the World Bank are linked to development from 1997 to 2020. This change process is described in three stages: reactive, proactive, and integrated engagement. This study considers that the PCF operation period from 1997 to 2007 was 'reactive engagement' and the early 2000s when LICUS TF began as a 'proactive engagement'. Then it calls the SPF operation period as its 'integrated engagement' through various reforms and consolidation in the 2010s. As mentioned in research questions, I would like to examine in what context each fund was established and whether development and peace were integrated.

IV. World Bank's Reactive Engagement: The Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) (1997-2007)

The World bank has occasionally dealt with special demands brought on by civil conflicts since its inception. During the 1970s and 1980s, the bank's operating guidelines for providing emergency loans was created and implemented to respond to emergency situations, especially natural disaster recovery. However, in the 1990s, so-called the post-the Cold War era, armed conflicts around the world rose quickly and lending programs for emergencies were not enough to respond to all cases. There was also a special need for nations that were unable to get traditional loans immediately or had already been in arrears. This context made the Bank consider a new framework for funding fragile states after conflicts.

In 1997, the Bank draw up 'Framework for World Bank Involvement in Post-conflict Reconstruction' as a guideline for its active participation in post-conflict countries(World Bank 1997). The framework suggests 5 stages of intervention for reconstruction after conflicts, which implies the World Bank's first change from simply rebuilding infrastructures to creating conditions for a peaceful society. For stage I, the bank monitors developments in countries where active portfolio does not exist to prepare efficient and timely Bank-assisted operations whenever post-conflict rebuilding efforts are feasible. The second step, a Transitional Support Strategy (TSS), is the time the world bank considers itself to intervene. Bank would start a process of detailed assessment and planning for the

conflict-affected area. Approval of this stage would depend on three preconditions: a sufficient amount of evidence that a durable cease-fire has been or would be reached; a strong international partnership. Stage III includes small-scale initiatives that may be carried out rather fast and preparation for a large-scale program: urgent reconstruction of essential infrastructures like education centers, hospitals, and shelters; pilot projects for later reconstruction; demining; demobilization; and design of social safety nets. Stage IV can be carried out when peaceful conditions have been approved, which means broad support for reconstruction can be initiated: such as economic recovery, institution building, and social integration. The last stage of operation would be carried out under normal lending procedures (World Bank 1997).

[Table 1] World Bank's Five-stage Framework

Stage I.	A Watching Brief in Conflict Countries
Stage II.	A Transitional Support Strategy
Stage III.	Early Reconstruction Activities
Stage IV.	Post-Conflict Reconstruction
Stage V.	Return to Normal Operations

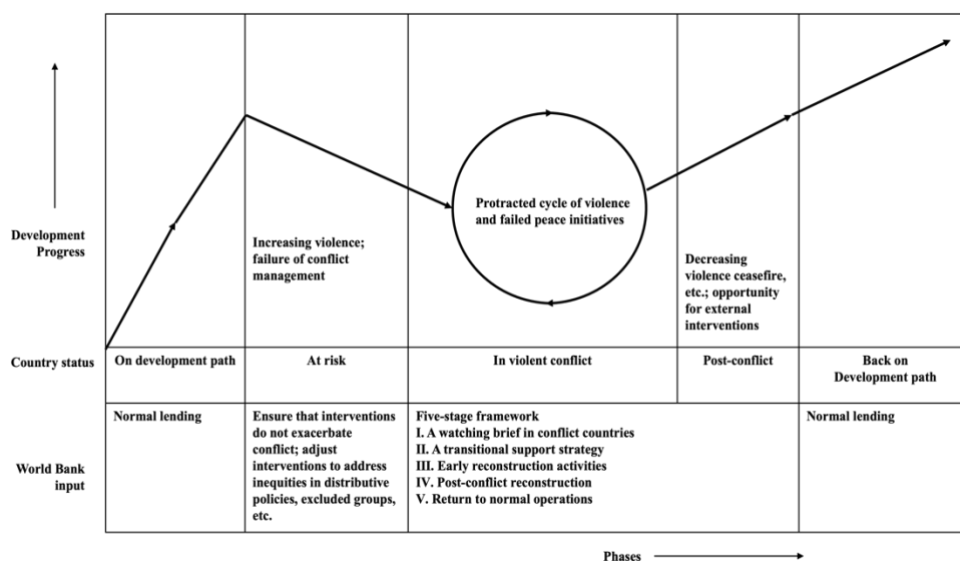
Source: A Framework for World Bank Involvement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction, World Bank, 1997, p40

The Bank established the Post-Conflict Unit (PCU) as a role to systematically support this framework. The PCU has been formed to coordinate partnerships with other actors of the global community and to consolidate the bank's

expertise in reconstruction issues. The creation of the PCU, which act as a hub for policy making, transnational learning, and the development of knowledge, furthered work in this field(World Bank 1998b). It also supports personnel in designing and executing reconstruction initiatives. The PCU later took charge of managing the newly created Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) in July 1997.

The PCF was established to support initiatives that enhance governance, civil society involvement, economic and social growth, and human security in fragile and conflict-affected states. The key distinctions between PCF grants and traditional World Bank programs are the comparatively lax administrative criteria, which allow applications to be approved and funds to be disbursed more rapidly, and the larger pool of prospective receivers, including governments, academic institutions, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations, as opposed to most traditional World Bank programs, which are typically channeled through national governments(Houten 2007).

[Figure 5] World Bank's Approach to Break the Cycle of Conflict



Source: Post-Conflict Reconstruction, World Bank, 1998a, annex 1

The establishment of PCF had made the Bank to develop its approach to break the cycle of conflict and resume the path of development. Through providing swift fundings to post-conflict countries, the Bank helped the countries to follow the path of development again and get opportunities to normal lending through IBRD or IDA.

However, the Bank avoided mentioning peace and security as its mandates. As stated in its Arts of Agreement, the World Bank's Executive Board said that the Bank should not interfere in member states' domestic political affairs, nor should they engage in peacekeeping and peacemaking. This shows that they were concerned about invading the role of the United Nations and took a passive attitude toward peace(OED 2004). Examining the projects that the PCF has completed will demonstrate this(Table 2). Activities such as implementing youth empowerment education and reconstructing community-based infrastructure are main subjects of

the programs. Although there have been some projects, such as peaceful conflict-resolution training in conflict-prone zones, the grant scale is too small compared to the total amount of financial resources.

