Division 43Sector Project Crisis Prevention and Conflict Transformation

CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

A practical guideline - Draft

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About these Guidelines

Who are the Guidelines intended for?

The Conflict Impact Assessment Guidelines are aimed at anyone who is entrusted with the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development projects in situations where conflict and war (potentially) prevail. Such people include:

- Technical and social advisers in the head offices of international development organisations, country advisers¹
- Project managers and advisers on location²
- Appraisers acting as monitoring consultants and members of missions for progress review and evaluation

It is hoped that the Guidelines will help these experts to improve their understanding of the correlations between the development projects they are supporting and the conflict situation in the country, and to apply this knowledge in their steering of the project.

How did the Guidelines come about?

In parallel with the growing significance of crisis prevention, conflict management and peace-building as issues in development policy, the demand for practical assistance with the translation of these goals into action in project work has also risen. The sectoral advisory project based at the GTZ, Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management in German Development Cooperation, has the task of meeting this demand by drawing up practical guidelines on project planning and steering, conflict impact assessment and conflict-related portfolio analysis.

The methods and instruments described in these Guidelines are founded on many years of experience gained in organisations that are engaged in the reduction and transformation of violent conflicts (including Responding to Conflict and International Alert), but also make use of advanced monitoring and evaluation methods from present-day development practice. It is planned to test these methods in a range of projects and organisations and to develop them further on the basis of the experience gained.

¹ For example in the GTZ: P&D, regional division

² For example in the GTZ: Principal Adviser

What can the Guidelines achieve?

The Guidelines can help experts in development cooperation and their partners in a number of ways:

- develop a more systematic understanding of the opportunities and risks of development cooperation in conflict situations;
- review the structure and work of their project with regard to possible risks linked with conflict:
- formulate hypotheses on the impacts of conflict for the project they are supporting;
- develop conflict indicators;
- examine the actual impacts of the project on the conflict from a range of perspectives;
- integrate the results of impact assessment into the project steering process.

The Guidelines focus entirely on the technical questions of conflict impact assessment. For general information on the structure of monitoring systems, reference should be made to the specialist literature listed in the bibliography.

How are the Guidelines arranged?

The Guidelines are made up of the following parts:

Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 Conflict impact assessment in the German and international debate

Chapter 3 What is the purpose of conflict impact assessment?

Chapter 4 Central questions on risk appraisal

Chapter 5 Methods of conflict impact assessment

Chapter 6 How can conflict impact assessment be integrated into project

monitoring?

Annex I Peace and conflict indicators

Annex II Toolbox

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the most important evaluations performed in recent years on the impacts of development cooperation in conflict situations. The conclusion is drawn that there is still no internationally accepted method to be used for conflict impact assessment.

Chapter 3 provides an introduction to the terms of reference and areas of application of conflict impact assessment, and develops a conceptual framework in order to do that. It then summarises the most important methodological challenges and in particular draws attention to the problem of the allocation gap. This is followed by a brief description of the approach devised here.

Chapter 4 contains information and central questions relating to examination of the structure and working practices of a development project with regard to potential conflict risks.

Chapter 5 describes four methods of establishing the impacts of a development project on a conflict: conflict monitoring, impact hypotheses (plausibility), participatory impact assessment, and case studies. They can be used either on their own or in combination (triangulation).

Chapter 6 shows how the methods, central questions and instruments described in the Guidelines can be integrated into the existing systems used for monitoring development projects and offers a number of practical hints on implementing them.

Annex I presents a list of examples of peace and conflict indicators which are suitable for monitoring conflict situations. Annex II comprises a collection of analytical instruments (or tools) for conflict impact assessment.

How can the Guidelines be used?

Although this manual has its own internal logical structure, it is also possible to pick out individual parts to use as the need arises. The sections on risk appraisal and impact assessment can also be used independently of each other. The methods and central questions described are meant as suggestions. Users of the Guidelines should therefore be encouraged to adapt these instruments to their particular situation and develop them to suit their needs as appropriate.

Glossary

Conflict

A relationship between two or more interdependent parties in which at least one of the parties perceives the relationship to be negative or detects and pursues opposing interests and needs. Both parties are convinced that they are in the right. Conflict is an essential ingredient of social change. What is important is that conflicts should be solved in a peaceful and constructive manner.

In these Guidelines we use a narrower definition of the term "conflict" referring to a situation where there is a potential for violence to occur between groups or where violence has already occurred. These are the conflicts with which development cooperation is increasingly preoccupied.

Crisis prevention

Activities set out over the long term to reduce structural tensions and/or to prevent the outbreak or repetition of violence (also: *conflict prevention*)

Conflict management

Short- and medium-term activities directed at the peaceful resolution of material conflicts and relationship-based conflicts between the various parties concerned; can take place at any stage of a conflict.

Peace

Negative peace means the absence of the open use of force but the continued existence of structural violence. Positive peace encompasses human security and structural stability.

Human security

This includes protection not only against violence but also against other threats to people's physical wellbeing and livelihoods such as environmental destruction, disease and economic crises.

Impact

The actual consequences of an intervention – whether intentional or unintentional – for the lives of the members of the target groups and others involved, over and above the direct project inputs.

Peace-making

Short-term diplomatic, political and military activities aimed at the immediate ending of violent confrontations and bringing about the conclusion of a peace accord.

Peace-keeping, peace enforcement

Observation and enforcement of implementation of a peace accord and of agreed confidence-building measures, if necessary by force of arms.

Glossary

Peace-building

Medium- and long-term measures aimed at setting up mechanisms of peaceful conflict management, overcoming the structural causes of violent conflicts and thereby creating the general conditions in which peaceful and just development can take place.

Structural stability

"A situation involving sustainable economic development, democracy and respect for human rights, viable political structures, healthy social and economic conditions, with the capacity to manage change without resorting to violent conflict" (Commission of the European Communities 1996).

Early warning

Systematic observation of a latent conflict using conflict prediction models. The objective is to detect the signs of conflict escalation in good time (early warning itself) and initiate preventive measures (early response, early action).

Conflict analysis

Action-oriented analysis of the causes and dynamics of a conflict and of the starting points for peaceful management and overcoming of the conflict.

Conflict impact assessment

Systematic observation of the positive and negative impacts of development cooperation on the dynamics of a conflict at the project and country level. The term is also used in the sense of risk appraisal.

Sources: DFID 2000, Leonhardt 2000, Ropers 1999

1. Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, development organisations have been confronted with a considerable rise in the number of violent internal conflicts in many countries, along with their material and emotional consequences. This places great demands on the way in which development projects are steered. The risks of political instability and violence call for a high degree of flexibility and in-depth understanding of the local situation. In a heated political climate, development projects themselves easily become politicised and risk being accused of exerting political influence on the conflict. At the same time the aspirations of development policy are also rising. Whereas formerly in the context of emergency aid it was considered satisfactory to cushion the effects of conflicts, to an increasing extent - in Germany since at least 1998, when the new key areas of peace policy were laid down by the Federal German Government³ - development cooperation is being judged by the extent to which it makes a contribution to preventing, resolving and overcoming violent conflicts.

The sectoral advisory project "Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management in German Development Cooperation" arranged for these Guidelines on conflict impact assessment to be compiled as a means of providing support to development cooperation experts and their partners in the steering and re-orientation of projects in (potential) conflict situations. It offers pointers for assessing the conflict-related risks of projects and assists the gathering and evaluation of action-oriented information about the impacts of development projects on the conflict. Particular attention was paid to ensuring that conflict impact assessment can be integrated into the existing monitoring systems used by development projects.

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³ BMZ, 2000a: Krisenprävention und Konfliktbeilegung. Gesamtkonzept der Bundesregierung vom 7.4.2000. Bonn.

2. Conflict Impact Assessment in the German and International Debate

A growing number of bilateral and multilateral organisations as well as nongovernmental organisations are integrating conflict-sensitive management instruments into their development cooperation with countries in conflict (cf. Gaigals with Leonhardt 2001). At the international level the call for conflict impact assessment has arisen from problematical experience with humanitarian aid and development cooperation in the acute conflict situations (complex political emergencies) of the early nineties. Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994) were key events in this respect. In Somalia, international aid organisations were inadvertently drawn into rivalries between clans. In order to gain access to needy segments of the population, they paid protection money and tolerated hefty "taxation" of relief supplies by the militias. As a result, in the final analysis they were effectively contributing to the financing and prolongation of the conflict. Similar patterns were also observed in Ethiopia and southern Sudan. In contrast, the genocide in Rwanda, which until that time had been considered a model country as far as development cooperation was concerned, raised the question as to whether a mistaken development model had been promoted for many years - one which perpetuated the structures of social exclusion and discrimination (Uvin 1998).

Since then, development cooperation has had to face the critical question of whether in some cases it favours the settlement of conflicts by violent means - even if unintentionally. This gave rise to the demand to follow the Do No Harm principle, which was propagated in particular by an American organisation, the Collaborative for Development Action under Mary Anderson (cf. Anderson 1999), and in the meantime has become a generally recognised standard of quality. Independently of each other, the conflict researchers and practitioners Luc Reychler (1998) and Kenneth Bush (1998) presented concepts for developing conflict impact assessment systems (CIAS) and peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) respectively. These ideas were taken up at an early stage by the European Commission, which produced its own scheme of analysis for CIAS in 1999 (Conflict Prevention Network 1999). The approaches described, though, were still relatively general frameworks. By analogy with environmental impact assessment and gender impact assessment, these methods were intended to help development organisations identify both the conflict-related risks of their work and possibilities for exerting a positive influence, at an early stage in the process. Subsequently a range of practical instruments emerged for the conflictsensitive planning of development programmes and projects; these are described in more detail in the Conflict Analysis Guidelines. In the more difficult field of impact assessment, however, less progress has been made so far. Although in the meantime there have been a range of studies into the role and impacts of development and peace organisations in conflict situations - usually conducted on a scientific basis - in most cases practical instruments for non-specialists still need to be worked out.

The table below provides an overview of the most important German and international investigations into the impacts of development cooperation on conflict situations:

TABLE 1: IMPORTANT INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS

Organisation	Title/subject	Object of investigation	Author/source
BMZ	Wirkungen der EZ in Konflikt-situationen [Impacts of development cooperation in conflict situations]	Cross-section evaluation of German development cooperation with Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda and El Salvador	Klingebiel 1999
KfW	Der Beitrag der FZ zu Friedenssicherung und Konfliktprävention [The contribution of FC to peace- building and conflict prevention]	Pilot study (evaluation of FC projects in Albania and Guatemala, by way of example)	Not yet published (expected 2001)
DIE	Socio-political Impact of Development Cooperation Measures in Tanzania	Tension and conflict impact analysis of two GTZ projects in Tanzania	Klingebiel et al. 2000
DANIDA et al.	Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda	Role of development cooperation with Rwanda before, during and after the genocide (1994)	Joint Evaluation 1996
OECD	The Influence of Aid in Situations of Violent Conflict	Possibilities of influencing conflict situations through development cooperation (Bosnia, Afghanistan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka)	Uvin 1999
World Bank	The World Bank's Experience with Post-Conflict Reconstruction	Cross-section evaluation of the World Bank's work in post-conflict countries	Kreimer 1998
DfID/ U Manchester	NGOs and Peacebuilding in Complex Political Emergencies	Impacts and opportunities for action by NGOs in conflict situations (Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Liberia)	Hulme/Goodhand 2000
Collaborative for Development Action	Reflecting on Peace Practice Project	Examination of the work of conflict management NGOs with a view to lessons learnt	1999-2001, results not yet published
Cornell University	Carrots, Sticks and Ethnic Conflict	Scientific examination of the conflict-related impacts of development projects (including Russia, Sri Lanka, Ecuador, Kenya)	Esman/Herring 2001

Most of the above studies follow a pragmatic approach to evaluating the impacts of conflict and do not claim to devise replicable methods of impact assessment. For this reason, although these studies offer many practical suggestions, in these Guidelines we shall be following our own path.

3. What is the Purpose of Conflict Impact Assessment?

3.1. Terms of Reference and Areas of Application

Terms of reference

Within the framework of the development-policy tasks of crisis prevention, conflict management and peacebuilding, conflict impact assessment can perform a range of different **functions**:

- Review the progress of a project with respect to the achievement of its originally defined (peace-related) objectives
- Observe the intentional and unintentional, positive and negative impacts of the project on the conflict environment and identify entry points for back-up measures
- Provide a basis for knowledge management and training for the project team and its partners through the work with conflicts
- Improve transparency and accountability with respect to target groups and clients concerning the progress of the work and difficulties encountered

Accordingly, conflict impact assessment comprises a review of the technical and operational aspects of a development project with regard to their relevance to the conflict, the risks surrounding the conflict and the actual impacts. It does not aim to achieve scientific precision. As explained in more detail later, especially in conflict situations this is virtually impossible. Instead its purpose is more to give guidance to the project team on gaining a better understanding of the interaction between the project and the conflict and in preparing appropriate adjustments to the project work. The central question is: to what extent does the project enhance the chances for peaceful conflict management or tend rather to obstruct them. Bearing in mind the Do No Harm principle, particular emphasis is placed on identifying, avoiding and cushioning potential negative impacts on the conflict.

As a comprehensive steering instrument, conflict impact assessment concerns itself with the following questions – even if it is not always able to provide ready answers to all of them.

Central questions for conflict impact assessment

- What is our vision?
- What objectives are we pursuing in particular? How do they match our vision?
 Whose objectives are they? Shall we achieve them?
- Are these the right objectives? Are they appropriate to the situation?
- Have we set up structures which promote this work? Where are there risks of exacerbating the conflict situation?
- What are the objectives (results) of the individual measures? In what way do these
 measures contribute to the general objective of peacebuilding?
- Does this intervention have any consequences? What are they?
- Have the changes so far been positive or negative, or both? Would these changes have occurred even without our influence? Are other factors or participants also contributing to these changes?
- What is the impact of our project on the population (target group) as a whole and on individuals?
- Are there any unforeseen impacts? What are they? Are they positive or negative?
- What does "success" (or "peace") mean for the individual participants?

Source: adapted from Fisher et al. 2000:157

Areas of application

Conflict impact assessment is advisable for all projects implemented in countries with an average or high risk of conflict. It should also be introduced in projects whose specific terms of reference imply a particular risk of conflict, or which are being implemented in a highly politicised environment or where there have already been indications of possible negative impacts. The questions and methods elaborated in these Guidelines can be integrated into the following **steering instruments** for development projects:

- On-project monitoring
- External progress monitoring
- Self-evaluation
- External evaluation
- Analysis and design of a country portfolio

The Guidelines are essentially limited to questions relating to the technical content of conflict impact assessment. Detailed suggestions on the organisation, implementation and institutionalisation of impact assessment are provided in the following GTZ brochures, among others: "Monitoring im Projekt" [On-project Monitoring] (1998), "Orientierungsrahmen für das Wirkungsmonitoring in Projekten der Wirtschafts- und Beschäftigungsförderung" [Frame of Reference for Impact Monitoring in Projects Promoting Economic Development and Employment] (Vahlhaus 2000), and "Wirkungsmonitoring in Projekten der Institutionenentwicklung im Umweltbereich" [Impact Monitoring in Institution-building Projects in the Environmental Sector] (Heidbrink 2000). A stimulating reflection on the unintentional consequences of development cooperation is to be found in the MISEREOR publication "Wirkungen und Nebenwirkungen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit" [Effects and Side-effects of Development Cooperation] (1998).

3.2. Opportunities and Risks of Development Cooperation in the Context of Violent Conflicts

When starting the process of impact assessment it is helpful to be quite clear what the tasks and areas of activity of development organisations actually are in situations marked by conflict. In its overall concept of 7th April 2000, the Federal German Government (BMZ 2000a) marks out the tasks of development cooperation in conflict situations as follows:

- 1. Eradication of the structural causes of conflicts: This is often positively referred to as the promotion of "structural stability". What is meant by that is "a situation involving sustainable economic development, democracy and respect for human rights, viable political structures, healthy social and environmental conditions, with the capacity to manage change without resorting to violent conflict" (European Commission 1996). Development cooperation therefore has the task in the long term of contributing to the removal of tensions caused by socio-economic, ecological, political and cultural factors and promoting the shaping of legitimate and participatory forms of government. Recently another aspect has been added to these traditional areas of development cooperation, namely increasing the security of the population through demobilisation, demining, micro-disarmament (small arms), security-sector reform and the eradication of economic factors in conflicts (war economies).
- 2. **Promotion of mechanisms and capacities of peaceful conflict management**: This covers the promotion of institutions and conflict-management procedures as well as support for social groups which are committed to peaceful resolution of the conflict. In a broader sense the promotion of dialogue and trust between the opposing parties, civic education, familiarisation with non-violent forms of conflict resolution along with reconciliation and trauma healing can also be included in this area of responsibility.

The demands made of development cooperation are greatly determined by the particular **phase of the conflict** at the time. In view of its orientation towards the long term, the opportunities for development cooperation to exert an influence are at their greatest in the early stages of a conflict, when both sides are still open to dialogue and reform. In cases where conflicts have already escalated into violence, diplomatic and military instruments usually come to the fore, although even then there is also room for supporting civil forms of conflict management. In the course of reconstruction following violent conflicts, development cooperation once again plays an important role. The main priority in this is to avoid the errors of the past and to create structures which promote the peaceful co-existence of the former parties to the conflict. The diagram below shows the possibilities for external actors to take action in the various phases of a conflict; many of these possibilities are also open to development organisations:

Table 2: Approaches to conflict management at different phases and levels of a conflict

	Latent conf political cris				/iolent conflict		End of war	Post-conflict- management
All Levels	Developm	ent of protection			ening o			stainable and just socio
					to char	nge conflict th		Peace-keeping
Senior leadership level (capital, urban elite)		Facilitation Good services		Crisis management			Support of power- sharing Political reconstruction	
			Mediation and pre-mediation					
		Creation of conflict management institutions		Mediation t	by mear	ns of power		Demobilisation and civilisation of militarised political structure
Middle leadership level (provincial cities, middle-level elite)	Empow- erment of disad- vantaged groups	Promoting a democratic conflict culture, Training in political organi- sation development	Trainin man Peace o	ation projects ig in conflict agement, commissions ound tables	pa a r	Support of non- and semi- artisan local actors, Public awareness- raising and protests to and violence		Social reconstruction, Reconciliation workshops
Grass-roots level		Education for peace, Community Building				nanitarian ervention		Rehabilitation and trauma healing, Education for peace Community building

Source: Mehler/Ribaux 2000: 129

Although development cooperation with its increasingly more refined range of instruments has more and more means of creating positive general conditions for peaceful conflict resolution, there is also a **risk of having a negative influence**. The table below — albeit in a rather schematic form — summarises our present level of knowledge of the potential negative impacts of development cooperation in conflict situations while at the same time pointing out options for good practice. Any experienced development cooperation expert will no doubt be able to add a number of examples of his or her own to this list.

