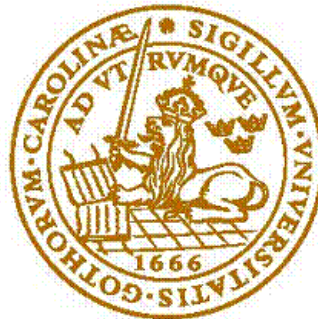


The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme: Examining its Effectiveness in Mitigating Conflict Diamonds

A Comparative Case Study between Sierra Leone and
Zimbabwe



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ABSTRACT

Diamonds are one of the most valuable elements on earth, having the potential to contribute to economic development. However, in recent years, it has come to the world's attention that the illicit trading in diamonds has financed gruesome wars and human rights abuse, and the problem has not gone away. These diamonds have come to be termed as conflict diamonds. In order to mitigate conflict diamonds altogether, the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) was established in 2003. The KPCS has shown to have had mixed success since its implementation in the conflict diamond affected countries. Both Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe are members of the KPCS, but have had different outcomes since joining. The KPCS has in fact shown to be more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe.

The aim of this paper is to determine why the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. This has been done by conducting a qualitative comparative case study of Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe in order to establish under what circumstances the KPCS can be most effective and successful. Relevant political theories have been used for the sake of answering the aim. The findings of this paper show how diamond geographical characteristics, as well as whom the main beneficiaries of the conflict diamonds are, has a significant impact on the KPCS capacity to be effective in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe. The paper concludes that the major problem of the KPCS effectiveness lies in the KPCS official definition of conflict diamonds.

Key words: Conflict Diamonds, KPCS, Effectiveness, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe.¹

Words: 8878

¹ I would like to thank my thesis advisor Anders Uhlin for his inputs.

List of Abbreviations

APC	ALL PEOPLES CONGRESS
GNU	GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY
GW	GLOBAL WITNESS
HRW	HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH
KP	KIMBERLEY PROCESS
KPCS	KIMBERLEY PROCESS CERTIFICATION SCHEME
MDC	MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE
PAC	PARTNERSHIP AFRICA CANADA
RUF	REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT
UNGA	UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
UNSC	UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
ZANU-PF	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION- PATRIOTIC FRONT

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1.1 Introduction

This opening chapter introduces the topic and objective of the thesis; underlining the relevance of the study. Thereafter, a delimitation, motivation and thesis outline follows

For centuries diamonds have been seen as a symbol of eternal love. It is also one of the most valuable elements on earth, having the potential to contribute to both economic growth and development. Despite that Africa currently accounts for approximately 65 percent of the world's supply in rough diamonds, it has not had the same economic growth or stability as other diamond abundant regions (WDC, 2008).

In the last decade, it has come to the world's attention that Africa's diamond production, and more precisely, the illegal trading of diamonds has been funding the majority of civil wars in Africa. Consequently, this has had detrimental effects on the affected countries growth and stability. The trade of these diamonds, financing civil wars have come to be termed as 'conflict diamonds' (Lwanda G, 2003).

As a result of the international communities raised awareness of conflict diamonds, the Kimberley Process (KP) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2000. The KP was a tripartite agreement between governments, industry and civil society (KP, 2015). As a result of the KP, an international certification scheme named the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) came into force in 2003. The KPCS set out requirements for regulating the rough diamond production and trade with the objective of eliminating the trade in conflict diamonds altogether, and ensuring that diamond buys are no longer funding violence in the form of war (KP, 2015).

The KPCS has been essential for breaking the connection between diamonds and conflict (GW 2013). The KPCS has been on-stream for twelve years and since its implementation its effectiveness has been widely debated. Whilst many argue how effective the scheme has been in curbing the flow of conflict diamonds. Others argue, how the KPCS has fallen short in its duties, this is because, recent cases of conflict diamonds have shown how these diamonds do not only manifest in the form of conflict, it can take other forms such as government-suppression, corruption and human rights abuse (Bieri, 2009).

1.2 Objectives and Research Question

The objective of this thesis is to determine why the KPCS has had mixed success in mitigating conflict diamonds, this will be done by looking at the two countries different circumstances. By doing a comparative case study on Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, this has the aim of showing why the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. There is a wealth of literature that explores the negative effects of conflict diamonds and the KPCS effectiveness. However, an in-depth comparison between Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe in regards to the KPCS effectiveness has not been encountered. Therefore, this paper aims to contribute to political science literature by analysing why conflict diamonds have facilitated different outcomes in the two chosen countries, in order to explain why the KPCS success differs in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. The following research question will guide the paper;

- *'Why has the KPCS been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe, and under what circumstances is the KPCS most effective?'*

1.3 Delimitations and Motivations

1.3.1 Delimitations

There are various limitations to take into consideration in regards to this paper. First of all, the paper will merely focus on the KPCS effectiveness, in the sense that it examines why it has had more success in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. Therefore, this paper will not include the process prior to the KPCS. This could have served as an interesting part of the analysis; however, this is beyond the scope of this paper, as it focuses on the effectiveness of the scheme. A second limitation to be aware of is that drawing conclusions from the analysis of two cases can potentially lead to problems with generalizability of the results (Bryman, 2008). However, I am aware of this and therefore understand that these two cases cannot explain the KPCS effectiveness as a whole.

The third limitation that has been taken into consideration is in regards to my chosen research strategy. This thesis has found a qualitative research strategy as the most suitable one. However, due to this, I must be aware of my own built-in research bias (Bryman, 2008). In order to minimise this problem, my own opinions and biases have been confronted throughout

the process of data analysis. This has been done in order to make the thesis as trustworthy as possible. The fourth limitation that has been encountered is that the thesis could have benefited greatly from interviews with KP members, as well as Sierra Leonean and Zimbabwean officials, but due to lack of time and financial constraints this was not possible. The final limitation that has been taken into account is that the KP's website has restrictions, and at some times, it was particularly hard to access information about the member countries. This could have strengthened the thesis even further.

