THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SERVICES TO PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE: EVOLVING THEORY AND PRACTICE

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ABBREVIATIONS

CLTS ....Community-Led Total Sanitation
DRR...disaster risk reduction
ECD ....early childhood development
GBV.. gender-based violence
OECD .... Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBEA...Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (programme)
PBSO ....Peacebuilding Support Office
PBF ....Peacebuilding Fund
UNDP .... United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF ....United Nations Children's Fund
USAID ....United States Agency for International Development
WASH.. water, sanitation and hygiene
CPAP .... Country Programme Action Plan

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Conflict and fragility present a grave threat to UNICEF's objective of improving the lives of children and their caregivers around the world. Resilience has emerged through a variety of disciplines as an attempt to depart from a path where vulnerable communities and societies require assistance in recurrent crises because the underlying causes are not addressed. This report focuses on how the management and delivery of social services – such as education, health, clean water and protection – can achieve peacebuilding results, and in so doing, ultimately build the resilience of individuals, communities and societies to conflict.

The Contribution of Social Services to Peacebuilding and Resilience: Evolving theory and practice provides an overview of peacebuilding and resilience research and practice at the conceptual level and within key UNICEF sectors. Due to the novel nature of this field, the evidence for making these connections is not readily available. The report consequently draws on a range of sources, including a global literature review; a review of field research in three countries – Pakistan, Sierra Leone and Somalia – that focused on promising trends in this area; and interviews with key stakeholders at the policy and programming levels.

To advance the thinking on how peacebuilding contributes to strengthening resilience, a framework is developed based on theories of change for UNICEF's global social service delivery focus.. These theories of change build upon those developed in *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, a collaborative study commissioned by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office and the Peacebuilding Fund, with strong UNICEF support and the participation of other United Nations agencies.[1] The primary departure here is in conceptualizing the links with resilience.

The intended audience for this review is first and foremost UNICEF staff – both those who are supporting this work through policy development, and those involved in designing, delivering and measuring social services programmes implemented in vulnerable and conflict-prone contexts. It is also expected that the report will have value for the wider international aid community, and for staff of governments and national non-governmental organizations who are working to promote and implement service delivery that contributes to peacebuilding and conflict resilience.

This document also provides a background for the forthcoming UNICEF guidance on Conflict Sensitive and Peacebuilding Programming, aimed at more directly supporting field staff in designing, monitoring and evaluating sector programming to facilitate contributions to peacebuilding and resilience. The report is structured as follows:

◆ **Section 1** provides an introduction to the study – the rationale, aims and methods.

◆ **Section 2** surveys the research and practice globally and in UNICEF on social service programming and peacebuilding, and social service programming on resilience. It then discusses nascent efforts to explore their relationship, and lays out a conceptual framework for UNICEF with an overarching theory of change and three supporting theories of change to support intentional programme design.

◆ **Sections 3–6** consider programming in four sectors – (1) education; (2) health; (3) water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH); and (4) child protection, integrating early childhood development and Communication for Development – through the lens of the proposed theories of change and illustrated with programmatic examples. Due to time and resource constraints, the nutrition, HIV and social protection sectors have not been included, which in no way indicates that they are irrelevant to developing resilience to conflict. This review could serve as a model for how these sectors might be included in subsequent work with similar objectives.

◆ **Sections 7–9** offer conclusions and recommendations.

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1 McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012. Available at: <www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=6051>.

RESEARCH AND PRACTICE CONTEXT

A focus on the role of social service contributions to peacebuilding has grown over the past decade, witnessed by policy developments within the United Nations, the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development, and the g7+, and the rising attention to these issues in peace agreements. There is growing attention to the role that social service programming can contribute to peacebuilding at multiple levels – notably by promoting more conflict sensitive and accountable sector governance, and by providing means to develop trust and social cohesion – without which lasting peace is virtually impossible.

Social services are embedded in much of the thinking and practice emerging around resilience. Humanitarian and development agencies have been using resilience for some time, as a lens through which to develop and implement their programming. Resilience to disaster is generally conceived as the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth. Social services are viewed as a cornerstone of reducing vulnerabilities. What resilience means in conflict settings and in relation to peacebuilding has received less attention to date, and thus it is less operationalized.

Emerging thinking by UNICEF and partners suggests that resilience to conflict involves a) how much conflict-carrying (absorptive or conflict management) capacity a society has; b) how to identify and preserve the critical qualities of a society in time of conflict (e.g. dignity, cohesion, capacity, etc.) so that the society maintains its core function in spite of the crisis; and c) how quickly a society recovers or undergoes a wholesale transformation after violent conflict to consolidate peace, accelerate development, and thereby better withstand future conflicts.[2]

EMERGING LINKAGES AND PROPOSED THEORIES OF CHANGE

This review outlines the conceptual linkages that lay a foundation for the theories of change proposed and illustrated in the study. These links include the following:

◆ **Conflict harms, decreases or undermines resilience, while peacebuilding supports and builds resilience. With violent, destructive conflict, there can be no positive, upward cycles of resilience.**

◆ **Peacebuilding programmes can strengthen the ability of society at large to prevent or respond effectively to abrupt shocks and longer-term stresses. Resilience to conflict is essentially about transforming events that could have turned into violent conflict into 'non-events' and preventing them from recurring.**

◆ **Peacebuilding's support to resilience builds positive upward cycles of resilience, in the direction of transformation, while the effects of conflict undermining resilience can lead to poor forms of recovery or to collapse. A primary goal/outcome of positive upward cycles of resilience supported by peacebuilding is inclusive and sustainable development, which can further support adaptation and transformation.**

◆ **Social service delivery offers a range of entry points for peacebuilding programmes and for maximizing resilience outcomes as absorptive, adaptive and transformative capacities to respond to conflict are developed and strengthened.**

According to the overarching theory of change: **IF** social service programming is delivered in equitable, accessible, relevant and conflict-sensitive ways that build peace – by addressing grievances and by building

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vertical and horizontal social cohesion and individual capacities – **THEN** social service programming is contributing to resilience. This is **BECAUSE** factors that undermine resilience are alleviated, and capacities (absorptive, adaptive and transformative) to respond to conflict are built, including assets (human, physical, environmental, social and political), structures and processes, and strategies. **Three sub-theories of change are:**

1. Social services delivering peace dividends:
In situations of crisis and the aftermath, social services help build the capacities needed to 'bounce back'. Where conflict and fragility undermine recovery and development, a tangible benefit of peace for citizens is the provision or resumption of basic social services, often tied to a political settlement. This in turn can reduce incentives for people to engage in violent behaviour, creating a context for building resilience to conflict and other risks.

2. Social services strengthening sector governance and institutional accountability (vertical social cohesion):
Strengthening – or building/rebuilding and ideally transforming sector governance and related institutions – will enhance vertical cohesion and resilience capacities, including structures, processes and assets, to respond to conflict and other risks.

3. Social services for peacebuilding at the community level (horizontal social cohesion):
Communities will have stronger, more locally owned and collectively demand-driven strategies, assets, processes and structures that enable them to better respond to conflict and other risks.

PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE IN THE SOCIAL SERVICES SECTORS

For each of the four sectors covered in this review – education, health, WASH and child protection – the key arguments and evidence, UNICEF's strengths and weaknesses, and what is needed most to advance peacebuilding and resilience programming in the sector are summarized below.

EDUCATION
Key arguments and evidence – Evidence increasingly demonstrates that schools can reinforce social divisions, intolerance and prejudices that lead to discord and violence, while education systems can exacerbate and perpetuate violent settings. However, there is a growing evidence base, which UNICEF has been at the forefront in supporting, that the resumption or development of conflict-sensitive, relevant education in the aftermath of emergency or conflict can contribute to peacebuilding by supporting transformative transition processes and catalysing learning around peace.

Education can serve to repair the social fabric destroyed by war and support the building of cultures and structures of peace. It can also support children, communities and systems in becoming resilient to conflict. Evidence demonstrates that education programmes and extra-curricular education forums – child-to-child clubs, mothers' clubs, theatre, music, sports and open dialogue groups that bring together diverse groups/ stakeholders – can build social cohesion and community capacity to respond to conflict.

UNICEF's strengths and weaknesses – UNICEF has made great strides in identifying the links between education and peacebuilding through its Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme, funded by the Government of the Netherlands. Evidence is building through this programme that education can help children and adults, communities and systems become resilient against conflict by building the capacities and skills that will enable them to manage and resolve tensions and conflict peacefully.

