

SECTION 6

THE ARMS TRADE TREATY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



The 2002 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) sought to provide policy and programmatic guidance to tackle:

- extreme poverty and hunger;
- the lack of universal primary education;
- gender inequality;
- high child mortality rates;
- the lack of access to healthcare, and
- environmental sustainability.¹

Armed violence had a notable impact on achieving the MDGs:² the adverse effects of arms misuse were pervasive in all the fields the MDGs sought to improve.

For this reason, this section deals with the inhibiting effect of armed violence on national and human development. It does this by briefly examining the pervasive effect that armed violence and conflict has on many sectors important to development and poverty reduction—from developing tourism opportunities to education, healthcare, investment and poverty reduction.

The sectors of development opportunities this section explores are not intended to be an exhaustive list. However, they do serve to open up the conversation on the broad benefit of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) for development.

This section begins by looking at the impact armed violence had on failure to achieve the MDGs. This highlights the reason why the successor to the MDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), include armed violence and the flow of illicit arms and ammunition as a development challenge.

THE BROADER BENEFITS: FROM MDGS TO SDGS

The MDGs were a time-bound set of goals, targets and indicators that formed a framework informing development policy for the international community. The MDG targets were to be completed by 2015.³ The MDGs tackled numerous issues hampering development progress: they monitored progress in the areas of extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, gender equality, child mortality rates, health, environmental sustainability and global partnerships in development initiatives.⁴

Progress towards attaining the MDGs saved millions of lives and improved the lives of countless more.⁵ However, progress was uneven, with notable shortfalls in many areas. By the time the MDGs were to be evaluated in 2015, the negative impact of insecurity and conflicts on achieving human and economic development was seen across all of the MDGs⁶ and, as one final MDG report noted, conflicts ‘remain the biggest threat to human development’.⁷ While peace and security were mentioned in the Preamble to the MDGs, no explicit security goal was included to contribute to development outcomes.⁸

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MDGs to SGDs: Why the inclusion of arms flows?

Not a single low-income fragile or conflict-affected country achieved an MDG.⁹ In fact, during 2000–2015, so far as attaining positive MDG outcomes was concerned, the gap increased between conflict-affected developing states and peaceful developing countries.¹⁰ It is expected that by 2030, '75% of people in extreme poverty will be living in countries at risk from high levels of violence'.¹¹

During the 1990s, of the 49 major conflicts worldwide, 'small arms were the key weapons in 47 of them'.¹² The availability, excessive accumulation and circulation of arms and ammunition as a contributor to armed violence proved to be a serious impediment to achieving the MDGs.¹³ Unregulated flows of arms can exacerbate the duration, lethality and intensity of conflicts.¹⁴ It was clear that poverty would not be eradicated without addressing violence and its drivers; on the other hand, socio-economic underdevelopment can be a breeding ground for conflict.¹⁵

The MDG framework provided robust and reliable data for evidence-based decision-making when designing its post-2015 successor.¹⁶ The 'trend towards multidimensional violence has coincided with a broadening of the concept of development':¹⁷ development theories had broadened to include approaches to capturing the lived experience of millions of people in developing countries. But the aim of the MDGs was limited because it took 'too narrow a view on development and ignores the interrelations among various aspects of development'.¹⁸

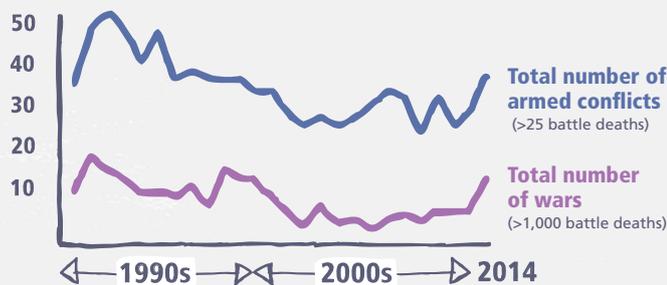
The 'universality of Goal 16—peaceful and capable institutions, may apply to all countries at different stages of development, but for the 1.5 billion people living in conflict-affected situations around the globe, the premium on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions is real-time worthy'.¹⁹

The g7+ Global perspectives on the sustainable development goals (2015)

TODAY'S WORLD...

RECENT INCREASES IN ARMED CONFLICT ARE PUTTING LONGER-TERM ADVANCES IN GLOBAL PEACE AT RISK

Progress in reducing conflict, which peaked following the Cold War, was made in the 1990s and 2000s. However, in recent years the incidence of armed conflicts – including outright wars – has increased sharply.¹



Meanwhile, the number of direct fatalities from armed conflict has risen dramatically.²



DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE IS RISING AS A CONSEQUENCE OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

The number of people forcibly displaced at the end of 2014 had risen to a staggering 59.5 million compared to 37.5 million a decade ago.³ Globally, one in every 122 humans is now either a refugee, internally displaced, or seeking asylum.

Design: Saferworld 'From agreement to action: Building peaceful, just and inclusive societies through the 2030 Agenda', September 2015, 6.

The SDGs, which replaced the MDGs in 2015,²⁰ are a set of 17 aspirational Global Goals with 169 targets, to be achieved by 2030. They encompass a universal call to 'end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity'.²¹ As an outcome of strong negotiation from key states and civil society, the SDGs are broader in scope than the MDGs and seek to deal with the root causes of development issues.²² It was argued that fostering peaceful societies and resolving conflict established security that built the foundations on which to generate employment and improved livelihoods.²³ Therefore, unlike the MDGs, the SDGs explicitly addressed arms flows as a development issue:²⁴ SDG 16.3 promotes a well-defined target to 'significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows' by 2030.²⁵ SDG 5.2 aims to eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls.²⁶

The ATT also has a role in achieving SDG 11, which aims to make cities safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable, and SDG 11.4, which aims to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage.²⁷ These links are explored in more detail below.

If the total number of people displaced were the population of a country, it would be the world's 24th biggest.