1.3.2 Motivation

As previously mentioned, a comparative case study of Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe will be used in the hopes of answering the stated research question. The reason for choosing these two countries is that they both are major suppliers of rough diamonds, and have consequently, become dependent on the revenues diamonds produce (Le Billion, 2001; Collier, 2008). The majority of the diamonds found in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe are, or have been, conflict diamonds. Subsequently, they are both members of the KPCS. The two chosen countries are also situated in one of the poorest parts in the world, namely Sub-Saharan Africa (Collier, 2008).

Even though, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe share these similarities, they have had different outcomes since joining the KPCS. The KPCS has shown to be more successful in its implementation in Sierra Leone, this has been shown, as there has been an immense change in the countries trading of conflict diamonds (Maconachie, 2008). However, in Zimbabwe, the KPCS had not had the same success towards mitigating conflict diamonds (GW 2012). It is therefore of great relevance examining why the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The thesis is presented as follows; Section 2 presents a short background of what the KPCS exactly is and some of the major issues surrounding the two chosen cases have and are faced with. The following section presents previous studies and relevant political theory. Section 4 describes the methodology. Section 5 presents the analysis, which is the main part of the paper. A concluding section summarises my findings.

2 Background

A brief background of the KPCS and the local situation in regards to the KPCS in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe

The KPCS was a result of the KP negotiations, and is currently the only global certification scheme for rough diamonds (Kantz, 2007). The KPCS has exposed wide-ranging requirements on its members in order for them ‘to certify shipment of rough diamonds as ‘conflict free and stop conflict diamonds from entering the legitimate trade’ (KP, 2015). As of July 2013, there were 54 members in the KPCS representing in total 81 countries (KP, 2015). Under the terms of the KPCS, participant countries must:

- ‘Meet the ‘minimum requirements’ and put in place national legislation and institutions; export, import and internal controls
- Commit to transparency and the exchange of statistical data
- Participant can only legally trade with other participants who have also met the minimum requirements of the scheme
- International shipment of rough diamonds must be accompanied by a KP certificate guaranteeing that they are conflict free’

-The Kimberley Process, 2015

The KPCS has been on-stream for 12 years, and it has been argued how it has evolved into a semi-effective scheme for stopping the trade in conflict diamonds. On the one hand, statistics by the KP indicate how conflict diamonds merely represent one percent of the international trade in diamonds compared to approximately 15 percent in the late 1990s (PAC, 2015). According to these statistics the KP has been able to support development in unstable and poor countries by bringing a vast amount of diamonds onto the legal market that would otherwise not have been possible.

The case of Sierra Leone shows how there has been an immense change in the trade of conflict diamonds in the country since becoming members of the KP. Throughout the 1990s, Sierra Leone’s diamonds were able to finance rebel groups activities, which consequently led to the onset of war, this “became a tragedy for humanitarian, political and historic proportions” (PAC 2000; 3). In 2013, nine years after joining the KPCS, Sierra Leone legally

exported approximately \$184 million worth of diamonds, compared to only 1.3 million in 1999 (KP, 2013; Ellis & van Kessel, 2009). According to these statistics, it can be argued how, the KPCS has been very useful in its application, due to its success in forcing a large volume of illicit diamonds into official channels. It has been exceptionally acclaimed for its success in stopping the rebel groups who before were able to illegally capture diamond revenues (Maconachie, 2008).

In contrast to this, the KPCS has not had the same success in halting the flow of conflict diamonds in other countries. Countries such as the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic and Zimbabwe are examples of the KPCS failure. Most recently, Zimbabwe, and the Marange diamond mines have gained increased attention. This is because the Zimbabwean government has been able to control these diamonds in order to facilitate violence of their own sort and lawless competition (PAC, 2009). Consequently, the KP has been criticised for reacting with limited action towards the Marange diamonds (GW, 2013).

3 Literature Review

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework used in the thesis. Firstly, previous academic studies that have contributed to the paper are discussed; thereafter-relevant political theory on the subject is presented

3.1 Previous Studies

3.1.1 Conflict Diamonds

Commonly, natural resources like gold, diamonds and oil can be considered as major assets for economic growth and development, while a lack of resources is can be seen as a limit to economic and development possibilities (Reddy et al, 2005). Diamonds are one of the most valuable elements on earth, consequently, it could be anticipated that they would provide major assets for economic growth and development. However, in countries like Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) diamonds have not facilitated this. Instead, diamonds have contributed to poverty, war and political uncertainty (Reddy et al, 2005). Silverstein (2003) argues how diamonds are the easiest targets for rebels and government officials; because they are easily smuggled, extremely profitable and small in size. Conflict diamonds are the ones that are mined or sold in order to provide resources for weapons, and facilitate civil wars. In the last two decades, conflict diamonds, have been major sources of civil wars within Africa. Consequently, these diamonds have resulted in the deaths of numerous people (Reno, 2000).

3.1.2 Lootable and Non-Lootable Resources

Natural resources are categorized into two groups; lootable and non-lootable resources (Snyder & Bhavni, 2005). They are categorised in this way in order to distinguish between natural resources that produce rents and does that do not (Le Billion, 2001). Lootable resources are the ones that are geographically disperse and have low economic barriers; due to their geological characteristics various actors can easily and effortlessly capture them in order to acquire profits. Non-lootable on the other hand, are geographically concentrated and require a considerable amount of capital and technology in order to attain profit (Snyder & Bhavni, 2005). In regards to diamonds, Passas and Jonas (2006) state how diamonds are also divided into two major groups of deposits, these being either kimberlite or alluvial diamonds.