[Table 2] PCF Project Case

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Russian Federation	North Caucasus Youth Empowerment and Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishing multi-purpose youth center for adolescents and youth • launching education programs for peace and tolerance • capacity building for government ministries 	2006-2008	\$2,126,850
Philippines	Mindanao Reconstruction and Development Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • building community-based infrastructure • launching a literacy training program • training agency workers for job performance • contributing to making a multi-donor fund in long term 	2006-2007	\$1,525,000
Colombia	Strengthening Education for Peace in Conflict Environments through Community-Based Initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • launching education programs for individual and community's conflict management 	2005-2006	\$250,000
Iraq	Emergency Health Assistance Program to the Burns Unit in Al-Karama General Teaching Hospital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • enhancing the conditions of the burn unit in the area • developing knowledge of burns among staffs • enhancing the management of health ministry 	2006	\$707,242

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2006, p3-5

The PCF got its funding for projects from the World Bank Development Grant Facility (DGF) and external donors. DGF was the Bank's main tool for providing grant support for international and local development projects that cannot be properly supported by national lending operations alone(World Bank 2001). The PCF received \$76.5 million from the DGF and an extra \$8.7 million from donations between its founding in 1997 and 2007(World Bank 2007). For external donors, most of their contributions to PCF were inconsistent and were designated to certain beneficiaries(Table 4). This is mostly because external donors' commitment to PCF was made in the field, resulting in earmarked contributions to specific projects in areas such as Kosovo or Georgia. Although it is not clear why there are only a few donors after more than a decade of operation, officials responded in the interview for the fund's evaluation that the PCF-supported areas are too broad and that donor countries that already offer many fundings to Non-Governmental Organizations(NGO) or other international organizations have not found special reason to fund the PCF(OED 2004).

[Table 3] PCF Grant Approvals FY98-07

FY	FY98-01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	Total
Amount,	35,173,16	12,741,1	13,449,9	5,226,40	5,955,21	11,662,7	10,056,5	94,265,2
US\$	5	50	45	0	2	89	63	24
No. of Grants	81	26	22	16	12	15	17	188

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p31

[Table 4] PCF Donor Contributions FY00-07

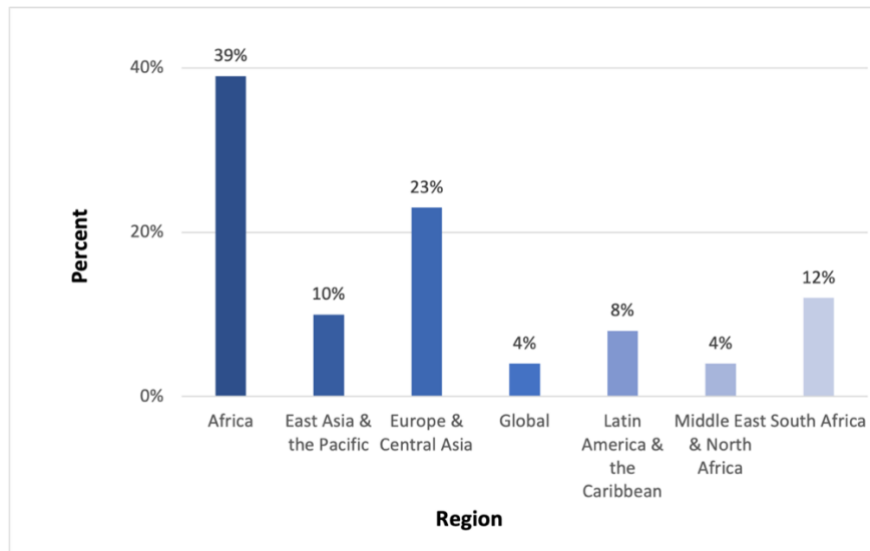
Donor	Beneficia	Amount of Contributions, US\$	Grand
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	ry	FY00	FY01	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	Total
Belgium	Great Lakes Region	-	1,117,531	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,117,531
Brazil	Haiti	-	-	-	-	-	425,000	300,000	-	725,000
Netherlands	Kosovo	-	2,000,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000,000
Norway	Multiple countries	-	-	-	-	-	-	732,460	1,032,953	1,765,413
Switzerland	Georgia	-	207,942	-	-	-	-	-	-	207,942
Switzerland	Global	-	-	-	266,667	333,333	400,000	-	-	1,000,000
Switzerland	Kosovo	603,428	647,935	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,251,363
UNDP	Georgia	-	200,000	300,000	-	-	-	-	-	500,000
UNHCR	Georgia	-	150,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	150,000
		603,428	4,323,408	300,000	266,667	333,333	825,000	1,032,460	1,032,953	8,717,249

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p37

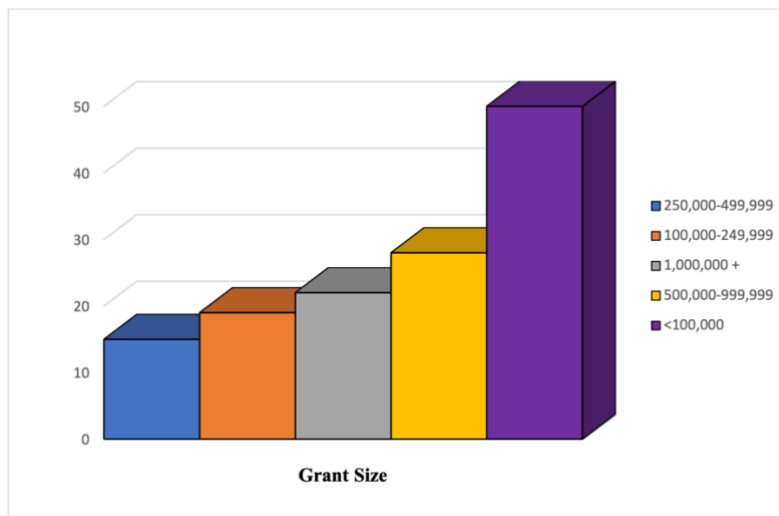
By region, Africa had received the greatest amount of funding (39%), followed by Europe and Central Asia (23%), South Asia (12%), and East Asia and the Pacific (10%). Between 1998 and 2007, PCF has authorized 188 grants totaling \$94.3 million, of which \$74.6 million had been distributed (World Bank 2007).