WIDESPREAD CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE MEANS DEVELOPMENT IN REVERSE

In 2013, half of all out-of-school children lived in countries affected by conflict, representing almost 29 million children.⁴



MDG 2

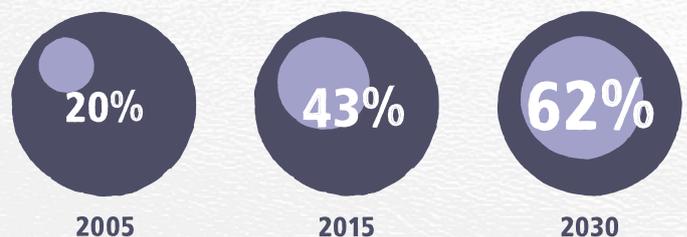
The reduction in infant mortality in conflict-affected countries is half of what it is in other countries.⁵



MDG 5

EXTREME POVERTY WILL INCREASINGLY BE CONCENTRATED IN COUNTRIES AT RISK OF HIGH LEVELS OF CONFLICT

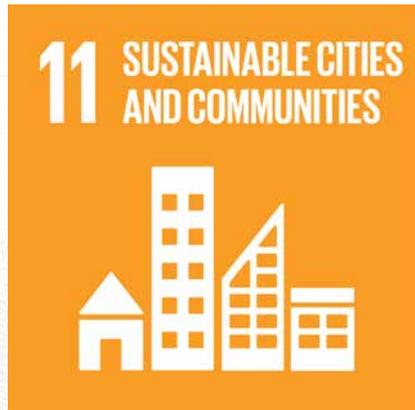
In 2005, 20% of the world's population living in absolute poverty resided in conflict-affected and fragile states – by 2015, this number had more than doubled to 43%. By 2030, even under the best-case scenario, 62% of the global poor will be located in conflict-affected and fragile states.⁶



...NEEDS PEACE

<https://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/agreement-to-action.pdf>

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS



What are the effects of armed violence on development outcomes?

The inclusion of finance and arms flows necessitates examining how arms flows affect development outcomes within the broader economic and human security framework.

FRAMING THE DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGE IN FRAGILE CONFLICT OR VIOLENCE AFFECTED COUNTRIES	
<p>People in fragile conflict- and violence-affected states account for 47% of the total populations of developing countries. This means that '1.5 billion people live in countries affected by fragility, conflict or violence'.²⁸</p>	
The accumulation and circulation of illicit arms:	The short- and long-term effects of living in fragile or violence-affected countries include:
hinders poverty reduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Countries affected by fragility, conflict or violence contain 61% of the world's impoverished.²⁹ • A country affected by major violence during 1981–2005 had an average poverty rate 21 percentage points higher than a country without violence.³⁰ • 'Poverty reduction lags by 2.7 percentage points for every three years a country is affected by major violence.'³¹
results in death	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Armed violence is among the leading causes of death for persons between the ages of 15 and 44.³² • In one middle-income state 'more adolescents die from violence than do children under 5 from disease and ill health'.³³ • 58 countries have a homicide rate higher than 10 per 100,000 people.³⁴ • 14 countries suffer a homicide rate higher than 30 per 100,000 people.³⁵ • Attempted and completed homicide are a huge stress on health system funding and also affect national economies through lost productivity.
destroys prospects	<p>Fragile conflict- or violence-affected states have:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 60% of the world's undernourished. • 65% of people without access to safe water. • 70% of global infant mortalities.³⁶
causes displacement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By the end of 2014, conflicts had forced almost 60 million people to abandon their homes.³⁷ • 'Every day, 42,000 people on average are forcibly displaced and compelled to seek protection due to conflicts.'³⁸ • Children accounted for half of the global refugee population.³⁹

THE ARMS TRADE TREATY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

	Non-conflict	Conflict and post-conflict
damages the environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The natural environment can be damaged as illicit resource extraction, poaching and trafficking are a source of finance for non-government armed groups.⁴⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Damaging the natural environment and scorched earth are tactics of war that have been prohibited in the Additional Protocol 1 (1977) to the Geneva Conventions.⁴¹ War can cause the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> contamination of land; destruction of forests; plunder of natural resources; and collapse of management systems.⁴²
decreases school attendance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Of the children not in primary school, 77% are in countries affected by fragility, conflict or violence.⁴³ 'In countries affected by conflict, the proportion of out-of-school children increased from 30 per cent in 1999 to 36 per cent in 2012.'⁴⁴ 	
discourages investment ⁴⁵	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insecurity is seen to create major obstacles to investment.⁴⁶ 'Trade can take many years to recover as a result of investor perceptions of risk.'⁴⁷ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trade can drop between 12% and 25% in the first year of a civil conflict. For larger civil wars the loss of trade is around 40%. An interruption in trade can last for up to 25 years.⁴⁸

The relationship between SDG 16 and the ATT

The ATT does not explicitly require adverse developmental impacts to be considered as criteria in its risk assessment.⁴⁹ However, development is embedded in the principal purpose of the ATT. The treaty Preamble builds on the ATT's broader purpose of promoting development by:

*'Recalling Article 26 of the Charter of the United Nations which seeks to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, Acknowledging that peace and security, development and human rights are pillars of the United Nations system and foundations for collective security and recognizing that development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing.'*⁵⁰

Through the Preamble the ATT acknowledges the guiding influence of the UN Charter. The Preamble reiterates the importance of considering the Charter's three pillars—peace and security, development, and human rights—as the foundation of collective security. Further to this, Article 55 of the UN Charter recognises that 'higher standards of living ... and conditions of economic and social progress and development' lead to 'conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations'.⁵¹ The UN Charter continues that these socio-economic gains are ensured through 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all'.⁵²

*'Development, human rights and peace and security are indivisible and interrelated. Each cannot be achieved without achieving the other. They should be viewed as interrelated dimensions of one goal whether called development, well-being or human security ... Any deficit in one dimension, will have an impact on the other. Any deficit in one country, will also have an impact in other countries ... Progressive globalization keeps increasing the likelihood of these cross-border spillovers.'*⁵³

UN System Task Team (2012)

The ATT 'risk assessment'⁵⁴ (see *Section 2*) reinforces peace, security and social progress. It does this, in part, through contributing to prohibiting arms transfers to end-users engaged in war crimes and violations of international laws, including IHRL and IHL.⁵⁵

So while the treaty text does not explicitly refer to socio-economic 'development', its objectives support secure and just societies necessary for development.⁵⁶ Stable, secure and safe societies have been demonstrated to enable development policies and improve development outcomes.⁵⁷ Advocates and implementers of the SDGs have acknowledged the value of the ATT in facilitating action against irresponsible arms and ammunition transfers that will achieve the targets of the SDGs.⁵⁸ In its Preamble, the ATT acknowledges that peace and security, development and human rights are pillars of the United Nations. In recognising these rights, the treaty draws on the sentiment expressed in the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Right to Development (1986) which identifies development as an inalienable human right.