Taken these distinctions, it has been argued how, kimberlite diamonds are lootable resources, as they require an ample amount of capital and advanced technology for extraction. Alluvial diamonds, on the other hand, can be regarded as lootable resources, as they are found near the earth's surface, and require only a small amount of capital and manual labour in order to be mined (Snyder & Bhavani, 2005).

In order to have control of lootable resources, such as alluvial diamonds, the government must invest a significant amount in its security sector; this is because artisanal miners usually violate and access lootable resources and their mines. Therefore, it becomes challenging for governments to maintain control where lootable resources exist. This is especially the case, when countries have weak institutions or poor systems of governance. As well as this, Snyder & Bhavni (2005) argue that countries with; weak institutions, are politically instable and have a vast supply of lootable resource has a bigger tendency to experience civil war than countries that have strong institutions and are instead endowed with non-lootable resources such as kimberlite diamonds. However, they argue how there is no guarantee that a country with a vast supply of non-lootable resources will achieve stability, as corruption can occur by political leaders and elites (Snyder & Bhavni, 2005). Smilie (2005) states how alluvial diamonds that are lootable in their characteristics, are also those diamonds that have been referred to as conflict diamonds.

3.2.2 The KPCS

Several authors have examined the link between natural resources and civil war. Collier & Bannon (2003) state how many developing countries rely on their primary commodities because of the revenues they produce. Consequently, the majority of resources that fuel civil war, and in regards to this paper, the diamonds that fuel war are dependent on the access to the global economy. For this reason, numerous strategies have been suggested in order to improve natural resource governance. Collier & Bannon (2003) continues to argue how an increasing transparency of natural resource revenues, shutting out rebel groups from the market and criminalising the finance of illicit commodities would help to manage natural resources in the best way.

In a similar manner, Le Billion (2003) argues the importance of ensuring that the financial wealth this is produced by resource exploitation needs to be detained and diffused by the

society. Using strategies such as targeted sanctions, market regulations and commodity certification schemes can easily help to end resource-fuelled conflicts. Ross (2003) also indicate how better policies can decrease the likelihood that resources can create conflict. The above stated authors, all believe that by shutting out of rebel groups through better market regulations, resource wars could come to an end (Collier & Bannon, 2003; Le Billion, 2003; Ross, 2003).

It can be argued how the KPCS can be seen as an example of this type of market regulation. This is because the KPCS is an international certification scheme that regulates the rough diamonds trade by deciding the rules that all involved actors must follow. The KPCS has the aim of protecting the legitimate diamond trade while stopping the circulation of illicit diamonds.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

3.2.1 Lootable and Non-lootable Resources

Snyder & Bhavni (2005) has put forth a distinction between natural resources that produce rents and those that do not. Namely, lootable and non-lootable resources. Lootable resources are geographically disperse and have low economic barriers. Consequently, these resources become easily subject to predation by various actors, most often non-state actors. In comparison, a non-lootable resource is geographically concentrated and acquires extensive capital and hi-tech technology in order to be extracted. Therefore, it is usually the state that controls non-lootable resources. Hence, lootable resources provide rents to non-state actors, whilst non-lootable provide rents to state actors.

3.2.2 Diamonds and Civil War

According to previous research, there is a connection between natural resources and civil war. Several authors have specifically focused on the link between diamonds and conflict. Lulaja (2010) states how natural resources play a fundamental part in violent conflict, especially in regards to those resources that are easily extractable, such as gemstones. In a similar manner, it has been argued how the availability of moveable, high-value resources, such as diamonds is an important reason for rebel groups formation, and commencement of civil wars (HRW, 2004).

Collier & Hoeffler (2002) argues how conflict has for a long time been facilitated by natural resource exploitation. They state how a country with a large amount of natural resources has a higher tendency for violent conflict than those without. More specifically, that rebel groups are more motivated by the control over resources than by actual political differences. This argument has been referred to as the ‘greed or grievance’ argument. The greed being the desire to acquire more wealth, and grievance being related to inequalities, lack of political rights and ethnic or religious division in society. Lutable natural resources such as diamonds are specifically used to describe natural resources that cause conflict.

3.2.3 Diamonds and Authoritarianism

Ross (2003) argues how resource rents have a tendency to promote authoritarianism. More specifically, he puts emphasis on the fact that political leaders have for a long time used resource rents to stop democratic development. He states that because of this, political leaders have been able to embed themselves in power. Le Billion (2001) argues along the same lines; how resource rents created by natural resources can lead to the creation of clientelistic regimes. These clientelistic regimes, are established on a system of patronage where the followers of the regime are rewarded and the opponents are instead punished; because developing countries often have weak institutions and poor governance systems, it makes it possible for politicians to use the resource rents for politician profits, and support their authoritarian regimes.

Reno (2000) states in a similar manner how the availability of resources can create authoritarianism by allowing leaders and elites in resource abundant countries to construct shadow states. The leaders and elites within the shadow state, develop patronage networks, which allows them to interfere in private markets in order to gather revenues. Consequently, the gathered revenues are used through illicit networks to maintain their unlawful power, and for personal gain.

3.2.4 Conflict Diamond Definition

The KP (2015) has put forth the official definition for conflict diamonds. They define it as ‘rough diamonds used by rebel movements to finance wars against legitimate governments’. Reddy et al (2005) argue how the KP’s definition of conflict diamonds is heavily influenced by the gruesome diamond fuelled civil wars in Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia during the

1990s and 2000s. It was during these civil wars, rebel leaders used diamonds to buy arms in order to fuel the wars.

It has been argued how the contemporary issues facing the diamond industry today is not only restricted to rebel movements and their use of diamonds in order to fund wars and overthrow governments. New cases actually show how legitimate governments are using diamonds to finance weapons, launder money as well as violate human rights (Smilie, 2005; HRW, 2004). It can be argued how the current conflict diamond case of Zimbabwe reveals the shortcomings of this definition. The definition should include all possible scenarios associated with conflict diamonds.