However, UNICEF's PBEA work has not fully conceptualized peacebuilding and resilience linkages to coherently impact programming design, and it has grouped resilience with social cohesion and human security without delineating the dimensions of each area. This study, along with other PBEA-led research initiatives, can contribute to a fuller conceptualization.

What is needed most to advance in the sector – To support the design of effective education programmes, monitoring and evaluation methods need to be developed specifically to assess peacebuilding and resilience outcomes and impacts.

HEALTH

Key arguments and evidence – Growing evidence suggests that contexts with poor health and nutrition experience a greater probability of conflict and that health services can reinforce fragility if they are delivered in ways that exclude or marginalize certain groups. Health interventions have the potential to play an integral role in peacebuilding processes by serving as a bridge for individuals and communities using health improvements, including for children and their caregivers, as a common goal.

UNICEF's strengths and weaknesses – While UNICEF is heavily involved in health and nutrition programming in conflict contexts around the world, deliberate peacebuilding or resilience objectives in its health sector activities are seldom articulated. UNICEF is increasingly focused on developing risk-informed health programmes in which conflict is considered to be an important risk. In such contexts, the need for good, health-specific conflict analysis is recognized.

UNICEF mostly works through partners at the field level and has therefore been focused on developing sector-level rather than community-level resilience. However, new and pilot projects – for example, in Somalia and South Sudan – and lessons learned exercises, such as for cholera response and in a range of countries where the Integrated health systems strengthening programme has been implemented, have focused more on community-level preparedness for health disasters, whether related to human-caused or natural disaster.

What is needed most to advance in the sector – UNICEF health practitioners operating in conflict-affected environments need to contribute to and utilize conflict analyses. Practitioners also need capacity-building support and access to relevant tools and guidance that can support greater mainstreaming of conflict sensitivity into their work. Although there is no specific guidance within UNICEF on health and nutrition-related peacebuilding programing, the need for updated and sector-specific guidance is clearly recognized.

In addition, there is a need to establish better baseline evidence and capture the results of health programmes with peacebuilding or social cohesion development objectives.

WASH

Key arguments and evidence – The access and management of water resources has historically been and continues to be an important source of armed conflict. Water-related conflicts are expected to increase in the future due to climate change, settlement patterns and increased commercial use of water.
Studies have found that managing water and improving sanitation and hygiene creates potential for groups to work collectively to improve their well-being. This collaboration can create a platform for building vertical and horizontal social and political cohesion.

Reliable and risk-informed WASH services are also increasingly believed to be crucial for the ability of communities to withstand stresses and shocks. Hence, well-designed programmes can achieve multiple goals of strengthening the social fabric of society and building resilience to conflict and other risks, as they builds foundations for long-term development.

UNICEF's strengths and weaknesses – UNICEF implements and coordinates WASH programmes in numerous conflict contexts, but there is limited articulation of the contribution of WASH programming to peacebuilding and no specific UNICEF guidance. UNICEF's WASH programming in conflict-affected contexts has been described as "ultra-sensitive to 'do no harm' principles," reflecting awareness of the potential issues for water-related interventions. There is a growing focus on using WASH programmes to develop community resilience, including through community-based water resource management.

What is needed most to advance in the sector – Strengthening WASH programmes for peacebuilding and resilience will require easily accessible and applicable guidance and support structures for practitioners in the field. This should include guidance on WASH-specific conflict analysis, which is currently being developed as part of the conflict-sensitivity and peacebuilding capacity development initiative. Also, capacity must be developed to enable WASH practitioners to achieve the widely agreed potential for programming to achieve resilience through peacebuilding results.

CHILD PROTECTION

Key arguments and evidence – In 2013, a comprehensive study for UNICEF's child protection sector concluded that violence, abuse and exploitation can be both a result and a driver of conflict.[3] As protection systems collapse due to conflict, children and adults experience trauma and exploitation, which in turn makes them more vulnerable to recruitment into armed violence and other conflict-associated risks. However, children and adolescents can be important agents of peace and positive change.

It is increasingly recognized that there are links between early childhood development and peacebuilding. While exposure to violence and trauma can lead to lifelong violent and discriminatory attitudes, early childhood is also the time when children develop essential life skills. Gender-based violence against girls, women and boys is widespread during conflict, and norms allowing such violence frequently live on long after the conflict has ended.

UNICEF's strengths and weaknesses – UNICEF is implementing programmes across a range of areas relating to peacebuilding and child protection, early childhood development and gender-based violence, and therefore has numerous entry points for programming. Programming targets endogenous capacities and potentially reinforces resilient capacities that can help a community's ability to understand and manage multiple risks and uncertainties.

Comprehensive guidance has been developed for child protection, early childhood development and peacebuilding, and UNICEF has launched a 2014–2017 action plan[4] for addressing gender-based violence. However, there has been a lack of funding, particularly for the long term, for child protection work relating to peacebuilding and resilience-building.

What is needed most to advance in the sector – It is important to further programmes with specific peacebuilding objectives and to develop monitoring and evaluation indicators that are particular to peacebuilding outcomes. Further, there may be a need to adjust programming to the new realities of children of conflict-affected children including permanently expatriated children and the special role of adolescents and youths.

OVERARCHING CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study makes the case for valuing the contributions of social services to resilience through peacebuilding and to enhance programming in this direction. Key findings and recommendations are summarized below.

Strategic positioning for peacebuilding and resilience
Because it is present before, during and after conflict, and is a pivotal agency engaged in both humanitarian and development work, UNICEF is uniquely positioned to contribute to peacebuilding and resilience in conflict settings through its social services programming. The breadth and scope of its programming is apparent at all levels, and a wide array of stakeholders benefit from these programmes. UNICEF has a particular focus on the type of social services that are vital to achieving sustainable peace, development and the resilience

3 Scott, Lara, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding' December 2013.   Nations Children's Fund, 15 April 2014. Available at: <www.unicef.org/gender/gender_57856.html>.
4 UNICEF Executive Board, 'UNICEF Gender Action Plan 2014–2017', E/ICEF/2014/CRP.12, United

of individuals, communities and whole societies. Along with its leadership in peacebuilding and resilience thinking and practice, UNICEF is committed to informing practice and policy with evidence-based research and has a willingness to put finances behind this – always with a focus on children, who are the current and future agents of peace and resilience.

Recommendations on how UNICEF can build upon existing strengths and comparative advantages to scale up its efforts for peacebuilding and resilience include:

◆ **Ensure that UNICEF's humanitarian and development programmes move beyond being only conflict-sensitive and towards intentional peacebuilding whenever possible and applicable.**

◆ **Become more intentional and strategic about implementing programmes in this area, because conflict undermines all programming and creates and fuels humanitarian emergencies, destroying development foundations and potential.**

◆ **Spearhead strategy in this area throughout the United Nations system and beyond, particularly with a view to building bridges between humanitarian and development efforts**

Programme design, monitoring and evaluation
UNICEF staff will need considerable support in rising to the challenge of designing programmes that can better support peacebuilding and resilience. To build staff capacity and increase the effectiveness of UNICEF's contributions, recommendations include:

◆ **Ensure that this report's theories of change on social services, peacebuilding and resilience are intentionally integrated into programming to produce a stronger evidence base, and advocate for broader usage among United Nations and other partners.**

◆ **Ensure that conflict analysis is undertaken in a structured and predictable manner and that there is space to implement, innovate and adapt to accommodate the findings; this will require resisting pressure from donors and partners for UNICEF to deliver rapidly.**

◆ **Invest more in analysing and understanding what drives resilience of people at different levels (not just what drives conflict), and develop programming that responds and supports this.**

◆ **Build greater coherence around strategy for community-level programming to maximize the benefits of UNICEF's comparative advantage of working across multiple sectors, and during both the humanitarian and development phases.**

◆ **Work for greater strategic coherence across upstream and downstream efforts – of UNICEF and United Nations and other partners – and across horizontal and vertical programming and strategy efforts.**

Coherence for effective peacebuilding and resilience programming
The review concludes by underscoring the importance of resilience. As with other overarching and influential policy agendas, the United Nations will need to work to cohere its understanding and policy approach – to foster a United Nations-wide agreement about the conceptual and practical relationship between peacebuilding and resilience. This report aims to support this necessary process.

PART I | BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In recent years, 'resilience' has emerged as a revitalized concept for guiding policy and programming in the development and humanitarian policy communities globally. This has much to do with increasing evidence that shocks and stresses related to disaster and conflict are impeding and reversing development gains and heightening vulnerability, particularly among the already marginalized and excluded, including girls, children with disabilities and children in indigenous communities.