[Figure 6] PCF Grant Approvals by Region FY98-07



Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p34

[Figure 7] PCF Grants Categorized by Amount Approved FY98-05



Source: The Post Conflict Fund, Addressing Challenges of Globalization: An Independent Evaluation of the World Bank's Approach to Global Programs, OED, 2004, p6

For this period, the World Bank emphasized its limited role in a post-conflict situation. Without the involvement of other international players, it would

refrain from participating in post-conflict states. It would also only take an action in situations where it had a competitive edge, supplementing UN agencies as needed (World Bank 1998b). This can be seen from the size of PCF grants at the time, and most PCF grants belonged to a very small scale to be funded for reconstruction. PCF grants usually range from \$25,000 to \$1million except for multiyear programs(World Bank 2007a). As seen in Figure 7, small grants of less than \$100,000 account for half of entire grants, which means that PCF helps raise funds for domestic development rather than helping to provide global public goods like global peace and security.

V. World Bank's Proactive Engagement: The Low-Income Countries Under Stress Trust Fund (LICUS TF) (2004-2007)

When the World Bank launched a task group to address the issues faced by low-income nations with especially poor policies, systems, and administrations in November 2001, the term "Low-Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS) initiative" was invented(IEG 2006). At that time, two causes for interest in LICUS had a significant impact, and one of which was the 9.11 terrorist attacks in the United States in September 2001. This incident reminded us that poverty reduction is more important than ever, not because "poverty" causes terrorism, but because of the idea that "failed states" can become a breeding ground of terrorism(World Bank 2003).

In addition, discussions on "aid effectiveness" in the field of development cooperation have heated up, and studies have begun to emerge that aid is effective in promoting development only in recipient countries with sound policies and efficient systems. This led to a more restrictive approach by donor countries to providing aid to countries that do not have such policies and institutions, while at the same time how to provide aid to countries that do not have good aid effects had been a growing concern. Against this background, the World Bank tried to shape its idea for LICUS by establishing a separate Task Force(World Bank 2003).

The LICUS includes three criteria: low income; and poor rating on Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)^①, and non-member territories and IDA-eligible countries without CPIA data. The LICUS Task Force advised the Bank to pay attention to LICUS, scoring less than 3.0 on CPIA averages, and take a distinct approach to the countries. By publishing several reports to the Bank's Board of Executive Directors in 2002, 2003, and 2004, the LICUS Task Force emphasized staying engagement in those countries is the primary step for the Bank (IEG 2006).

The Bank initiated the LICUS Trust Fund (LICUS TF) on January 2004 to assist the most underdeveloped countries that are unable to access IDA financing. LICUS TF was also overseen by a Secretariat under the Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction (CPR) Unit, which is later name of PCU. LICUS TF was different from the PCF in that its list included both post-conflict and non-conflict countries. Activities mainly include state's capacity building to support the government to take reforms and strengthen its service delivery to the public such as the measures against HIV/AIDS. It is focusing on state-building than peacebuilding more.

According to the 2002 LICUS Task Force Report, the ground for the LICUS Initiatives was like this:

“Aid does not work well in these [LICUS] environments because governments lack the capacity or inclination to use finance effectively for poverty reduction. Yet neglect of such countries perpetuates poverty in some of the world's

^① The criterion for low income means when the country is under \$865 in Gross National Income (GNI). [as of FY05 list] CPIA ranks states according to a set of 16 criteria divided in to four clusters: economic management, structural policies, policies for social inclusion and equity, and public sector management and institutions.

poorest countries and may contribute to the collapse of the state, with adverse regional and even global consequences. The challenge of aid effectiveness in LICUS is thus to use other instruments, supplemented by financial transfers where necessary, to promote change” (World Bank 2002).

The initiative's original goal was to increase assistance effectiveness through analytical work, knowledge transfers, and financial transfers, so the World Bank described its LICUS approach in 2002 in country-level and Bank-level as below. It encouraged the Bank’s constant engagement in fragile states and led those countries to get out of chronically underperforming conditions. For example, in Liberia, direct supports through enacting a new law, preparing policy manual, holding education programs for government staffs show how the Bank intervene in other countries’ state capacity more than before.

[Table 5] World Bank’s Core Principles to LICUS Approach in 2002

Country level	Bank level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stay engaged. • Anchor strategies in stronger sociopolitical analysis. • Promote domestic demand and capacity for positive change. • Support simple and feasible entry-level reforms. • Explore innovative mechanisms for social service delivery. • Work closely with other donors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give much more attention to analytical work and transferring knowledge, and much less to transferring financial resources. • Ensure high-quality staff in LICUS. • Further clarify, disseminate, and revise operational policies and procedures for LICUS work to enable a faster and more effective response. • Support a more balanced approach to LICUS country programs, underpinned by enhanced

	institutional support and management attention.
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Source: An IEG Review of World Bank Support to Low-Income Countries under Stress, World Bank, 2006, 7

[Table 6] LICUS TF Project Cases

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Central African Republic	Emergency Social Sector Recovery Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> providing basic social services such as teacher training, clean water supply, condoms distribution, HIV/AIDS testing kit, caring services for women victims of violence 	2005	\$2,596,000
Haiti	Support for Economic Governance Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> stabilizing economic situation of governance through funding, which allow the government to get the first IDA funding and decrease unnecessary budget 	2005	\$1,500,000
Liberia	Support for Economic Management and Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reestablishing the public procurement system through enacting a new law, preparing policy manual, holding education program for staff, increasing awareness 	2004	\$1,035,000
Togo	Emergency Program for Poverty Reduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> constructing infrastructures including school, well, public toilet, market warehouses improving health centers and water quality 	2006-2009	\$2,820,256

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p15-22

The LICUS program has moved its emphasis from aid effectiveness to state and peacebuilding in 2005(IEG 2006). For international-level, the World Bank began to actively play a role on the international stage, co-chairing several international donor groups and authoring joint statements. In early 2000s, UN Development Program (UNDP) created its Bureau of Crisis Prevention and

Recovery in 2001, and the United Nations established Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) to respond international needs for post-conflict situations. Senior officials, top development experts, reformers in fragile governments, and academics came together in January 2005 for a Senior Level Forum (SLF) on Aid Effectiveness in Fragile States, which was co-sponsored by the Bank, OECD DAC, the European Commission (EC), and UNDP. The aid allocation to fragile governments, donor coordination, donor policy coherence, efficient service delivery, and better aid instruments were among the subjects covered during the event.