4 Methodology

This chapter presents a detailed description of why certain research methods were selected over others in the paper.

4.1 Research Strategy

Bryman (2008) explains that a qualitative or quantitative research strategy can be used when conducting a research strategy. This study has used a qualitative strategy, as it has aimed at providing a detailed research of why the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. The chosen strategy has helped in answering the research question. Bryman (2008) states how qualitative research is used when the researcher is interested in how the world is observed. It was therefore obvious to choose a qualitative research strategy for this paper as it focuses on the analysis, hence, leaving room for interpretation.

4.2 Epistemological Consideration

According to Bryman (2008) there is usually a philosophical divide in regards to epistemology. A qualitative research strategy most often uses an interpretivist epistemology, whilst quantitative research uses a positivist (Bryman, 2008). Bryman (2008) explains how an interpretivism epistemology is a theory of knowledge where the researcher grasps the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2008). Due to the chosen topic of conflict diamonds, and the stated research question of ‘why the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe, and under what circumstances is the KPCS most efficient?’ an interpretivist view has been the most suitable epistemology to take when conducting this research.

4.3 Research Method Approach

When conducting a study, the researcher can either take a deductive or inductive approach when exploring the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2008). This paper has used a deductive approach. This was the most suitable approach as the theory guides the research and it has the aim of reaching a result based on theory. Therefore, this research has been guided by prevailing theories. Previous studies made it easy to choose a deductive approach; as there is an abundant amount of scholarly articles as well as established theories

in regards to my chosen research topic (Bryman, 2008). However, even though this research has used a deductive approach, an inductive conclusion might arise as both my results and analysis could provide new theoretical features within my chosen research topic.

4.4 Research Design

Bryman (2008) describes how there are five different types of research designs when conducting a research. These are experimental design, cross-sectional design, longitudinal design, case studies and comparative studies. For this research, a comparative design has been applied in relation to the chosen qualitative research strategy. Bryman (2008) states that when this occurs, it takes the form of a multiple case study. Multiple-case studies occur when the number of cases is more than one. One major benefit of using a multiple-case study is that it can improve theory building. For this reason, a multiple-case study design was the most suitable. By comparing Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe to each other, it has made it easier to see if the chosen theories will hold or not (Yin, 2003). Consequently, the comparison of the two chosen cases, might suggest concepts that are relevant to emerging theory, this goes hand in hand, with the above stated of how the conclusion might take a inductive approach as new theoretical elements might arise.

Yin (2003) states that multiple-case studies are used when the researcher aims at examining several cases in order to recognise the similarities as well as differences between cases. By comparing Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, the analysis will provide this. By having a comparative design in the form of a multiple case study, this paper can most likely be considered as robust and reliable (Baxter & Jack, 2008). However, it is important to bare in mind in regards to this research design that, even though the focus will be on two countries, the results will be loosely used to demonstrate and reveal the broader understanding of the KPCS and why it has worked better in one of the cases than the other.

4.5 Collection of Data

For this study, secondary data has been used in the form of scholarly articles and textbooks as well as Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) reports and official publications. The reports that have been used have been published by; Human Rights Watch, Global Witness and Partnership Africa Canada. These have been used in order to assess the situation in the two countries. The paper has also been based on the KP's publications. All these sources have been vital for the paper, as they have assessed the work done by the KP since its

establishment in 2003. This has given a historically informed view, which has made it easier to examine and understand the debates that have surrounded the KPCS effectiveness in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.

4.6 Trustworthiness and Authenticity

Bryman (2008) states how qualitative and quantitative research should be evaluated and looked at differently to one another. In regards to quantitative, the research should be assessed through its reliability and validity. However, these concepts can be difficult to use when evaluating qualitative research. Instead, the terms trustworthiness and authenticity can be used. During this research, four criteria of trustworthiness have been taken into consideration, these are; credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (Bryman, 2008). As well as this, the authenticity of the research has been taken into consideration. Being aware of these four criteria has helped to make the thesis trustworthy.

4.7 Source Criticism

The thesis is founded upon a vast amount of secondary sources. It is beneficial to use an abundant amount of different sources, instead of just a few as this could possibly lead to a biased view of the topic at hand (Esaïsson et al, 2012). As the study is primarily based on secondary data, it is dependent on other people's interpretation. To make sure that the articles are not biased or angled, the sources have been checked thoroughly. Especially in regards to Internet sources, as they can sometimes be seen as not trustworthy. However, as this thesis mainly consists of scholarly reports as well as articles and books this has not been seen as a major problem (Höglund & Öberg, 2011). The reports and publications that have been published by various NGOs as well as the KP have also been looked at critically, as they could be biased to an extent.

5 Analysis

The analysis is the main product of the paper. It is divided into three parts; firstly, Sierra Leone is analysed, followed by Zimbabwe, the KPCS and lastly a discussion that compares the two cases to each other. Previous studies and the theoretical framework will be used to guide the analysis.

5.1 Introduction

Diamonds have the potential to increase economic prosperity within a country. However, the majority of countries that have a vast supply of diamonds have not had this outcome. Instead, these countries have been faced with the issue of conflict diamonds (WDC, 2008). The conflict diamonds, have led to poverty, conflicts as well as authoritarianism (PAC, 2009). In order to mitigate the negative issues surrounding conflict diamonds the KPCS was established. However, the KPCS effectiveness and its capacity to mitigate conflict diamonds can be discussed. This is because the scheme has shown to be ineffective in several cases (Bieri, 2009). Consequently, it makes one wonder what the underlying causes are to why the KPCS has had different outcomes in different countries. This analysis intends to examine the different circumstances, and pre-conditions of Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe, in order to understand why the KPCS has had mixed success.