'... development, security and human rights are not only ends in themselves—they reinforce each other, and depend on each other. In our interconnected world, the human family will not enjoy development without security, it will not enjoy security without development, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.'⁶⁰

UN Secretary-General
Kofi Annan (2005)

The Broader Benefits of the ATT for the SDGs

States Parties to the ATT have acknowledged the link between the ATT and the SDGs. Recently, at the third Preparatory Conference to the 3rd Conference of States Parties to the ATT, a working paper on the link between SDGs 16 and 5 was introduced.⁶¹

The table below outlines how implementing the ATT contributes to achieving the SDGs. This table is intended only as a brief overview to generate discussion. What the reader may notice is that the benefits of the ATT for the SDGs extend beyond targets directly related to arms flow and security.

Like the SDGs, the ATT is broad in scope, with beneficial flow-on effects. For example, as highlighted in this table, the ATT also has benefits for contributing to SDG targets aimed at protecting and empowering women. In this table and in the subsection on tourism we see that the ATT has benefits in protecting cultural and natural heritage from armed groups that poach, loot and traffic in such goods to finance operations. As one purpose of the ATT is to prevent diversions to unauthorised end-users, the ATT also helps SDG 11 to provide safe cities by preventing arms flows to criminal gangs and terrorist groups.

SDG 16	Non-conflict	Conflict
16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.	The ATT can help stem the flow of arms used in homicides. In one region affected by armed violence firearms are used in 69% of murders. ⁶²	<p>The ATT can help stem flows of arms and ammunition that prolong and exacerbate conflict.⁶³ The ATT risk assessment will help to prevent diversions of arms and transfers to irresponsible end-users that undermine peace and security and enable criminal and terrorist organisations.⁶⁴</p> <p>The ATT risk-assessment process can also highlight uncharacteristic requests or requests for excessive supplies of arms. This can help to prevent the destabilising accumulation or diversion of arms, ammunition, parts and components, where requests seem excessive for the end-user's proposed use.⁶⁵</p>
16.3 Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.	The ATT will form part of international trade law that helps combat corruption and illicit trade.	<p>As demonstrated in Section 4, the ATT contributes to IHL and IHRL by stemming arms flows and helping to provide a secure environment in which IHL can be applied.</p> <p>The ATT will not affect licit arms and ammunition transfers to responsible end-users. It will, however, prevent their supply to irresponsible end-users who violate human rights and international law. The ATT will enhance respect for IHL, IHRL and protection for women and children.⁶⁶</p>
16.4 By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime.	<p>The objective of the ATT is to 'prevent and eradicate the illicit trade in conventional arms and prevent their diversion'.⁶⁷</p> <p>Arms are both an enabler and the product of illicit trade. The ATT explicitly seeks to combat illicit trade and prevent new arms supply in order to reduce organised crime through its required prohibitions⁶⁸ and risk assessment.⁶⁹</p>	Illicit arms are an enabler of predacious armed groups in conflict that can live off communities through theft. ⁷⁰ The ATT can help diminish the supply of arms to armed groups. In the long-term, this serves to protect affected communities' property rights against such groups by implementing its prohibitions ⁷¹ and by States Parties conducting comprehensive export risk assessments. ⁷²

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SDG 16	Non-conflict	Conflict
<p>16.5 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms.</p>	<p>The arms industry is viewed 'as prone to bribery and corruption'.⁷³ The ATT will standardise common trade procedures that will close gaps where corruption can occur.</p> <p>By using the ATT's export risk assessment, States Parties may also consider the possibility of the diversion of a legal transfer by means of corruption and bribery. They may then choose to decline a transfer if the risk of corruption and diversion is an 'overriding risk'.⁷⁴</p>	
<p>16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels.</p>	<p>One purpose of the ATT is to promote 'cooperation, transparency and responsible action by States Parties in the international trade in conventional arms'.⁷⁵ The ATT requires States Parties to be transparent by reporting actual or authorised transfers.⁷⁶ It also encourages the accountability of all trade stakeholders to ensure that a transfer is legal and secure.</p>	<p>The ATT seeks to establish accountability for exporters who transfer conventional arms and ammunition despite having knowledge at the time of authorising a transfer that the end-use is either prohibited or is likely to undermine peace and security.</p>
<p>16.A Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime.⁷⁷</p>	<p>Building national control systems, including comprehensive border controls under the ATT, offers a range of measures to prevent diversions. These include developing stockpile management and restricting, limiting or denying the authorisation of trade where the risk of diversion to criminal and terrorist organisations cannot be mitigated to less than an 'overriding risk'.⁷⁸</p> <p>The treaty explicitly commits to international assistance and cooperation in capacity-building. For example, international assistance may include institutional capacity-building and technical, material or financial assistance.⁷⁹</p>	<p>The ATT can help to stem the flow of illicit arms to improve security in peacekeeping operations and humanitarian relief.⁸⁰</p> <p>In implementing the ATT, each State Party may seek assistance with stockpile management and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs.⁸¹ The ATT also offers institutional capacity-building and technical, material or financial assistance.⁸² This will be provided through either a range of partners or the ATT Voluntary Trust Fund.⁸³</p>