The adoption of “the OECD-DAC principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States” at the SLF by a broad range of donors, including the Bank, shows the considerable improvement in donor cooperation at the level of global policy. The guiding principles are consistent with the widely approved belief that the main objective in fragile states should be state-building and that effective donor programs entail coordinated efforts across the political-security-development nexus, swift and flexible responses, and long-term involvement. At the subsequent High-Level Forum in Paris in March 2005, the development ministers and agency heads resolved to test out these ideas in many countries(IEG 2006).

[Table 7] The Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile State

- Take context as the starting point.
- Move from reaction to prevention.
- Focus on state building as the long-term vision.
- Align with local priorities.
- Recognize the political-security-development nexus.
- Promote coherence between donor agencies.
- Agree on practical coordination mechanisms between international actors.
- Do no harm.
- Mix and sequence instruments.
- Act fast . . .
- . . . but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance.
- Avoid pockets of exclusion.

Source: Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States & Situations, OECD, 2007

Attempts to analyze causal factors of violence were also made by joint attempts with the UN and the European Union(EU). The Post-Conflict Needs Assessments(PCNAs) is “assessments conducted jointly by multilateral agencies and national stakeholders to provide a prioritized and costed assessment of needs in a post-conflict situation”(Garrasi and Allen 2016). It was created in 2003 by three institutions, the World Bank, the EU, and the UN. This is an analytic tool that has been used until now and renamed Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessments(RPBAs).

For funding, a total of \$80 million from the World Bank's excess revenue and an extra \$2 million from donors have been given to the LICUS TF. The LICUS

TF authorized 66 grants totaling \$59.3 million, with payments amounting to \$29.6 million between 2004 and 2007(World Bank 2007). Contributions from external donor countries were only from 2 countries, Norway, and Denmark, which estimated to \$2 million for FY 2006 and 2007. Grants ranged from hundreds of thousands of dollars to maximum of \$7 million, an increase compared to the maximum \$1 million for PCF's grants.

[Table 8] LICUS Grant Approvals FY04-07

FY	FY04	FY05	FY06	FY07	Total
Amount, US\$	2,777,070	20,474,395	17,576,275	18,570,100	59,397,840
No. of Grants	4	27	21	14	66

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p31

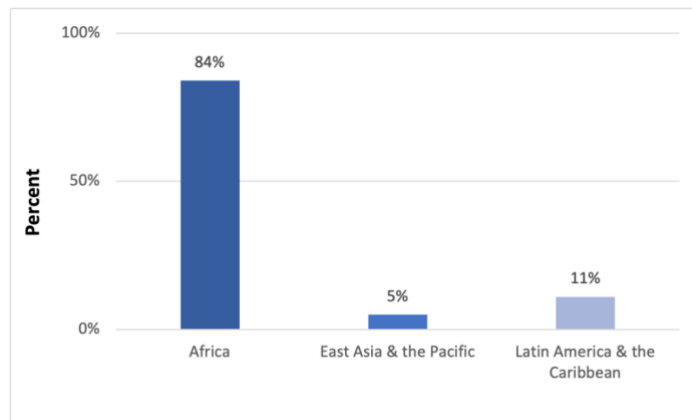
[Table 9] LICUS Donor Contributions FY06-07

Donor	Beneficiary	Amount of Contributions, US\$		Grand Total
		FY06	FY07	
Norway	Multiple countries	537,394	782,313	1,319,707
Denmark	Multiple countries	748,283	-	748,283
		1,285,677	782,313	2,067,990

Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p31

By region, Africa had still received the most amount of funding (84%), followed by Latin America and the Caribbean (11%) and East Asia and the Pacific (5%).

[Figure 8] LICUS Grant Approvals by Region, FY04-07



Source: Post-Conflict Fund and LICUS Trust Fund Annual Report, World Bank, 2007, p31

For this period, the Bank tried to transform its approach from reactive to proactive for peacebuilding and development in fragile states. It actively established international networks and took more fundamental approach to conflict-prone countries. However, there were still several challenges such as its insufficient internalized political understanding of strategy design and unclear comparative advantage in conflict prevention for short-term(IEG 2006).

VI. World Bank's Integrated Engagement:

The State and Peacebuilding Fund (SPF) (2008-2020)

1. Establishment of the State and Peacebuilding Fund (2008)

The State and Peacebuilding Fund (SPF) was established in 2008 to address the problems of conflict and fragility and optimize associated processes. The SPF replaced two previous World Bank funds: the Post Conflict Fund (PCF) and the Low-Income Countries under Stress Trust Fund (LICUS TF). The goal of the SPF is to “address the needs of state and local governance, and peacebuilding in fragile and conflict-prone and conflict-affected situations,” and the Fund pursues two overarching objectives (SPF, 2010):

- “Enhanced institutional legitimacy and stress management capabilities that assist conflict and fragility prevention and recovery” (Statebuilding).
- “Reduction and control of the internal and external pressures that cause conflict and fragility vulnerability” (Peacebuilding).

This was a step forward to take a more harmonious approach to state-building and peacebuilding that were operated separately. It was a response to criticism that the World Bank need to have strategic approach to FCV. According to the 2011 World Development Report (WDR) released by the World Bank, the reason why the World Bank chose a different approach is that conflict and violence in the

21st century are different from that of the 20th century. The characteristics of conflicts and violence in the 21st century can be summarized as repeated violence, regional and global repercussions, and the complexity of internal and external causes(World Bank 2011).