5.2 Sierra Leone



²This picture shows the location of the main diamond producing sites in Sierra Leone. They are shown in white.

² Picture extracted from the 2000 PAC Report

5.2.1 The Diamonds Geological Characteristics

Sierra Leone is one of the smallest countries in West Africa, with an area of 72,000 square meters. Despite its small area, it is endowed with a vast amount of natural resources. Even though Sierra Leone has been blessed with an abundance of natural resources, such as, gold and diamonds, it remains one of the world's poorest countries, with a ranking of 203 out of 206 countries by World Development Report (Machonachie, 2008). Diamonds in Sierra Leone were discovered in 1932. Since, their discovery, Sierra Leone has been faced with serious social and political issues related to diamonds. This is mainly because of the diamonds geological characteristics, which makes them extremely hard to govern and trade (PAC, 2000).

While, Sierra Leone's diamonds can be found in kimberlite pipes, the majority of them "are dispersed in the gravels of riverbeds and terraces as alluvial deposits" (Maconachie, 2008; 8). Consequently, Sierra Leone has an abundance of alluvial diamond mining fields, which cover approximately 20,000 square meters of the countries total area. These diamonds are of top-quality and can easily be found on the earth's surface (PAC, 2000). Due to this, they are mostly mined through artisanal mining. Artisanal mining is extremely difficult to control and regulate as the diamonds are spread over a big area. However, what makes this mining method unique, is that it requires only a small amount of capital and manual labour in order to mine the diamonds (Maconachie, 2008).

5.2.2 Historical Overview- Prior to and the Onset of the Civil War

Sierra Leone gained independence from the British in 1961. Shortly thereafter, diamond smuggling started to not only become a political issue but also an economical issue. In 1968, under Siaka Stevens All People's Congress (APC) government, Sierra Leone was faced with a poor system of governance as well as economic mismanagement. Stevens, was the first leader that officially promoted illegal mining in order to acquire political power, and personal profit. Steven's made Sierra Leone's diamond mines public, which consequently, let to Steven's having sole control of the mines. Under Steven's rule, the legitimate diamond trade dropped from approximately two million carats in 1970 to 48,000 carats in 1988 (Hirsch, 2001). Shortly after Steven's retirement, Joseph Momah became Sierra Leone's next leader, under Momah's regime, illegal diamond mining drastically increased. By the end of the 1980s, Sierra Leone was near a state of collapse (Richards, 2003).

In 1991, Sierra Leone's civil war commenced when Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a rebel group with members from both Sierra Leone and Liberia attacked east Sierra Leone. The leader, Foday Sankoh founded RUF because he wanted to represent all Sierra Leone's deprived citizens. Sankoh argued how every single Sierra Leonean citizen should acquire an equal share of diamonds, not only the state. RUF used vicious strategies such as; mutilation, amputation and mass rape in order to get their voices heard. This was financed, through the trade in diamonds. During the nine years of civil war, fighting was focused in and around Sierra Leone's diamond districts. This was because RUF was aware that whoever controlled the diamond mines controlled Sierra Leone (Hirsch, 2001).

In 1999, Sankoh and Sierra Leone's president Ahamad Tejan Kabbah signed the Lome peace Accord, which was a peace agreement, under harsh pressure from the UN. This peace agreement, granted Sankoh a position in the transnational government, as well as exoneration for him and his combatants. However, only months later, RUF forced an attack against the government, in Sierra Leone's capital Freetown. Subsequently, the UNSC adopted an embargo of the trade in diamonds, which later on led to the creation of the KPCS (Hirsch, 2001).

5.2.3 Beneficiaries of the Conflict Diamonds

The 20th-21st century has seen a significant rise in armed conflict. These conflicts have mostly occurred in countries that are poor and have weak states. Additionally, these conflicts have been prevailed by the rise of new non-state actors (Richards, 2003). The civil war in Sierra Leone exemplifies this, as it commenced during a period of political and economical instability. Consequently, the non-state actor group, RUF, was able to take advantage of this situation.

It has been widely debated, why armed conflicts occur, and especially why they happen in countries with an abundance of natural resources, are poor and have weak institutions (HRW, 2004). Collier & Hoeffler (2002) explores this, by giving two contrasting arguments on the causes of civil war. These two arguments, explain how non-state actor groups, such as rebels, need a reason to start armed conflict. This is either, due to greed or grievance.

The greed argument, argues how armed conflict is caused by a rebels desire for self-enrichment. These reasons are manifested in numerous ways, including economic gain through control and regulation of resources, or by increased power within a state. Conflicts motivated by greed are often shown in countries that have poor economic growth and poverty. The grievance argument on the other hand, argues how citizens rebel over issues of identity rather than issues concerning economics (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002). Nonetheless, the case of Sierra Leone shows how the RUF was motivated by greed; due to the fact that the RUF, was driven by the issue of economics, as they wanted gain control over the lootable alluvial diamonds in order to finance their illegal activities. Consequently this was an important motive in the commencement of Sierra Leone's civil war.

5.3 Zimbabwe



³ This paper shows a map of the location of the main production sites in Zimbabwe.

5.3.1 The Diamonds Geological Characteristics

Zimbabwe has an abundance of natural resources such as; gold, platinum coal and diamonds. Similarly to Sierra Leone, these natural resources have not been seen as a blessing, this is because the country has failed to benefit from them economically. The case of diamonds and how they have facilitated instability within the country has been particularly contested (PAC, 2009).

In the mid-nineteenth century, Zimbabwe began to extract diamonds through artisanal mining. It was not until 2004, industrial mining operations began to take place in River Ranch and Murowa Mines (UNODC 2011). Theoretically, diamonds can basically be found anywhere in Zimbabwe. This is because of the country's geographical location; it lies on the 'Zimbabwean Craton', which is known for its wealth in kimberlite diamonds (PAC, 2009). Zimbabwe consists of three diamond mining sites; River Ranch, Murowa and Marange. The River Ranch and Murowa mines are privately owned, and are kimberlite diamond mines.