TABLE 3: OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS

Conflict factor	Risks	Opportunities
Politics	Development cooperation (civil conflict management) is inadequately harmonised with diplomatic and military initiatives and consequently has a counter-productive effect Development cooperation indirectly strengthens illegitimate and authoritarian political structures Development cooperation weakens local forms of government by setting	Various instruments of conflict management are used in a coordinated and sensitive manner Development cooperation strengthens legitimate formal and informal political structures Development cooperation promotes participation and respects local ownership Development cooperation adopts a
	up unsustainable parallel structures	committed but neutral attitude to the conflict
Economics	Development cooperation distorts local economic processes and strengthens war economies	Development cooperation identifies and strengthens legitimate local economic processes
	Development cooperation amplifies existing regional or socio-economic inequalities and discrimination	Development cooperation promotes equality of opportunity, particularly for disadvantaged groups
	Development cooperation promotes the unsustainable use of natural resources	Development cooperation promotes collaboration and cohesion through joint activities
	Development cooperation consolidates disputed claims to natural resources	Development cooperation promotes sustainable and just systems of resource utilisation
	Development cooperation trains individuals who later join armed groups	Development cooperation supports economic alternatives to the use of force

Socio-cultural factors	Development cooperation neglects local social capital and institutional capacities, creates dependency Development cooperation takes over and reinforces patterns of perception which encourage conflict (e.g. ethnicity)	Development cooperation promotes committed individuals ("human capital") and peace initiatives at the local level Development cooperation strengthens local coping strategies and thus reduces vulnerability to the conflict
Development cooperation adds fuel to existing lines of conflict through well-meaning but poorly implemented peace initiatives		Development cooperation supports confidence-building and reconciliation
Security	Development cooperation ignores the human-rights and security situation in the country Development cooperation subsidises warring groups by accepting theft and "taxation" of relief supplies Development cooperation employs uncontrolled private security services, thus exacerbating militarisation and isolation	Development cooperation reports on infringements of human rights, and because of the international presence enhances the security of the population Development cooperation avoids becoming instrumentalised by warring groups by following clear principles Development cooperation creates security structures in close collaboration with partners and target groups

Sources: Anderson 2000, Goodhand/Hulme 2000, Klingebiel 1999, Leonhardt 2000, Uvin 1998

3.3. Challenges Facing Impact Assessment in Conflict Situations

Projects operating in the sphere of the prevention of violence, conflict management and peacebuilding place particular demands on impact assessment. These demands should be borne in mind in order to deal appropriately with the results of conflict impact assessment. Some of the important challenges are listed below.

1. Long-term processes

Although a great deal of short-term flexibility is required, conflict management and peacebuilding are long-term processes that are characterised by minor successes and numerous setbacks. Moreover, it is sometimes more important to sustain a certain process than to insist on tangible results at an early stage. By their very nature, such operations are difficult to monitor. What is called for here is orientation towards the process rather than results. So-called intermediary or "proxy" indicators are suitable for this purpose, ones which indicate the extent to which a process has developed in a certain direction.

2. Determination of success

Peace does not mean merely the absence of violence, but rather a situation in which all people have reasonable opportunities for development. But exactly what form should this state of affairs take? Just as there are different opinions about the conflict, people will also have different ideas of the peace that they are aiming to achieve. It is precisely these contrasting ideas that are the object of many conflicts. Very different assessments can be made of what "successful peacebuilding" actually is. While some use the term to mean the military pacification of a rebel area, others may well expect a peace accord to bring about comprehensive economic and political reforms. In order to be able to evaluate the success of their work, development projects decide on a perspective or a definition of peace. As a rule, this should be the same as that used by the target groups.

3. Unintentional impacts

Impact assessment is normally designed to keep track of the intended impacts laid down during project planning. Especially in conflict situations, however, it is important to identify the unintentional and sometimes negative consequences that the project has on the conflict situation as well. These unintentional impacts sometimes result more from the way that the project is organised and operates rather than from the actual measures that it implements. Conflict impact assessment should therefore include open approaches which examine areas of risk such as fringe groups, distribution effects and relationships within the local population in particular.

4. Causality and attribution

Development projects usually play only a very minor role in the management of (potentially violent) conflicts. Impact assessment is therefore faced with the question of the extent to which certain trends in the conflict situation can be attributed to individual development measures or to a network of measures. One possible way of dealing with this problem is to monitor development of the conflict at the macro level, albeit without wanting to claim certain developments for the project. At the same time there should be observation of the conflict-related impacts of the project at the micro level. In this way it is possible to establish links between the micro and macro levels and still retain a realistic idea of the actual reach of the project impacts (Laprise 1998).

These challenges give rise to a number of requirements which a method of conflict impact assessment is expected to meet:

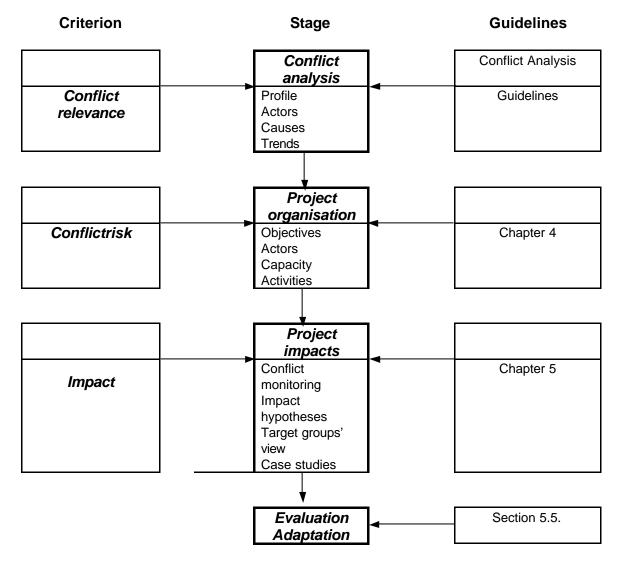
- Focus on long-term monitoring instead of one-off evaluation
- Observation of processes with the aid of intermediary (proxy) indicators
- Inclusion of the target groups' visions of peace
- Examination of the technical and operational aspects of the project work
- Combination of monitoring at the micro and macro level

3.4. Procedure

Conflict impact assessment looks at the way a project is organised and the impacts that the project has with a view to their relevance to the conflict and associated risks.

- 1. At the operational level of **project organisation** it examines the extent to which the structure of the project, the choice of partners and target groups and the way the project operates are sensitive to the conflict or could make an unintended contribution to the dynamics of the conflict. Central questions covering areas such as target groups, partners, local staff, resource flows, capacity building and security precautions help in the process of examining the project for potential conflict risks.
- 2. At the level of the **project impacts** it asks to what extent the project organisation and the measures implemented by the project actually enhance the opportunities for peaceful conflict management or possibly prejudice them. Both the micro level and the macro level of the conflict are included in this.

 Table 5: Procedure for conflict impact assessment



Analytical tools for each stage are described in Annex II.

Conflict impact assessment therefore comprises the following stages:

Stage 1: Conflict analysis

Detailed conflict analysis on the basis of an in-depth understanding of the political, economic and social circumstances of the project region is a necessary prerequisite for successful impact monitoring. An analysis of this type should therefore be performed at the start of the impact monitoring process and subsequently updated at regular intervals. It also provides baseline data for questions arising at later stages. For details of the methodology of conflict analysis, refer to the Guidelines on Conflict Analysis in Project Planning and Management.

Stage 2: Risk appraisal

Risk appraisal entails examining the concept, organisation and activities of the project for potential negative influences on the conflict. In so doing it is possible to fall back on a broad range of experience with development cooperation in conflict situations, which is condensed in Chapter 4 in the form of short descriptions and central questions. The project team should always take any indications of possible conflict risks seriously and make adjustments accordingly, even if it is sometimes difficult to say what effect an unbalanced selection of target groups will actually have on the conflict as a whole.

Stage 3: Impact assessment

Impact assessment aims to identify the actual impacts of the development project on the local and national conflict situation. Four methods of doing this are presented, at least three of which should be used in every impact assessment system. The methods comprise conflict monitoring, impact hypotheses, case studies and participatory impact assessment. Chapter 5 includes a description of the conceptual basics, possible areas of use and the procedure used by each method. In addition, central questions are formulated and references are provided to appropriate analytical instruments in Annex II.

Stage 4: Adaptation

At the end of each monitoring phase, the project team summarises the results of risk appraisal and impact assessment and examines them for any possible need for action. Pointers on how to do this are given in Section 5.5. For details of how to go about planning further stages, refer to the Guidelines on Conflict Analysis for Project Planning and Management.

Development projects being implemented in regions with an average to high risk of conflict should **incorporate** the questions and methods of conflict impact assessment **into regular project monitoring** as early as possible. Continuous monitoring is important, because conflict situations in particular represent a highly dynamic environment where flexibility of response is required, again and again. In addition, a long-term perspective offers the best prospects of understanding the dismantling of prejudices, the strengthening of conflict management capacities and competences and the impacts of structural reforms.

The **intervals** at which questions relating to the conflict should be raised are very much dependent on the intensity of the conflict. In relatively calm pre- and post-conflict situations, a survey every six months may be sufficient. In escalating or acutely violent conflicts, the conflict situation should be monitored every quarter or even every month and examined for potential consequences for the project's work. Rapidly changing

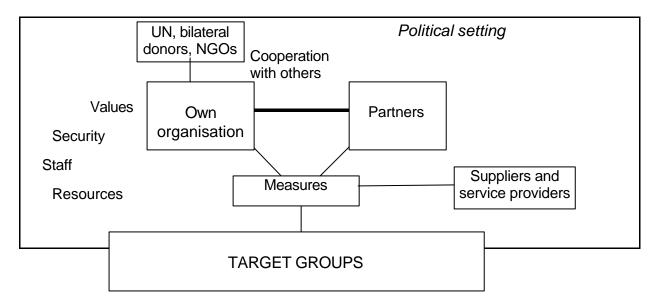
circumstances also mean that it is necessary to carry out more frequent checks on important management decisions for any risks to the conflict.

4. Central Questions on Risk Appraisal

In conflict situations it is difficult to remain neutral. The way in which a development project presents itself in the field, the partners it cooperates with, which target groups it supports and ultimately even the people the project staff maintain friendships with – all of these are political statements. The thoughts and central questions described in this chapter are meant to help the project team to take a bird's-eye view, so to speak, of their everyday project work at regular intervals and **critically examine apparently self-evident things with regard to the conflict situation**. Many decisions and practices which appear rational and justified from the development-policy standpoint in their immediate context (such as the selection of target groups according to poverty criteria) can be problematical when looked at in this way. Even if it is not possible to re-orient everything at once, it is important that the project team develops an awareness of these risks and takes account of them in their future work.

Regarding the terminology: this is all about the assessment of conflict-related risks of project work. It is not important for this purpose whether these aspects of the project have actually resulted in negative impacts already. The need for action is immediate. Risk appraisal is only effective if it is based on sound conflict analysis.

Risk appraisal involves establishing a connection between your own organisation with its values, staff, resources, security principles and other operational principles on the one hand and its social and political **setting**. Relationships between the organisation and its setting exist through collaboration, partnership and cooperation, procurement and specific project measures. The diagram below is an attempt to illustrate the most important elements of this setting:



4.1. Political Focus of the Project

Most projects - particularly those in bilateral technical and financial cooperation - are "political" or politicised in the sense that they have been brought into being through political will. This also means, though, that they are subject to the political priorities and interests of the ruling government or political class. Projects offer the government many advantages: they are prestigious and show that the government maintains good international relations and does something for the population. Depending on the direction in which the project is oriented, development cooperation can be channelled into previously neglected regions which may be making efforts towards independence, or it may be used primarily for the benefit of the strongholds of the governing party, which have always been privileged. All of this is relatively cost-effective for the government, enabling it to invest its own limited resources in other areas, such as prestige building projects in the capital or the armed forces. Development cooperation can also be attracted in order to promote certain – possibly controversial – strategies pursued by the government, such as settlement or resettlement programmes or pacification of a recently reconquered region. Such strategies may weaken the position of opposition groups and thus in the long term delay a negotiated peace.

The question of the political motivation behind a certain project also arises in the case of cooperation with non-governmental partners. Here, too, it is important to check carefully who is behind the particular organisation, what further political, economic, and social objectives the organisation is pursuing, the methods it uses to pursue these objectives, and how these relate to other important groups.

Key questions

- On whose initiative was the project launched? Who within the government or the social elite in the country has an interest in this project? Why? How does the project fit into the overall political strategy of this grouping? Is there a particular political clientele to which it is hoped that the project will give satisfaction? What place does the project take in the current political events in the country (for example military successes in disputed parts of the country)?
- What is the project intended to achieve? How do these objectives relate to the overall
 political strategy of the group? For what other purposes can the infrastructure, the
 services and the prestige of the project be used and what do the supporters of this
 project hope to get out of it in addition?
- Are there forces which are critical of the project or disapprove of it? What reasons are given for this? How do these forces behave with respect to the project's supporters at the political level? Are there already other clashes of interest or conflicts between these groups?
- How do the "open" and "hidden" objectives of the project relate to our development-policy mandate and our principles? Is this important for us? Is it possible, in the given constellation, to take greater account of peace-building aspects by making changes in the form of institutional integration and the project approach?

4.2. Partner Structure

Governmental partners

In most cases the government is also a party to the conflict. This does not mean that every state employee is a conflict agitator. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that certain interests, political convictions and ideological positions will be represented, even at the working level. These positions will inevitably have an effect on the approach and the mode of operation of the jointly implemented project. This is why the nature of cooperation with governments or military rulers in rebel-controlled areas must be weighed up carefully.

Cooperation with international organisations can offer the following advantages for authorities engaged in war-mongering (cf. Anderson 2000:79ff.):

- The government exerts influence on the regional and social distribution of the resources entering the country through development cooperation, as well as the timing of the distribution. It will try to direct this to suit its own war strategy. An extreme example: in complex political emergencies caused by war, international organisations inadvertently supported "ethnic cleansing" strategies as a result of the positioning of refugee camps or the distribution of food aid at certain locations.
- Interchangeability: If international organisations take care of the social security of the population, the government can invest its money in other areas, such as the armed forces.
- The fact that local rulers are recognised by international organisations, which have to cooperate with them in their daily work, to a certain extent gives these rulers a greater degree of legitimacy. To the outside, regular interaction with external organisations enables them to attract the attention and possibly the sympathy of the international public to their points of view. Within their area, by cooperating with organisations that are largely active in the social sphere they can demonstrate that they really are concerned about the well-being and development of the population. In view of this potential for political instrumentalisation, development organisations are frequently permitted to and should continue to work in war zones to which the government no longer has any access.
- In some countries the state administrative apparatus is dominated by people belonging to one particular group. This may be due to political decisions, for example when a new government moves members of its own party into all of the key positions. Often there are also historically based differences in the level of education between various parts of the country or different groups, tending to push a certain group towards the role of public servants by tradition. When cooperating with these bodies, international organisations must pay particular attention to serving all parts of the population equally.

Where the local rulers – whether government representatives or rebel leaders – are heavily involved in the conflict and may even be responsible for infringements of human rights, there is a dilemma as to whether to further reinforce these illegitimate structures through close cooperation or to set up parallel structures which are barely sustainable and run counter to the idea of development. What is also certain, though, is that peace cannot be achieved without the government. A weak state, not to mention one that has collapsed altogether, cannot negotiate or guarantee peace. What is required is a state that emerges strengthened from democratic reforms.

Central Questions on Risk Appraisal

Through their involvement with a government, donors are able to exert a certain amount of pressure to make a move at the negotiating table.

On the other hand, in countries which are endeavouring to bring about good governance care must be taken not to further weaken legitimate governmental and administrative structures as a result of competition from well-equipped development organisations. This applies not only to the competition for influence but also for good personnel and partners.

Key questions

- What role does the government play in the conflict? Whose interests does it represent, and what are they? Is the government or are the state authorities a unified bloc, or do different members have different attitudes to the conflict? Where is it possible to build on moderate positions or establish alliances?
- What is the make-up of the state authorities/partner authority with regard to the conflict (ethnic, regional, or party association, different levels within the organisation)? What is the reason for this specific make-up (e.g. historical differences in education, regional or ethnic client networks, party-political occupation of posts)? What effect does this have on the authority's work? Do certain groups have better access to state administration than others (representation of interests, provision of services, judicial decisions)?
- How was project planning conducted in conjunction with the partner? How do the location and the services provided by the project within the government strategy relate to the conflict? What considerations were in favour of planning the project in that way?
- Are there any possibilities of moving the government or opposition forces from a warring position to a peaceful position through dialogue and principle-based cooperation?

Non-governmental partners

Non-governmental organisations can play an important role in cases where state bodies are discredited because of their behaviour in the war or no longer have any influence. They include religious groups, professional associations, industrial associations, craft organisations, youth initiatives, women's groups, and environmental and peace groups, among others. It is often among organisations such as these, in particular, that initiatives are found which are directed at reconciliation and an end to violence. However, nongovernmental organisations are not a cure-all, either. In cases where the conflict has left deep splits in society it is also difficult for these organisations to overcome stereotypes of who is a friend and who a foe. Even though it may be unintentional, the ethnic background of the most important decision-makers may well induce a certain, possibly one-sided perspective of the conflict. Strictly local community-based organisations for their part claim to do no more than represent the local community, which is often homogeneous in relation to the conflict, i.e. represents only one side. Lastly there are also non-governmental organisations that are backed by strong economic, nationalistic or party-political interests; these may be closely tied to individual politicians (and possibly war-mongers), or even constitute the unarmed wing of rebel organisations.

Key questions

- Who does the organisation represent? What is the membership structure? What is the make-up of the leadership group? Does the organisation represent a particular party to the conflict or does it unite members from all groups?
- Who is "behind" the organisation? What is the reputation of this organisation? Is it
 widely recognised? Or: is the organisation controversial? Are there indications that
 the organisation has relationships with politically active groups or even the warmongers?
- What is the mandate of the organisation? How does the mandate relate to the current conflict? Does it offer any starting points for overcoming the conflict or does it approve of it? In what way does the organisation try to achieve its objectives (provision of services, democratic organisation/advocacy, use of violence)?
- What form do the internal structures of the organisation take? Do they conform to democratic principles? What is the quality of the management of the organisation? What are the further personal or political ambitions of the management? In what way does the leadership have to answer to the rank and file? What is the quality of finance management?
- Who does the organisation work with? Which formal and informal networks is it integrated into? What conclusions can be drawn from this in relation to its further objectives?

4.3. The Project's Own Organisation

Local staff

The local staff of a project are the "advertisement" for an international organisation in the national framework. Their identity is a key factor in determining which party in the conflict the project will be associated with. At the same time they can have a considerable informal influence on the project's decisions and activities. Their judgement and their personal networks play a part in the recruitment of other staff, who then frequently come from the same group. Their local knowledge and personal relationships also play a part – at least at the beginning – in selecting the villages, urban districts or groupings that are to receive support.

What is more, in poor areas development organisations are often the most sought-after employers. In areas where local powers-that-be can influence who these organisations employ, this is an additional source of power and control over the population. In this way international organisations may unintentionally support the power of warlords and other war-mongers, even though they disapprove of their objectives.

One-sided recruitment of local staff can come about because of the following circumstances (cf. Anderson 2000:32ff):

- The organisation works in a region that is inhabited by only one group, and recruits its staff locally. In war situations it is also frequently only possible for members on the same side in the war to move relatively freely in the region, for security reasons.
- 2. Some selection criteria for staff, such as a particular formal school qualification or knowledge of a certain language, may unintentionally act as filters. Knowledge of western languages and success in an education system set up according to a European model are sometimes concentrated on certain groups. These may be Christian (as opposed to Islamic or animistic) groups which have learnt a western language in (former) mission schools, or sometimes returning refugees who have learnt additional languages while in exile. It is likely that such groups will not take an impartial stance in the conflict.
- 3. Staff are recruited on the basis of personal recommendation, frequently from those who were employed first. One-sidedness is almost inevitable in such cases, because staff will initially recommend their own acquaintances. It is probable that most of these people will belong to the same family or religious, ethnic or other grouping.
- 4. In some cases the local rulers or militias insist on supervising the appointment of staff by international organisations. Whether a suitable strategy can be adopted is greatly dependent on the balance of power in the region.