[Figure 9] The 2011 WDB Framework



Source: Conflict, Security, and Development, World Bank, 2011, p45

Figure 9 shows how the World Bank changes in its perspective to the conflict resolution. The framework suggests that there is no one direct way to get citizen security, justice, and jobs for sustained peace and that stable states could be made through repeated cycles of external stress and external supports in 21st century. It reflects that the increasing rate in the recurrence of civil war since 1970s(Table 10). Since the 1970s, countries that have previously experienced civil wars have tended to re-enter civil wars, 14 percent higher than those that have not. Also, the Bank developed its analysis capacity through accumulated research.

[Table 10] Recurring Civil War

Decade	Onset in a country with no previous conflict	Onset in a country with a previous conflict	Number of conflicts
1960s	57%	43%	35
1970s	43%	57%	44
1980s	38%	62%	39
1990s	33%	67%	81
2000s	10%	90%	39

Source: Conflict Relapse and the Sustainability of Post-conflict Peace, Walter, 2010, p2

[Table 11] Internal and External Stresses to Conflicts

Stresses	Internal	External
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legacies of violence and trauma 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invasion, occupation • External support for domestic rebels • Cross-border conflict spillovers • Transnational terrorism • International criminal network
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-income levels, low opportunity cost of rebellion • Youth unemployment • Natural resource wealth • Severe corruption • Rapid urbanization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Price shocks • Climate change
Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic, religious, or regional competition • Real or perceived discrimination • Human rights abuses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived global inequity and injustice in the treatment of ethnic or religious groups

From 2003 to 2016, from Post-Conflict Needs Assessments(PCNAs) to Recovery and Peacebuilding Assessments (RPBAs), 17 evaluations were conducted on the approach and financing of recovery and peacebuilding in FCV situations. According to the review reported by Garrasi and Allen, PCNA and RPBA were evaluated to be smooth in responding to multilateral evaluations and post-conflict situations(Garrasi and Allen 2016). However, it seemed that it is difficult to manage and coordinate due to a supply-centered technical approach, lacks consistency in establishing a cooperation system between institutions, and that the project was promoted by different incentives. It also stated that clear results cannot be derived consistently and that cooperation from the three institutions and appropriate responses to changes are needed. Therefore, the internal and external governance structure and decision-making process of PCNA needed to be more systematic, and the lack of support capabilities prevented effective coordination and cooperation. However, there was a perception that PCNA was an important framework for gathering expertise and resources in coordinating unified responses to crisis situations, so PCNA later evolved into an RPBA.

The RPBA is an analysis of the requirements for emergency or midterm recovery and peacebuilding, usually including conflict and security situations, government capacity, institutional system, and available resources. Based on this, it is possible to figure out the cause and process of conflict, including its impact on politics, economy, society, and population. Thus, it presents prospects for recovery and peacebuilding needs and priorities to address them. It is also meaningful in that

it provides a process to encourage participation of stakeholders and coordinates international cooperation. Needs assessments are implemented in various areas: political process, access to the justice, public security, employment opportunities, basic social services, trust in the institution and social cohesion, forced displacement integration, gender equality and women empowerment, and youth social participation. In this regard, RPBA can be seen as a developed framework for analyzing conflict from the perspective of HDP Nexus.

2. Reform of the State and Peacebuilding Fund (2014)

The World Bank has attempted to reform its operating model after the publication of the World Development Report and the Independent Evaluation Group's Evaluation of the World Bank's Trust Fund Support for Development in 2011. There were two important objectives for the reform of the World Bank: (1) knowledge flow and (2) integrated solution. As the needs of developing countries, which are customers of the World Bank, evolve, they want multi-disciplinary and knowledge-focused support.

At that time, President Kim Yong named the role of the World Bank as a 'Solution Bank' and tried to make SPF a platform. To solve the increasingly complex international problem, it was necessary to provide a cross-disciplinary knowledge solution. The 1997 regional base-oriented matrix system restricts the movement of employees and knowledge by region, raising the issue of overall inefficiency of the organization. By integrating departments in the field in the region, the Bank

established Global Practice(GP) departments for each field and Cross-Cutting Solution Areas(CCSA) for all fields. GP and CCSA have made it possible, for example, to bring the experience of technical experts previously experienced in the Africa region into planning agricultural projects in the Asian region.

[Table 12] Global Practices and Cross-Cutting Solution Areas

Global Practices (14)	Agriculture / Education / Energy & Extractives / Environment and Natural Resources / Finance and Markets / Governance / Health, Nutrition and Population / Macroeconomics and Fiscal management / Poverty / Social, Urban, Rural, and Resilience / Social Protection and Labor / Trade and Competitiveness / Transport and ICT / Water
Cross-Cutting Solution Areas (5)	Climate Change / Fragility, Conflict, and Violence / Gender / Jobs / Public-Private Partnerships

Source: The World Bank Group A to Z, World Bank, 2015, p26; p67.

Another important feature of this period is that the Bank produced a Systematic Country Diagnostic(SCD) to analyze the development constraints of each country and to speed up the achievement of the development goals. Then, the Country Partnership Framework(CPF) was devised to solve the development constraints according to the World Bank's priorities. This shows that the World Bank goes further from the existing reactive approach and focuses on knowledge services and financial services, which are the World Bank's comparative advantage assets, to improve development effectiveness.

As the overall reform of its operating model, SPF also promoted five reforms: (i) improve the speed and responsiveness of SPF grant-making; (ii) revise the SPF's governance arrangements in line with the WBG's new operating model; (iii) align the SPF's program management costs with the value and scope of the Fund; (iv) extend the SPF for five years until September 2021; (v) use the SPF as a platform for a more strategic and coordinated approach for the WBG's FCV-focused trust funds (SPF 2014).

3. Consolidation of the State and Peacebuilding Fund (2017)

The State and Peacebuilding Fund has upgraded its fund architecture in 2017. The objective of its change is to increase the development effect and leverage of donor contributions by maximizing efficiency. There were the following reasons behind SPF consolidation: lack of strategic coordination, limited voice for development partners, multiple “entry points”, multiple “exit points”, limited financial leverage, increased administrative costs, and monitoring and evaluation. To solve these limitations, the SPF reorganized its structure to minimize its transaction cost by making ‘single entry and single exit point’. The biggest change in the consolidation of the State and Peacebuilding Fund was that two global trust funds previously handled by the FCV Group of the World Bank - The Global Program for Forced Displacement (GPF) and the UN-WB Partnership Trust Fund - were combined under SPF. It makes the SPF to be a leading FCV fund and a ‘one-stop-shop’ (SPF 2019a).