The Marange, on the other hand, consist of alluvial diamonds, such as the ones found in Sierra Leone. The initial discovery of these diamonds was made in 2005 (Mirell, 2012). The Marange diamond fields consist of over 66,000 hectares and are one of the largest diamond

³ Picture extracted from; Létourneau, J., Smilie, I., 2009

discoveries ever made (Boell, 2010). It was valued up to US \$800 billion and could allegedly be used as a source of capital for the next 80 years in Zimbabwe (Nicholas, 2012).

5.3.2 Historical Overview-Discovery of the Marange Diamonds and the Authoritarian Regime

The general elections in Zimbabwe between Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was held in March 2008. The results showed how the MDC had won the majority of seats in parliament, but did not have majority in the presidential vote. Subsequently, a rerun of the presidential elections was initiated (Katsaura, 2010).

In June 2008, Tsvangirai withdrew from the second round of elections, as his supporters were being threatened by the ZANU-PF. Consequently, Mugabe became the only candidate for the general elections. During a period of one year, more specifically, between March 2008-2009, Zimbabwe had no official government. Finally in February 2009, the Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed between ZANU-PF and the MDC. However, as stated in PACs (2009) report, GNU was heavily undermined with political coercion by the ZANU-PF. During the 2013 general elections, Mugabe won 61 percent of the votes, whilst the MDC merely had 34 percent (News24, 2013).

Since the Marange diamond discovery, the Marange diamond fields have been frenzied by illegality and lawlessness, and very much because of the ZANU-PFs involvement. In the beginning, the Zimbabwean government failed to buy up the Marange diamonds because of cash restrictions. Nor did they give any exclusive right to one company. Consequently, the diamond mines were left opened and as they contained alluvial diamonds, they became extremely lucrative for smuggler, illegal miners and international buyers (PAC, 2009). This created a booming illegal market; Africa Confidential (2010; 5) reported that approximately "30,000 artisanal miners, as well as illicit buyers from neighbouring countries came to the Marange during this time".

5.3.3 Main Beneficiaries of the Conflict Diamonds

The year of 2008-2009 did not only experience an absence of a government, but it also experienced hyperinflation. The hyperinflation reached its top at 79.6 billion in mid-November 2008 (Hanke, 2009). During this year, Mugabe's regime could easily capture the

alluvial diamonds in the Marange mines. As previously mentioned, the Marange diamonds were producing resource rents to the government. In accordance with this, Le Billion (2001) states how resource rents can provide political elites with traditional means for staying in power by establishing a regime which is set up upon a system of patronage; meaning that, the followers are rewarded and the opponents punished. This is exactly what was happening in the case of Zimbabwe and its government. In 2008, Mugabe forced the military to the Marange diamond mines in order to capture the area (Alex, 2010). It was during this military seizing; Mugabe's ZANU-PF regime could start financing activities against the opponent, MDC.

During the turbulent year of 2008-2009, it can be argued how a state of anarchy was developed in Zimbabwe. This provided a chance for the establishment of a shadow economy (Nichols, 2012). Reno (2000) believes that the accessibility of resources, and in Zimbabwe's case, the accessibility of diamonds, can facilitate authoritarianism by letting political rulers and elites, use the revenues that are collected through illegal channels to uphold their political power, and acquire personal gain. This illustrates how the political turmoil of 2008-2009 created a chance for Mugabe to use the alluvial diamonds found in the Marange for personal gain. The use of military in order to take hold of the Marange diamonds by the ZANU-PF, reveals how the creation of a shadow state, was a way to securitise hence protect Mugabe and the ZANU-PFs interests (Nichols, 2012).

5.4 The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme

It can be argued how better market regulations are required when managing natural resources (Le Billion, 2003; Ross, 2003; Collier & Bannon, 2003). The KPCS can be seen as such an example. Up until this day, it is the most internationally acclaimed governance initiative in managing natural resources. Developing countries rely on their primary commodities due to the revenues they produce (Collier & Bannon, 2003). Diamonds are no exception. However, as we have seen in the previous sections, diamond abundance is not always positive. There are many negative effects related to diamonds, and therefore, it can be argued how the KPCS has been an essential market regulator for managing diamonds. It can be argued how the scheme has taken a specific focus on promoting good governance, resource management and positive development outcomes (Maconachie, 2008).

The KPCS became legally binding in 2003, since then, the scheme has according to statistics been successful in reducing the flow of conflict diamonds. Conflict diamonds are now said to merely represent one percent of the international trade in diamonds, compared to approximately 15 percent in the 1990s (PAC, 2015). This shows, how the KPCS has been able to limited one source of war, diamonds. Consequently, the scheme has also been praised for limiting humanitarian catastrophes and institutional deteriorations that are connected to diamonds (Maconachie, 2008) However, this has on the other hand been debated, as some cases have shown the opposite.

Nonetheless, the KPCS has shown to successful in bringing a large volume of diamonds that would otherwise not have been possible. This has increased the revenues of deprived governments, and helped them to address their countries development challenges (KP, 2015). Even though, the KPCS has found the connection between diamonds and conflict, it has failed to take into account other issues relating to diamonds.

5.4.1 The KPCS in Sierra Leone

The KPCS has been seen as an extremely important governance initiative for Sierra Leone's diamond economy. Sierra Leone has for a long time, tried to arise and rebuild from the diamond fuelled civil war that occurred between 1991-2002. Since the KPCS implementation in 2003, it has allowed war-torn Sierra Leone to experience greater economic growth with a sharp rise in export earnings. Official exports in 2008 were valued to \$140 million compared to \$25 million in 2001 (Maconachie, 2008).