Key questions

- Draw a diagram of the local staff in the project according to their relevant identities (religious, ethnic, regional origin, party association, gender, age) and their position and function in the project: how does the overall composition of the staff compare with the structure of the parties to the conflict? What is the picture at the management level? Who takes on which technical or other specific duties? Does identity play a part in this?
- Analyse the project's recruitment practices: are there criteria in the job descriptions and requirement profiles which automatically exclude a particular group? Are these criteria really important for the project? What could be done to open up the post for other applicants as well (minority, other religious group, women etc.)? How are the jobs advertised, and how are the applicants identified and selected? Are there "blind spots" in this process which result in certain groups being excluded? How can the process be made more inclusive, so that others will also be given an opportunity?
- If security reasons dictate that only project staff from a particular group can be deployed in a certain region: how can interchange and team spirit between the staff be brought about despite this?

Resource flows

Development cooperation brings resources into a country which are notable objects of desire even in places where they make little economic difference. Even a number of years ago, the ethnologist Thomas Bierschenk (1988) described how local elites consider development aid money to be "booty" and fight remarkable battles to obtain it. In war situations this metaphor can take on an entirely real meaning, when militias engage in highway robbery to demand protection money, food, vehicles and communications equipment from aid organisations. Looked at over the long term, international organisations subsidise the warlords in this way. An additional indirect subsidy is also provided: when social services are financed from development funds, local resources are released for conducting the war, and the warring parties are relieved of their social responsibility for the population. At the state level development cooperation can mean providing direct support for and stabilising a government that is itself a party to the conflict. Moreover, in this case, too, the "internationalisation" of governmental tasks reduces the pressure on governments to act in order to deal with the causes of conflict.

Key questions

• What kind of resources are being brought into the region by the project? In what quantities? Who will be interested in them? To whom will they be going? Who will be left out? How will the recipients use these resources? Note: do not merely look at the resources that are brought to the target groups in the form of food, equipment, subsidised services, transfer payments and loans. It is advisable to examine the entire process of service provision, as well as the necessary inputs. This includes salaries, orders with local and international suppliers, hotel bills, fees etc.

Corruption

Corruption and nepotism (clientelism) exclude everyone from access to the law and (state) services who is not connected to the ruling group or who does not have the financial means to buy their favour. In polarised societies, corruption becomes an additional cause of the conflict as a result. The considerable resources of development cooperation, which as a rule are channelled through a local partner authority or organisation, bring with them the risk of encouraging corruption. It is possible, for example, that the target groups can only gain access to desirable project inputs through clientele networks or corruption.

Key questions

- On what principles does corruption work in this country? Who or which groups are favoured by the existing system of clientelism and corruption, and who is excluded? How extensive are these systems?
- What mechanisms is the project developing in order to guarantee transparency and accountability in its own workings and in the partner organisation? Is there any corruption?
- Where are there possible avenues for the project to fight corruption and clientelism?

The conflict-related analysis tool (described in Annex II) is available for conducting an indepth analysis of the capacity of your own organisation regarding its involvement in the conflict. It contains key questions on the context of the organisation, its internal management structures, the orientation of the specific programme or project and its relations with other local actors.

4.4. Target Groups

Selecting the target groups

In a conflict there is no-one who is not involved, not even the poor. Even if only a minority is politically active or takes part in actual fighting, "friend-or-foe" patterns are applied to all population groups as the conflict continues to escalate. Attribution to one or other of the parties to the conflict often takes place more or less automatically, according to religious, ethnic or socio-economic criteria, without individuals being able to have much influence on deciding where they belong.

The application of development-policy or technical criteria when selecting target groups can lead to the project giving one-sided support to certain social groups. These are at the same time a party in the conflict or are perceived to be part of one. This may or may not be the political intention. Whatever the case, the project is thereby taking sides and is exposing itself to political manipulation.

Examples of "technical" criteria with political implications (Anderson 2000:21ff.):

- **Identity** (e.g. religious or ethnic identity): The ideology, culture or language usage in the development organisation can result in staff feeling drawn more towards one particular group and giving it stronger support.
- Political criteria (e.g. refugees, returnees, IDPs, ex-combatants): These groups are
 by definition already parties to the conflict, because they have been affected by the
 conflict in some way on account of their belonging to a particular group. Refugees
 tend more to count among the losers in the conflict, while ex-combatants often come
 from the winning side.
- **Technical criteria** (e.g. neediness, malnutrition, percentage of infrastructure destroyed): Once again it is possible that certain social groups the losers in the conflict, who suffer most from its consequences will be favoured by application of these apparently neutral criteria.
- Geographical criteria: Many conflicts can be traced back to certain regions being put at a disadvantage or given preferential treatment. The decision by a development organisation to work in a particular region or the decision by the central government to send the organisation to that region therefore puts down political markers. Governments often endeavour to channel as many resources as possible into their constituencies or the regions from where they originate. If the resources of external organisations are to be used in previously neglected areas, the idea behind this may be to visibly strengthen the presence of the state in these regions and to prevent rebellion or separatism. On the other hand, the involvement of development organisations in marginal parts of the country can also be perceived as deliberate support for the opposition.

- Social or economic criteria (e.g. poverty, farmers, the landless): As poverty, land ownership and certain economic activities are closely linked with the ethnic, religious or social identity (such as class or caste) of people in some countries, in this case too it is possible to support certain groups rather than others. This can also come about because of the type of services or inputs provided (self-targeting): an improved agricultural extension service will primarily be of benefit to farmers, while the traders and animal breeders, who may belong to other social groups, remain largely excluded from the benefits of the project.
- Criteria of success: Sometimes projects prefer to work with individuals or groups
 from whom they have hopes of achieving visible success through cooperation. For this
 to be likely, these groups must already have a certain capacity available (for example
 membership in a village organisation, or certain artisan's skills). If such an approach
 is adopted there is a danger that marginal groups will be excluded.

Although it goes without saying that not all groups can be served by development cooperation, it is important to be clear about the political dimensions of "technical" criteria. It is essential to be as transparent as possible with the local public about these selection criteria. If it is not feasible to support other, similarly needy groups, an attempt can be made to reach a certain balance by coordinating efforts with other organisations working in the region.

Key questions

• What criteria are used for selecting the target group(s)? What is the correlation between these criteria and other affiliations within the conflict (for example belonging to a religious, ethnic, or occupational group, or political party)? How can the project be designed so that it does not have a discriminatory effect?

It is possible that the project activities not only favour a particular group, but that they also have negative consequences for the living conditions of other groups. As a result, the project has the potential to exacerbate the conflict. It occurs again and again in development cooperation that support for one social or **occupational group** has negative repercussions for others in the long term. This is particularly the case if the advice and support provided by the project causes the group to take over areas of activity and services which were previously the responsibility of others, in a society organised according to the principles of the division of labour. A direct marketing organisation among farmers, for example, can jeopardise the business basis of local traders who belong to a different ethnic group. A micro-credit programme can turn influential moneylenders against the beneficiaries of the new system. Setting up a water supply network or a central waste disposal service threatens the livelihoods of water sellers, waste collectors and recycling operations. Even if consequences such as these cannot always be avoided, especially in conflict situations care must be taken that these groups are compensated by implementing measures which cushion the impact.

Key questions

 How is the division of labour organised in this society? Which groups take on which tasks? Are there overlaps between professional specialisation and belonging to a religious, regional or ethnic group or caste? What is the relationship of these groups to the conflict? How can innovations be designed such that a win-win situation arises for all groups concerned?

4.5. Project Activities

This section lists, by way of example, certain types of measures which are repeatedly used in (potential) conflict situations. In no way is this list claimed to be complete.

Food aid

There are two main risks relating to food aid in conflict situations:

- 1. Food supplies are frequently stolen by the militias or the army or are reclaimed ("taxed") by the population in order to feed their own fighters or to earn money by selling it on. In this way the food is channelled directly to the conflict. The possibility cannot even be ruled out that cynical rulers will deliberately create famine situations in order to bring international organisations into a certain region, with the resultant advantages that accrue to them. The attractiveness of the food for these groups is greatly dependent on its quantity and quality and on the method of distribution. The risk can be reduced by frequent and decentralised distribution and by avoiding keeping large stocks in store.
- 2. Not only in the case of food aid is there a danger that as a result of development cooperation local capacities will be undermined in the long term and that consequently the vulnerability of the population in conflict situations will actually be increased. External "aid" relieves local structures of their previous responsibilities to a certain extent (for example by supporting the needy within village networks or networks of relatives), which are then lost in the long term as a consequence of this aid. Relatively large quantities of free food coming into a region can also distort local economies. Falling food prices, for example, can lead to ever fewer farmers growing food for sale, exacerbating food shortages in the region in the long term. One particular problem with regard to conflicts is the consolidation of personal dependencies and clientele systems around those who brought the aid organisations into the village (brokers) or who are given the job of distributing the food. These new dependencies can be exploited for political purposes by ambitious individuals.

Key questions

- How can we design food aid in such a way that it is only attractive for the actual target groups? What does this mean for the quantity and quality of the food, and its transport, storage and packaging? Can the possibility of "taxation" of the recipients be reduced by more frequent distribution of smaller rations and by avoiding using prepared packaging?
- What do we know about the actual recipients of the food aid? When we are using participatory methods: according to what criteria do the village gatherings actually choose the recipients (family, party, ethnic and religious affiliations)? Does the food remain in the hands of these people? Who exactly controls and distributes the food in the villages, stores etc.? What relationship does this person/group have with the other villagers? What is their attitude to the conflict?
- In the case of food-for-work infrastructural measures: how will the promoted infrastructures be used? Can they also be used for war purposes (for example road building)?
- Local economies are usually already distorted by the conflict. How can we strengthen local productive capacities, and not weaken them?

Land, settlements, housing

Many population movements take place in conflict situations, to the extent that land use conditions become exceedingly complicated. In many cases, driving certain groups from their land is a significant war aim (sometimes described by the awful expression "ethnic e is a danger here that development organisations inadvertently support resettlements and expulsions. In peacetime, too, development cooperation can result in greater inequality between groups, for example when it supports a partner government's infrastructural measures that include ethnically discriminatory settlement components.

The same also applies to agricultural projects. When development organisations cooperate with certain groups in rehabilitating the infrastructure or improving sustainable land use, this can mean that rights of use which have only come into being during the conflict are given greater permanence. The outcome can be that the victors receive new land while the displaced people lose their land over the long term. This may be a further reason for the expelled group to prepare for a violent return.

It is also particularly difficult to formalise previously flexible land ownership arrangements, for example by setting up a land registry system. Unwritten land rights may well be potential sources of conflict, but they do offer leeway to negotiate various claims and forms of use. Especially in countries with authoritarian structures and large differences between rich and poor, it tends often to be big landowners and speculators who profit from a formalisation of land law because they have access to public administration and jurisdiction.

Development cooperation can also become a victim of its own success. It is true that resource utilisation programmes such as irrigation projects can reduce pressure on land use. On the other hand, though, they attract new settlers, which in turn generates conflict. It can also happen that a project upgrades the value of a previously underdeveloped area so much that control over it becomes desirable for one of the conflicting parties. Expulsion of the population and further expansion of the particular party's domains are then an indirect but serious consequence of development cooperation.

Finally, let it be noted that ecologically unsustainable agricultural, resource-extraction (e.g. oil production) and industrialisation projects intensify the pressure on natural resources in the long term and thus exacerbate conflicts centred on resource disputes.

Key questions

- What population movements (voluntary migration, forced expulsion) have taken place in the region (period: past 5 years in detail, past 2 generations/50 years as an overview)?
- Which groups use the land at present? What legal claim do they have to the land? Which other groups claim it? By whom was it used in earlier times? How has this tension been dealt with so far? What are the formal land right arrangements? Where are there possibilities for bringing about agreement between the groups? Where should we discontinue development cooperation (for example where unlawful expulsion is being supported)?

• Who will live in the new settlements? Where did they live before? Are there political motives behind the resettlement? Who used to live on the site of the new settlement? How will the housing be allocated? Is there a danger that a religious, ethnic or in some other way homogeneous ghetto will be formed? On the other hand, are the (former) parties to the conflict capable of living together in the same neighbourhood again?

Structural reforms and social change

Development policies and development projects that aim to bring about reforms at the political (macro) level should keep a close watch on the following conflict risks:

Acceleration of the **pressure to modernise** as a result of the targeted reforms. Changes to economic structures and social organisational forms can have the effect of inciting conflict. Economic reform programmes and structural adjustment, in particular, increase competitive behaviour in the public sector and can lead to violent protests in the population against a worsening of their living conditions.

The country's government can respond to the pressure for political reform that has been triggered by development cooperation by taking violent countermeasures. This must be taken into account, even if in the long term the aim of these reforms is to reduce the potential for violence. This applies in particular to reforms which cause the current elite to lose power and access to resources.

Some political reforms, such as decentralisation, involve the danger of supporting the present government in the establishment of control structures and hence possibly repressive mechanisms.

Key questions

• What effect do the targeted reforms have on the distribution of income and power in the country? Who will profit from them, and who will lose out? Who needs to be included in the reform process? What will be the short-term and long-term consequences of the reforms on the living conditions of the people? How do we know that the desired long-term consequences will indeed come about? Can the reforms be justified nevertheless? Where are there possibilities of softening the consequences of the reforms for vulnerable groups?

Capacity building and institution building

In all forms of capacity building and the promotion of institutions it is the case that it is up to those receiving the assistance to decide how to use their newly acquired skills and knowledge. This may apply to an NGO director who uses his new management knowledge to found a company of his own. It can also happen, however, that organisations use their improved skills in political organisation and communication to represent one-sided or even war-mongering interests. Strengthened governmental organisations could attempt to enhance the control exerted by the state in certain spheres.

In some situations the people who have received training through development cooperation have little leeway to take decisions themselves. It happens again and again, for example, that rebel organisations forcibly recruit doctors or mechanics in order to tend their wounded or maintain their equipment. In other cases rebels have offered better pay than the local agricultural service, tempting many agricultural

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advisers trained in management techniques to take on leading positions within the rebel organisation. As a result, a capacity-building project can have the effect of exacerbating the conflict.

Even if in the final analysis it is not possible to prevent such "misappropriation" of development cooperation, planners should closely examine who the target group of the training and advisory measures is, what content these measures should have and how peaceful use of the transferred knowledge and skills can be promoted.

Key questions

- Training measures: Who exactly are we training? Are there already relationships in place with one of the conflict parties (ethnic identity, political conviction)? What is the recruitment policy of the conflict parties with regard to young, well-trained people? How can we respond to this through our methods of selecting the trainees?
- What content is taught in the training measures? To what extent can this content also be used for the purposes of the conflict? Would it make sense to complement the training programme with components covering civic education, human rights, tolerance and conflict management? What measures can be taken to encourage a sense of a communal bond and a common set of ethics among the trainees, which would prevent them from collaborating with war-mongering forces later?
- Capacity building: The questions formulated above for the selection of partner organisations also apply here. In addition: how high is the probability that the organisation will use the advisory inputs for the purpose of peace-building activities in the long term? Which advisory inputs can also be used in other ways? How can the form and content of the advice be better adapted to the situation?

4.6. Cooperation with Others

Inclusiveness

All parties to the conflict should be included as partners, staff and target groups and when important decisions are taken in the project. This is particularly important in order to ensure that even unpopular decisions (such as concentration on a narrowly defined target group or reduction of the total volume) are transparent and will be supported by a broad basis. The extent to which it is possible to consult the various conflict parties and even establish joint management structures is greatly dependent on the history of the conflict in the region and on the present state of the relationships between these groups. In some situations the time will not yet be ripe for cooperation of this nature. Whatever the case, a great deal of time is needed to set up such structures.

Key questions

• Who was involved in the design and planning of the project? Whose views "count"? How does the project deal with certain operational decisions? Does it succeed in consulting as broad a circle of participants as possible in advance? How are clashes of interest dealt with? Is it possible to set up management structures involving representatives of different parties to the conflict in certain areas?

Transparency

Development cooperation brings resources, services, technical and organisational capacity into a country or a region. Development organisations are therefore constantly having to take decisions on how these inputs are to be distributed. In order to avoid rumours of corruption and the accusation of partisanship, it is important to make these decisions as transparent and inclusive as possible. In so doing it is essential to communicate clearly what the purpose of the cooperation is and which criteria were used as the basis for selecting the target groups. If there are still other collective structures and authorities in existence which were not involved in the project, these should be included.

Participatory methods such as participatory needs assessment can play an important part in making decisions transparent and comprehensible for everyone. However, a warning must be given against placing all too much trust in rational, objectively comprehensible selection criteria (such as objective neediness). In societies with strong family or clan structures, such criteria oriented towards the individual make little sense. It is therefore always essential to check how the choice of target groups is actually perceived by the broader population and to what extent communalistic (e.g. family, religious or ethnic) explanations are widespread.

Key questions

- How does the population perceive the project? What is the project's reputation? Is it considered independent, incorruptible, neutral?
- How does the project communicate its work among the target groups, with respect to other participants and the government? What type of communication channels are used in order to present the content of the work, the level of resource transfers and who their recipients are, and controversial decisions? What could be improved?

Coordination with other national and international organisations

Good communications, coordination and cooperation with other local, national and international organisations on the ground are important factors in achieving success in conflict situations. The advantages are to be found in the following areas in particular:

- Better exchange of information, especially security-related information.
- Avoiding competition for regions, partners, target groups, local staff and offices.
- Avoiding differences in the provision of services (such as charging or not charging for the use of communal installations, quality standards of infrastructure measures, pay for local staff, per diem). Differences can be interpreted as preferential treatment or partisanship. The SPHERE project has developed international standards for aid organisations in this field.
- Avoiding attempts at manipulation by local rulers and attempts to play different organisations off against each other.
- Better possibilities of taking a stance on infringements of human rights and development-related decisions by local rulers by coordinating the positions of the various organisations.

Key questions

- How does the project communicate with other organisations and initiatives in the field? Are there fixed communication channels (for example regular meetings)? How often does the project take part in these? What are the activities of these structures?
- Does the project use opportunities of establishing synergistic relations with other organisations rather than competitive ones? Where can scarce resources (such as telephone lines, qualified staff) be used jointly?
- How do the projects harmonise with each other locally as regards the way they deal with local authorities?

4.7. Security

The security precautions taken by international organisations in conflict zones are a component – and this is to some extent unavoidable – in the local spiral of armament and militarisation. This field should therefore be approached sensitively so as not to intensify the dynamics of conflict and violence yet further.

On the whole it is the case that the security of the staff is heavily dependent on the standing of the organisation and on the personal relations that they have been able to establish with the population. These informal channels can provide important pointers to impending threats. The potential for establishing personal relations is sometimes curtailed by strict security measures, for example if the staff only move around in vehicles and spend their evenings in protected residential areas, and the office buildings are shielded from the population by barbed wire and armed security forces. When considering equipping vehicles and houses with security equipment it is worth asking the question whether this really signifies an increase in security or whether this actually makes these objects a target for attacks and theft.

One particularly tricky subject is the use of guards and private security firms. It is often difficult to determine clearly what the relationship is between the guards and the various parties to the conflict. It can easily happen that militias will be subsidised in this way. The identity of the security personnel also means that the project is attributed to one side in the conflict. The population, in particular, is liable to see such an increase in the presence of arms as a further contribution to the escalation of a conflict.

Projects should also take seriously their responsibility for local staff when drawing up evacuation plans and the like. This is particularly true if as part of their work for the project the staff have been involved in activities that have aroused mistrust among the government or local rulers, or which are controversial within the population in some other way. When the "protective" presence of the international project staff is no longer there, the local staff have to reckon with threats to their property or even their life.

Key questions

 What security precautions has the project taken? Rules of conduct? Communications equipment? Protection of property? Where is the equipment acquired?