THE ARMS TRADE TREATY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

SDG 5 and 11	Non-conflict	Conflict
<p>5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.</p> <p><i>(See Section 4 for more details on the broader benefits of the ATT to reducing gender-based violence.)</i></p>	<p>The ATT risk assessment has made violence against women and children a criterion for consideration.⁸⁴</p> <p>The ATT will also prevent the diversion of arms to criminal organisations that profit from prostitution and human trafficking.⁸⁵ Gender equality, safe environments where women and girls can be empowered, and the protection of children should all be considered in an ATT risk assessment.⁸⁶</p>	<p>The ATT is the first legally binding instrument to connect arms transfers to gender-based violence. Women and children are disproportionately affected by armed violence.⁸⁷ In some conflicts children are exploited as soldiers.⁸⁸</p> <p>Many export officials, while conducting an arms transfer risk assessment, examine information from UN reports, reports of non-government organisations (NGOs) and media reports to assess gender-based and human rights violations.⁸⁹</p> <p>If there is an ‘overriding risk’ of gender-based violence, then the exporting states must mitigate the risk to below an overriding risk for authorisation to proceed.⁹⁰ Such mitigation should involve measures aimed at the importing states. This will contribute to safe environments for women and children.⁹¹</p>
<p>Goal 11 Make cities safe, inclusive, resilient and sustainable.</p>	<p>The ATT establishes measures to combat the diversion of arms.⁹² By requiring States Parties to establish and develop their national control systems,⁹³ this will help to prevent illicit trade in conventional arms and ammunition.</p> <p>The ATT risk assessment also requires States Parties to consider the impact a transfer may have on human rights, on gender-based violence and on violations of international laws.⁹⁴</p> <p>Urbanisation and inequality can drive armed violence. The ATT can act as a mechanism for helping to prevent illicit or irresponsible trade in arms. States Parties may include or promote discussion on including small arms proliferation and urban violence as part of a transfer risk assessment process.</p> <p>National control systems could help to reduce the diversion of arms flowing into cities that are otherwise misused to commit urban armed violence, and which facilitate gang and terrorist activities. This would assist police in making cities safer.⁹⁵</p>	
<p>11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage.</p>	<p>Criminal activity threatens cultural and natural heritage. Arms enable groups that finance their operations, in part, through illicit trafficking of poached natural resources or looting of archaeological sites and museums.⁹⁶</p> <p>The ATT can contribute to a diminishing supply of arms and ammunition to criminal or terrorist groups that profit from trafficking in cultural and natural heritage.⁹⁷</p>	<p>Archaeological sites and cultural monuments are also threatened by their military use and targeting.⁹⁸</p> <p>The ATT can contribute to strengthening efforts to restrict the supply of arms to irresponsible end-users who use or target heritage that is important for cultural identity.</p>

The ATT can enhance the effectiveness of the SDGs' framework, particularly Goal 16. Poorly regulated arms transfers fuel both conflict and non-conflict armed violence that hinders human and economic development.⁹⁹ Poorly regulated arms transfers can lead to insecure environments that destroy lives, impede new investment and damage existing infrastructure. In effect, it is development in reverse.¹⁰⁰ Vice versa, underdevelopment can promote the proliferation of illicit arms. It is at this moment that a strong and comprehensive ATT can prevent the flow of illicit arms into underdeveloped spaces in which the people are looking for alternative means of employment.

SDG indicators and the ATT

Each target has one or more indicators to measure where a state is on track to reaching its SDG targets and such goals. For example:

Target 16.4: 'By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime.'

Indicator 16.4.2: 'Proportion of seized, found or surrendered arms whose illicit origin or context has been traced or established by a competent authority in line with international instruments.'¹⁰¹

The ATT has a role to play in minimising the number of illicit arms by implementing comprehensive national control systems and ensuring responsible trade. The ATT can also be more effective if implemented in collaboration with the UN small arms Programme of Action (UNPoA), which outlines provisions on stockpile management, marking and tracing that limit the diversion of legal arms to the illicit market once they are transferred.¹⁰² Reporting on seized, found or surrendered illicit arms can contribute to tracing the origin or departure of the arms from legal possession. This could indicate a gap in the arms trade system or national control systems, or issues with the implementation of the ATT. In this way, the SDG indicators could also potentially measure the effect of the ATT.



UN Photo: Martine Perret

THE BROADER BENEFITS: TOURISM

Worldwide, recipients of international tourism earned US\$1260 billion in 2015, while the benefit for the international passenger transport industry was US\$211 billion.¹⁰³ This brings ‘the total value of tourism exports up to US\$1.5 trillion, or US\$4 billion a day on average’.¹⁰⁴ This means that international tourism represents 7% of global goods and services, ranking third in the global export category after fuels and chemicals.¹⁰⁵

Europe and North America remain the most popular tourist destinations.¹⁰⁶ However, investment in tourism is a key driver of socio-economic progress in developing countries.¹⁰⁷ ‘In many developing countries, tourism ranks as the first export sector.’¹⁰⁸ Tourism’s services-based industry can be more sustainable and stable than the comparatively more volatile resource extraction industry, upon which many emerging economies rely.¹⁰⁹ Tourism can lead to sustainable benefits in:

- job creation and enterprises: ‘Tourism is responsible for one out of 11 jobs and 10% of the world’s economic output’;¹¹⁰
- the diversification of national economies;
- export revenues;¹¹¹
- creating economic opportunities countrywide, thanks to its extensive value-chain penetration.¹¹²

In addition, there are indirect linkages that benefit:

- the food and beverage industry—agriculture and fisheries;
- infrastructure development;¹¹³
- construction and utilities, and
- telecommunications.¹¹⁴

Emerging economies in developing countries captured 45% of the market share of tourist arrivals in 2015.¹¹⁵ This figure is projected to rise to 57% by the end of the SDGs in 2030.¹¹⁶ However, clients of the tourism industry are sensitive to changes in the security situation and can easily damage a national or regional industry when they sense insecurity. In the event of widespread or targeted interpersonal violence, tourists can quickly switch to another destination with similar characteristics.¹¹⁷ One example from the South Pacific saw tourism drop by 41% due to a *coup d’état* and racial violence. This caused the state’s economy to shrink by 9.3% in the year after the *coup*.¹¹⁸