Alongside the rising awareness of costly and ineffective cyclical humanitarian action, in which the international community responds to disasters in the same location year after year, is the awareness that this approach has done little to address the underlying and structural causes of crisis. In essence, our humanitarian response has no built-in focus on preventing similar disasters from recurring and fails to address the vulnerabilities that exacerbate their negative impact.[5] Decades of humanitarian interventions in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel, for example, have focused on meeting short-term needs, driven by humanitarian aims, funding streams and institutional mandates, and have failed to tackle the structural causes of vulnerability, pay sufficient attention to building local capacity to withstand shocks, or identify opportunities to positively adapt or transform ways of life.[6] In addition, there is an assumption that resilience can help strengthen the focus on using crises as transformational opportunities to 'bounce back better'.[7]

To date, much of the policy and aid emphasis around resilience has been targeted to address natural disasters and climate change, with conflict added to the discourse only recently. As defined by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and commonly applicable, resilience "is the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth."[8] Fostering resilience is viewed as important at all stages of humanitarian and development response to a crisis, and as a common goal across settings. It is also seen as a preventive measure to ensure sustainable recovery and to protect development gains – as well as to save lives, reduce vulnerabilities, and build resources across the economic, political, social, cultural and security fields.

UNICEF defines resilience as "the ability of children, communities and systems to withstand, anticipate, prevent, adapt and recover from stresses and shocks, advancing the rights of every child, with special attention to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children."[9] Much of the policy thinking on resilience focuses on the capacities communities need to absorb, adapt and transform when faced with external stresses and shocks. This includes such capacities as societal livelihood assets (human, physical, environmental, social and political); the structures and processes involved in understanding, mitigating and transforming risks and applying effective responses; and the strategies to recover, sustain or transform livelihoods in times of crisis.[10] The United Kingdom Department for International Development's working definition of resilience, for example, is "the ability of countries, governments, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses, while continuing to develop and without compromising their long-term prospects."[11]

What resilience means in conflict settings and in relation to peacebuilding has received less attention, and thus it is less operationalized. At the same time, there are clear complementary agendas that share much with the thinking and practice around how actors at different levels respond to the threat and reality of conflict, violence and fragility – including peacebuilding, conflict prevention and conflict transformation. However, resilience as an agenda offers something uniquely significant: a focus on developing the internal capacities

5 Levine, Simon, et al., 'The Relevance of "Resilience"?', *HPG Policy Brief 49*, Overseas Development Institute, September 2012, pp. 1, 3.
6 United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Development Programme and Interpeace, 'Outcome Document: Fostering Resilience in Situations of Conflict and Fragility' (Expert Roundtable co-organized by UNDP, UNICEF, InterPeace and the Rockefeller Foundation, 18–19 September, 2014, at the Rockefeller Foundation, New York)
7 Levine, Simon, et al., 'The Relevance of "Resilience"?', *HPG Policy Brief 49*, Overseas Development Institute, September 2012, p. 3.

8 United States Agency for International Development, 'Building Resilience to Recurrent Crisis: USAID policy and program guidance', USAID, Washington, D.C., December 2012, p. 5.
9 At the time of writing this was the draft working level definition used by UNICEF
10 Frankenberger, Timothy R., et al., 'Enhancing Resilience to Food Insecurity amid Protracted Crisis', TANGO International, 2012, p. 3.
11 Department for International Development, 'Defining Disaster Resilience: A DFID approach paper', DFID, 2011.

of actors to drive peace and development, and intent to prevent crises, and adapt and recover from crisis, in ever-transformative ways, drawing on local capacities and mechanisms. Notably, participants in a September 2014 expert's round table co-organized by UNICEF, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Interpeace and the Rockefeller Foundation argued that long-term transformation cannot be possible without engaging with internal (endogenous) sources of resilience.[12]

It is also hoped that resilience provides a practical bridge in anticipating, preventing and responding to disaster and conflict on the one hand, and for connecting efforts across humanitarian and development phases of conflict and crisis on the other. Conversely, it is hoped that peacebuilding as a theory and practice can help inform resilience-building interventions. Resilience to disaster-related stresses and shocks shares many attributes with the ability to sustain peace, including a focus on endogenous capacities, the attention paid to risks and vulnerabilities, and acknowledgement of the need for a systemic approach to understanding how individuals, institutions and systems relate, interact and respond collectively.

Understanding what comprises and drives resilience to conflict, and how it can be supported by UNICEF and other actors, is a paramount task. Violent conflict affects a context differently than disaster, and while certain capacities may be transferable across settings, there are important distinctions. Conflict reduces the resilience of individuals and communities by undermining or breaking down interpersonal and communal relationships and trust. This also undermines systems, many of which rely upon humans and their relationships. Violent conflict impacts economic and broader societal development and can erode social capital and undermine values and norms that promote cooperation and collective action for the common good.[13] This fundamentally challenges the ability of individuals and societies to engage in collective action, which in turn undermines resilience not only to conflict but also to other risks, such as those that are disaster related.

1.1 UNICEF'S COMMITMENTS AND AIMS

UNICEF is heavily invested in areas facing conflict or emerging from war, where more than 1 billion children under age 18 now live – almost one sixth of the world population.[14] Children in fragile states are more than three times as likely to be unable to go to school, twice as likely to die before age 5, and more than twice as likely to lack clean water. Further, in many of these areas the risk of relapse into conflict remains high. Seventy per cent of UNICEF's overall programme resources are invested in conflict-affected countries, and 20 of the 25 largest UNICEF country programmes are in countries considered to be 'fragile' by the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).[15]

UNICEF has a strong programmatic commitment to delivering social services, with uneven but important and growing contributions to deliver programmes in ways that intentionally and directly contribute to peacebuilding and ultimately build resilience. This is an important emphasis for UNICEF, given the devastating direct impact of conflict on children and their caregivers and the extent to which all of UNICEF's development and humanitarian achievements are undermined when conflict erupts.

UNICEF aims to reach all levels of society in its peacebuilding work, which is carried out in a wide range of contexts – including those affected by high levels of violence, situations featuring latent or open conflict dynamics, and pre- or post-conflict contexts.[16] At the strategic level, peacebuilding has been identified as one of the primary ways to develop resilience in fragile and conflict-affected states. UNICEF's viewpoint emerging around resilience highlights that conflict is the most severe risk in many countries, and that societal resilience is at risk of being entirely undermined if conflict is not prevented or adequately managed.

12 United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Development Programme and Interpeace, 'Outcome Document: Fostering Resilience in Situations of Conflict and Fragility' (Expert Roundtable co-organized by UNDP, UNICEF, InterPeace and the Rockefeller Foundation, 18–19 September, 2014, at the Rockefeller Foundation, New York)
13 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Education, Peacebuilding, and Resilience Background Paper: Kathmandu Resilience Workshop', 2014.

14 Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict and United Nations Children's Fund, *Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review: Children and conflict in a changing world*, UNICEF, New York, April 2009, p. 4.
15 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Annual Report 2013', UNICEF, p. 12.
16 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding in UNICEF Technical Note', UNICEF, June 2012, p. 10.

BOX 1 KEY CONCEPTS

Resilience – the ability of children, households, communities and systems to anticipate, manage and overcome shocks and cumulative stresses in ways that advance the rights of every child, with special attention to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.(1) 'Resilience' refers to the capacities needed to absorb, adapt and transform when faced with stresses and shocks. These capacities include societal *livelihood assets* (human, physical, environmental, social, and political); the *structures and processes* involved in understanding, mitigating and transforming risks and applying effective responses; and the *strategies* to recover, sustain or transform livelihoods in times of crisis.

Social services – broadly, services that are directed to citizens with a view to promote their physical and psychological welfare. As used in this report, social services are not limited to UNICEF's institutional definition of its programme sector, nor are they necessarily delivered by government.

Peacebuilding – a multidimensional range of measures to reduce the risk of a lapse or relapse into conflict by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict, and to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management in order to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.(2) Peacebuilding is multidimensional (including political, security, social and economic dimensions), occurs at all levels in a society (national to community levels), and includes governments, civil society, the United Nations system, and an array of international and national partners.(3)

Conflict sensitivity – the capacity of an organization to understand its operating context and the interaction between its interventions and the context, and act upon this understanding to avoid negative impacts ('do no harm') and maximize positive impacts on conflict factors.(4)

(1) UNICEF, 2014 (2) Adapted from: Secretary-General's Policy Committee Decision, May 2007, (3) UNICEF, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding, Technical Note', 2012, (4) Ibid.