Central Questions on Risk Appraisal

- Are private guards and security services employed? What is the legal basis for these security services working as they do? Which bodies monitor their professional work (for infringements of human rights, for example)? Are there links between the security services and the parties to the conflict (such as employment of demobilised excombatants)? Are there links with criminal networks? To which ethnic, religious or political grouping or clan do the security personnel belong? Does this enhance or diminish the security of the project? Is there a possibility that the guards informally pass on resources and information to the conflict parties?
- Does the project have a security strategy that applies to both international staff and local staff? How are the legitimate security needs of the local staff handled? Is it possible to transfer them to other parts of the country if necessary? Are they part of the evacuation strategy?

(Sources: Anderson 2000, Esman/Herring 2001, Klingebiel 1999, Leonhardt 2000)

5. Methods of Conflict Impact Assessment

Conflict impact assessment looks into the actual consequences of the development project on local and national conflicts. It is important to monitor these impacts regularly in order to preempt negative trends and to identify particular opportunities to take positive action, and to seize those opportunities.

This represents a considerable methodological challenge, however. Development projects normally have a relatively limited sphere of action, whereas conflicts are complex and long-drawn-out processes, which are determined by a multiplicity of factors. How is it possible then to attribute certain changes in the conflict situation to the project? In development practice this problem is familiarly described by the term "allocation gap". What this means is that although most development projects can prove relatively easily what impacts they have in their immediate environment, allocation of impacts becomes more difficult the further removed you are from the project. In conflict situations this means that projects can provide certain stimuli at the local level or to immediate project partners. The conflict, however, is influenced by a large number of internal and external factors, the complexity of which even experts have difficulty in unravelling. How can we prove that our intervention or our cooperation with others has had any sort of effect on the conflict? This problem is even more acute in the case of crisis prevention where it is necessary to produce the negative proof that without the intervention there would have been a violent escalation in the long term.

A pragmatic approach to this problem is to reduce the size of the allocation gap from both sides. At the **macro level** the factors influencing the course of the conflict can, as far as possible, be documented, explained and compared with the focal areas of our work. Are we working on subjects that are really relevant to the conflict (such as land reform)? A comparison over time of the course of the conflict with the progress of our own work and that of our partners in cooperation can also provide initial pointers (for example the influence of a discussion event attended by high-ranking individuals on a draft law on the same subject adopted soon afterwards). At the **micro level** the impacts of the project can be documented using conventional procedures. These include drawing up cause-and-effect chains, formulating participatory approaches to impact assessment and producing intensive case studies.

In line with this conceptual approach, four methods are described in this chapter: conflict monitoring, impact hypotheses, participatory impact assessment and case studies. They each offer a different **perspective** on the conflict situation and the work of the project. The table below briefly summarises the approach, the areas of application and procedure of the individual methods. This enables the project team to decide on a preselection of methods which best match its specific information requirements.

Method	Question posed	Areas of application	Procedure
Conflict monitoring	To what extent is it possible to make a connection between the perceived changes in the conflict situation and the work of the project, programme, network etc.? (macro perspective)	Determination of the effects of a conflict-specific programme, country portfolio or network on the conflict Review of a project with regard to its importance for the conflict Dynamic adaptation of a project to the changing conflict situation	Conflict analysis Quantitative and qualitative conflict observation Development of explanatory models
Impact hypotheses	What progress has the project made in achieving the changes in the conflict situation it aimed for? (project perspective)	Review of the project's progress with regard to the peace objectives originally envisaged Identification of the peace-related effects of measures taken in other sectors	Identification of impact dimensions Development of impact hypotheses Drawing up of conflict-related impact indicators Monitoring of the indicators
Participa- tory impact assessment	How do the target groups judge the impact of the project on the conflict situation in their neighbourhood? (target groups perspective)	1. Appraisal of the project's impact on the lives of the members of the target groups affected by the conflict 2. Identification of and agreement on peace-related project objectives in consultation with the target groups 3. Comparison of the target groups' perspective with the impacts of the project identified on the mezzo and macro levels	Perception of peace and conflict by the target groups Conflict line and trend line Impact matrix Unintentional project impacts
Case studies	What effect does an activity X or a managerial decision Y have on the conflict situation? (various perspectives)	Examination – by way of an example – of specific aspects of the project work (e.g. resource transfers, selection of target groups) in order to find out their importance in the context of the conflict	Detailed study including lengthy field work; methodology dependent on the specific questions formulated

When establishing a long-term impact assessment system within a project at least three of these methods should be combined (**triangulation**). In this way it is possible to work out a relatively comprehensive picture of the conflict situation and of the project's role within it. In order to answer specific questions a single method or a combination of two methods can also be applied. Depending on the purpose for which the system is used, it is advisable to combine the impact hypotheses method which originates in the project itself with one of the three other methods which aim at the micro or macro level.

The remaining part of this chapter explains the different methods, with each explanation broken down into three sections: description, application and procedure. Where appropriate central questions are developed in addition to that, and readers are referred to the corresponding analytical tools in Annex II.

5.1. METHOD 1: CONFLICT MONITORING

5.1.1. Description

Conflict monitoring consists of observing the actual changes of the conflict situation over a certain period of time and of examining to what extent a connection can be made between these changes and the work of the project. The point of departure is therefore actual, observable changes - usually those taking place on the national (macro) level of the conflict. No claim should be made that a development project has actually influenced the conflict. This would be unrealistic. The question is rather to what extent the project is working in areas which again and again prove to be decisive for (positive) developments in the conflict and whether it is indeed possible to detect relationships in the timing of these factors. Even if both of these questions can be answered in the affirmative this analysis should not lead to the assumption that the project has direct effects. As a rule, development projects are not influential enough to achieve this. But what can be said is that the project has been working at a critical point in time in an important area and has therefore made a certain contribution to these changes together with many other people and factors. Such statements have to take into account the short-term consequences of the project work as well as its long-term structure-building effects.

Conflict monitoring includes quantitative and qualitative factors. Its quantitative aspect relates to the intensity of the conflict which can be assessed by the monitoring of key indicators (see conflict indicators in Annex I, tool: conflict index). Its qualitative aspect relates to the documentation and analysis of important events and developments. These events are then examined in order to establish the extent to which a connection can be made between them and the impact of external "third" parties.

5.1.2. Application

Conflict monitoring can be used to answer the following questions:

- Is it possible to detect connections between the areas of the project work and the key factors leading to a peaceful resolution of the conflict? Are there relationships in their timing? Does the project work in conflict-related areas?
- Does the project respond in an appropriate way to the changes in the conflict situation? Does the project respond in an appropriate way to the resulting changes in the needs of the target groups?
- What effects does a conflict-related programme, country portfolio or a network of different organisations have on the conflict at the national level?

5.1.3. Procedure

The following steps are appropriate for conflict monitoring:

- a. Conflict analysis
- b. Quantitative and qualitative conflict observation
- c. Development of impact hypotheses

a) Conflict analysis

Conflict monitoring starts with a detailed analysis of the conflict in order to gain a thorough understanding of the conflict actors, conflict causes and issues and also of the coping strategies adopted by the local population. This conflict analysis is also necessary in order to establish meaningful indicators for the quantitative observation of the conflict. At the same time, conflict analysis constitutes a baseline study for future investigations. Subsequently it needs to be updated at appropriate intervals (such as annually).

Without narrowing the analysis prematurely, the survey of important conflict actors and factors should even at this stage take into account the specific social, regional and sectoral orientation of the project. In the context of a basic education project in a multiethnic country, for example, conflict analysis would pay particular attention to the national policy in relation to languages, while in the context of a judicial project it would focus on impunity and in the context of an agricultural project on controversial questions of land rights. In the analysis of the conflict actors, the groups associated with the project, i.e. partner organisations, intermediaries, various target groups and their part in the conflict should be investigated in particular. Under certain circumstances it may make sense to differentiate between the conflicts in the project region and the conflict at the national or international level.

Key questions

- What are the causes of the present conflict situation? What are the objectives of the various actors in the conflict? Which factors propagate the (actual or potential) use of violence?
- Who are the most important conflict actors? Who else has an interest in the conflict or a part in it?
- How do the people deal with the conflict? Where appropriate: what strategies do they
 apply in order to survive the crossfire of the opposing groups? Are local people
 actively involved in a peaceful resolution of the conflict?

Detailed advice on how to carry out conflict analyses can be found in Part I of the Guidelines on Conflict Analysis for Project Planning and Management.

b) Conflict monitoring

Conflict monitoring documents and analyses the course of the conflict at the macro level at regular intervals (for example every six months). This differentiates conflict observation from early warning systems, which aim to predict the future development of the conflict.

Key questions

- How has the conflict developed in the last few months? What is the security situation developing? Are there signs of escalation? Have any important peace initiatives been launched? How should the project respond?
- Has progress been made in the last few months at overcoming the conflict causes and at establishing mechanisms for peaceful conflict management?

Conflict monitoring observes the intensity of the conflict (quantity) as well as the important events and developments of a conflict situation (quality), and therefore consists of a qualitative and a quantitative part:

- 1. **Qualitative conflict description**: Preparation of a brief analysis (1-2 pages) of the development of the conflict during the previous reporting period, giving special consideration to important events (such as attacks, massacres, expulsions; elections, peace negotiations) and developments (for example implementation of a reform programme conducive to peace, or mobilisation of civil-society groups towards achieving a peaceful conflict resolution). If at all possible the analysis should briefly examine possible causes of these events and developments (tools: timeline, conflict mapping).
- 2. **Quantitative conflict description**: Documentation of the intensity of the conflict as well as of the progress (or backward steps) made in working on its causes using **peace** and conflict indicators. Annex I includes examples of such indicators, which the project team should adapt to the specific situation.⁴ From a practical point of view it is advisable to specify no more than 15-30 indicators to assess the intensity of the conflict. For every important cause of the conflict two to three key indicators should be identified on the basis of which it is possible to gauge the progress made at strengthening peace constituencies and at working on conflict causes. With the aid of these indicators it is possible to construct a conflict and peace index with which to observe the development of the conflict over the long term. (Tools: conflict barometer, conflict index, trend line)

At the beginning of conflict monitoring these two methods can also be applied retrospectively in order to gain an understanding of the history of the conflict.

c) Development of explanatory models

The last step in conflict monitoring involves the development of explanatory models for the observed developments. Particular consideration is given to the role of external actors. After all, these models are meant to establish the missing links between an observed event and the work of the project. For example, they try to explain retrospectively why an important party to the conflict has suddenly agreed to an attempt at external mediation. The various possible explanations, such as a change in the political balance of power, increasing pressure from the population to achieve a peaceful conflict resolution etc., should be examined to find the ones to which the project may have contributed (for example the promotion of civil-society groups who are actively involved in strengthening the will for peace among the population). In this way a relationship is established between the project and the conflict without, however, claiming that the changes are attributable to the project. In order to develop explanatory models and their connection with the project work it may be useful to document the sequence of project activities using a timeline.

Key questions

- Why has the intensity of the conflict decreased/increased over the past months? How can particular high points and low points be explained?
- How can we explain (the positive) event X? What short- and long-term developments could have been its cause? In which areas of society, at which levels, in which sectors did these developments take place? Are these areas in which we work? Is it plausible that the event is connected to our work?

-

⁴ The compendium of indicators compiled by Angelika Spelten (1999) for the BMZ for the early identification of conflict risks can also provide important ideas.

5. Methods of Conflict Impact Assessment

• Which other internal and external actors had a part in event X? Are there possible ways of reinforcing our cooperation with these actors in future?

Tools: conflict barometer, conflict line, trend line, conflict index, conflict tree, flow chart

Comments

Because of its orientation towards the overall or macro impact, conflict monitoring is a useful instrument for evaluating the role *all* external parties (the aid system) have played in a conflict. This approach has been pursued by among others Uvin (1998) in Rwanda and Reychler (1999) in Burundi.

5.2. METHOD 2: CAUSE-AND-EFFECT HYPOTHESES

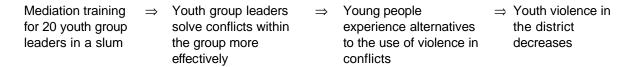
5.2.1. Description

In contrast with conflict monitoring, which looks for explanations for actually observable developments in the conflict situation, working with impact hypotheses involves examining the progress the project has made in bringing about the changes in the conflict situation that it is hoped to achieve. The point of departure is therefore the objectives of the project. Impact hypotheses originate from the established range of monitoring instruments used in development cooperation. They provide answers to two linked questions:

- Are the activities of the project actually suited to achieving the (conflict-related) project purpose? Is there a logical connection between the activities and the expected effects?
- What are the actual conflict-related impacts of these activities? Is the project on the right track to achieve its objectives? How much has it progressed so far?

In order to provide an answer to these questions, the pathways from the individual activities to the expected or actually observed changes are traced step by step (impact chains). Impact chains of this type are drawn up when working with the logical framework or ZOPP, for example.

Example: Impact chain of mediation training for leaders of youth groups



It is obvious that the possibility of making an assured prediction decreases with the number of steps between the impact and the original activity. As the number of external factors increases, it is less possible to influence the impacts. This is especially the case in dynamic conflict situations. For this reason, from a certain stage onwards, only general experiences, plausibilities or visions remain. Impact chains are hypotheses; whether the impact actually materialises or not must be the subject of an empirical investigation. To help in this, indicators for the individual steps are drawn up by means of which it is possible to recognise if impacts have been achieved.

5.2.2. Application

- Appraisal of the project's progress with regard to the peace objectives originally envisaged.
- Identification of peace-related impacts of measures originating in other sectors: to date, only a very small number of development projects have explicit objectives in the field of conflict management and peacebuilding. In this case, cause-and-effect hypotheses serve to deduce conflict-related impacts from measures originating in other sectors (for example establishment of the rule of law, democratisation or food security).

5.2.3. Procedure

The box below is a brief reminder of the general procedure when working with impact hypotheses. For further information refer to the specialist literature on monitoring (see Bibliography). After that, the text deals with drawing up conflict-specific impact dimensions, impact hypotheses and indicators.

Steps to take when developing and monitoring impact hypotheses

1. Identification of areas of impact:

- In which sector/sectors does the project operate? What connections can be detected between this sector and the conflict situation? Where exactly does the (potential) contribution of our work to peacebuilding lie within this framework?
- At what levels (micro, mezzo, macro) are we working? Where do we expect impacts? On whom do we expect to have impacts (target groups, intermediaries)?
- What changes are important for the target groups? What changes are important for us? Why? Which ones do we want to monitor?
- In which areas can we possibly expect negative impacts?

2. Formulation of impact hypotheses

- What impacts do we expect from the project activities? Which of these are important for the target groups, for us?
- Why do we think that activity A results in impact Z? Which steps lead from one to the other? Which actors (intermediaries) have a part in achieving the impacts? What else has to occur in addition?
- How long is the foreseen period of time between A and Z? What does this depend on?
- What other factors can promote or obstruct the achievement of the impacts? To what extent can we influence these factors?

3. Elaboration of impact indicators

- To whom or what do the desired changes relate exactly? What should these changes be?
- What are the factors indicating that these changes are taking place? How do the target groups recognise these changes?

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- What survey methods do we have at our disposal (human and material resources)?
 What information sources do we have access to? Which indicators can therefore be best monitored?
- Does a monitoring system already exist within the project? Which of its indicators are relevant to the conflict? How can they best be integrated into conflict impact assessment?
- In what way could unintentional impacts be recognised?

4. Monitoring of the indicators

- Which methods are best suited to observing the impact indicators?
- How can the views of various stakeholders be taken into account?
- In what way do people make use of what we offer? Who are they? What has changed for the target groups as a result? How do the target groups judge these changes? Are there other further-reaching changes?

a) Impact dimensions

How can we determine whether a project contributes to the prevention, management or resolution of conflicts and violence by cooperating with farming cooperatives, with state forestry authorities or a leading management institute? In other words, on what basis can we reveal the conflict-related impact dimensions of the project? To this end we have to:

- 1. Understand what crisis prevention, conflict management and peacebuilding mean in this country and in this specific conflict situation. This is the purpose of conflict analysis.
- 2. Comprehend what connections exist between what the project offers and contributes on the one hand and the peace and conflict factors on the other. This is the purpose of impact hypotheses.

Conflict analysis (see Conflict Analysis Guidelines) shows:

- which actors are involved in the conflict,
- in which regions the conflict is taking place,
- which are the most important conflict causes,
- how the target groups experience and survive the conflict,
- what they envisage a peaceful situation to be.

This information can help to determine the conflict-related impact dimensions of the project. In particular, they can clarify whether:

- the project exerts influence on important conflict actors through its work,
- it works with sections of the population affected by the conflict,
- it contributes to overcoming the causes of the conflict,
- it supports the realisation of visions of peace as envisaged by the target groups.

The table below, which lists typical structural conflict factors, can be used to determine the substance of conflict causes and of related impact dimensions of the project. These factors should then be further specified with regard to particular actors/target groups and regions.

Table 6: Examples of structural conflict factors

Dimensions	Conflict factors	
Political factors	Difficulties in coping with transformation processes and rapid social	
	change	
	Absence of a legitimate government and good governance	
	Limited social and political participation	
	Insufficient formal and informal channels of conflict management	
	Limited institutional capacities	
Economic factors	Socio-economic inequality	
	Competition for natural resources	
	Basic human needs are insufficiently met	
Social factors	Social disintegration and marginalisation	
	Political manipulation of ethnic, cultural and other differences, discrimination	
	Culture of violence, traumatisation as a result of previous violence	
Security	Uncontrolled parts of the armed forces and arbitrary police action	
	Availability of arms, particularly small arms	
	Insufficient security for citizens (infringements of human rights, crime)	
External factors	Negative consequences of international involvement	
	Negative consequences of the national and international situation	

Source: Leonhardt 2000, Klingebiel et al. 2000

In order subsequently to make connections between the project and the peace and conflict factors it is worth considering exactly what the project is influencing in its environment. Within the framework of conflict management these, areas of impact can be defined as the following:

- Attitudes: e.g. elimination of mistrust, prejudices, feelings of superiority, inferiority complexes
- **Behaviour**: e.g. support for communication, cooperation, reduction of discriminatory practices
- *Capacity*: e.g. more effective and fairer legal proceedings, articulation of interests by civil-society groups
- **Structures**: e.g. dissolution of ethnic ghettos, fairer land distribution, local self-government

A further factor to be taken into account is which actors can be influenced on which level. The conflict pyramid developed by Lederach (1997) can be used here:

Table 7: Levels of conflict management

Level 1 (upper level)

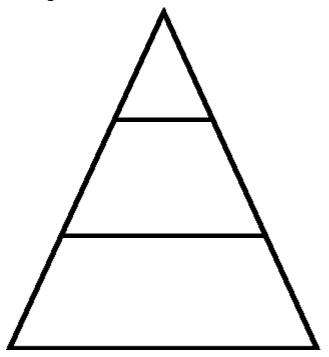
- Military, political and religious leaders who are very much in the public eye
- · Government representatives
- International organisations

Level 2 (mid-level)

- Respected figures in certain sections of society
- Ethnic or religious leaders
- Academics, professionals
- Heads of NGOs

Level 3 (grassroots level)

- Local leaders, elders
- NGOs and social workers
- Women's and youth groups
- Local health workers
- Refugees' representatives
- Peace activists



These various dimensions and levels are summarised in the next table, which shows as an example a project directed at promoting primary schooling in indigenous languages. The contents of the table are not expected to be complete. No project can have impacts in every area and at every level.