How armed violence damages the tourism industry

There is a dearth of global statistical research on the effect of armed violence on tourism. Sources tend to be individual case studies or small-sample quantitative studies. However, one authoritative study of global effects of political violence on tourism has demonstrated that ‘substantial increases in political violence lower tourism in the long run by about one-quarter’.¹¹⁹ Researchers found evidence that human rights violations, terrorist incidents and other politically motivated violent events have a significant negative impact upon tourist arrivals. The largest single adverse effect was a substantial increase in human rights violations, which could reduce tourist arrivals by up to 32%.¹²⁰

There is some evidence that political violence can even have spillover effects where instability in one country can negatively affect tourist arrivals in the region.¹²¹ An example of regional disruption is the Caribbean: the increased availability of high-powered firearms, illicit trafficking, subsequent armed violence and increased casualties are cause for concern for regional economies that are heavily reliant on tourism.¹²² Security and public safety are important factors for tourism-driven economic activity.¹²³

How the ATT helps secure tourism

THE BENEFITS OF THE ATT TO THREE TYPES OF TOURISM		
SDG 16	Impact of armed violence	Benefit of the ATT
Cultural tourism	<p>Economics and security—If a significant portion of state discretionary spending originates from tourism, armed anti-government groups can destabilise communities, cutting finance by violently reducing tourism.</p> <p>Personal safety—Tourists can be deterred by the presence of heavily armed police or armed forces deployed for state or community safety.</p> <p>Warnings—Governments can issue travel warnings for departing citizens, warning them not to visit countries affected by armed violence.¹²⁴</p>	<p>The treaty has the effect of preventing terrorist groups or organised criminals from damaging or profiting from looted cultural heritage artefacts or poached natural assets. Such criminal activity can damage cultural sites or natural assets that attract international visitors. Insecure environments can also act as a disincentive to tourists. The ATT requires States Parties to assess and mitigate the risk that a transfer of conventional arms will be used to commit or facilitate transnational terrorist or organised crime.¹²⁵</p> <p>These risk-assessment criteria require mitigation under the treaty, and so they would involve many terrorist and criminal activities, including wildlife trafficking, human trafficking and prostitution to finance operations. Furthermore, many of these organisations have been implicated in forcibly recruiting child soldiers to serve in illicit poaching operations.¹²⁶ Firearms are often enablers in poaching and illicit trade operations. The ATT will help to diminish the supply of illicit arms, making poachers or traders less able to resist anti-poaching operations.</p>
Wildlife tourism	<p>Fourteen African countries earn approximately US\$142 million per year in entrance fees for protected areas —national parks and safari reserves.¹³¹</p> <p>There is evidence that some organised crime and territorial insurgent groups can act as surrogate states, using the wildlife trade, among other things, to finance operations. For example, some African terrorist groups use ivory poaching to finance their operations.¹³²</p>	<p>States Parties are also required to take steps to prevent the diversion of arms and ammunition to unauthorised end-use or end-users.¹²⁷ The ATT will help restrict the growth of militant, terrorist and criminal groups by limiting the supply of essential tools, namely firearms. This will help to provide security in tourist destinations and protect natural and cultural attractions.</p>
Heritage tourism	<p>Cultural property is threatened by illicit trafficking during conflicts. When law and order breaks down, the looting of archaeological sites and museums is made easier and more profitable for criminal groups.</p> <p>Archaeological sites and monuments are also threatened by their military use and targeting.¹³³</p>	<p>Human rights violations dissuade tourists. The ATT can help to provide a safer, more secure environment to promote tourism. The ATT does this by including serious human rights violations, IHL and gender violence as criteria for transfer risk assessments.¹²⁸ If these violations are serious in scope (see Section 5), an exporting party must mitigate risks before the transfer can proceed.¹²⁹ This includes developing mitigation measures with the importing state.¹³⁰ This inhibits arms transfers to places where serious human rights violations are occurring, creates a safe environment for visitors and can set the foundations on which to build a tourism industry.</p> <p>The ATT can also help to achieve SDG Goal 11.4—to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage. It can prevent the diversion of arms that enable criminals to poach, loot, target or use cultural heritage in their operations.</p>

The ATT can help provide the secure and safe environment within which the tourism industry thrives. As demonstrated, increased human rights violations are the single largest adverse effect on tourist arrivals. The ATT can help to secure against terrorism and build a safe and stable environment, reducing access to arms by organised criminals who affect the personal safety of tourists or damage the host country's reputation.

THE BROADER BENEFITS: EDUCATION

Armed conflict and post-conflict violence often significantly reduce access to education.¹³⁴ As reduced access does not affect socio-economic classes and genders equally, this can deepen inequality in societies and create an increased risk of conflict.¹³⁵ As a result, diminished educational opportunities and an increased risk of armed violence can create a cyclical effect.

Education enrolment rates in developing countries increased from 83% in 2000 to 91% in 2015.¹³⁶ However, approximately 16 million girls aged between 6 and 11 will never learn to read and write—a rate twice that of boys of the same age group.¹³⁷ Children in conflict—affected countries comprise 17% of global primary school-aged children, but 36% of children are denied an education. State fragility or armed conflict results in children being twice as likely to not be in schooling than those living in peaceful developing countries.¹³⁸

In one of the most violent regions of the world, widespread firearm proliferation, gang violence and the illicit drug trade severely undermine safety on school campuses. Threats to students and teachers can arise from students taking small arms to school. In one country, 69 firearms were confiscated by educational authorities, while in another in the same region 42 weapons, including guns and grenades, were seized. In a neighbouring state '13% of school students had witnessed the presence of firearms on campus, 14% claimed to have easy access to a firearm in their school and its surroundings, and 4% claimed to have brought one to school'.¹³⁹ The ease of access indicated high levels of firearm availability.