Although the Strategic Plan 2014–2017 mentions 'peacebuilding' only once, in conjunction with education,[17] it integrates the key strategy of promoting, mainstreaming and building resilience through humanitarian and development programming. The references to 'resilience' suggest that it is both an overarching guiding principle and a programming strategy to build resilience of individuals and communities. The Strategic Plan states, "Saving lives and protecting rights involves emergency preparedness, humanitarian response itself, early recovery, and a focus on resilience. … For several reasons, UNICEF is also committed to strengthening its involvement in systematic reduction of vulnerability to disaster and conflicts through risk-informed country programmes that help build resilience."[18]

Operationally, UNICEF is highlighting resilience for key elements of its work, including peacebuilding, climate change, disaster risk reduction (DRR) and social protection. UNICEF's resilience agenda is building on experiences at the regional level, including the development of position papers and guidance, as well as research conducted in tandem with country offices to capture emerging lessons learned from resilience programming.

Despite UNICEF's strong commitment to both peacebuilding and resilience, there is great variance in how they are applied across social services programming and no clear understanding of the relationship

17 United Nations Children's Fund, 'The UNICEF Strategic Plan, 2014–2017: Realizing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged', E/ICEF/2013/21, United Nations Economic and Social Council, New York, 11 July 2013, p. 7.
18 Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

between peacebuilding and resilience, both within and outside UNICEF. For example, peacebuilding is much further advanced in the area of education than in health and WASH or other sectors – which undermines an organization-wide strategy around peacebuilding and resilience and the cumulative and systemic effects that a more integrated approach to programming can bring.

Efforts around resilience and peacebuilding are also disconnected, with at times overlapping assumptions, goals and activities that require attention. Peacebuilding and resilience programming will typically share a focus on local capacities, structures and systems; understanding the operational context, whether through the lens of risks (resilience) or drivers of conflict (peacebuilding); and the need for equity-based programming. There are, however, also important differences between peacebuilding and other strands of resilience work.

Peacebuilding deals with human-made risks, shocks and stresses. This means that *conflict does not happen without a reason and that conflict could always, theoretically, be prevented.* In essence, conflict relies on *human intent,* which means that peacebuilding must focus on understanding and mitigating the human intent to engage in conflict. This requires different emphases in situation analysis, focusing deeply on interests, preferences, cultures, relationships and politics. It also means that conflict-resilient capacities are often sociocultural, psychological and cognitive in nature, while they interact with structural, material and physical assets and the politics around these issues. Unequal access to social services is, for example, a critical conflict driver in many contexts. Much learning could take place from mapping efforts and exploring conceptual linkages, which this report aims to contribute to.

1.2 STUDY GOALS AND METHODOLOGY

This report aims to make the case for valuing the contributions of social services to peacebuilding and resilience, and to enhance programming in this direction. Towards this end, it:

◆ **Develops a conceptual framework and makes the case, supported by a growing body of evidence, for how social services contribute to peacebuilding and ultimately to resilience in conflict-affected settings.**

◆ **Identifies promising trends in thinking and examples of programming in social service sectors that illustrate how the theories of change link to peacebuilding and resilience.**

◆ **Supports the policy and programming process, at headquarters and in the field, around these issues.**

The study also provides a background for the forthcoming UNICEF guidance on Conflict Sensitive and Peacebuilding Programming, aimed at more directly supporting field staff in designing, monitoring and evaluating sector programming to facilitate contributions to peacebuilding and resilience.

Section 2 broadly surveys the research and practice globally and in UNICEF on social service programming and peacebuilding and on resilience. It then discusses nascent efforts to explore their relationship, and lays out a conceptual framework for UNICEF with an overarching theory of change and three supporting theories of change to support intentional programme design. These theories of change build upon those developed in *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding,*[19] a collaborative study commissioned by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office and the Peacebuilding Fund, with strong UNICEF support and the participation of other United Nations agencies. The primary departure here is in conceptualizing the links with resilience.

19 McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012. Available at: <www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=6051>.

Sections 3–6 consider programming in four sectors – (1) education; (2) health; (3) water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH); and (4) child protection, integrating early childhood development and Communication for Development – through the lens of the proposed theories of change and illustrated with programmatic examples. Due to time and resource constraints, the nutrition, HIV and social protection sectors have not been included, which in no way indicates that they are irrelevant to developing resilience to conflict. It is hoped that this review can serve as a model for how these sectors might be included in subsequent work with similar objectives.

Sections 7–9 offer conclusions and recommendations. The development of this report drew on a broad range of sources, including a global literature review, a review of field research in Pakistan, Sierra Leone and Somalia, and interviews with key stakeholders at the policy and programming levels.

There are limitations to this study that must be borne in mind. This is a review of literature and UNICEF practice, not an evaluation, which would focus heavily on gathering programme evidence. This study is making the case for UNICEF to more intentionally and consistently put these theories of change into practice. While much UNICEF and broader United Nations and international community work in situations of conflict and fragility, including post-conflict, employs these theories of change in various ways and there are indications of a growing consensus around them, a robust body of evidence cannot be built until sufficient programming is designed for this purpose.

This review presents a conceptual framework and draws on a wide range of related and supportive documentation in and outside of UNICEF to illustrate why social services contribute to peacebuilding, and why and how this is likely to contribute to resilience. It is now up to UNICEF and others to build a robust evidence base by consistently putting such programming into practice.

2. RESEARCH AND PRACTICE CONTEXT

Section 2 reviews the policy and research trends around social service contributions to peacebuilding and resilience, and the nascent efforts to bring peacebuilding and resilience together. It ends with a proposed conceptual framework to support UNICEF's work, based on the proposed theories of change that illustrate how social services can support peacebuilding and resilience.

2.1 SOCIAL SERVICES AND PEACEBUILDING

For the United Nations, there is a policy consensus that peacebuilding involves a multidimensional range of measures to reduce the risk of a lapse or relapse into violent conflict by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict, and by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management in order to lay foundations for supporting the social cohesiveness and building sustainable peace and development.[20] Multidimensional measures are considered to include the political, security, social and economic dimensions and a range of cross-cutting issues, including gender and the environment. Peacebuilding is deemed most effective when it engages all levels of society and is highly inclusive of relevant stakeholders. Despite the evolving policy consensus around the cyclical nature of conflict, there is a tendency within the United Nations to consider peacebuilding as a post-conflict measure or situation, as reflected by the focus of United Nations' peacebuilding architecture.

The role of social services in peacebuilding was spotlighted in the Secretary-General's 2009 report 'Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict', which placed emphasis on the delivery of early peace dividends to build confidence in the political process, strengthen core national capacity early on, and reduce

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[20] 'Secretary-General's Policy Committee Decision', May 2007

BOX 2 THEORIES OF CHANGE DEVELOPED IN PEACE DIVIDENDS, 2012

OVERARCHING THEORY OF CHANGE:
Administrative and social services contribute to peacebuilding by addressing grievances that underlie or can trigger violent conflict, while offering a means to build, or rebuild, state legitimacy and accountability to society. This can occur during a peace process, in the immediate aftermath of conflict, or for the longer term post-conflict.

PROGRAMMATIC THEORIES OF CHANGE:
Delivering peace dividends – Administrative and social services offered as peace dividends can reduce social tensions through the provision of tangible needed services, create incentives for non-violent behaviour, and support statebuilding efforts at critical junctures in the peace process.

Strengthening sector governance – Supporting conflict-sensitive sector governance and policy reform and the development of responsive, inclusive and accountable institutions at the national and sub-national levels can improve state-society relations and lay foundations for a self-sustaining peace.

Providing entry points to deliver peacebuilding results – Administrative and social services can lead to joint action around programming that can help to build relationships and meet immediate needs in ways that address conflict drivers.

Source: McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012, p. 17.

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the risk of relapse into conflict.[21] Perhaps even more significantly, the report highlighted the provision of basic services, including water and sanitation, health and primary education, among the five recurring priorities[22] that require support as part of peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict.