In addition, the Bank presented five focus areas to introduce the themes and activities in detail that SPF will focus on: (1) prevention and recovery (2) crisis response (3) the humanitarian development peace nexus (4) forced displacement; and (5) financing solutions. The type of intervention is divided into three types: (1) assessment and analytics, (2) operations and project implementation, and (3) partnerships and policy dialogues. It aims to mainstream gender and ICT across whole sectors.

Prevention and Recovery Focus Area

Prevention includes dealing with interpersonal, group-based violence and extremism as well as conflicts. As mentioned in Pathways for Peace, a joint report published by the UN and the World Bank, the concept of ‘pivoting to prevention’ become more important than ever and eliminating factors of risk is prioritized. Also, sustaining intervention and initiating innovative solutions could be a way to recover from conflict situations. Indicative activities include:

- establishing early warning and response system using ICT tools
- encouraging women’s participation in transition period
- preventing the spread of violence from nearby countries
- energizing Risk and Resilience Assessment(RRA) for strategic approaches
- analyzing multi-dimension research for Global Crisis Risk Platform(GCRP)
- conducting studies about violent extremism
- collaborating with regional organizations and civil societies

[Table 13] Prevention and Recovery Case

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Philippines	Attaining Just and Lasting Peace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing technical assistance, consulting services, and knowledge products • capacity building to make it possible for warriors to get back to normal life • supporting the implementation of 'Peace Lens' 	2017-2020	\$1,250,000
Central Asia (Tajikistan)	Development Approaches for Preventing Violent Extremism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conducting analysis of violent extremism (VE) • designing development strategies to prevent VE 	2018-2020	\$500,000

Source: Prevention and Recovery Focus Area Note, World Bank, 2018, p5-6

Crisis Response

With the continuing emergence of climate change, migration, and technology developments that severely affect vulnerable groups such as women, children, young people, and the disabled, there is a growing demand for a quick and effective response from the government. The crisis of not responding in time offsets the development so far. Indicative activities include:

- providing ICT and data tools for local actors
- designing programs for promoting women's participation
- facilitating operations through ICT solutions
- mapping crisis situations

[Table 14] Crisis Response Case

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$

Ukraine	Conflict Response and Recovery Pilot and Capacity Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> increasing the capability of the Ministry for Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons (MOT) 	2016-2019	\$3,200,000
Democratic Republic of Congo	Developing a Crisis Observatory in DRC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> establishing a Crisis Observatory to collect reliable information in the Eastern provinces 	2016-2019	\$500,000

Source: Crisis Response Focus Area Note, World Bank, 2018, p5-6

Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus Focus Area Note

In recent decades, there has been a need to understand the complexity of violence. Violent conflicts have evolved into civil wars, organized crime by terrorists, extremist riots, and conflicts over resources, especially in recent decades. This made the UN and WB evolve their relationship from competition to partnership. As a result, the 2017 UN-WB Partnership Framework for Crisis-affected Situations required more cooperation, collaboration on complex issues such as forced migration, and cooperative diagnostic tool development for FCV. Indicative activities include:

- building shared data systems among local activists
- conducting public expenditure reviews of security and justice sectors
- implementing RPBA's with UN and EU
- making UN-WB Joint Diagnosis for FCV
- increasing synergy among HDP actors by sharing their activities
- conducting joint research on conflict analysis

- establishing a partnership with the government and its stakeholders
- conducting conflict prevention activities
- empowering HDP Activists

[Table 15] Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus Case

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Mali	Joint UN-World Bank Project on Jobs for Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supporting jobs for youth • investigating the economic situation of young people • developing for psycho-social support • analyzing the effects of youth employment 	2018-2020	\$1,000,000
Lake Chad Region	Cross-border Collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supporting the planning process for stabilization • setting the stage for dialogues among Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Nigeria governments 	2018-2020	\$450,000

Source: Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus Focus Area Note, World Bank, 2018, p5-6

Forced Displacement Focus Area

According to the UNHCR, 70 million forced displacement have occurred in the past 30 years, including 25 million refugees. The focus of WGB's activities has changed to emphasizing from 'post-conflict reconstruction' to 'the full spectrum of fragility'. The Refugee Sub Window (RSW) envisioned 32 projects in 13 countries to fund refugees and host communities. Through this, the WBG provided

infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and roads, and was able to establish a social safety net and implement employment projects. Indicative activities include:

- building data for IDPs and refugees
- studying on gender, social cohesion, and psychological issues
- responding to migration issues in middle-income countries
- supporting IDA 19
- contributing to refugees compacts and response framework
- promoting cooperation with multilateral organizations such as UNHCR

[Table 16] Forced Displacement Case

Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda	Forced Displacement Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • making humanitarian and development operations more cohesive • supporting Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) • reducing the burden on host nations • supporting return under safe circumstances to the country of origin 	2018-2019	\$2,400,000

Afghanistan	Forced Displacement Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supporting IDA projects • offering employment opportunities • creating investor-friendly regulations • promoting women's participation in economic activities • providing reintegration programs for returnees 	2019- 2020	\$200,000
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Source: Forced Displacement Focus Area Note, World Bank, 2018, p5-6

Financing Solutions

FCV is affecting not only low-income countries but also middle-income countries, so flexible and innovative investment promotion methods are needed. The role of WBG facilitates financial leverage by promoting investment in the private and public sectors and makes institutional improvements in the direction of mitigating risk factors. Indicative activities include:

- innovating access to finance to refugees and IDP
- offering SMEs growth opportunities
- making IT solutions for financial institutions
- supporting new financing mechanisms
- providing analysis for external financing