Example: Impact dimensions of a project for promoting multilingual primary schooling in a multiethnic state

	Conflict factor	: Indiaenous mir	orities perceive	themselves as being
	culturally and politically discriminated against by the majority			
	Attitudes	Behaviour	Capacity	Structures
Upper level (ministry of education)	Problem awareness (language of the majority is the only official language)		Preparation of teaching materials in indigenous languages	Legal framework for the use of indigenous languages in primary school and administration
Mid-level (school administration, teachers, intellectuals)	!! Promotion of indigenous languages could reinforce ethnonationalism among these groups !!	Primary school lessons conducted in indigenous languages	Training of teachers who belong to indige- nous groups and speak their languages	Promotion of use of the indigenous languages in written form in order to widen their cultural and political recognition
Grassroots level (pupils and their parents)	Literacy programmes conducted in the mother tongues accepted as a contribution to preservation of the indigenous cultures	Use of the mother tongue in private correspondence and in dealing with administration		!! Dividing the pupils into groups according to their mother tongue could reinforce barriers between majority and minority groups !!

In practice, no more than three or four impact dimensions should initially be selected for further observation.

Tools: conflict mapping, ABC triangle, impact matrix

b) Impact hypotheses

Impact hypotheses demonstrate why we think that an activity A will lead to the impact Z. An *impact chain* shows the individual steps between A and Z. Conflict-related impact chains result from analysis of the conflict causes by using tools such as the conflict tree or the flow chart. These show how individual conflict factors build on one another and mutually intensify each other, finally leading to a situation where violence is used. The project deals with the conflict "at its roots", thereby aiming to avoid precisely these dynamic processes. Looked at the other way, it is possible to identify the individual steps which are necessary to realise the peace vision formulated by the target groups. In this context it is important also to record potentially negative impacts and important external but uncontrollable factors.

Tools: conflict tree, flow chart, impact matrix

c) Conflict-related impact indicators

Unfortunately it is impossible to draw up a set of generally applicable impact indicators for peace-promoting projects. The projects are too varied, and the criteria for success differ greatly from one conflict to the another. It is possible that factors which contribute to conflict management in one conflict destabilise the situation further in another conflict (for example if elections are held in a hurry). However, the basic question remains the same, as introduced in Section 2.1.: to what extent does the project increase or decrease the opportunities for peaceful conflict management. This question can be applied to the categories of attitudes, behaviour, capacity and structures. In what way can it be detected in each of these areas that progress is being made towards peaceful resolution of the conflict and towards overcoming the conflict causes?

Example: Impact indicators relating to an ombudsperson for infringements of human rights by the state

- Capacity of the ombudsoffice: number and qualification of staff, infrastructure
- Confidence in and demands on the ombudsperson: number and quality of incoming complaints
- Influence of the ombudsperson: number of members of the state law enforcement agencies convicted as a result of intervention by the ombudsperson, length of prison sentences
- Preventive effect of the ombudsoffice: reduction in the infringements of human rights perpetrated by state security services
- Political effect of the ombudsoffice: persecuted groups gradually start to regain trust in the state (e.g. higher turnout at elections, reduced support for radical groups)

Some effects can be observed directly, many cannot. This is particularly the case if the project work is closely focussed on the process, the target group is large or its members are widely dispersed, the project operates at a distance from the target group or the target groups have good reasons to avoid direct questions on the issue. In this case the use of **intermediary or proxy indicators** is advisable. These indicate that a project has already made progress towards achieving a particular objective, albeit without having already reached the objective. They are also used as pointers to other factors which are difficult to gauge (for example a decreasing number of interethnic marriages as a proxy indicator for rising ethnic tensions). It is possible to deduce intermediary indicators from the intermediate steps identified in the impact chain.

5.3. METHOD 3: PARTICIPATORY IMPACT ASSESSMENT

5.3.1. Description

In participatory impact assessment the target groups and other people affected by or involved in the project are asked to identify the conflict-related impacts of the project inputs that they know of and judge them according to their own criteria. The idea behind this approach is to add the target groups' "view from below" to the "view from above" established by means of conflict monitoring and as a result of the impact hypotheses. This means that the point of departure is the subjective view of the target groups. Whereas those methods tend to place rather more importance on structures and political processes, participatory impact assessment emphasises the experience of individuals living in the conflict situation. This is the reason why participatory impact assessment has more to do with values, feelings, relationships and adjustment strategies. As a result, in a manner of speaking the baton is passed back to the target groups. In addition, unintentional and as yet unknown impacts can be recognised more easily in this way.

When carrying out conflict impact assessment with the target groups it is possible to fall back on the extensive "tool box" of participatory impact assessment. Of particular value in this context is the work of Neubert (1999) on social impact analysis in poverty-oriented projects. Here it is accepted that the accuracy and reliability of impact assessment and of the patterns of explanations of the target groups decrease as the distance from their neighbourhoods increases. For example, the target groups may only speculate why a certain minister has made this or that decision affecting their region whereas a foreign adviser to the government may well have more exact information on this matter. During the preparations for participatory impact assessment the team carrying out the survey should therefore pinpoint exactly which impacts are to be discussed in which area and at which level.

Key questions

- How do the target groups and other stakeholders perceive the position of the project in relation to the conflict (e.g. neutrality, partisanship)? Does this have consequences for the project work?
- How do the target groups and other stakeholders judge the work of the project with regard to the promotion of peaceful coexistence and the creation of conditions for constructive conflict resolution? To what extent – as perceived by the target groups themselves – does the project support their coping strategies?
- In which areas does the project from the point of view of the target groups intensify the conflict?
- Who else apart from us works with the target groups on general tasks and conflictrelated tasks? What do the target groups think of this work? Might there be opportunities to strengthen the complementarity and cooperation between us and these others?

5.3.2. Application

Assessment of the influence of the project on the lives of the target groups/clientele
affected by the conflict and particularly on the promotion of conflict management and
peaceful coexistence

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- Identification of and agreement on peace-related project objectives together with the target groups
- Comparison of the perspective of the target groups with the project impacts found at the mezzo and macro levels
- Identification of areas where there have been unintentional impacts

5.3.3. Procedure

Participatory impact assessment deals with sensitive subjects. Its success is therefore dependent on a relationship of trust between the team carrying out the survey and the local population. In some cases, establishing such a relationship is made easier by the presence of project staff already well known to the target groups. In other situations however it may be preferable to call in people unknown to the target groups who are regarded as neutral. In any case the team should allow sufficient time for the survey and – despite the required transparency – not dive in head first on the first day they arrive in the field.

The following steps are suitable for carrying out participatory impact assessment in conflict situations:

- 1. Development of criteria for assessing the project impacts according to the target groups' perceptions of peace and conflict
- Identification of high-priority problem areas and of positive developments using trend lines applicable to the course of the conflict and the development of living conditions in the village (district, region), discussion of the role of external factors (e.g. development projects)
- 3. Identification and assessment of project impacts by the target groups
- 4. Survey of possible unintentional impacts. These steps form the basic framework of participatory impact assessment. Depending on the sectoral orientation and the amount of information needed by the project, other methods of participatory rural appraisal (cf. Pretty et al. 1995, Schönhuth/Kievelitz 1994) should be used in addition.

a) Perception of peace and conflict by the target groups

Different sections of the population, especially members of groups on opposing sides of the conflict, have different ideas of what "conflict" and "peace" mean. For example, Goodhand/Hulme (2000) report from Afghanistan that a number of Pashtun men believe that the Taliban have brought peace to the country. In contrast, women in Kabul say that the Taliban have introduced new forms of suppression. For further illustration a few other definitions of peace collected by Goodhand/Hulme (2000:6) in a series of case studies are listed below:

- Peace means to live with our neighbours like we used to before 1983. (Sri Lanka)
- There is peace if foreigners do not get involved in Afghan affairs. (Afghanistan)
- Peace prevails if our children can go to school. (Liberia)
- Peace prevails if an unmarried girl can go out at night wearing all her jewellery and return safe and sound. (Sri Lanka)
- Peace means unity, to live together in our country. (Afghanistan)

These examples demonstrate clearly that it is possible to deduce a number of criteria for the evaluation of measures conducive to peace using only the perception of conflict and peace by the population. Do these measures enable children to attend school once more? Do they improve the security situation? Or do they worsen corruption and the politicisation of government services because they interfere in an insensitive way with the affairs of the country? It goes without saying that these statements cannot simply be taken on board without a critical eye being cast over them first. If the state of affairs existing in Sri Lanka before the pogroms of 1983 was restored, would that not mean that all the causes of the conflict would still exist?

One-to-one and group discussions, drawings, verbal accounts and role play are all useful means of recording the perception of peace and conflict by the population. Depending on the degree of tension within the target groups, contrasting interpretations can be directly compared and discussed. However, in order to collect different perspectives on the conflict these methods should be applied separately. Methodological pointers in this direction can be found in the bibliography on participatory rural appraisal (see Bibliography in the Annex).

b) Conflict line and trend line

Conflict and trend lines can help in working out the extent to which the project measures are conflict-related from the point of view of the target groups, i.e. whether they are relevant to the problem situations of the population affected by the conflict and whether they contribute to overcoming the conflict.

To start with, the target groups and the survey team draw up a conflict line which describes the local course of the conflict. This should indicate both its intensity and the most important events (tools: conflict barometer, timeline). The following questions can be discussed in this connection:

- How do the target groups experience the conflict? How does the conflict affect the daily life of the target groups? What criteria do they use to judge the conflict?
- How do the target groups deal with the conflict situation (coping strategies)?
- Which events and developments have determined the course of the conflict from the point of view of the target groups? Is it possible to make cross-connections to the project's areas of activity?
- Is there a correlation in time between the project activities and the course of the conflict, as experienced by the target groups?

Next it should be shown against the background of the conflict line how other conditions of daily life, for example the employment situation, health and security, have developed in the same period (tool: trend line). It is quite possible for some of these factors to develop in opposite directions, for example if an international aid organisation establishes a well-equipped hospital for refugees and the local population during a highly charged phase of the conflict, resulting in the health situation actually improving. Using the conflict and trend lines the team can discuss with members of the population how the conflict affects their living conditions from their point of view. Ranking can support this analysis of the conflict-related problem situations. This is followed by the question of how the people deal with these effects, i.e. what kind of coping strategies they develop. On the basis of this information it is then possible in the next step to evaluate the extent to which the project activities contribute to overcoming the conflict situation or its effects.

5. Methods of Conflict Impact Assessment

Again, in a polarised situation the points of view of individual groups involved in the conflict should be presented separately.

Tools: phases of the conflict, timeline, trend line

c) Impact matrix

The impact matrix helps the target groups to identify the effects of the activities known to them as carried out by their project (and possibly the effects of activities of other projects) and to evaluate them using the previously identified peace criteria and/or conflict areas. The evaluation is made on a scale from -2 to +2. The central question here is to what extent the project promotes peaceful coexistence in the region. It should be pointed out that positive as well as negative impacts must be taken into account. In addition, it can be recorded which local group benefits most from the measure in question and which group suffers negative effects.

The following information can be obtained from this:

- To what extent do the project activities correspond to the demands on peaceful coexistence formulated by the target groups (peace criteria, conflict areas)?
- Which project activities have a particularly major impact (intentional or unintentional) in this respect?
- Which project activities have a negative effect on the conflict situation?
- How far-reaching are the effects of the project activities? Which groups are affected?

Example: Impact matrix of the activities of an integrated agroforestry project in a region where there are tensions between livestock breeders and arable farmers

Project activity	Areas of the conflict			
	Competition for natural resources (water, land)	Local borders	Communicatio n	Total value
Participatory situation analysis	+ 1 (mediation initiative in conflict about a water reservoir)	- 2 (leads to open border conflicts in the short term)	+ 2 (brings different groups together, encourages cooperative conflict settlement in the long term)	positive: + 3 negative: - 2
Training of para- professionals in land use			+ 1 (encourages personal acquaintance between inhabitants of neighbouring villages)	positive: + 1 negative: 0
Land use planning	+ 2 (encourages the cooperative use of the natural resources in the long term)	- 1 (leads to disputes about the correct drawing of borders in the short term)	-1 (reinforces separate identity and way of life of livestock breeders and arable farmers)	positive: + 2 negative: - 2
Measures to increase production	+ 2 (relieve pressure on natural resources and therefore reduce competition)			positive: + 2 negative: 0
Construction of water reservoirs	- 2 (increased competition between neighbouring villages for water and land if there has been no prior planning process)			positive: 0 negative: - 2

(based on material from Klingebiel et al. 2000:55-60)

Tool: impact matrix

Evaluation of the impact matrix shows which of the project measures open up possibilities for peaceful conflict management (positive values). On the other hand it also clarifies which activities involve risks of exacerbating the conflict (negative values). Following this evaluation, discussions should be held with the target groups as to how the positive opportunities presented by the various measures could be enhanced and the risks associated with the measures cushioned.

d) Unintentional project impacts

In a way, the identification of unintentional negative project impacts is a cross-sectoral task for the entire process of participatory impact assessment. Often it is not easy to recognise these impacts. Because of their unintentional nature it is difficult to look for them systematically on the basis of the project design or the plan of operations. The target groups may also have good reasons to keep their possible knowledge of such impacts to themselves. These reasons include the following:

- Open criticism is not in keeping with local customs. People fear that the project might be withdrawn.
- The target group belongs to the "winners", but knows of others who have suffered negative effects because of the project. It is not in the group's interest to mention this fact.
- The target group knows that there is corruption surrounding the project, that armed groups seize project resources etc. However, it is put under pressure by the local rulers not to report anything about this.

Systematic design of the study is of little help in this case. It is more promising to have an open approach, to spend a lot of spare time in the field, to be a good observer and to have many informal discussions with target groups and other people with knowledge of the local situation. This is the best way of finding indications of unintentional – positive and negative – impacts induced by the project.

In all of this the survey team should always ask itself certain questions:

- To what extent are the people benefiting from the project connected to a particular party in the conflict?
- To what extent could the project inputs be used by warring groups in an indirect or concealed way or could be of interest to them?
- How are the presence of and the methods used by the project perceived on a political level?
- What opinions are given on the contacts the project maintains with the local authorities?
- To what extent could project resources be diverted into hidden channels?

5.4. METHOD 4: CASE STUDIES

Detailed case studies are suitable for impact assessment "close to the project", for example when the study concerns the influence of individual measures, a particular method or specific management decisions. Case studies do not claim to be generally applicable, but they can provide insights into the complex make-up of cause and effect at the local level and can point out new, previously unexpected impacts. In this way they break down barriers of perception which are structurally inherent in the usual short-term studies. Case studies should be led by specialists in the subject area in question and always require a lengthy period in the field. It can be useful to recruit "insiders" (project workers) and "outsiders" (external specialists) to the survey team in order to link the external view and the project view of events.

5. Methods of Conflict Impact Assessment

Case studies are suitable for investigating a multitude of individual problems. These include:

Following up the project resource flows (is it possible that we are indirectly supporting the armed groups?)

- Macroeconomic and social distribution effects of a reform measure supported by the project (could the measure further intensify the differences between the rival regional groups?)
- Balance of power and political orientation among the target groups (is our work in the villages too closely linked to the local elites, all of whom support party X?)

The great variety of possible questions is matched by the range of different methods used to investigate them. In order to deal with the three examples above, for example, approaches involving business management, economics and ethnology would be required.

5.5. SUMMARY EVALUATION AND FEEDBACK

Project analysis and impact assessment provide a variety of information which needs to be systematised, analysed and transformed into specific recommendations for action in the future course of the project. At this stage nothing can replace the analytical capability and power of judgement of the project team itself. Nevertheless there are some techniques that help to structure the mass of material.

The simplest method is to draw up a table along the following lines:

Project	Opportunities	Risks	Action required
e.g. partners			
e.g. target group X			
e.g. activity 1			
e.g. activity 2			

Do No Harm analysis (see tool in Annex II) offers another possibility of organising and evaluating conflict-related information about the project work according to positive and negative impacts.

Activities portfolio analysis (see tool in Annex II), which classifies the portfolio of measures employed by a project according to opportunities and risks, is suitable for identifying what action needs to be taken and preparing adaptation measures. The idea behind it is to achieve an appropriate balance between both factors.

Finally it is advisable to feed the results of impact assessment into further developing the impact hypotheses identified at the outset and further developing the indicators, thus producing a spiral of learning. This also has the effect of preparing for the next survey phase.

6. How can Conflict Impact Assessment be Integrated into Existing Monitoring Systems?

Conflict impact assessment investigates project impacts from a conflict perspective. It goes without saying that this only represents a small section of the situation as a whole. Especially projects based in sectors other than conflict management will have a large number of questions of their own to which they want to find answers through monitoring. Conflict impact assessment should therefore be regarded as a supplement and not as an alternative to the usual forms of monitoring in the project. The questions and methods devised for conflict impact assessment can be integrated relatively easily into existing monitoring systems.

The table below shows an example of how conflict impact assessment can be integrated into the GTZ monitoring concept (based on GTZ 1998). The left-hand column shows the thematic area to be examined in GTZ monitoring, while the right-hand column refers to the relevant methods and questions in conflict impact assessment.

TABLE 8: INTEGRATION OF CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT INTO GTZ PROJECT MONITORING

GTZ project monitoring	Instruments	
Project concept	Conflict Analysis Guidelines	
Project organisation	Project monitoring (Chapter 4)	
Project setting	Conflict observation (Section 5.1)	
Impacts	Impact assessment (Chapter 5)	

In addition it is important that the project should also introduce a conflict perspective within its **existing impact assessment systems** (for example relating to poverty, health status or access to services). This means differentiating the people and groups benefiting from the project inputs and others affected by the project according to the conflict group to which they belong (**conflict differentiation**).

Practical pointers

Conflicts are always a difficult subject area. It is even more awkward to question one's own role and to ask what consequences one's own behaviour and activities have on the conflict. Before a project decides to introduce conflict impact assessment the project team should therefore take a very close look at the following questions:

- Purpose of conflict impact assessment: The expectations of the people taking part in conflict impact assessment should be clarified. Does the project team have a common understanding of the role that the project is meant to play in the conflict? Is there a readiness to draw the appropriate consequences if problematic project impacts become evident?
- Object being monitored and responsibility: What exactly is supposed to be monitored? Is it the international contribution, the entire project or the political changes that are initiated? This question is particularly tricky in conflict situations as there is a risk that responsibility needs to be taken for possible mistakes.

6. How can Conflict Impact Assessment be Integrated into Existing Monitoring Systems?

Everyone likes to claim responsibility for successes. In conflicts however, it is also possible that people lose their lives as a result of wrong decisions. Some organisations have also had the experience of acting to their best knowledge and in good faith in a particular situation and of being successful in their actions as well, according to the way things stood at the time. However, a short-term change in the events of the war shortly afterwards resulted in their previous actions appearing highly problematic and exposed the organisations to criticism from many sources.

- Dealing with information: How should the information acquired by conflict impact assessment be dealt with? Who owns the information, and who can decide what to do with it? What use can be made of it? The donor, the external appraiser, the public, the partner government, the project team, the target groups? Which of these groups analyses the information, and which group/who is consulted in the process? These, bo, are difficult questions in conflict situations as impact assessment can quickly result in the acquisition of sensitive data which would be classified as belonging to the intelligence sector under normal circumstances. The publication of certain information could also endanger the security of informants. In addition, impact assessment often includes a "political" evaluation of the conflict which is generally regarded as an internal evaluation by development agencies. In this case it is necessary to balance desirable transparency and the need to protect informants and one's own organisation.
- Participants: Impact assessment is an on-project learning and steering instrument which is intended to promote communication and the exchange of knowledge. It should therefore primarily be carried out and supported by the project team. On account of the complexity of conflict situations, the often unavoidable entanglement of the project in the conflict and the sometimes restricted freedom of movement of the project staff leading in turn to a limited view of the situation, it can be useful however to ask an external adviser to support the process of reflection and to present an external perspective. Furthermore it must be taken into account that a critical investigation of the organisation of the project also touches on matters involving the staff and questions regarding the choice of partners, subjects which must be dealt with in a sensitive way.
- Follow-up: The project team should clarify at an early stage how the results of the conflict impact assessment should and can be dealt with. Is the donor prepared to help support a major re-orientation of the project which may become necessary? Are we restricted to this particular partner? Is there financial leeway for additional activities? Who is going to take responsibility in which area?