Similar priorities have been articulated by other international partners of the United Nations, including the World Bank, the OECD Development Assistance Committee, and a host of Member State countries and donors. Notably, in June 2011, the second International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding involving the Group of Seven+ and international partners agreed that "the ability to raise, prioritise and manage resources to finance and develop capacity for accountable and fair service delivery" is one of five goals that should provide a framework for country-led analysis and strategy development, and orient international assistance for peacebuilding and statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states.[23]

Arguments for the contributions of social services to peacebuilding are also buttressed by the increasing inclusion of administrative and social services in peace agreements. Between 1990–1998 and 1999–2006, provisions in peace agreements on decentralization rose from 40 per cent to 50 per cent, on education from 51 per cent to 59 per cent, health from 20 per cent to 30 per cent, and social security/welfare from 20 per cent to 36 per cent. This trend suggests that these issues are not, as commonly thought, only development priorities; they are integral to peacemaking and mediation efforts, reflecting both drivers of conflict and priorities for peace consolidation.[24]

Following the 2009 Secretary-General's report, the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund and the Peacebuilding Support Office commissioned a study to consider the contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding. This was in recognition that the Peacebuilding Fund was not significantly supporting work in this area, and that such interventions "tend to take a back seat to interventions focused on the security sector

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21 'Report of the Secretary-General on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict', A/63/881-S/2009/304, 2009, para. 3.
22 The other three priorities are support to basic security, political processes and economic revitalization.

23 International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, 'Monrovia Road Map', 2011. Open PDF from: <www.oecd.org/dataoecd/23/24/48345560.pdf>.
24 United Nations Development Programme, *Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling local ingenuity*, UNDP, 2008, p. 8.

and political processes in post-conflict settings."[25] The 2012 study, which UNICEF lent considerable technical support to, mapped and assessed programming logics and outcomes, primarily of United Nations agencies, across social service areas (including food security) and administrative services with peacebuilding intent. It suggested three common outcome areas across programming: (1) resilience and social cohesion; (2) state capacity and legitimacy; and (3) conflict drivers and root causes.[26] The theories of change developed in the study are outlined in Box 2.

During the past several years, this study's arguments and theories of change appear to be gaining a broader appeal, as witnessed in policy-practitioner discussions.[27] In sector policy and practice environments, there is also a growing focus on the entry points, assets and approaches relevant to peacebuilding programmes. Common to these areas is the acknowledgement that inequities, marginalization and discrimination within social service delivery is often a key conflict factor, but also that each sector represents a range of unique attributes that are highly relevant to peacebuilding. While social services are making their way into political settlements, highlighting their relevance at the highest political and security levels, they critically provide a platform for developing trust and social cohesion at all levels of society – without which lasting peace is virtually impossible.[28]

For UNICEF, "peacebuilding does not signify a new political identity or new programme priorities. At its essence, peacebuilding helps UNICEF to better understand and design programmes that more effectively reduce the risks of conflict and violence that affect children and their communities."[29] Recognizing the risk and propensity of conflict relapse and the potential for programming to unwittingly 'do harm', UNICEF has a growing commitment to ensuring that "all programmes avoid exacerbating conflict and violence factors (conflict sensitivity) and, where appropriate, better address the causes of conflict and violence (peacebuilding)."[30]

With the exception of the ground-breaking work of UNICEF's Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme, funded by the Government of the Netherlands, peacebuilding programming is less common across UNICEF sectors, although there is interest in seeing it more deeply engaged. Consultations for this review demonstrated an increasing interest in scaling up UNICEF's peacebuilding work, while emphasis was placed on the need for tools and approaches that are attuned to the reality of field practitioners in each sector and 'speak their language'. At the country level, UNICEF sees an important role for its country offices in shifting emphasis of national and international strategies beyond the political and security realms and towards ensuring that the role of social services and the interests of children and their caregivers are adequately represented.[31]

UNICEF's design, monitoring and evaluation of PBEA programmes broadly mirror consensus and best practices in the international community around how to design for results and how to conduct peacebuilding evaluation. While broader peacebuilding design, monitoring and evaluation follows development evaluation standards and generally accepts and applies the same 'macro' criteria for measuring effectiveness,[32] it differs in important ways. Notably, the questions that guide the evaluation and development of specific criteria to measure results are shaped by conflict analysis and theories of change.[33]

Within the education sector, UNICEF's global PBEA programme has helped move the field forward in relation to the design, implementation and evaluation of the education sector's specific contribution to peacebuilding. Outside of education, there is little conceptual and practical guidance that can help practitioners design

25 McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012, p. 2
26 Ibid., p. 17
27 *See, for example*: Working Group on Peace and Development, 'FriEnt Peacebuilding Forum 2014: What Space for Peacebuilding in a Complex World Report. Available at: http://www.frient-peacebuilding-forum.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PBF/dokumente/FriEnt_PBF_Plenary_Session_1_Complexity.pdf
28 See, for example: Avuni, 'The Role of Social Services in Peacebuilding: The northern Uganda post-conflict experience', FriEnt Peacebuilding Forum, 2014. **29** United Nations Children's Fund, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding in UNICEF Technical Note', UNICEF, June 2012, p. 10.
30 Ibid., p. 1.

31 A wealth of recent reports have been produced by the United Nations and partners on peacebuilding lessons and priorities, including on the role of gender, social services, civil society, etc., in peacebuilding, which should serve as the foundation for UNICEF's engagement in processes related to the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States.
32 As with most other interventions, the monitoring and evaluation framework must establish a range of specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and timely indicators as a "quantitative or qualitative factor or variable that provides a simple and reliable means to measure achievement, to reflect the changes connected to an intervention." (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 'Development Results: An overview of results measurement and management', OECD, 2013)
33 Ohiorhenuan, John, and Erin McCandless, 'Sustaining Development Gains: Towards a UNDP strategy for preventing violent conflict', 2013.

their initiatives and establish meaningful frameworks for monitoring and evaluating the impact. This means that the thinking around the range of peacebuilding outcomes potentially generated through social services peacebuilding programming, as well as meaningful indicators to verify and demonstrate such outcomes, is limited. This gap is mirrored on the academic side, where the existing evidence base is made up of a very limited number of research initiatives looking at each sector. UNICEF's own range of indicator frameworks are, except for the PBEA-related monitoring and evaluation, largely ignoring peacebuilding as an outcome of UNICEF's work. This report will present some initial ideas on advancing the peacebuilding monitoring and evaluation agenda in UNICEF and aims to provide a starting point for the subsequent development of programming guidance.

2.2 SOCIAL SERVICES AND RESILIENCE

Resilience is a concept that has had longstanding use in disciplines such as psychology, ecology, material sciences and engineering. The concept has had a wide range of applications and has evolved in a number of fields, moving over time from a static conception based on the individual to a dynamic, process-oriented approach relevant on a systemic level. Work to date around resilience has been focused mostly on DRR and humanitarian programming, while new discussions are focusing on the meaning of resilience in conflict and peacebuilding settings.

Resilience has programming relevance equally in contexts of high levels of chronic vulnerability, situations of fragility, and regions facing sudden onset, recurrent or cyclical crisis.[34] Conflict resilience can have far-reaching impacts for other types of risks, and "political, security, and humanitarian risks are often interlinked and therefore require comprehensive policy responses."[35] It is also increasingly agreed that resilience to conflict needs to be better understood in relation to reducing vulnerability to risks such as climate change, resource scarcity, and food insecurity.[36]

While definitions abound, emerging within varied disciplines, sectors and practice areas, there is a general policy consensus that resilience is "the ability of households, communities and nations to absorb and recover from shocks, whilst positively adapting and transforming their structures and means for living in the face of long-term stresses, change and uncertainty."[37] As shared in Section 1, UNICEF's definition is broadly in line with this understanding.

Social services are embedded in much of the thinking and practice emerging around resilience. Humanitarian and development agencies are using resilience as a lens through which to develop and implement their programmes – at the heart of which lies basic social services to reduce vulnerabilities. Box 3 summarizes two examples of resilience frameworks.

DRR and humanitarian programming has identified social service delivery as a key element that contributes to building social capital, which in turn contributes to resilience. Fostering networks and institutions is a key part of building 'strong resilient systems'. This is not only true of DRR and humanitarian programming, but also offers a key entry point for social services programming to contribute to conflict resilience. It is argued that initiatives or programmes that are "proactive, multi-layered, multi-sectoral, and locally-rooted" represent the most promising practice for lasting conflict prevention.[39] Social service programming can be a platform from which to "mobilise a constructive response to shocks and stresses."[40]

There is increasing awareness that resilience pertains to multiple levels, dimensions and capacities, which

34 Ibid, p. 4.
35 Fetzek, Shiloh, and Jeffrey Mazo, 'Conflict Multipliers, Climate Change, and Resource Scarcity', Prince's Charities International Sustainability Unit, 2014, p. 4.
36 Ibid.
37 Mitchell, Andrew, 'Risk to Resilience: From good idea to good practice', OECD Development Assistance Committee Scoping Study, 2013, p. 4.
38 Frankenberger, Tim, et al., 'Community Resilience: Conceptual framework and measurement

Feed the Future Learning Agenda', United States Agency for International Development, Rockville, Md., October 2013, pp. 14–18.
39 Ganson, Brian, and Achim Wennman, 'Operationalising Conflict Prevention as Strong, Resilient Systems: Approaches, evidence, action points', *Geneva Peacebuilding Platform Paper*, no. 3, 2012, p. 1.
40 Ibid.