[Table 17] Financing Solutions Case

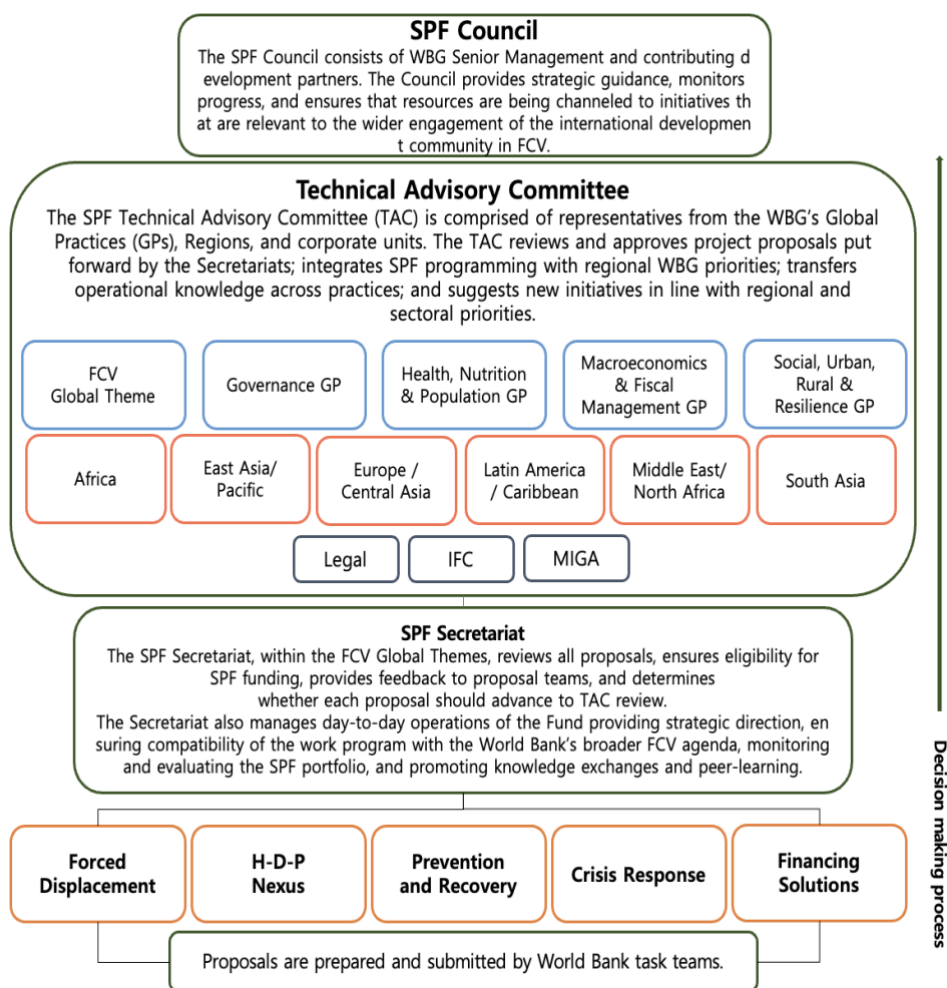
Country	Project	Activities	Period	Amount, US\$
Liberia	MSMEs and Rural Finance Post-Ebola Reconstruction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing a framework to provide finance for MSMEs • improving the capacity of financial institutions • providing technical supports to digital financial services 	2016-2018	\$4,800,000
Lebanon	The Role of Financial Services to Manage the Syrian Refugee Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing education programs about the role of government services for policy officers • supporting inclusive financial programs for the marginalized people 	2016-2019	\$500,000

Source: Financing Solutions Focus Area Note, World Bank, 2018, p5-6

Looking at the World Bank's five focus areas, they have been more advanced than existing interventions, and activities to prevent conflict have increased. Through multidimensional analysis, the Bank accurately identifies the aspects of violence by country and region, uses ICT to detect crises early, and promotes an inclusive peace resolution by increasing women's participation. In particular, it provides comprehensive analysis and prescription for mid and long-term development, going beyond the passive approach to solving problems for conflicts, violence, and conflicts in the previous two periods. In addition, in

cooperation with the governments of the cooperating countries, measures are being prepared to revive the functions of the state and promote the input of external resources. This shows that the existing short-term humanitarian support and long-term development are not separately made but are combined and considered together.

[Figure 10] SPF Governance Structure



Source: SPF Governance Structure, SPF, 2019, p1

The SPF received about \$246 million from the IBRD and an extra \$120 million from donations between 2009 and 2020. The SPF, which started with a

pledge of \$1 million from IBRD for the first three years of its fiscal year, has now been supported by nine development partners: Australia, Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and The United Kingdom. IBRD contributed the most (67%, \$246M), followed by Denmark (9%, \$32M), the Netherlands (8%, \$28M), Norway (6%, \$22M), Sweden (3%, \$11M), and Switzerland (2%, \$5.8M). Contributions from the IBRD have decreased from 2015 and will only contribute \$5 million annually until the fund's closing date in 2022. Meanwhile, the size of funds received from external donors has gradually increased since 2016, and its proportion of the total contributions from 2009 to 2015 has increased from 21% to 64% of the contributions gathered from 2016 to 2020. This is a significant increase, considering the fund operated separately by Korea, indicating that donor countries' interest in FCV as well as the size of the SPF fund itself has increased. In the evaluation report on the Post-Conflict Fund conducted by OED(2004), the authors explained that donors' less interest in PCF is resulted in its less competitiveness than other funds and has a low profile even within banks and urged more funding. Thus, these recommendations were improved in the SPF.

[Table 18] SPF Donor Contributions FY09-20

Donor	Amount of Contributions, US\$						Grand Total
	FY2009-15	FY16	FY17	FY18	FY19	FY20	
Australia	7,607,417	-	-		-	-	7,607,417
Denmark	10,713,276	-	-	11,267,062	4,530,353	5,777,008	32,287,699
France	-	-	180,992	-	-	-	180,992
Germany	1,845,842	663,000	526,000	3,419,100	-	-	6,453,942
IBRD	212,665,996	5,037,000	13,962,640	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	246,665,636

The Netherlands	14,051,000	-	-	11,918,620	-	2,800,000	28,769,620
Norway	13,973,997	-	1,203,833	3,416,580	3,341,501	842,691	22,778,602
Sweden	5,431,731	2,720,852	1,537,137	1,377,942	-	-	11,067,662
Switzerland	-	-	727,969	1,506,550	1,505,734	2084168	5,824,421
United Kingdom	4,537,120	-	-	157,527	-	-	4,694,647
Total	270,826,379	8,420,852	18,138,571	38,805,181	14,601,394	16,503,867	367,296,244

Source: SPF Annual Report, World Bank, 2018-2020, edited by author

VII. Conclusion

This study explores the World Bank's peacebuilding activities for about 24 years from 1997 to 2020, focusing on three peacebuilding funds operated by the World Bank. From a development perspective, the World Bank's peace activities have evolved through three phases: reactive, proactive, and integrated engagement. These approaches are based on the operating periods of the three funds, PCF, LICUS TF and SPF, thus there are overlapping periods among three phases.