How armed violence affects access to education and its outcomes

There are many direct and indirect ways that armed violence affects educational outcomes and reduced labour market opportunities later in life. Some of the impacts of armed violence in conflict and non-conflict contexts include:

- Destruction of infrastructure or lack of access to schools used for military purposes.
 - '... collapse of government provision of goods and services, including schooling, due to lack of financial resources or the diversion of finances to military efforts.'¹⁴⁰
- Absence of teaching staff. Teachers and students may be targeted in violent attacks.
- Recruitment of schoolchildren as child soldiers. Children are also recruited as:
 - porters;
 - messengers;
 - cooks;
 - providers of sexual services.¹⁴¹
- Gendered educational access. In short, dangerous environments can result in girls not being sent to school.
 - Armed groups may attack socially exposed girls and women.¹⁴²
 - Armed groups may disallow female education for ideological or religious reasons.¹⁴³
- Reallocation of household labour to children due to household financial burdens or conflict—recruitment, death or injury of adult family members due to armed violence.¹⁴⁴

Poverty, malnourishment and illness exacerbated by armed conflict are shown to have adverse effects on children's educational development. This may precipitate dropouts and lower school completion rates.¹⁴⁵ Armed violence can also cause displacement or forced migration, which are likely to inhibit education.¹⁴⁶ In some regions affected by post-conflict and non-conflict violence the dominant groups may restrict educational access based on constructed ethno-racial, class, linguistic or religious divides.¹⁴⁷

Education as a human right

The Geneva Academy finds that authoritative bodies on international human rights, legal mechanisms and precedent⁽⁹⁾ have established that prolonged disruption to education constitutes a serious violation of human rights.¹⁴⁸ This should be a consideration in the ATT risk-assessment process.¹⁴⁹

Insecurity and state fragility are demonstrably linked to a lack of access to education, while a lack of education can exacerbate armed violence through lack of workforce opportunity.¹⁵⁰ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that 'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages'¹⁵¹ This may be read with the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Right to Development (1986), which commits states to: and 'undertake, at the national level, all necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and shall ensure, inter alia, equality of opportunity for all in their access to ... education'.¹⁵²

Combined, these two declarations promote education because it is seen to be '*directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.*'¹⁵³

How the ATT contributes to safe access to education

The ATT requires an exporting state to consider 'the risk of the conventional arms being used to commit or facilitate ... serious acts of violence against women and children'.¹⁵⁴ In this way the treaty requires the exporter's risk assessment to consider an 'overriding risk' that arms and ammunition could be diverted to irresponsible end-users, systematically inhibiting access to education. In addition, the ATT was adopted, in part, to contribute to international human rights protections. The treaty strengthens human rights law that protects a right to education. It requires risk-assessment criteria to include where arms transfers could be used to 'commit or facilitate a serious violation of international human rights law'.¹⁵⁵ Any risk must be mitigated to below an 'overriding risk' for the arms transfer authorisation to proceed.

The ATT contributes to reducing arms diversions, which in turn will reduce access to arms that fuel conflict, preventing crimes that deter children from attending school. The ATT contributes to secure and stable environments within which schools and education can be safely provided. Reducing arms diversion and the tools that fuel conflict can ensure environments in which education is able to flourish.

(i) CmHPR, *World Organization against Torture v Zaire*, 1996, paras 42–48.



Photo: Eskinder Debebe

THE BROADER BENEFITS: PUBLIC HEALTH

Public health is negatively affected by armed violence, both in and out of conflict. This includes the direct cost of injury and death, but also in conflict situations where healthcare systems are overburdened or inadequately resourced in funding, medical staff and medical supplies. This subsection explores the adverse effects of armed violence on conflict and non-conflict access to adequate healthcare.

Non-conflict armed violence burdens healthcare

The misuse of firearms has a serious impact on public health. Between 2007 and 2012, 46.3% of worldwide homicides outside conflict were committed with firearms. In one region the proportion was 69%.¹⁵⁶ Non-conflict homicide rates are a good indicator of the economic impacts of armed violence; however, the Geneva Declaration (2008) warns that disaggregated data and analysis are limited, and that figures collected in conflict zones are often more thorough.¹⁵⁷ As a result, the economic costs of armed violence tend to focus narrowly on conflict zones. Meanwhile, public health researchers argue that armed violence can actually increase in post-conflict situations.¹⁵⁸

Estimates from one high-income country place the economic cost of a single shooting at US\$250,000, amounting to US\$100 billion a year.¹⁵⁹ Eighty per cent of the economic cost of treatment and care in this country was covered by tax funding.¹⁶⁰ Slightly older, but more specific research, conducted in 2001 on high-violence middle-income countries calculated that 5–10% of these states' GDP was spent on firearm-related medical costs.¹⁶¹

Conflict and state fragility can inhibit access to healthcare

Conflict zones have a broad effect on public health. The direct impact is approximately 152,000 conflict-related deaths in 2015, or 3% of global deaths.¹⁶² The indirect consequences include:

- the displacement of populations,
- a diminishing ability to access healthcare,
- the breakdown of health services and access to doctors, and
- a heightened risk of combat death, injury and disease.¹⁶³

Another unfortunate indicator of a lack of access to healthcare is that fragile, conflict and post-conflict states account for 70% of global infant mortality.¹⁶⁴

In one nation afflicted by conflict and humanitarian crisis the 'health system is barely functioning, due to a severe shortage of skilled health workers and medical supplies'.¹⁶⁵ Approximately half the population of this country was dependent on humanitarian aid to survive. This resulted in a high death toll from easily preventable diseases, due to limited access to vaccination and sanitation. In the state capital, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) assisted in 8,965 births and 'offered comprehensive care to 5,239 victims of violence and 1,341 victims of sexual violence'.¹⁶⁶ In 2016, many other humanitarian organisations withdrew from the state in question, further burdening groups such as MSF. As at 2016, two MSF medical staff had been killed in conflict between armed groups.¹⁶⁷

How the ATT contributes to sustainable and accessible healthcare

As demonstrated, pervasive armed violence burdens healthcare resources. In non-conflict contexts, care, injury and disability is expensive and can have indirect costs in lost productivity. Conflict can see increases in injury and death, on the one hand, and financial strain on healthcare services, on the other. For example, the ATT commits States Parties to:

- recognise also the challenges faced by victims of armed conflict and their need for adequate care, rehabilitation and social and economic inclusion;¹⁶⁸
- reduce human suffering.¹⁶⁹

The treaty does this in part by prohibiting transfers when there is knowledge at the time of authorisation that the arms 'would be used in the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, attacks directed against civilian objects or civilians protected as such, or other war crimes'.¹⁷⁰ This provision should protect injured people and public health infrastructure from damage or destruction.¹⁷¹ Inhibiting access to healthcare may also violate a person's human rights (see *Section 5*).¹⁷²

Revisiting *Section 4*, faithfully implementing the ATT can diminish illicit diversions in non-conflict and post-conflict situations. In addition, the ATT can contribute to post-conflict responses which involve weapon collection.¹⁷³ This would restrict illicit arms and ammunition to criminal and terrorist organisations in non-conflict or post-conflict contexts, diminishing their ability to inflict armed violence.¹⁷⁴ The ATT contributes to secure environments where medical and humanitarian assistance can be safely delivered.¹⁷⁵ The ATT does this by strengthening compliance with IHL and IHRL.¹⁷⁶

THE BROADER BENEFITS: INFRASTRUCTURE AND INVESTMENT

In our globalising world, building resilience in fragile states or post-conflict capacity-building is important for humanitarian concerns and for regional security. Some argue that capacity-building to develop resilient institutions and infrastructure is one of the most important security challenges of the 21st century.¹⁷⁷ This is because post-conflict and fragile states can act as havens for terrorist and criminal actors that can destabilise states and the region.¹⁷⁸

Worldwide, there are large disparities in investment in infrastructure and amenities:

- approximately 1.1 billion people do not have access to electricity;
- 2,663 million people do not have access to clean water;
- 2.4 billion do not have adequate sanitation;
- about one-third of the world's population is not serviced by all-weather roads.¹⁷⁹

Investment in infrastructure and amenities is important for closing gaps in equality and building resilient communities. Infrastructure can affect inequality in three main ways:

- lowered health outcomes due to lack of access to basic services—water, sanitation and electricity;
- the lack of infrastructure such as irrigation and access to roads increases productivity and reduces trade and market access costs—helping local wealth generation;
- lack of transport and electricity can contribute to accessing jobs and livelihood.¹⁸⁰

Roads: What's at stake?

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) proposes nine highways across the continent at an estimated cost of US\$4.2 billion (2003). However, all nine of these highways pass through fragile states which, in most cases, include those portions of the roads that need the most rehabilitation. This is an expensive program, necessary to improve access to logistical infrastructure, local communities and interstate trade.

In Afghanistan, USAID provided:

- over US\$1.8 billion between 2002 and 2007 to reconstruct roads;
- an additional allocation of approximately US\$300 million funding for roads for the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP).¹⁸¹

These infrastructure programs and others show how key infrastructure can be destroyed by conflict or where state fragility can pose a risk to the sustainability of project outcomes.

Resilient and reliable civilian infrastructure is essential for economic development.¹⁸² For example there is an averaged trade-off between infrastructure investment and increases in GDP:

- a 1% increase in infrastructure is associated with a 1% increase in GDP;
- a 1% increase in telephone lines can result in a 0.2% increase in GDP.¹⁸³

These gains are important because 'a 1% increase in per capita income causes a reduction in the share of a population living in poverty by 0.5%'.¹⁸⁴ Investment in infrastructure development is estimated to generate aggregate marginal returns, particularly higher in poorer countries:

- the economic returns for telecommunication infrastructure are 30–40%;
- 40% for electricity;
- and 80% for roads.¹⁸⁵

The highest economic loss caused by armed conflict is damage and destruction of infrastructure. Armed violence can bring strategic destruction of key opposition support infrastructure—telecommunications, roads, bridges, airports and ports.¹⁸⁶ The flow-on effect can include armed groups looting hospitals and schools.¹⁸⁷ This conflict damage has potentially long-lasting post-conflict effects on civilian productivity and quality of life. Infrastructure is easily damaged or destroyed, but expensive to repair or replace.

The Impact of armed violence on Investment and Trade

Conflict and non-conflict criminal violence both reduce a state rating on the International Country Risk Guide by about 7.7 points,⁽ⁱ⁾ which an investor may consider in decision-making.¹⁸⁸ Even in non-conflict situations, arms-fuelled insecurity is seen to cause major obstacles to development when investors lose confidence in the market.¹⁸⁹ Investor confidence can also be difficult to rebuild in violence-affected and post-conflict economies due to lingering insecurity. This is not even considering the long-term loss of educated citizens as an outcome of armed conflict.

INVESTMENT IN REVERSE: THE HIDDEN COST OF ARMED VIOLENCE AND CAPITAL FLIGHT		
9% =>	20% =>	26.1% =>
In the lead-up to civil conflict, capital flight can be as high as 9% of private wealth.	During an average civil conflict, capital flight can increase to 20%.	At the end of the first decade post-conflict, capital flight has been measured at 26.1%. ¹⁹⁰

Trade is also sensitive to investor perceptions of risk, with a prolonged adverse effect in both conflict and post-conflict situations. Trade can drop on average:

- 12 and 25 per cent in the first year of a civil conflict;
- in major civil war⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ the loss of trade is around 40 per cent;
- an interruption in trade can persist for 25 years post-conflict.¹⁹¹

As demonstrated, armed violence can have a wide range of direct and indirect impacts on infrastructure, investment and trade. This can hinder the access of civilians to markets and jobs, adversely affecting their ability to develop and sustain productive livelihoods.