BOX 3 **RESILIENCE FRAMEWORKS**

TANGO framework, Technical Assistance to NGOs (TANGO) International – used in humanitarian and DRR programming to assess resilience to shocks and stresses by identifying livelihood assets, including physical, political, social, human, natural and financial; structures and processes, such as governance, laws, policies and institutions; and livelihood strategies. When combined, these assets can generate a community's capacity to deal with a disturbance. Social services are livelihood assets that contribute to adaptive capacity, creating a resilience pathway for a community to respond to shocks and stresses.

Community Resilience framework, USAID – utilizes a livelihoods framework to conceptualize and measure a community's resilience capacities. The framework identifies 'social capital' as a key community asset, and access and delivery of social services as a key aspect of strong social capital.[38] Similar to the TANGO model, this framework demonstrates that a key link between social service delivery and resilience is the development of livelihood assets, structures and processes, and strategies.

brings complexity to programming design and assessment. Resilience models being developed by various institutions and organizations, such as the TANGO framework, and 3D or 3P&T-3D,[41] are incorporating different dimensions – absorptive, adaptive and transformative – in an acknowledgment of the dynamic nature of resilience (see Box 4). There has also been recognition that resilience can be positive or negative. In fragile settings, inequitable and exclusionary practices can be reinforced by entrenched systems of corruption and violence. This can perpetuate coping or survival mechanisms that lead to 'negative resilience'.[42]

There are myriad efforts to identify programme entry points and strategies for developing resilience. Considerable attention is being given to resilience as a risk management approach,[44] the building of resilience against certain types of vulnerabilities such as macro-economic vulnerabilities[45] and food insecurity, and building community-level resilience capacities.46 This review maintains that these efforts do not go far enough to ensure conflict resilience (which is an underlying motivation of the conceptual framework presented in Section 2.3).

Measuring resilience involves various conceptual and methodological challenges. Resilience is dynamic and multidimensional and depends very much on the specific context, making it difficult to develop generic indicators and to generalize and compare across cases.[47] The types and nature of shocks and stresses one is measuring resilience against also vary considerably.[48] This necessitates the development of context-specific indicators that can be combined with higher-level indicators, such as the prevalence of violent incidents. As with other types of programming aimed at achieving social change, the issue of attribution is challenging but not unresolvable.

Assessing resilience will also necessitate reflection on a particular context, such as a specific shock or stress or a particular environment, and on what level of society is being assessed – the individual, household, community or sector – with each level having a different assessment and measurement focus. At the same time, it is argued that measuring resilience should adopt a systems approach and be concerned with why and how change happens on multiple levels.[49] It is also increasingly being recognized that resilience must be assessed along numerous dimensions, three of the most commonly accepted being risks/vulnerability; individual skills and coping strategies; and access to positive, community-level resources or 'assets'.[50]

While there is little guidance to date to assess movement towards more transformative resilience capacities,

41 3D and 3P&T-3D were developed from work such as: Institute of Development Studies, Devereux, and Sabates-Wheeler, Institute of Development Studies, 2004; and World Bank, 2011.
42 McCandless, Erin, and Graeme Simpson, 'Assessing Resilience for Peacebuilding: A discussion document', Interpeace, 2014.
43 Draws on: United States Agency for International Development, 'Community Resilience', USAID, 2013, p. 10.
44 *See, for example:* Mitchell, Tom, and Katie Harris, 'Resilience: A risk management approach', Overseas Development Institute, 2012; and Mitchell, Andrew, 'Risk and Resilience: From good idea to good practice', Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2013.
45 United Nations Development Programme, 'Toward Human Resilience: Sustaining MDG progress

in an age of economic uncertainty', UNDP, 2011.
46 Noya, Antonella, and Emma Clarence, 'Community Capacity Building: Fostering economic and social resilience', Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2009.
47 McCandless, Erin, and Graeme Simpson, 'Assessing Resilience for Peacebuilding: A discussion document', Interpeace, 2014, p. 47.
48 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience: A position paper', UNICEF, LOCATION, 2014
49 McCandless, Erin, and Graeme Simpson, 'Assessing Resilience for Peacebuilding: A discussion document', Interpeace, 2014, p. 47.
50 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Compilation of Tools for Measuring Peacebuilding Results around Social Cohesion and Resilience', UNICEF, 2014.

BOX 4 RESILIENCE CAPACITIES

'RESILIENCE CAPACITIES' CAN APPLY TO INDIVIDUALS (CHILDREN), HOUSEHOLDS, INSTITUTIONS AND SYSTEMS:

Absorptive capacity is the ability to minimize or buffer exposure to shocks and stresses (based on forecasts) where possible and to recover quickly when exposed (based on results).

Adaptive capacity involves making proactive and informed choices about alternative conflict mitigation and associated livelihood strategies based on changing conditions. It includes moderating potential destruction and identifying and taking advantage of opportunities and entry points to do things differently and to cope with the consequences.

Transformative capacity suggests the ability to transform ('uproot') conflict drivers and structures, and to (re)create/build an entirely new system.[43]

Relationship between capacities: While there is wide engagement that resilience involves capacities for absorption, adaption and transformation, there is no agreement on the relationship between the different capacities. For some, these three aspects are considered to be components of resilience that are tapped varyingly in different contexts, or resilience emerges as an outcome of all three. For others, they constitute a linear trajectory – with transformative capacities given a positive normative lens and valued as the target to work towards.

Context: Resilience capacities will manifest very differently in different contexts. Resilience to shocks and stresses relating to conflict depends on the specific situation of the conflict. The absorptive, adaptive and transformative capacities (and their internal relationship) constituting resilience will also depend on the specifics of the conflict.

this is where the current conceptual assessment models suggest direction is needed. As stated in an experts' round table outcome document, resilience frameworks must be careful not to simply adopt elements of existing assessment models that do not fully reflect transformative potential. An over-reliance on linear and limited measurement approaches must be avoided in favour of a "qualitative, process and systems-oriented approach."[51]

In developing its resilience programming, UNICEF has recognized that beyond the goals of adaptation and recovery, 'resilience must be transformational: tackling structural inequities'. UNICEF is building its resilience agenda as an opportunity to address multiple risks, including those caused by natural disasters, climate change and conflict, in a more holistic and integrated manner that improves links between humanitarian and development action. It is seen to offer a way to refine, link and integrate programming across sectors and levels of intervention, and to better capacitate citizens, communities and systems to respond more effectively to whatever risks threaten them.[52]

UNICEF's resilience programming dovetails well with its equity agenda, which places emphasis on the rights of the most disadvantaged and excluded children and families: For UNICEF, 'equity' means that all children have an opportunity to survive, develop and reach their full potential, without discrimination, bias or favouritism. There is growing evidence that investing in the health, education and protection of a society's most disadvantaged citizens – addressing inequity – not only will give all children the opportunity to fulfil their potential, but also will lead to sustained growth and stability for countries.[53]

51 United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Development Programme and Interpeace, 'Outcome Document: Fostering Resilience in Situations of Conflict and Fragility', 2014, p. 7.
52 Working Paper on UNICEF and Resilience'.

53 United Nations Children's Fund, 'The UNICEF Strategic Plan, 2014–2017: Realizing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged', E/ICEF/2013/21, United Nations Economic and Social Council, New York, 11 July 2013.