Annex I: Peace and Conflict Indicators

Listed below are examples of peace and conflict indicators suitable for conflict monitoring. In specific cases, of course, details indicating quantity, quality, decrease/increase, period of time, group and place/region to be monitored must be added.

Peace and conflict indicators

	Dimensions	Indicators
Security	Violence	Number of abductions and "disappeared" persons
		Number of people killed by armed groups
		Crime rate
		Rate of domestic violence
		Percentage of mined area of land, roads
		Frequency of rioting during demonstrations
	Human rights	Number of people taken into custody arbitrarily, political
		prisoners and killings without trial
		Percentage of torture cases during arrests by security forces
		Percentage of unresolved infringements of human rights
		Number of convictions within the security forces for infringements of human rights
		Fair trials possible
	Weapons	Price trends of small arms on local markets
	·	Weapon ownership as a percentage of all households
		Number of decommissioned weapons
		Mechanisms for monitoring illegal weapon ownership
		exist and are being implemented
	Security forces	Number of private security personnel/guards, percentage of local police
		Number of demobilised combatants, percentage of total number of armed groups
		Army presence on the streets
		Mechanisms for democratic and economic control of the
		security forces are functioning
	Mobility	Number of road blocks and checkpoints
		Free access to markets and public services for
		percentage of the population
		Freedom of assembly in private and in public
	Physical and mental	High mortality rate
	health	Poor nutritional status
		Many wounded and killed by use of arms
		Frequency of traumatisation and depression

Conflict	Rule of law	Human rights logislation
	Rule of law	Human rights legislation
management		Equality under the law (percentage of judicial decisions in favour of the party with a weaker social status)
		l ' '
		Existence and application of discriminatory laws
		Political interference in legal proceedings
	Informal forms of conflict	Role of traditional authorities in the settlement of
	management	conflicts
		Composition of these authorities as regards class,
		belonging to certain groups, gender
		Approximate percentage of informal and formal
		procedures for settling conflicts
		Satisfaction of the population with the results of
		traditional ways of settling conflicts
		Protection of the accused in traditional trials (e.g. lynch
		law)
Democracy	Participation and civil	Free and fair elections
and good	society	Presence of political parties spanning different groups
governance		and with moderate viewpoints
		Presence of organised pressure groups voicing critical
		opinions
		Censorship, espionage, religious persecution, self-
		censorship, maintenance of silence
	Services	Percentage of GNP spent on buying arms, ratio of arms
		expenditure to social expenditure
		Quality and range of services provided by the state
		(schools, health, infrastructure, security)
	Corruption	Country's corruption index (Transparency International)
	•	Areas affected by corruption (e.g. legal system,
		education system, business world)
		Presence of alternatives to corruption
Economic	Socio-economic	Group-specific collection of socio-economic data:
stability and	inequality	Percentage of malnourished children under 5 years of
distribution	' '	age
		Percentage of households headed by women
		Dependency on food aid
		Number of people finishing primary schooling and
		success rate in primary schools
		Access to work, income and productive resources
		Quality of housing and infrastructure
		Ratio of richest to poorest in the country (Gini index)
	Economic development	Ratio of annual economic growth to population growth
	'	Rate of unemployment
		Relative and absolute poverty rate
		(if possible differentiated according to region and social
		groups)
		Percentage of GNP spent on illegitimate economic
		activities (war economy)
	Ecology	Sustainable management of vital natural resources
		Joint use and management of natural resources
		Normal practices in farming and livestock breeding
	1	riormal practices in famility and livestock precuitly

Coolel	Functioning committee	Fraguency of village district resettings and atmost reset
Social	Functioning community	Frequency of village/district meetings and structure of
integration	structures	participants
		Existence of community organisations (e.g. savings
		clubs, sports clubs, kindergarten, association for
		village development)
		Joint use and running of wells, power lines, transport
	Distriction	routes, schools etc.
	Discrimination	Percentage of members of minorities in leading
		positions
		Percentage of university students belonging to minorities
		Percentage of poor/female heads of household belonging to minorities
		Regional and social distribution of services provided by
	Fyshanas	the state
	Exchange	Percentage of marriages between the groups
		Percentage of business partnerships
		Percentage of trade relations between the groups
		Composition of employees in local firms
		Mutual participation in celebrations and rituals (e.g.
		weddings, funerals)
	Communication	Widespread knowledge of the traditions, values and
		present developments of the other ethnic, religious,
		political etc. groups
		Informal and/or regular visits to the same meeting places
		Use of the same mass media
Attitudes and		Open and balanced media reporting
Attitudes and		Prejudices in the media
values		Negative propaganda
		Positive evaluation of violence
		Discriminatory comments in public by politicians and
External	Influence of regional	other persons in authority
influences	Influence of regional	Number of foreign military advisers and troops in the country
illiuelices	actors	1
		Amount of financial economic support for parties to the conflict by neighbouring countries
		Amount of transfer payments by the diaspora to the
		warring parties
		Diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict
	Refugees	Number of IDPs
	Treiugees	Number of refugees inside country X
		Number of refugees from country X living abroad
		Number of IDPs returned home
		Relationships between refugees and local population
		ixerationships between rerugees and local population

Sources: Lewer 1999, Leonhardt 2000, OCHA Kampala 1999 (quoted in Spelten 2000) Fisher et al. 2000

Annex II: Toolbox for Impact Assessment in Conflict Situations

Tool 1: CONFLICT BAROMETER

Description

Conflicts have their own history or life cycle, during which they move through different phases and stages of activity, intensity, confrontation and violence. It is useful to be aware of these phases and stages because – as described in Section 3.2. – each of them entails different challenges and opportunities for internal and external actors.

The intensity of a conflict over a certain period of time can be depicted using a graph. When using the conflict barometer tool, the project team or other people questioned offer a subjective assessment of the intensity of the conflict.

In general there are five different phases of a conflict:

- 1. Latent conflict: Even though the situation as seen from the outside appears to be stable, the structural causes of conflict are already in place and at least one of the parties to the conflict is aware of them. Relationships between the parties are tense or characterised by avoidance. There is a lack of opportunity to make a proper issue of the problem and to solve it within the existing political and social order. The tensions may already become manifest as occasional acts of violence.
- Conflict escalation: The conflict is now presented publicly, with the behaviour of one or both parties becoming increasingly confrontational (for example public demonstrations or violent confrontations limited to certain locations). Mutual trust diminishes rapidly and both parties prepare themselves for further confrontations (resources, alliances).
- Acute conflict: The conflict has reached its greatest intensity. The level of violence is high, normal communication between the parties to the conflict is almost impossible. There appear to be no peaceful options for conflict resolution whatsoever.
- 4. **Ending the conflict**: The acute crisis is brought to an end by the victory of one party, capitulation, mediation, peace negotiations or the intervention of a powerful third party. The level of violence and tension drops and communication between the parties to the conflict becomes possible again.
- 5. **Transition to a post-conflict situation**: The situation stabilises, although political, economic and social uncertainties persist. If the conflict causes and effects of the conflict are not now specifically addressed there is a risk of renewed escalation. People often try to put the conflict out of their minds.

Conflict cycle: Many internal conflicts tend to last for years or even decades, during which their intensity oscillates between different levels. In some countries the intensity of the conflict is even determined by the season of the year. This phenomenon is often described as the conflict cycle.

Application

- Identification of phases and cycles of conflict escalation and de-escalation by describing the intensity of the conflict
- Placing the present situation in the context of the overall course of the conflict
- Drawing up conflict scenarios and discussion of possibilities for intervention
- Perception and assessment of the conflict by the target groups

Procedure

- Draw a graph to represent the intensity of the conflict in the region over an appropriate period of time (> 10 years, with x axis: time, y axis: intensity of the conflict).
- Discuss the criteria for assessment of the intensity of the conflict, if necessary adjust the graph as appropriate.
- Identify separate phases of the conflict or repeating patterns.
- Discuss the causes of the developments depicted by the graph (e.g. escalation or deescalation, apparently quiet periods of time).
- For trend analysis/scenario development: discuss the possible further development of the conflict.

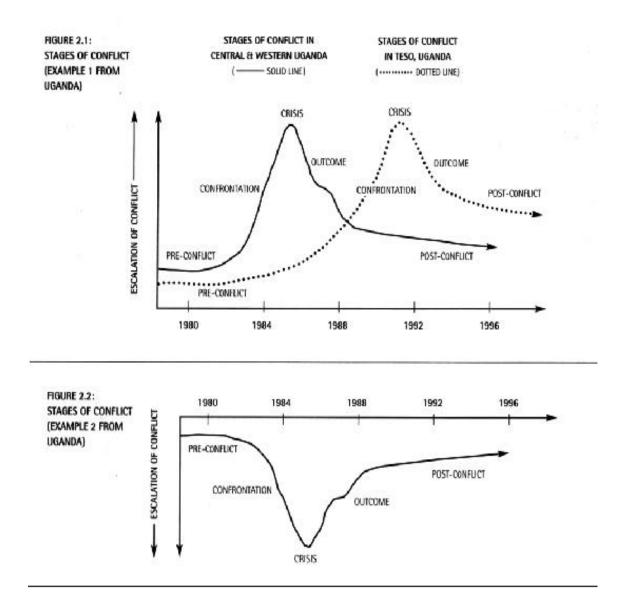
Time required

At least 70 minutes

Comments

- It is advisable to use the conflict barometer together with the timeline in order to gain more qualitative information regarding important events and developments.
- The phases of the conflict can be surveyed separately for different parties to the conflict or regions. Discrepancies will arise from these surveys, providing material for further discussions.
- In impact assessment the graph depicting the phases of the conflict forms the background for drawing trend lines relating to the living conditions of the target groups and for elaborating retrospective impact hypotheses.

Example



Sources: Lund 1997, Fisher et al. 2000:19f., Klingebiel et al. 2000, Leonhardt 2000

Tool 2: TIMELINE

Description

The timeline is a simple instrument that records the key events of a conflict in chronological order. Such events may include military clashes, the recruitment of combatants, political propaganda, expulsions, famines or peace initiatives, to name but a few. The conflict line reflects the subjective perception of the conflict as seen by the group being questioned. This is why it is particularly well suited to distinguishing between different perspectives of a conflict. These may be the perspectives of individual parties to the conflict, or the standpoint of the central government as opposed to the standpoint of the local population, among others. It is seen again and again that different groups remember different events, and that they have different explanations for particular developments (such as the escalation of the conflict or the conclusion of a peace accord). In contrast with the conflict barometer, which focuses on the quantity (i.e. intensity) of the conflict, the timeline is used for the acquisition of qualitative information.

Application

- Documentation of the local history of the conflict
- Clarification of different perspectives of the conflict
- Identification of important events
- Starting point for analysis and explanation of the course of the conflict in impact assessment

Procedure

- Agree with the participants on a suitable year to start the timeline (approximately 10 years back).
- The participants record the most important events in the conflict along the time axis.
- Discuss with the participants the causes of individual events and their consequences (for example political or psychological).
- If appropriate, add a separate timeline with peace initiatives.

Time required

At least 60-120 minutes

Comments

- If there are disagreements among the participants, separate timelines can be drawn up. These should then be compared by everyone together, and the differences discussed. It is important here to establish an atmosphere of respect for different perceptions and points of view.
- Timelines are also helpful in the analysis of complex conflicts that are taking place simultaneously between a large number of actors and at different locations. In such cases timelines should be drawn up separately for each sub-conflict and then placed one over the other in order to compare them (see example: USAID 1997).

Examples

Timeline for showing different perspectives of a conflict

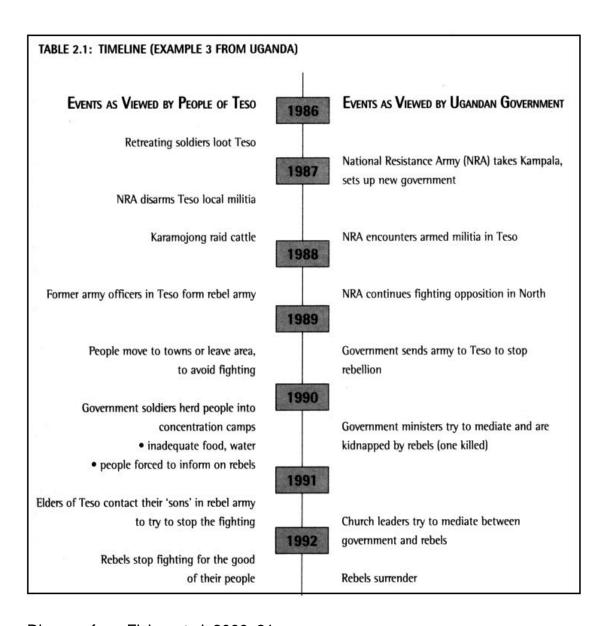


Diagram from Fisher et al. 2000: 21

Tool 3: TREND LINE

Description

The trend line is a participatory instrument which not only depicts the course of the conflict – as does the conflict barometer – but also the development of other factors over a certain period of time in graphical form. These factors can include the economy, health, security and the environment, as well as a general assessment of the living conditions of the local population. The target groups judge the quality of these factors on a scale from 1-5 (poor, mediocre, average, good, very good) for every year within a certain period of time and enter the value in a diagram. When the individual values are joined together, a trend line is formed which represents the development of that factor over the preceding years. This makes it easy to gauge the consequences of the conflict for the local population's living conditions.

The trend line can be used as a starting point for a more in-depth debate with the target groups about the consequences of the conflict for the region and the strategies they have applied in response to them. It can also clarify how particular consequences of the conflict have been counterbalanced by development organisations and in what areas the latter have had a greater influence on the conflict. This is why it is important to ask the participants to give further-reaching explanations for particular developments when producing the trend lines. In this way it is possible to pinpoint local conflict causes and relationships between impacts. The criteria and indicators developed by the target groups in order to assess their living conditions are an important by-product of the trend line.

Certain tasks need to be performed for conflict impact assessment:

- Establishment of the relationship over time of the local course of the conflict and the changes in the living conditions of the target group on the one hand and the project activities on the other. To do this, a timeline of the project in the region can be drawn up and compared with the trend lines. Both short-term and long-term project impacts must be taken into account in this.
- Comparison of the explanations given by the target groups for particular changes in their living conditions with the project's areas of activity and those of other actors on the ground. Discussions can be held with the target groups to establish the extent to which connections between the content can be detected.

Application

- Participatory development of criteria and indicators for the assessment of project measures
- Identification of conflict-related project impacts through correlation over time
- Development of impact hypotheses on the influence of the project on the local conflict situation and living conditions

Annex II: Toolbox for Impact Assessment in Conflict Situations

Procedure

- Introduce the participants to the objective and the procedure used in the exercise.
- Jointly identify important factors determining living conditions in the village (town, region).
- Depict the intensity of the conflict over the course of the previous years (depending on the situation >=10 years) using a scale from 1 to 5.
- Show the development of the other factors during this period using a scale from 1 to 5.
- Discuss in detail the reasons for these developments in the various factors, particularly in relation to the consequences of the conflict.
- Draw a timeline showing all the activities of the project known to the participants, plotting it along the x axis of the chart.
- Discuss possible connections between project activities and other developments in the region.

Time required

At least 120-180 minutes

Comments

If the project is operating in collaboration with representatives of different parties to the conflict it may make sense to have trend lines drawn up separately. This allows the different effects of the conflict on individual groups to be identified. In addition it is possible to obtain clues as to whether a particular section of the population is benefiting more from the project measures than the others.

Tool 4: CONFLICT MAPPING

Description

The conflict mapping method entails producing a graphical representation of the conflict actors, their relationships and the respective conflict issues. As well as the parties directly involved in the conflict, this should also take account of other groups which are allied with the parties or which are able to influence them. This helps the observer to identify patterns of power, alliances, neutral third parties, potential partners for cooperation and possible points where influence could be exerted. It is therefore important to include your own organisation and its relationships with the various actors as well.

In order to focus conflict mapping on a particular problem area, it is essential to define certain points at the outset: WHAT precisely it is intended to show, the point in time to which the analysis should relate (WHEN – the conflict phases tool can be used here), and from WHAT PERSPECTIVE the mapping should be carried out. The networks of relationships that are identified in this process should be seen as being dynamic - and part of the team's own task can be to inject dynamism into old structures. In addition to the actors and their relationships, the issues causing the conflict between the respective parties can also be mapped. The position adopted by the more important actors can also be included in more detail, in a type of speech bubble. This is a good lead-in to an analysis of the conflict causes and issues in the dispute.

Application

- Greater understanding of the relationships and balance of power between the parties involved in the conflict, including the conflict causes
- Examination of one's own position and that of others involved in the project within the framework of risk appraisal
- Identification of potential cooperation partners, examination of their position in the conflict
- Identification of possible points of departure for conflict management

Procedure

- Identify the important conflict actors, representing the individual actors by circles of different sizes. The size of the circle depends on the amount of influence each actor has. Partners in alliances should be shown close to each other.
- Represent the relationships between the actors (conflict, cooperation, exertion of power etc.) by means of lines, arrows etc. (For suggestions on how to present the conflict actors and their relationships in graphical from refer to the end of this section.)
- Enter your own organisation and its partners and their relationships with the conflict actors.
- Enter the conflict issues.
- Discuss the allocation of roles between peace actors, entry points for your own organisation, the formation of alliances and synergies.

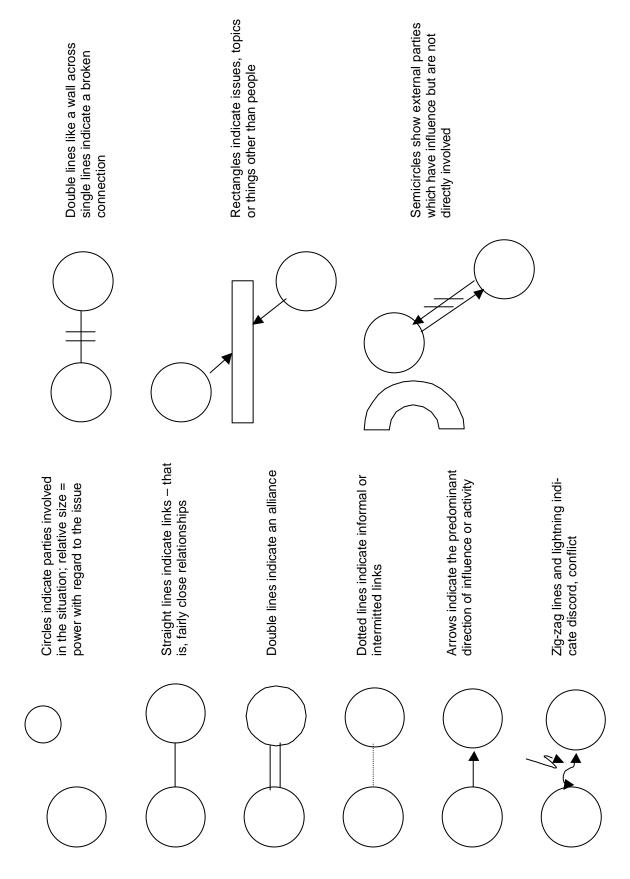
Time required

At least 90 minutes

Comments

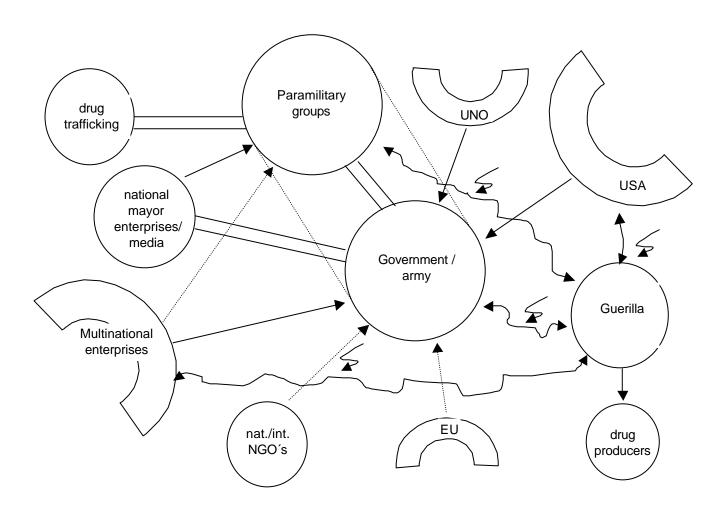
- During conflict mapping the participants are very often tempted to draw up a thoroughly comprehensive and detailed analysis of the conflict. This is timeconsuming and produces unclear, confusing results. This is why it is important to restrict the analysis from the beginning to a certain set of questions and to emphasise its strategic orientation ("who should we work with?", "where should our activities
- The conflict mapping technique is also suitable for depicting the relationships between different conflict factors.
- Conflict mapping can also be used to highlight the different views of the conflict which
 the various parties currently hold. To do this, ask each of the groups to draw their own
 conflict maps, and then compare these with each other. The different perceptions that
 become apparent from this can be used as an introduction to a debate on the needs
 and fears of the individual parties.