The ATT can build confidence and stability in a market

One purpose of the ATT is to build confidence among States Parties and contribute to international and regional peace, security and stability.¹⁹² By implementing comprehensive national systems, ATT State Parties can prevent the kinds of illicit arms flows which fuel insecurity and can cause:

- major obstacles to international investment;¹⁹³
- damage or destruction of infrastructure;
- barriers to national resource extraction and export development;¹⁹⁴
- excessive investment in the security sector, funding for which could be better invested in more productive activities.¹⁹⁵

The ATT can help offset these effects by enhancing national and regional arms control programs. The treaty inhibits inflows of illicit arms and ammunition through stronger common international standards and prevents diversion to irresponsible or illegal end-users, a precondition to overcoming localised armed violence.¹⁹⁶

Treaty compliance can also ensure that the quantity and level of sophistication of inflowing conventional arms do not contribute to instability or exacerbate existing fragility and national or regional insecurity. The treaty can therefore instil confidence in parties wishing to cultivate secure environments by inhibiting inflows of destabilising illicit conventional arms and helping to prevent local illicit arms races.¹⁹⁷ This can help to create certainty that international and domestic investment will generate returns and not be stolen, stunted or destroyed during or after armed violence.

(i) On a 100-point scale.

(ii) Major civil conflict is defined as those with a cumulative casualty rate greater than 50,000.

THE BROADER BENEFITS: POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Low-income fragile or conflict-affected states lagged 40 to 60% behind other low- and middle-income developing countries in achieving the MDGs.¹⁹⁸ Fragile, conflict-affected and post-conflict states account for 61% of global poverty,¹⁹⁹ with some African national economies retracting by 15% due to armed violence.²⁰⁰ This is not only a national problem: states adjacent to a conflict-affected country can also lose an estimated 0.7% of annual GDP.²⁰¹ A national doubling of terrorist incidents can potentially reduce bilateral trade by approximately 4%.²⁰² Furthermore, armed violence causes displacement, with approximately 75% of the world's refugees being hosted by neighbouring countries.²⁰³ These security issues compound regional developmental challenges by placing resources under additional stress.

Official Development Assistance (ODA) to fragile and conflict-affected states in 2010 amounted to US\$27 billion, with an additional US\$4.8 billion in humanitarian aid,²⁰⁴ while arms sales to fragile and conflict-affected states totalled approximately US\$1.7 billion.²⁰⁵ This means that 'military expenditure in fragile and conflict-affected countries grew by 15 percent between 2009 and 2010', whereas ODA to these countries grew by only 9% during the same period.²⁰⁶ This represents a lost opportunity to invest more in productive development initiatives, rather than high security and defence spending.

A SNAPSHOT OF INCOME LOSS TO ARMED VIOLENCE

Non-conflict	Conflict
US\$163 billion in lost productivity	60% of GDP
It is 'estimated that widespread armed violence in non-conflict settings costs US\$163 billion annually in lost productivity alone'. ²⁰⁷	'During the typical conflict the total income loss cumulates to 60 percent of a year's GDP.' ²⁰⁹
The costs of lost production can range from 2% to 3% of GDP for very high levels of violent crime. ²⁰⁸	'Civil conflict costs the average developing country roughly 30 years of GDP growth.' ²¹⁰

*'The interlink between security and development has been debated under the notion of human security, which encompasses freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity. By putting the security and prosperity of human beings at the center, human security addresses a wide range of threats, both from poverty and from violence, and their interactions.'*²¹¹

World Bank, World Development Report (2011)

People need a sense of security and certainty in order to invest in livelihoods that are productive, and to invest in their children's future. All the adverse effects of armed violence on development outcomes addressed in this section demonstrably coalesce to hinder poverty reduction. We have seen that tourism is a growing labour-intensive industry that can diversify and decentralise an economy away from capital cities. This contributes economically to a broad range of people in developing countries. However, tourism is easily disrupted by armed violence, and particularly by human rights abuses.

Healthcare and education constitute investments in human capital which require sustained investment to overcome poverty. However, such services are easily disrupted and damaged by pervasive armed violence, state fragility and conflict. Healthcare is burdened by injuries and disabilities resulting from firearms while hospitals can be targeted or looted by armed groups. Health system funding may also be disrupted by pervasive armed violence. Likewise, schools can be targeted for looting, be subjected to attacks or used for military purposes. Finally, students may be forcibly or otherwise recruited into gangs and militias.

THE ARMS TRADE TREATY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

International investment is an issue that has been revisited in this brief. In *Section 4* it examined the financial costs of disruption to industry and investment. *Section 4* focused on the additional security costs and showed how uncertainty of returns can dissuade investment in non-conflict situations; it explored disruptions to investment through a people-centred lens. Investment in infrastructure, services and amenities is shown as essential to promoting productivity by widening market access. However, widespread armed violence can damage infrastructure or prevent people from accessing the infrastructure necessary for their livelihood. In some contexts, armed groups deliberately target assets that support opposition groups, destroying communications and logistical infrastructure that is expensive to repair or replace following conflict.

The ATT is designed to assist in each of these security/development issues. Human development and a sense of security have been declared human rights. Conversely, development is seen to contribute to national and regional stability, and in turn security is necessary to ensure the sustainability of development initiatives. The SDGs aim to 'significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows' by 2030.²¹² The assistance provided by the ATT to the SDGs is demonstrated in the security and development topics examined above.

The ATT also helps to create safe and sustainable cities and other secure environments that empower women (SDG Target 5.2) by explicitly making IHL and IHRL, gender and violence against children criteria for risk assessment in arms transfers. SDG 11.4 also seeks to protect cultural and natural heritage. As demonstrated in the subsection on tourism, armed violence can be very damaging to heritage as armed groups poach, loot and damage it either for profit or for ideological reasons. By diminishing access to illicit arms and ammunition, the ATT helps to diminish the operational capacity of armed groups.



UN Photo: Logan Abassi

Summary

This section has demonstrated that the ATT provides broader development benefits in the following ways:

- The ATT can enhance the effectiveness of the SDG framework, particularly Goal 16.
- The ATT can minimise the flow of illicit arms that adds stress to conflicts and prevents development.
- The ATT can contribute to providing a stable environment in which development can flourish.
- Money spent on combating illicit arms could be spent on achieving development goals.
- The ATT contributes to providing safety and security for cultural, wildlife and heritage tourism to thrive.
- The ATT can reduce the burden placed on a public health system by armed violence.
- The ATT can contribute to an environment in which investors have confidence in the market.
- The ATT can advance poverty alleviation, or at least prevent the perpetuation of a cycle of poverty.



UN Photo: Martine Perret

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