Sierra Leone can be seen as one of the most crucial diamond producers in coastal West Africa, exporting around 600,000 carats, whereby 80 percent of these are produced in alluvial mines. However, what is perhaps more important than the rise in export earnings, is the fact that the KP has achieved to halt rebel groups and their ability to finance their activities by selling diamonds (Maconachie, 2008).

The case of Sierra Leone, showed how diamonds were a major asset in the gruesome civil war, this was because diamonds provoked greed in the rebel group RUF. Sierra Leone's Mineral Minister Mohamed Swarray- Deen stated how the KPCS "has returned the diamond industry back to the community which is rightly the main beneficiary. It was originally hijacked by a few greedy and corrupt people" (MG, 2003).

5.4.2 The KPCS in Zimbabwe's Marange Diamond Fields

The KPCS has showed to have different outcomes in Zimbabwe than in Sierra Leone. The Marange diamonds have been said to fuel government-sponsored suppression, human rights abuse and a total lack of respect for the rule of law and democratic values (PAC, 2010). As early as 2006, human rights groups associated with the KP, such as Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Global Witness (GW) reported misconduct in the Marange diamond mines, as they saw human rights abuse occurring. However, the Zimbabwean government, ignored this, and argued how this was not the case (PAC, 2010). As well as this, the KP reacted with little attention, and instead reported that the Zimbabwean government had followed the KPCS requirements (Smilie 2013).

The KP conducted a review mission in 2009, it was not until then, the KP understood how deep the smuggling and government corruption was (Bieri, 2009). KP's 2009 report stated how they recommended suspension of Zimbabwe, unless the illegal trading of diamonds did not stop, they would be banned altogether from selling and trading their diamonds in the global economy (Farineau, 2013). However, Zimbabwe was not suspended and as a consequence of this, they scheme has been questioned in regards to its credibility, as well as its actual objectives (Barron, 2013).

5.5 A Comparison Between Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe

Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe do share some similarities. They are not only situated in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is one of the poorest parts in the world, but they are also major suppliers of rough diamonds (Collier, 2008). One would think that a vast amount of diamonds would be beneficial due to the revenues the diamonds can produce. However, it can be argued that diamonds have instead facilitated economical, social and political instability (Lwanda, 2003). The majority of these diamonds have been regarded as conflict diamonds. For this reason, both Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe are members of the KPCS.

Even though, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe share these similarities, and are both members of the KPCS, they have had different outcomes since joining the scheme. The previous sections have shown how the KPCS has been more successful in mitigating conflict diamonds in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. The next section, will compare Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe

in order to clarify, what factors have differentiated in the two cases, and how this consequently, has had an effect on the KPCS effectiveness.

5.5.1 The Characteristics of Diamonds

Both Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe have an abundance of diamonds and they mostly consist of the alluvial sort. In accordance to Snyder & Bhavni's (2005) argument, these sorts of diamonds tend to be lootable in their geographical characteristics since they are geographically dispersed and have low economic barriers. Consequently, due to these characteristics they tend to be easily subjected to predation by non-state actors. This has been illustrated in the case of Sierra Leone. Zimbabwe's alluvial diamonds on the other hand, have been acting like non-lootable resources; because they have been stipulating rents to the government, and consequently, it is the legitimate government that have captured and taken control of these diamonds (PAC, 2009). It can be argued how these alluvial diamonds have had different effects on the two cases.

In the case of Sierra Leone, where the diamonds are characterised as lootable, it has led to the gruesome civil war (Maconachie, 2008). In Zimbabwe, the alluvial diamonds have acted as non-lootable diamonds, which consequently, has led to the legitimate government taking control of these diamonds (PAC, 2009). The different outcomes, where it led to civil war in Sierra Leone and government control in Zimbabwe, has had a substantial impact of the KPCS effectiveness in the two cases, which will be further analysed in the next section.

5.5.2 Main Beneficiaries of Conflicts Diamonds

The main beneficiaries of conflict diamonds have differentiated in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe. In Sierra Leone, the main beneficiaries of conflict diamonds consisted of the rebel group, RUF. They used alluvial diamonds to finance illegal activities, which led to the commencement of civil war. Lulaja (2010) states how natural resources play a fundamental part in violent conflict, especially in regards to those resources that are easily extractable. The lootable alluvial diamonds in Sierra Leone, exemplifies this and how they were able to facilitate and finance the countries gruesome civil war.

Collier (2002) argues how, conflict can easily escalate when a country relies on primary commodity export. In accordance with this, diamond where being unlawfully traded out of Sierra Leone to neighbouring countries such as Liberia, in order to finance RUF's activities.

Sierra Leone's civil war shows how diamonds had a leading role in the violence. Diamonds did not only allow Sierra Leone's civil war to happen, but it drove it (Maconachie, 2008). The lootable diamonds, with their geographically diffuseness and low economic barriers were subjected to predation by the RUF and consequently, this led to the commencement of the civil war.

Collier & Hoeffler (2002) puts forth two main arguments for why armed conflicts occur. These conflicts can either be driven by greed or grievance, by rebel groups. The greed argument is most suitable in the case of Sierra Leone, as the economic aspect of wanting more power, and money from the diamonds drove RUF. This argument, fits well into Sierra Leone, as it is rebel centric. However, one can argue how this argument does not hold in Zimbabwe's case. This is because it has failed to take into account governments of resource abundant countries. Governments also have the ability to take control of resources, and the revenues that come from these resources (HRW 2004).