Graphical elements used for conflict mapping



Source: developed on the basis of Fisher et al. 2000:23.

Example: Conflict mapping in Colombia



Source: Ropers/Bächler, GTZ-Grundkurs Konfliktbearbeitung und Friedensförderung, June 2000, Annex 16

Tool 5: CONFLICT INDEX

Description

The conflict index shows the development of a conflict situation on the basis of indicators in quantitative form. As a rule, conflict indices are drawn up by research institutes (for example the University of Maryland, FAST, and PIOOM, see Annex IV) on the basis of a large number of indicators using statistical methods. However, within the framework of conflict impact assessment it can be worthwhile to monitor the conflict situation locally using a simpler conflict index. It goes without saying that such an index is relatively less meaningful if a limited number of indicators are used and if they are not scientifically weighted. Nevertheless, the index can help to systematise one's own perception of the conflict situation. Compared to the conflict barometer the conflict index has the advantage (and the disadvantage) that the intensity of the conflict is measured on the basis of indicators laid down in advance, which increases the comparability of the findings. The disadvantage of this approach is its lack of flexibility and reduced relevance.

Outwardly, the conflict index yields similar results to the conflict barometer. The survey team gauges the intensity of the conflict at set intervals using defined criteria (conflict indicators) and enters these values in a graph. By doing this it is possible to document the course of the conflict in the region over a certain period of time. In this context it is helpful to record qualitative information relating to important events and developments as well as the actual value (for example in similar form to a timeline). In addition to that a peace index can be created in the same way, showing important peace initiatives and progress made in managing the causes of the conflict.

Application

- Monitoring the course of the conflict in the project region and the dynamics of initiatives conducive to peace
- Data on the course of the conflict as background information for monitoring project impacts

Procedure

• Establishing conflict indicators: Annex I gives examples of conflict indicators suitable for drawing up a conflict index. As well as this, Annex IV lists a number of Web sites containing further conflict indicators worked out by various organisations. PIOOM and FEWER offer particularly exhaustive lists. To produce a conflict index within the framework of project monitoring no more than roughly 15-30 indicators should be chosen, reflecting as many different areas as possible (such as the security situation, human rights, religious persecution, refugees and displaced persons). It should be borne in mind here that the main aim is to gauge the intensity of the conflict (e.g. killings as a result of violent actions) and not the magnitude of the conflict causes (e.g. degree of discrimination in the employment market) – although it is not always easy to tell one from the other. In order to compile a peace index it is necessary to choose indicators which demonstrate the presence and quality of conflict management mechanisms, peace initiatives and reforms aiming at overcoming the conflict causes. As far as possible the conflict index should also include conflict indicators worked out in a participatory process.

- The strength of the presence or absence of each of the indicators is entered on a scale from one to five. The levels on the scale have the following meanings:
 - 5 presence of factor unambiguous and strong
 - 4 considerable indications of its presence
 - 3 present to some degree but not dominant
 - 2 weak or only just emerging indications of presence
 - 1 presence not detectable or insignificant
- Finally, the values in the table must be added up and divided by the total number of indicators. The resulting value then indicates the intensity of the conflict, again on a scale from 1 to 5. Accordingly, a high value points to high intensity.
- Enter the conflict value in a diagram. By repeatedly assessing the conflict at regular intervals (e.g. quarterly), a graph can be produced depicting the development of the conflict over time.
- Use the same procedure to produce a peace index. By entering the conflict and peace index in the same diagram it is possible to identify favourable point in time for conflict management (when the graphs approach each other).

Time required

1 day to prepare the indicator system, then several hours per quarter (monthly) to revise the set of indicators

Example: Conflict index of a rebellion in country A

Conflict indicators in country A (year 2001)

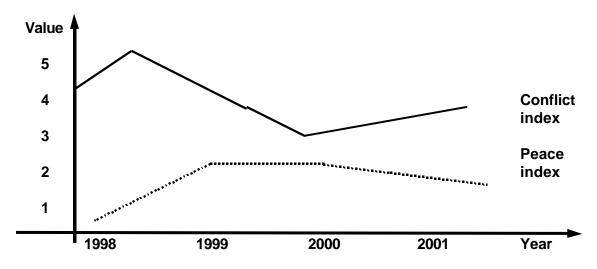
Conflict indicator	Value
High or rising number of killings by armed groups	54 3 21
2. High or rising proportion of gross national product spent on arms	543 2 1
3. High or rising number of unresolved infringements of human rights, particularly those committed against population segment Y which is rebelling	5 4 321
4. Low or falling participation of representatives of population segment Y in the formal political structures of country A	5 4321
5. Mobility of the population greatly or increasingly restricted for security reasons	5432 1
Total	15
Conflict index (total _ number of indicators)	3

Peace indicators in country A (year 2001)

Conflict cause	Indicator	Value
Neglect of region B where group Y lives	Child mortality in region B corresponds to national average	5432 1
	2. Rate of unemployment in region B corresponds to national average3. State investment in region B corresponds	5432 1
	to the proportion of the population of country A living there	5432 1
Insufficient political participation of group	Fair parliamentary elections with candidates from several parties	5432 1
Y in the political system dominated by group X	5. Increasing or strong presence of civil- society organisations representing the interests of group Y in a constructive way	543 2 1
Mistrust and prejudices between	6. Increasingly objective media reports on the culture and way of life of group Y	543 2 1
groups X and Y	7. Parents within groups X and Y approve of their children attending school together	54 3 21
Total		11
Peace index (total,	1.5	

A high value for the peace index points to progress made in managing the causes of the conflict.

Course of the conflict in country A as shown by the peace and conflict index



Source: the indicator assessment model was taken from PIOOM (www.fsw.leidenuniv.nl/www/w3_liswo/pioom.htm).

Tool 6: CONFLICT TREE

Description

The conflict tree is a variant of the problem tree hat is often used in participatory planning. It involves identifying a core problem to which causes and consequences are then attributed. The conflict itself or one of its central causes can be chosen as the core problem. The conflict tree can help the planning team to focus on one central issue. It is perfectly acceptable to choose this subjectively from the specific standpoint of one's own organisation. As well as this, it always instigates a lively debate about the causes and effects of the conflict. The next stage can then include discussion of possible approaches to solutions, which should also be placed in a specific chronological order.

Application

- Discussion and documentation of the causes and impacts of the conflict
- Identification of a core problem as an entry point for project work
- Proposition of conflict-related impact hypotheses

Procedure

- Draw a tree, with its trunk, roots and branches, on a large sheet of paper or a wall.
- Share out cards among the participants on which they should note down important conflict factors.
- Ask the participants to attach their cards to the tree. The trunk stands for the core
 problem, the roots the causes of the problem and the branches its consequences. In
 impact assessment, the main objective of the project or the event that needs to be
 explained must be placed in the centre.
- Discuss the causes and effects, and in particular try to ensure that the core problem is correctly identified; if necessary make changes to the conflict tree.
- Where applicable, the participants can include their own organisation in the conflict tree, for example by showing it as a bird, in order to indicate which topics they are working on primarily.
- Discuss possible approaches to solving the core problem, steps that need to be taken, and advantages and risks.

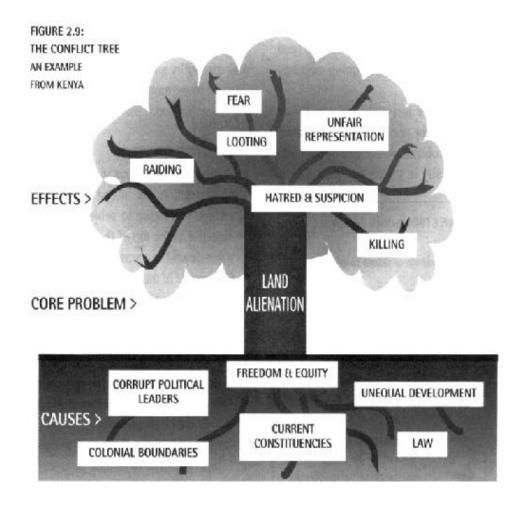
Time required

At least 120-180 minutes

Comments

The conflict tree can be extended in order to represent multi-stage impact chains. What is important, however, is to retain the focus on a core problem.

Example

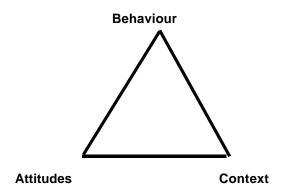


Sources: adapted from Dawson 2000, Fisher et al. 2000:29f.

Tool 7: ABC TRIANGLE

Description

This method enables the survey team to gain an overview of the possible impacts of the development project on the conflict. It can therefore be used both in risk appraisal and in formulating impact hypotheses. The starting point is the ABC triangle, which summarises the most important conflict factors under the headings **attitudes**, **behaviour** and **context**. These factors are depicted in the form of a triangle in order to demonstrate their mutual effects on each other. In conflict analysis ABC triangles are often drawn up separately for each individual party to the conflict in order to show their different perspectives in relation to the conflict.



In impact assessment conducted on the basis of the ABC triangle, the attitudes and behaviour of the parties to the conflict and the (structural) context factors are regarded as the areas the development project is meant to influence. Firstly a connection is made between these and the various aspects of the project. Depending on the orientation of the project, they can be shown as organisation, material resources, capacity building and possibly advocacy work. In this context "organisation" means not only the identity and the mandate of the development organisation but also the composition of its staff, the methods of its work and its contacts. "Material resources" relates to all resources transferred into the region by the organisation (not only the transfer payments to the target groups but also rent payments, hotel bills etc.). "Capacity building" is understood to be the strengthening of local forms of organisation, while "advocacy" relates to attempts at influencing local and international decision-makers with the aim of supporting the interests of the target groups. On the basis of this conceptual framework it is possible to develop hypotheses on how the individual aspects of the project work influence attitudes, behaviour and context factors which are conducive to either peace or conflict. Possible conflict risks can also be identified.

Application

- Development of hypotheses on the positive and negative impacts of a development project on the conflict situation
- Assessment of a project with regard to its relevance to and risks for the conflict

Annex II: Toolbox for Impact Assessment in Conflict Situations

Procedure

- Determine which conflict situation is to be investigated.
- Show the most important aspects of the development project by drawing the various dimensions, i.e. organisation, material resources, capacity building and advocacy, in a circle.
- Draw three concentric circles around the inner circle representing your own project; these circles represent attitudes, procedures and context.
- Enter factors conducive to peace or conflict in the three circles (two diagrams for peace factors and conflict factors respectively can be drawn to improve clarity).
- Analyse the relationships between the individual dimensions of the project and the peace and conflict factors. Enter zigzag lines where the project is strengthening conflict factors or weakening peace factors. Enter straight lines where the project is strengthening peace factors and weakening conflict factors.
- Discuss the areas in which the project should adjust its work.

Time required

At least 120 minutes

Comments

This tool can also be used in the planning of development projects.

Example

FIGURE 4.5: POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE FORCES FOR VIOLENCE*

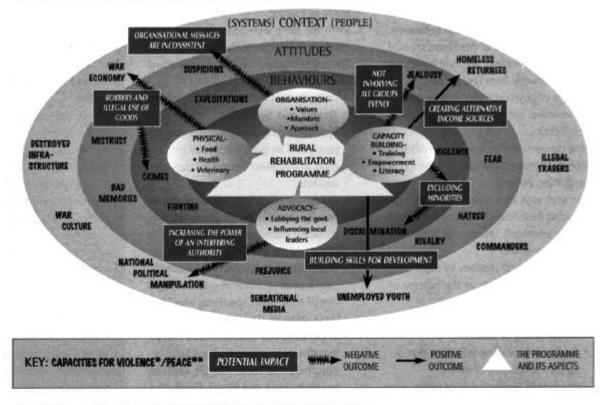
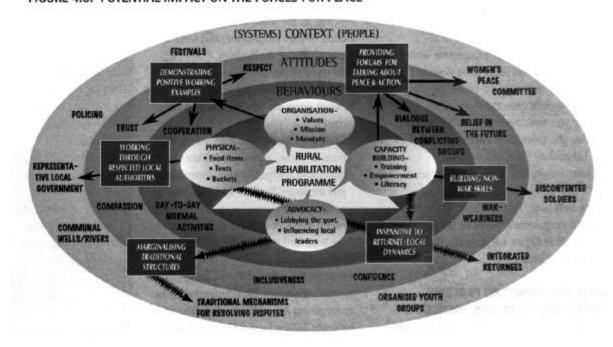


FIGURE 4.6: POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE FORCES FOR PEACE**



Source: Fisher et al. 2000:70ff.

Tool 8: FLOW CHART

Description

The flow chart is a helpful tool for investigating in detail the impacts of a single intervention (for example writing bilingual school books). The impacts of the intervention in question are written down and arrows drawn between them according to their logical links and relationship in time. Sometimes this results in self-reinforcing sequences. If lengthy chains develop it is useful to differentiate between primary, secondary and tertiary impacts, depending on the length of time since the original intervention. Outwardly, the probability of a connection decreases more and more as the impacts are dependent on an increasingly large number of external factors. However, the actual objectives of the project (such as conflict management or poverty alleviation) are often not to be found until reaching the tertiary or a subsequent impact level. For this reason it is useful to identify the central external factors and to discuss the probability of their occurrence or their absence after the impact chains have been written down. This can produce useful pointers to spheres of action to which insufficient consideration has been given so far.

Application

- Formulation of detailed impact hypotheses for individual measures
- Participatory identification of actual project impacts

Procedure

- Select the activity or the event whose impacts are to be investigated.
- Write down this intervention in the centre of a large piece of paper.
- Write down the positive and negative consequences of this intervention, and draw the impact lines as arrows.
- Identify impact areas (impact systems).
- Discuss the external factors which are necessary in addition to achieve important impacts or which play an important role in (not) achieving these impacts.
- Discuss the conclusions resulting from this analysis for your own work.

Time required

At least 60-120 minutes

Comments

- Because of their simplicity, flow charts can be drawn up by individuals, in a workshop context or in collaboration with the target groups.
- Flow charts can also be used for a number of other purposes. They can document decision-making processes (using Yes/No branches), clarify certain techniques and procedures, and support the analysis of resource flows etc.

Tool 9: IMPACT MATRIX

An impact matrix can be used in a variety of situations. Two possible applications are described in detail below: formulation of impact hypotheses and participatory impact analysis.

1. Formulation of impact hypotheses

Description

An impact matrix should be used if the aim is to establish a relationship between a large number of influencing factors and an equally large number of impact dimensions. The ABC triangle, for example, only presents the impacts of four influencing factors, organisation, material resources, capacity building and advocacy, on three impact dimensions: attitudes, behaviour and context. If the influencing factors or the impacts are further differentiated, the diagram soon becomes confusing. Instead of using arrows, it is advisable to present everything in the form of a matrix. Although this means that the ability to gain a quick insight is partly lost, it is possible to go into more detail.

In addition to the information on the individual impact relationships it is also possible to draw wider conclusions from the impact matrix. For example, positive and negative totals can be obtained showing which factor has the greatest impacts or which dimension is most influenced by the project as a whole. The greatest conflict-related impact caused by the project would then be found in this dimension. These figures should not, though, be understood to be absolute measured values. Any assessment of the magnitude of the influence is always subjective, and the importance of the various impact dimensions for peacebuilding varies (in statistics it would be said that the impact dimensions were not weighted). Separate tables should be set up for positive and negative impacts, as otherwise it is impossible to add up totals.

Application

 Formulation of impact hypotheses for multi-layered interventions in a complex conflict setting

Procedure

- Identify criteria or impact dimensions according to which the procedures and interventions of the project are to be investigated; enter them horizontally in a matrix (rows).
- Identify all areas of the project which may have impacts on the conflict situation; enter them vertically in the matrix (columns).
- Step by step, assess the influence of each of the factors on each impact dimension; the following scale is recommended for this: 0=no influence, 1=weak influence, 2=strong influence.
- Add up the horizontal and vertical totals.
- Discuss the results: Which factors have negative impacts? Which interventions prove to be particularly positive? In which areas should we intensify our work? What should we be monitoring in particular?

Time required

At least 120 minutes

Comments

- Weighting: A simple method of applying weighting to individual impact dimensions is to rate their importance on a scale from 1-10 (for example: resources conflict = 10, ethnic prejudices = 8). Instead of using the scale from 0-2 the impact of an influencing factor is gauged within this range (for example the impact on resource conflicts can be specified between 1 and 10, and the impact on ethnic prejudices between 1 and 8).
- A similar matrix can be used to assess the project work in order to identify areas of activity (= impact dimensions) which have not been dealt with sufficiently to date.

2. Participatory impact analysis

Description

In participatory impact analysis the process described above is implemented by the target groups themselves. They develop the criteria for assessing the peace-building measures (impact dimensions) and identify the project activities and other ways it exerts influence (influencing factors) whose impacts are to be investigated. From this it is possible to assess how the target group judges the various project measures and which measures they believe to be most important for promoting peaceful coexistence. In participatory impact analysis it is necessary to limit the number of activities and criteria to a feasible level. Including more than five or six activities and four criteria will in all probability result in fatigue and loss of interest among those taking part.

The simplest method of working out evaluation criteria is to discuss the terms "conflict" and "peace" with the local population. Ideas such as "being a good neighbour" or other concepts appropriate to the context can also be discussed in place of these terms. During the discussion it should become clear how the local population understand these terms and which specific factors (e.g. mutual respect, women's ability to collect firewood safely in the bush, cooperation in carrying out communal tasks) form the basis of this perception from the target groups' point of view. Criteria for assessing peace-building measures can then be derived from this (do the people implementing or involved in this measure treat each other with respect? does the measure promote knowledge of and mutual respect for the respective cultures?). The discussion can also be stimulated by applying other methods, such as the conflict barometer or timeline.

Against this background the target groups are asked to list all activities carried out by development organisations in their village (district, region etc.) that they are aware of. Following this, they are asked to assess the extent to which the individual activities satisfy the conflict and peace criteria or help in achieving them. The participants must be expressly told to take into account both the positive and negative impacts of the measures. The following values are recommended for the assessment scale: -2 = strongly negative influence, -1 = negative influence, 0 = no influence, 1 = positive influence, 2 = strongly positive influence. Participants are asked to explain each individual assessment. This enables the survey team to gain a better understanding of the conflict-related project impacts at the local level.