During the 'reactive engagement', from the 1990s to the mid-2000s, the World Bank was generally passive in terms of peacebuilding. The World Bank has worked to provide financial assistance and build infrastructures to countries in need of reconstruction after World War II. Although large-scale wars between states have decreased, the damage and repercussions of conflicts have increased due to their prolongation and expansion. The World Bank created the PCF framework in 1997 to respond to this situation. The framework proposed that the World Bank intervene in countries in conflict on five-steps. According to this framework, the World Bank had tried to systematically support the post-conflict reconstruction and set out to build peace by creating the PCU and PCF.

It was meaningful in that it supports countries that cannot receive funding from the IBRD and IDA, whose financial situation is worse than other developing countries. Also, it established an emergency support system and made the bank support through not only partner governments, but also NGOs, academic institutions,

and other international organizations. However, during the 10 years of operation, the World Bank's PCF seemed difficult to as an active participant in building peace, considering that it intervened to do response and recover activities in the affected communities only after the conflict had subsided. In addition, it could not be seen as fundamentally resolving conflicts and had limited the development effect because most of its grants were too small and consisted of short-term pilot programs.

At the same time, as concerns over terrorism that shocked the world in the early 2000s and discussions about countries with low aid effectiveness took place in the international community, and how the international community would intervene in failed states with weak institution became one of the political hottest issues. During the 'proactive engagement', which means the early 2000s, the World Bank established the LICUS TF in 2004 and operated it for four years to support countries that did not receive support from the IBRD or IDA because of their poor economic, political, and social situations. Programs offered by the LICUS TF included those that promote government reform and provide social service delivery. In addition, the World Bank actively participated in discussions on fragile states with the international community, such as the UN, EU, and OECD DAC, sharing principles on how the international community should achieve harmonious aid coordination, policy coherence, and aid effectiveness. This has led the World Bank to focus on supporting fragile states beyond post-conflict reconstruction support in terms of peacebuilding, and to pay attention to state-building in terms of integrating politics, security, and development.

Following this trend, in 2008, the World Bank merged the PCF and LICUS TF, and started to build peace with two goals of state-building and peacebuilding. During the 'integrated engagement', from 2008 to now, the idea that the previous post-conflict reconstruction approach for poor government's reform is only fragmentary improvement and that prevention of fragile countries can be achieved only when support is integrated from a more comprehensive perspective are beginning to take root in the World Bank. This is because it has been reconfirmed through several cases that a country does not always return to a normal state even if it recovers from a conflict. Also, the recurrence rate of conflict has increased, and the causes of conflict get complicated in terms of security, economy, and justice.

In 2012, the World Bank promoted internal operational model reform, establishing 14 GP systems so that experts in each field could utilize their expertise regardless of region. Issues that should always be applied to the program, regardless of field, have been designated as CCSA. In addition, by developing systematic analysis tools such as SCD and CPF, the World Bank tried to be more active in knowledge sharing activities, which can be said to be a comparative advantage of the Bank.

In 2017, the Bank tried to maximize its efficiency by changing the existing fund architecture. By integrating the existing FCV-related major funds into one lead fund, it reduced transaction costs and sought more efficient operation as a single window. Through the reorganization, five focus areas were designated to take a more systematic approach to the program and programs were classified in three dimensions: analysis, operation, and partnership. This can be seen as the World

Bank's efforts to provide effective assistance to vulnerable countries by improving the quality of the fund rather than focusing on increasing the size of the fund. SPF differs greatly from previous peacebuilding funds in that it considers the multilayered aspects of fragility that inherently cause conflicts.

Ultimately, the World Bank participated in peace activities by supporting projects to help countries rebuild after conflict, but gradually became aware of the complexity of the nature of conflict and sought to increase its effectiveness by integrating peace with its development programs in terms of prevention. This was not a change that happened overnight, and it was possible gradually from 1997, when the Bank first took part in post-conflict reconstruction, to 2020, through multi-layered analysis and partnerships as the World Bank's advantage. In other words, the World Bank's integrated engagement or approach to peacebuilding can be seen as the result of long-term efforts in the process of pursuing more effective support by overcoming the limitations of sector silos.

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국문초록

개발과 평화구축의 통합: 세계은행의 평화구축활동을 중심으로

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본 논문은 세계은행이 평화구축에 나서게 된 배경과 평화에 대한 접근법의 변천과정을 살펴보고자 한다. 오늘날 개발과 평화를 연계하는 것은 당연한 접근법인 것처럼 보이지만, 다자개발은행으로서 세계은행의 본 목적을 고려한다면 평화를 개발과 연계하려는 세계은행의 행보는 분명 주목할만한 일이다. 세계은행은 평화구축 기반이 마련되지 않은 개발협력국에서 개발 프로젝트가 성공할 수 없다는 것을 역사적 경험으로 알게 되며 1997 년부터 별도의 평화구축 펀드를 만들어 활동해왔다. 본 연구는 세계은행이 개발과 평화를 연계한 시기를 대응적, 주도적, 통합적 개입이라는 세 단계로 나누어 설명한다. 세계은행이 발간한 보고서와 우수 학자들의 연구자료를 중심으로 한 문헌 검토를 방법론으로 사용하였다. 결론적으로 세계은행은 취약한 폭력과 분쟁 환경에 처해있는 국가들을 회복력 있는 국가로 만드는 데 있어 갈등 대응과 위기 복구에 초점을 맞춘 기존의 접근법에 한계를 느꼈으며, 이를 극복하기 위하여 평화구축펀드를 단계적으로 통합하며 갈등 예방을 포함한 총체적인 평화구축 접근법으로 진화시켜왔음을 발견할 수 있다.

주제어: 개발, 평화구축, 개발-평화 넥서스, 통합적 접근, 세계은행,

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