In a similar manner, Le Billion (2001) explains this by arguing how developing countries that are poor and have weak institutions, make it possible for politicians to distribute the resource rents for political gains and support their authoritarian regimes. Consequently, the above stated, goes hand in hand with corruption and a weak rule of law, which is illustrated in Zimbabwe; where Mugabe's regime, has gained incomprehensible power. It can be argued how the main beneficiaries of conflict diamonds in Zimbabwe has been the government, that is to say, Mugabe's and the ZANU PF regime (PAC, 2009). They have been able to use the diamonds found in the Marange in order to facilitate authoritarianism. Which in turn, has created a conflict of its own sort, where corruption, smuggling and human rights abuse is occurring.

An interesting aspect, considering these actors, is that the KPCS was established in order to deal with rebel groups that have captured and taken control of diamonds. However, it can be argued how this shows how the KPCS has neglected to take into account that governments can also take control of diamonds, in order to acquire power. One reason for this could be that it is harder to deal with a 'corrupted' government, which is officially considered as 'legitimate', such as Zimbabwe's government. It can be implied how another reason could be that the KPCS has not taken into account other actors, as they have merely focused on rebel groups. In contrast to the first reason, which can be considered as more of a practical problem,

the latter reason is based on KPCS limited definition of conflict diamonds. This is because the definition only involves one type of actor.

5.5.3 Conflict Diamond Definition

It can be argued that one of the main reasons to why the KPCS has failed to react effectively towards the Marange diamonds in Zimbabwe is because of the KP's vague definition of conflict diamonds (GW, 2010). The definition states how conflict diamonds are 'rough diamonds used by rebel groups to finance wars against the legitimate government' (KP 2015). However this definition has problematizing consequences for several reasons when applying it to Zimbabwe. One can imply, that this is due to the fact that in Zimbabwe, it is the legitimate government that has been using the diamonds to finance violence, not the rebel groups.

In accordance with this, Jojartha (2009) argues how the definition is partial towards the legitimate government, as the KP has not state what the concept legitimate government means. Consequently, each government gets too much authority. One can argue how the Zimbabwean government has exploited the scheme, due to the vague definition in order to acquire their own legitimate power and protect their interests (GW 2010).

As mentioned, a conflict diamond is narrowly defined as one sold by a rebel group to start war against a legitimate government. It can be argued how this definition has left a major loophole within the KPCS. One can imply that this is because; the definition does not prevent a government like Zimbabwe from committing abuses when it mines or sells diamonds (Guardian, 2013). Subsequently, this has had severe consequences for the KPCS credibility, due to the fact that Zimbabwe's government has proved how governments that control diamonds "can come with as much spilled blood as the rebel controlled variety" (Nichols, 2012; 676).

The situation of Zimbabwe has raised awareness of the fact that the definition is too narrow. It can be argued, that this is because the definition has failed to address different circumstances associated with conflict diamonds. Subsequently, one can imply how the definition was tailored to fit the situation of the civil war in Sierra Leone. A situation; where rebels captured and used diamonds to finance their illegal activities to wage war against the government. This

has limited the KPCS possibility to be effective in other circumstances, than the once was one found in Sierra Leone. Zimbabwe, exemplifies this.

Considering the current KPCS model, and definition of conflict diamonds, it could be argued how the KPCS has a better chance at mitigating conflict diamonds in countries that share similar circumstances/pre-conditions that are found in Sierra Leone, than countries that differ from the circumstances found in Sierra Leone.

6 Conclusion

This final chapter summarises my findings and makes suggestions for future research.

6.1 Concluding Remarks

The findings of the paper have shown how the KPCS have been more successful in Sierra Leone than in Zimbabwe. This has been done by examining and analysing the two countries different circumstances. Subsequently, this paper can draw numerous conclusions. The geological characteristics of diamonds have had an impact on the KPCS capacity to be successful. This is because, the geological characteristics have a significant impact on who captures, controls and benefits from the diamonds. Consequently, the beneficiaries of the diamonds have a crucial role in how successful and effective the KPCS can be in mitigating conflict diamonds. This is because the KPCS has limited themselves to only deal with rebel groups. Therefore, the corrupted government in Zimbabwe becomes an example of the KPCS ignorance to take other actors into account.

A major finding in this paper, which can also be considered as the greatest cause to the KPCS ineffectiveness, lies in the KP's definition of conflict diamonds. As the scheme, was created and tailored to fit situations like the one that was once found in Sierra Leone, it can be argued how it has only taken into account of specific circumstances of a country. Due to this, the definition has shown to be too vague and narrow, since the definition only includes one certain actor, which are the rebel groups. Since the KPCS has only focused on the connection between diamonds and civil war, it excludes other circumstances, like the situation in Zimbabwe showed. This is a problem, not only for Zimbabwe, but also for other countries that are faced with similar issues. However, since the KPCS is an extremely important tool towards mitigating conflict diamonds, and is thus far, the only tool that aims at doing so, it can still be seen as a crucial. However, it can be argued how the scheme needs to be reconsidered in various aspects.

One possible solution could be to broaden the official definition of conflict diamonds. By broadening the definition, the KPCS could be able to adapt to other situations, taking factors, like the ones I have mentioned into account. Nevertheless, if it is not possible to broaden the

definition, another solution might have to be considered in order to be able to mitigate conflict diamonds altogether.

6.2 Future Research

Future research should aim at examining and analysing other countries that are faced with the issue of conflict diamonds. Since this paper has come to several conclusions, it would be interesting to see if these conclusions are applicable in other conflict diamond affected countries. Hence, if the KPCS experiences the same problems towards mitigating conflict diamonds in countries where the circumstances differ from the KPCS definition, the papers findings could in fact be generalised in a greater extent. As this study includes only two countries, it cannot generalise the KPCS effectiveness as a whole.

Another future research that would be interesting to conduct would be to examine other possible solutions that aim towards mitigating conflict diamonds. Since the KPCS has obvious flaws, another tool could perhaps be seen as more effective and successful. This tool could perhaps be used in countries that the KPCS has failed to be effective enough in.

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