Application

- Investigation of the local conflict-related impacts of development measures from the point of view of the target groups
- Understanding of the perception of conflict and peace within the local population, better understanding of their priorities

Procedure

- The target groups draw up conflict-related assessment criteria for the project measures, entering them in the column headings of a matrix.
- The target groups list all local development measures known to them, entering them in the row headings of the matrix.
- The target groups evaluate the measures using the set of criteria, evaluate actual
 achievements and the way in which measures were implemented, give reasons for the
 individual assessments and discuss these reasons within the group; the survey team
 records the reasons given.
- Hold an open discussion of the results of the impact matrix with the target groups: Does the overall result of the impact matrix reflect the actual assessment given by the target groups? Are there any other standpoints which were not considered in the matrix? Which measures have the greatest influence on peacebuilding in the region? What else should be done?

Time required

At least 180 minutes

Comments

A variation of the impact matrix is the ranking of development measures according to their general relevance to the target groups in combination with an assessment of their contribution to peaceful coexistence in the village or survival during the conflict. To do this it is necessary to draw a table with three columns. The left-hand column contains a list of the known project activities, the result of the ranking is entered in the middle column and explanations of how the measure relates to the conflict can be added in the right-hand column. Again, the criteria used for the various decisions should be well documented when specifying the ranking. (Klingebiel et al. 2000).

Tool 10: CAPACITY ANALYSIS

Description

This instrument is based around a number of central questions which can help the project team to assess the capacity of its own organisation to carry out work in conflict situations. It is therefore recommended to be used as a supplement to risk appraisal. The central questions should be thought of as suggestions, and should be adapted as necessary from organisation to organisation and from project to project. h order to highlight the organisation's strengths and weaknesses, the assessments should be entered on a radar map. This helps the team identify the areas in which the organisation should improve its work and the strengths on which it can build. If capacity analysis is carried out at regular intervals it helps to document the process of capacity building.

Central questions for capacity analysis

CONTEXT

- 1. **Conflict analysis**: Does the organisation have a clear analysis of the conflict? Does this analysis include questions relating to the history of the conflict, its current dynamics and possible future developments?
- 2. **Positioning in the conflict**: Does the organisation have a clear idea of its own position in the conflict and of its relationships with the various parties involved in the conflict?
- 3. **Political consequences**: Does the organisation have a clear idea of the possible direct and indirect political consequences of its work?
- 4. **Balance**: To what degree does the organisation work with people who belong to the various parties to the conflict? Does it cooperate with different ethnic, religious, gender, age, social, or clan-based groups?
- 5. **Common understanding**. Are all of the staff aware of the organisation's position in the conflict? To what extent is this position known to the target groups and other parties involved in the conflict?

ORGANISATION

- 6. *Clear vision*: Does the organisation have a clear mandate, a clear vision and clear values in relation to the conflict?
- 7. **Structures and procedures**: Does the organisation have clear guidelines and procedures for its programmes and projects in conflict situations?
- 8. **Management**: Are there clear ideas within the organisation as to what style and principles of management are desirable? Are managers assessed on this basis?
- 9. **Delegation**: To what extent is authority delegated within the organisation? To what extent are important decisions discussed with the staff?
- 10. **Staff**: Does the organisation treat its staff responsibly? Is there a strategy for the advancement of women? Is there a security concept? Do the staff feel valued and supported?
- 11. *Financing*. Is there financing available for the programme or project which is independent of the conflict? To what extent is the financing transparent for all parties involved?

PROJECT

- 12. **Coherence**: To what extent do the objectives and results of the project match the vision and values of the organisation?
- 13. Local needs and capacities: Does the project make use of local skills and local knowledge? Does it respond to needs that are clearly formulated by the target groups (particularly women)?
- 14. **Strengthening local capacities**: To what extent does the project strengthen local capacities for peaceful conflict management?
- 15. **Stakeholders**: To what extent do all stakeholders take part in planning and implementation of the project? What is the general level of participation?
- 16. *Monitoring*. Is there an effective monitoring system?
- 17. **Sustainability**: How sustainable is the project in respect of its financing, the participating institutions and the availability of knowledge and information?

RELATIONSHIPS

- 18. **Lobby work**: To what extent does the organisation's work include information and lobby work relating to the conflict? Is this coordinated with other organisations?
- 19. **Partnership**: Does the organisation attach importance to relationships with its partners on the basis of equal status and mutual independence?
- 20. **Cooperation with other organisations**: Does the organisation have guidelines on cooperation with other organisations? Are these effectively implemented in practice?

Application

- Identification of areas in which your own organisation needs to strengthen its own capacities in order to implement a new or existing project effectively.
- Monitoring of progress in building capacity to work in conflict situations.
- Discussion of different views among the staff.

Procedure

- Examine the central questions to determine their applicability to your own organisation; rework and simplify as necessary.
- Draw a circle ("pie") with as many segments ("slices") as there are central questions.
- Answer the central questions in the project team, and enter the joint assessment in the relevant segment on the radar map (for example on a scale from 1 to 5).
- Analyse the assessment according to subject areas (context, organisation, project, relationships) and discuss weak points and strengths.
- Discuss possible strategies for building missing capacities.
- Repeat the exercise after a few months in order to monitor progress in building the organisation's capacities.

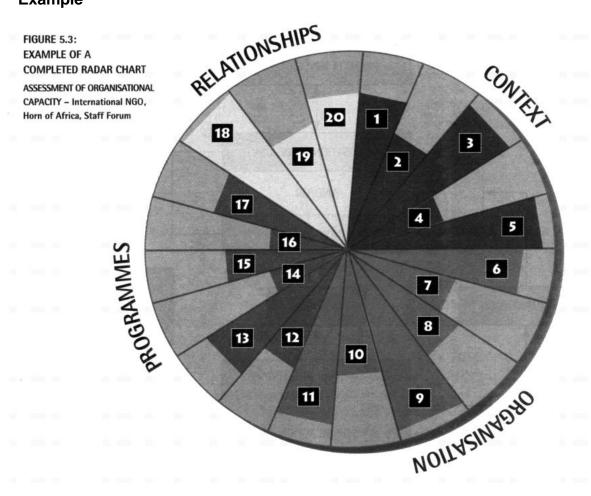
Time required

At least 120 minutes

Comments

The radar map can also be used for monitoring in other fields. These might include the quality of project work in previously identified key areas of peace-building, for example.

Example



Source: adapted from Fisher et al. 2000:84

Tool 11: ACTIVITIES-PORTFOLIO ANALYSIS

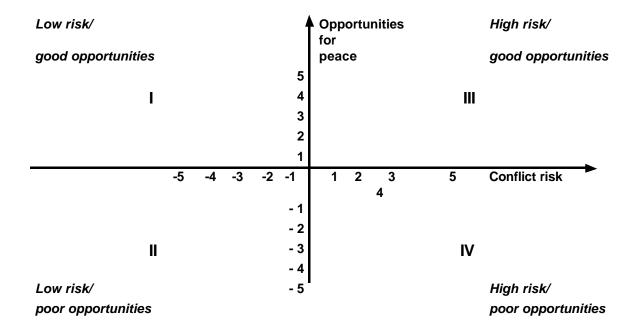
Description

Portfolio analysis is a useful tool for putting the complex information obtained from project monitoring and impact assessment into a condensed form. It involves bringing together all of the individual measures of a development project into an "activities portfolio". As is the case with shares portfolios, there are also activities which entail high risks and activities which provide great opportunities (impacts). In this case "risk" means the risk of failure, (political) risks for one's own organisation and the risk of intensifying the conflict. "Opportunity" mainly refers to a positive contribution to conflict management and peacebuilding. However, in contrast with the world of finance, in conflict management a high level of risk does not always mean high potential gain. It is possible that measures which result in minor immediate changes and therefore are low-risk will still make important contributions to peacebuilding in the long term. Accordingly, portfolio analysis positions the project measures in a diagram according to their risks and their opportunities.

Another analogy to the world of finance that can help in evaluating the portfolio diagram is the concept of a balanced portfolio, where some medium- or high-risk measures which offer good opportunities build on a broad base of low-risk measures with average chances of success (impact). In contrast with the unintentional negative impacts of projects, which are often mentioned in these Guidelines, this is about "calculated" risk which is carefully managed.

Something else to consider is the question of how the individual measures within the portfolio diagram can be moved to better positions. Is it possible to make a high-risk intervention with good opportunities more secure by implementing back-up measures? How can the impact of an intervention which currently belongs to the low-risk/weak-impact area be intensified? Should high-risk interventions with weak impacts be continued at all?

Activities-portfolio analysis



Application

- Evaluation of the results of conflict impact assessment and development of options for adjusting the project
- Identification of measures which need special back-up because of their high risk or good opportunities

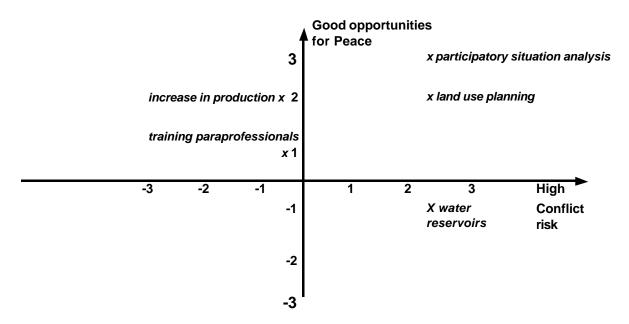
Procedure

- Draw the diagram for portfolio analysis, marking the x and y axes from 1 to 5.
- Evaluate the results of conflict impact assessment with regard to the opportunities and risks of the individual measures.
- Decide on a value between 1 and 5 for the opportunities and risks of each intervention, and enter this in the diagram.
- Discuss the possibilities of improving individual measures and any necessary adjustments of the activity portfolio as a whole.

Time required

At least 90 minutes

Example: Activities-portfolio analysis of the integrated agroforestry project in Section 5.3. (example of impact matrix)



The positive values attained by each activity are entered on the y axis (opportunities for peace). The negative values (negative impacts) of all activities are also added up and then entered as a *positive* value on the x axis (conflict risk).

Tool 12: DO NO HARM ANALYSIS

Description

Do No Harm analysis is used to support risk appraisal in development projects, and can also be used for the evaluation of impact assessment. The Do No Harm principle works on the premise that in every conflict there are factors which separate people from each other (dividers) and factors which bond people to each other (connectors). These factors can appear in a number of areas: structures and institutions, attitudes and actions, values and interests, experiences and symbols. Development organisations have the task of supporting the connectors and weakening the dividers.

Do No Harm analysis model

Dividers	Development project	Connectors
Structures & institutions	What?	Structures & institutions
Attitudes & actions	How?	Attitudes & actions
	Where?	
Values & interests	Who?	Values & interests
Experiences	When?	Experiences
Symbols	Why?	Symbols

As well as this structure, the Do No Harm approach provides users with a **checklist** listing possible negative impacts which development and emergency aid projects may have on a conflict. These include the following:

Transfer of resources

- Armed groups acquire a proportion of the resources brought into the conflict region by aid organisations by theft or "taxation", or redirect the aid deliveries to regions of their choice.
- Aid and development organisations take over the provision of social services to the civilian population (health, education, food), thereby relieving local rulers of this responsibility. They can then invest the resources that are released in the war.
- Aid and development organisations have to negotiate with local rulers or military forces to gain access to needy segments of the population and to obtain licenses, thus indirectly legitimising their power.
- Temporary aid supplies distort local markets and consequently make the transition to a peace economy more difficult. Low food prices have the effect that farmers resort to subsistence production, which in the medium term once again gives rise to a shortage of food.
- The resources and equipment brought into the conflict region by international organisations increase the level of competition and tensions between the various groups, particularly between long-established inhabitants and the refugees given preferential treatment by the organisations.

Indirect messages

- Negotiations with armed groups, for example about access to the civilian population and armed guards, signify recognition of the conditions of war. The participants carrying weapons are accepted as being those with the true power.
- Direct negotiations legitimise local warlords because they suggest a certain degree of international recognition.
- Different treatment of international and local personnel reinforces the perception, brought about by the war, that some people's lives are worth more than others'.
- If international staff use scarce resources (such as a car or petrol) for private purposes they reinforce the perception that those with power can use public goods for themselves without fear of punishment. This can be reflected in the behaviour of the local rulers.
- Competitive behaviour between different development organisations gives the impression that more can be gained from confrontation than from cooperation.
- Development organisations which use shocking images and stories of local suffering for marketing their work show a lack of respect for the population and add to the concepts of the "enemy" which may already exist.

Application

- Appraisal of the risk of development strategies.
- Periodical review of one's own work with regard to its impacts on the conflict.
- Systematisation and analysis of the results of conflict impact assessment.

Procedure

The first step in the Do No Harm method is to analyse the conflict context. This involves identifying the dividers and connectors as comprehensively as possible. According to the Do No Harm principle, the dividers comprise all factors which maintain the current polarisation of the population into antagonistic parties on either side of the conflict. These include corruption, impunity, unequal access to resources, services and employment, language barriers, the manipulation of ethnic differences, the militarisation of society, the diminishing authority of traditional conflict-solving bodies and figures (such as the clergy, teachers or elders) and much more besides. On the other side of the coin, the connectors are those factors which still maintain a bond between the people. These are found especially in internal conflicts in which the various groups previously lived relatively peacefully together. Among other things, connectors can include common memories of a former multicultural society, marriages between the groups, a common language, a common infrastructure (such as rail, post or electricity), joint religious or national festivals and commemorations, and the courage and initiative of individuals to maintain communications and solidarity across the dividing lines that have arisen because of the conflict.

The large number of connectors and dividers need to be structured, for which they should be assigned to various **levels**. These comprise the following:

- 1. Systems and institutions (e.g. infrastructure and markets)
- 2. Attitudes and actions (e.g. adoption of war orphans from the other side)
- 3. Past and current experiences (e.g. colonial history, present situation in the war)
- 4. Values and interests (e.g. common religion)
- 5. Symbols and festivals (e.g. monuments or national commemorative events)

- The second step is to analyse in detail the way the development project or emergency aid scheme operates. This should be examined from all angles: the mandate, financing, relationships with head office, and every aspect of project work: what, how, where, who, with whom, when and why. This is based on the experience that in conflict situations every aspect of a project, including seemingly minor details, can have some effect.
- Finally every dimension of the project should be matched against the dividers and connectors. Positive and negative impacts should be recorded as divider impacts or connector impacts. Wherever negative impacts are detected, the project team should consider how the project can be adapted so that such impacts are prevented in future. This might mean an alternative method of selecting the target group, or a new portfolio of measures. Where there is evidence of positive impacts, on the other hand, the team should consider how these can be reinforced and made sustainable.

Time required

At least 180 minutes

Source: adapted from Anderson 1999, Anderson 2000b, Le Billon 2000

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Annex IV: Sources for Conflict Indicators

The following organisations have produced sets of conflict indicators. Most of these can be viewed on the respective Web sites.

Canadian International Development Agency, Compendium of Operational Tools http://www.acdi-dfait.gc.ca/peace

Carleton University, Country Indicators for Foreign Policy http://www.carleton.ca/cifp

Conflict Prevention Network http://lrz-muenchen.de/~cpn/

FEWER http://www.fewer.org

International Alert http://www.international-alert.org

PIOOM, University of Leiden http://www.fsw.leidenuniv.nl/www/w3_liswo/pioom.htm

Swiss Peace Foundation, FAST http://www.swisspeace.ch

Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm

World Bank, Development Research Group http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict

Terms of Reference for the Conflict Impact Assessment Guidelines

Against the background of the international debate surrounding the Do No Harm principle and the results of the important BMZ cross-section evaluation on the impacts of development cooperation in conflict situations, the need has arisen to monitor development-policy projects more closely with respect to their positive and negative consequences in conflict situations. The term used internationally to describe this set of tasks is conflict impact assessment (Bush 1998). The aim therefore is to develop practical tools which enable the intentional and unintentional impacts of development cooperation projects on a conflict to be systematically assessed and back-up measures to be designed as and when appropriate. In so doing it is necessary to go beyond the traditional impact model used in Technical cooperation and assess the indirect impacts of projects.

Objectives

The Guidelines are aimed at two target groups:

- 1. Support for development cooperation experts who are commissioned to implement, monitor and evaluate (conflict-unspecific) development projects in (potential) conflict situations and war situations to help them integrate investigation into the impacts of the project on the conflict situation into existing monitoring systems (Do No Harm concept).
- 2. Support for development cooperation experts who are commissioned to implement, monitor and evaluate development projects which are explicitly designed for the prevention or management of violent conflicts and the reconstruction of social and political structures that are capable of peaceful operation after cessation of the conflict in setting up a monitoring system.

Because there are already other GTZ publications which deal in detail with the integration of impact assessment into project management and setting up appropriate communication structures in the project, the Guidelines concentrate on the methodology of conflict impact assessment. This comprises advice and information on the following topics:

- Clarification of the objective and function of conflict impact assessment including the context of its use (client, financing organisation, interested parties, interests and objectives, implementation and application of results, use of the results for what purpose?)
- Clarification of the project's objective levels and formulation of impact hypotheses
- Elaboration of conflict indicators
- Practical implementation of conflict-related data acquisition and evaluation

Terms of Reference for the Conflict Impact Assessment Guidelines

Product

Guidelines on impact assessment of development projects in conflict situations (approx. 20-30 pages)

Activities

- Take stock of the existing methods and instruments of conflict impact assessment in German and international development cooperation through personal and telephone interviews, Internet searches and study of records on file.
- Prepare a preliminary draft version of the Impact Assessment Guidelines.
- Present and discuss the preliminary draft version in the sectoral project team and with the advisory group to the sectoral project.
- Complete the draft version of the Impact Assessment Guidelines.
- Attend the impact monitoring evaluation workshop at which the practical experience gained by the sectoral project with impact monitoring in three projects will be presented and evaluated.
- Revise and complete the Impact Assessment Guidelines on the basis of practical experience.

Suggested Structure of the Guidelines

1. Introduction

Brief introduction to the tasks and opportunities for action of development cooperation in conflict situations

Levels and phases of conflict management

Positive and negative impacts of development cooperation on the dynamics of conflicts, Do No Harm debate

2. Why Impact Monitoring in Conflict Situations?

Objectives of impact monitoring

- Survey of the positive and negative impacts of the project on the local/national conflict situation
- Decision-making basis for adapting the project with a view to reducing negative impacts and maximising positive impacts

TC steering instruments into which questions of impact assessment are to be integrated

- On-project monitoring
- PPR/PPM
- Evaluations

Reference to the connection between conflict analysis and conflict impact assessment: how can the connection be established?

3. Fundamentals of Impact Monitoring in Conflict Situations

- a) GTZ impact model and conflict situations
- b) How do development projects contribute to the prevention and/or management of violent conflicts? (Entry points, levels, hypotheses, model for drawing up positive impact hypotheses)
- c) How do development projects (inadvertently) contribute to the exacerbation and escalation of conflicts? (Model for determining unintentional, indirect impacts, model for drawing up negative impact hypotheses)

4. Instruments and Methods of Impact Assessment in Conflict Situations

Detailed description of selected methods of monitoring which are particularly suitable for use in conflict situations

Advice and information on the choice and application of these methods

5. Indicators for Peace, Conflict and Violence

a) List of examples of indicators for peace, conflict and violence

Pattern for list of indicators: definition of the indicator, survey method, possible responsibility, suggestions for corrective measures

b) Methodological pointers for working out participatory peace and conflict indicators

6. Practical Advice on Performing Conflict Impact Assessment (Good Practice and Lessons Learned)

In the first version: evaluation of literature and interviews In the final version: experience gained by the sectoral project with conflict impact assessment