2.3 EMERGING LINKAGES AND PROPOSED THEORIES OF CHANGE

The gaps in discussion and formalized practice articulating the links between social services, peacebuilding and resilience are beginning to be filled by various initiatives. For example, UNDP, UNICEF, Interpeace and the Rockefeller Foundation convened a round table for international experts with the goal of deepening and advancing understanding of resilience to conflict.[54] In framing what resilience in situations of conflict and fragility involves, the following points were highlighted in the round-table outcome document:

◆ **Resilience is about how much conflict-carrying – absorptive or conflict management – capacity a society has; how to identify and preserve the vital qualities of a society in time of conflict, e.g., dignity, cohesion, capacity, so that the society maintains its core function in spite of the crisis; and how quickly a society recovers or undergoes a wholesale transformation after violent conflict to consolidate peace, accelerate development and, therefore, better withstand future conflicts.**

◆ **Agency, the intentional actions taken by people in a society to address a problem, and capacity, the ability of society to act, are vital to understanding societal resilience. The role of international actors should be to support those factors that enable individuals, communities and societies to unleash their agency and capacity to respond to their own situations of conflict and fragility.**

◆ **Transformation should be the ultimate aim of resilience-promoting efforts. Some participants, however, warned that internal and external actors should match the ambitions for wholesale transformation with what is feasible at a given time. This view proposed that resilience-fostering efforts should begin by defining the 'boundaries of change' – what needs to be changed with the available resources, the level of commitment, and how much of the desired change is appropriate at a given time or may change over time.[55]**

The meeting also explored topics related to assessing resilience, and the coordination and financing issues that would be needed to operationalize a coherent approach, but it did not offer insight beyond mapping the links between peacebuilding and resilience. The relationship between conflict, resilience and peacebuilding can be further understood, as outlined in Box 5.

Despite varying levels of commitment across its social service sectors to both peacebuilding and resilience, UNICEF is arguably at the forefront of conceptualizing these links and implementing them in practice. The new UNICEF structure with peacebuilding as one pillar under the *chapeau* of resilience sets a policy and programmatic orientation for how the organization views this relationship. The *chapeau* of resilience frames the work around strengthening societal capacities for understanding, mitigating and responding to a range of risks.

In many UNICEF country contexts, the primary risk is that of conflict or sudden natural disaster, both of which are frequently exacerbated by the longer-term stresses stemming from climate change. Further, natural disasters often exacerbate the risk and impacts of armed conflict. Resilience thus provides a framework for understanding and responding to the interplay of shocks and stresses that threaten to undermine the well-being of children and their caregivers. Peacebuilding is a key strategic approach to address and transform such risks, as illustrated in Diagram 1.

54 'Fostering Resilience in Situations of Conflict and Fragility', Expert Roundtable co-organized by UNDP, UNICEF, InterPeace and the Rockefeller Foundation, 18–19 September, 2014, at the Rockefeller Foundation, New York.

55 United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Development Programme, Interpeace and the Rockefeller Foundation, 'Outcome Document: Fostering Resilience in Situations of Conflict and Fragility', 2014, Available at: <www.slideshare.net/nefoodsecurity/final-fostering-resilience-expert-roundtable-new-york-4-copy>.

BOX 5 CONFLICT, PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE LINKAGES

CONFLICT UNDERMINES RESILIENCE

Conflict undermines and prevents upward, positive virtuous cycles of resilience

◆ Violent conflict reduces the resilience of people, communities and systems by undermining or breaking down interpersonal and communal relationships and trust. It can erode social capital[56] and undermine values and norms that promote cooperation and collective action for common good.[57] Conflict destroys or undermines sector standards.

◆ Violent conflict creates and reinforces 'negative' resilience – such as a war economy, corruption, and youth joining gangs and armed groups – and/or creates risks that undermine resilience, for example, by exacerbating or creating conditions for wide-scale unemployment, or destroying systems and infrastructure upon which social service delivery depends.

◆ Communities in conflict-affected and fragile situations often face multiple risks, have weaker institutions, and are more vulnerable to risks and shocks.[58]

PEACEBUILDING SUPPORTS RESILIENCE

Peacebuilding can support resilience to conflict

◆ Resilience-building approaches can benefit from greater engagement with peacebuilding approaches, in particular, the psychosocial, relational, process and political dimensions, and directly addressing conflict drivers, including structural/cultural violence and its results, such as horizontal inequality – which are often missing from humanitarian-driven resilience approaches.

◆ Peacebuilding has long engaged with the concept of transformation, and on working to understand systems and the interaction of drivers of conflict and peace at different levels.

◆ Peacebuilding has rich methodologies to understand a context, including the capacities for peace at various levels.

BUILDING RESILIENCE CAN SUPPORT PEACEBUILDING, WHICH SUPPORTS INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Resilience-building efforts can support peacebuilding

Peacebuilding approaches can benefit from:

◆ A greater focus on vulnerabilities and capacities, which is at the heart of resilience frameworks.

◆ Supporting drivers of resilience within society, i.e., at the community level.

◆ Engaging with the concepts of sector resilience, which directs the focus to issues of ownership, transparency, accountability and overall system health, and is at the core of national ownership and sustainability of peace.

◆ Engaging with a systems approach/lens for understanding the context and for planning, monitoring and evaluation of programmes.

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56 'Social capital' has been defined as "the norms, values, and social relations that bond communities together as well as the bridges between communal groups and civil society and the state" (World Bank, *Social Capital Initiative Working Paper*, no. 23, World Bank, 2000).

57 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Peacebuilding and Resilience Discussion Paper', UNICEF
58 Ibid.

DIAGRAM 1 BUILDING RESILIENCE TO CONFLICT THROUGH PEACEBUILDING

CONFLICT UNDERMINES RESILIENCE

TRANSFORM

ADAPT

RESILIENCE

INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

RECOVER BUT WORSE OFF

COLLAPSE

PEACEBUILDING SUPPORTS RESILIENCE TO CONFLICT

RESILIENCE BUILDING CAN SUPPORT PEACEBUILDING, WHICH SUPPORTS INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
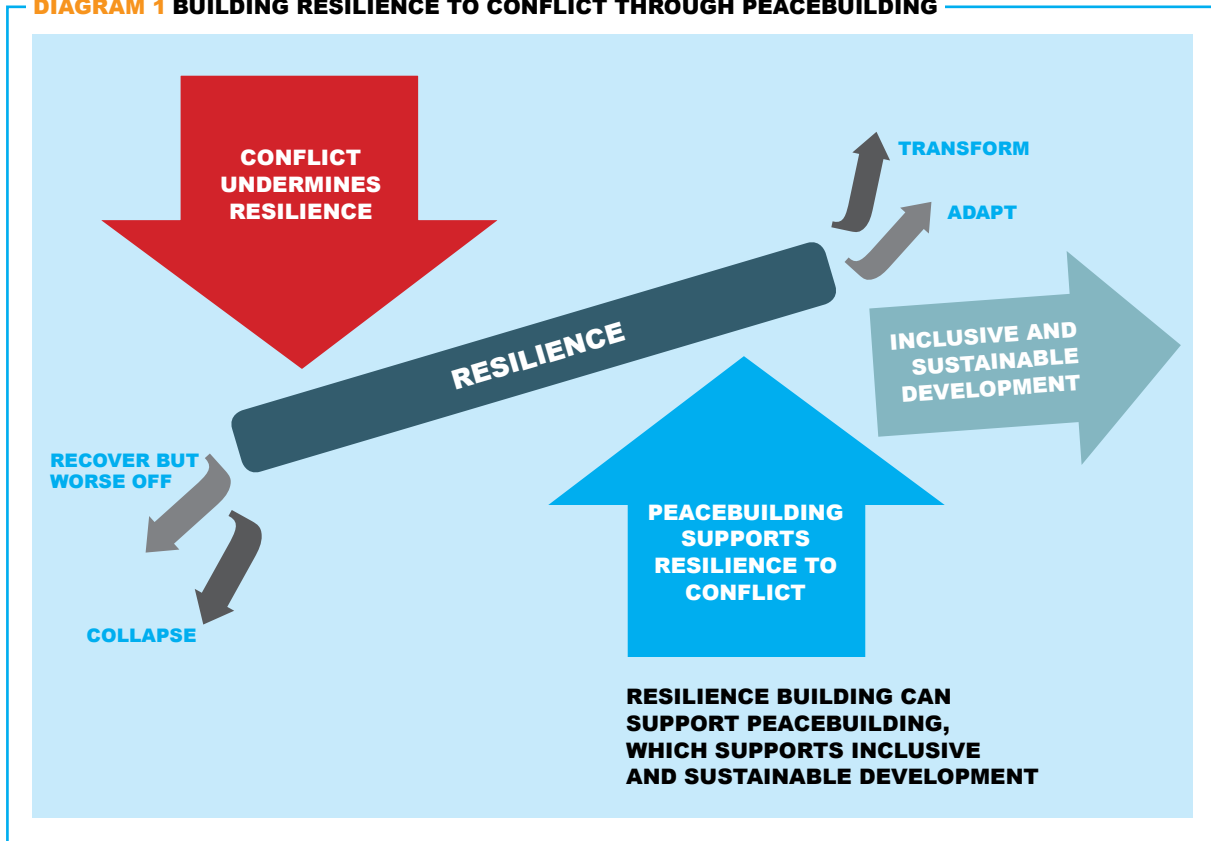
As indicated in the diagram:

◆ **Conflict harms, decreases or undermines resilience, while peacebuilding supports and builds resilience. With violent, destructive conflict, there can be no positive, upward cycles of resilience.**

◆ **Peacebuilding programmes can strengthen the ability of society at large to prevent or respond effectively to abrupt shocks and longer-term stresses. Resilience to conflict is essentially about transforming events that could have turned into violent conflict into 'non-events' and preventing them from recurring.**

◆ **Peacebuilding's support to resilience builds positive upward cycles of resilience, in the direction of transformation, while the effects of conflict undermining resilience can lead to poor forms of recovery or to collapse. A primary goal/outcome of positive upward cycles of resilience supported by peacebuilding is inclusive and sustainable development, which can further support adaptation and transformation.**

◆ **Social service delivery offers a range of entry points for peacebuilding programmes and for maximizing resilience outcomes as absorptive, adaptive and transformative capacities to respond to conflict are developed and strengthened.**

Diagram 2 offers an overarching theory of change and three sub-theories of change that can guide UNICEF programming aimed to contribute to peacebuilding and resilience. If UNICEF can agree to overarching theories of change that inform programme design and implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation, a robust evidence base will gradually follow as the theories of change are tested in the field.

DIAGRAM 2 THEORIES OF CHANGE: SOCIAL SERVICE CONTRIBUTIONS TO
RESILIENCE THROUGH PEACEBUILDING

OVERARCHING THEORY OF CHANGE

Conflict undermines and prevents upward, positive virtuous cycles of resilience

IF social service programming is delivered in equitable, accessible, relevant and conflict-sensitive ways that build peace by:

◆ helping to address grievances and root causes of conflict while countering potential for war economy- and crime-related behaviours to gain traction

◆ building vertical and horizontal social and political cohesion in and through communities, institutions and systems

THEN social service programming is contributing to resilience.

This is **BECAUSE:** - factors that undermine resilience are alleviated - capacities (absorptive, adaptive and transformative) to respond to conflict are built, including assets (human, physical, environmental, social and political), structures and processes, and strategies.

THREE SUB-THEORIES OF CHANGE

1. Social services delivering peace dividends

IF social services are delivered as tangible peace dividends – in a relevant, safe and conflict-sensitive manner – **THEN** they support the development of resilience.

This is **BECAUSE** social services help build the capacities needed to 'bounce back' in situations of crisis and the aftermath. Where conflict and fragility undermine recovery and development, a tangible benefit of peace for citizens is the provision or resumption of basic social services, which is often tied to a political settlement. This in turn can reduce incentives for people to engage in violent behaviour, creating a context for building resilience to conflict and other risks.

2. Social services strengthening sector governance and institutional accountability
(vertical social cohesion)

IF social services are planned, delivered and monitored by sector institutions in conflict-sensitive, equitable, participatory, responsive and accountable ways, **THEN** they will build resilience to conflict.

This is **BECAUSE** strengthening – or building/rebuilding and ideally transforming sector governance and related institutions – will enhance vertical cohesion and resilience capacities (structures and processes, and assets) to respond to conflict and other risks.

3. Social services for peacebuilding at the community level (horizontal social cohesion)

IF social service planning and delivery is targeted to the community level through processes and platforms that enable inclusive, conflict-sensitive planning, monitoring and accountability, and dialogue and collective action, **THEN** community conflict resilience will be enhanced.

This is **BECAUSE** communities will have stronger, more locally owned and collectively demand-driven strategies, assets, and processes and structures that enable them to better respond to conflict and other risks.

PART II | PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE IN THE SOCIAL SERVICE SECTORS

In the sections that follow, key social service sectors – education, health, WASH and child protection –are examined with the theories of change presented above in mind. UNICEF's work and how it presently and potentially addresses these theories of change are considered. For each of four sectors, details are provided on the sector as a peace dividend; how the sector can advance better sector governance and institutional accountability (vertical social cohesion); how it relates to peacebuilding and resilience at the community level (horizontal social cohesion); and recommendations.

As a result of the PBEA programme, the education sector has a significantly stronger evidence base to draw on from within UNICEF. The understanding of child protection's contributions to peacebuilding and resilience has also benefited greatly from a recent review,[59] while the WASH and health sectors primarily draw on evidence from outside the organization.

3. EDUCATION

Children in conflict-affected states are more than three times as likely to be out of school.[60] Between 2008 and 2011, the percentage of out-of-school children in conflict-affected countries rose from 42 per cent to 50 per cent.[61] Further impacts of conflict on education include disruption of schools, attacks on teachers and pupils, and forced recruitment of youth as child soldiers. Numerous studies have subsequently been released on this topic[62] that depict the extent and nature of the abuses perpetrated against children and education systems in conflict-affected situations.[63] Evidence demonstrates not only how education can assist in mitigating the effects of conflict but also how education can function as a conflict driver.

It is well documented that schools can reinforce social divisions, intolerance and prejudices that lead to discord and violence. Education systems and curricula can exacerbate and perpetuate violence, such as the education campaign in Afghanistan, in 2002–2003, which failed to remove messages of hate and intolerance from the campaign.[64] In the case of post-genocide Rwanda, history was not taught for 10 years because it was deemed to be too sensitive.[65] Access to education is also a significant issue, with many children failing to receive training and skills needed to overcome poverty. Considering that more than 60 per cent of the population in conflict-affected countries is under age 25,[66] "quality education is critical to overcoming the despair that often contributes to violent conflict."[67]

Education for peacebuilding goes further. UNICEF argues that education for peacebuilding is important for three evidence-based reasons:

1 **Education is crucial to peacebuilding and to fostering more cohesive societies.**

2 **Education is central to identity formation, promotes inclusion and contributes to state building. Formal primary education helps restore hope to communities, showing that their lives can return to normal.[68] Secondary schooling can provide young people with enhanced status and an identity that legitimizes their role as citizens, while confirming the role of government in their lives.[69]**

3 **Education can help address the inequalities that generate conflict. Inequalities can fuel conflict, just as conflict can worsen inequalities.[70]**

59 Scott, Lara, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding' December 2013.
60 World Bank, *World Development Report: Transforming institutions to deliver citizen security, justice, and jobs*, World Bank, 2011, p. 169.
61 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 'Children Still Battling to Go to School', *EFA Global Monitoring Report Policy Paper 10*, UNESCO, Paris, 2013, p. 1.
62 Including: O'Malley, Brendan, *Education under Attack: A global study on targeted political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers, union and government officials, aid workers and institutions,* United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 2010; and, UNESCO, 2010.
63 United Nations Children's Fund, 'The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Literature review', UNICEF, 2011.
64 World Bank, *World Development Report*, p. 134.
65 Paulson, Julia, 'Conflict, Education and Curriculum: Past, present, and future trends', *Conflict*

and Education, vol. 1, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1–5, citing Freedman, S. W., et al., 'Teaching History after Identity-Based Conflicts: The Rwandan experience', *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 52, no. 4, 2008, pp. 663–690.
66 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *EFA Global Monitoring Report: The hidden crisis – Armed conflict and education*, UNESCO, Paris, 2011.
67 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Learning for Peace Advocacy Brief', UNICEF, New York, January 2014, p. 3. Available at: <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/resources/learning-for-peace-advocacy-brief>.
68 Ellison, Christine Smith, 'A Review for Norad: Education in fragile situations', Oxford Policy Management, 2013, p. 13.
69 Petersen, Birgette Lind, 'Regaining a Future: Lessons learned from education of young people in fragile situations', Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, 2013, p. 10.
70 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Learning for Peace Advocacy Brief', UNICEF, New York, January 2014, pp. 2–3.

UNICEF identifies the importance of education in conflict settings in its sector strategy, maintaining that education can serve as an important peace dividend and platform for peace education, gender equality and conflict mitigation.[71] Further, education programming for peacebuilding and resilience can have crucial effects on reducing maltreatment and violence against children. Building strengthened education systems can also help protect children and youth, and their learning spaces, from the disruptions of conflict in the future.[72] At a foundational level, education has a major role in stitching back the social fabric that may have been damaged by years of conflict and violence. This is core to the notion of conflict resilience: Education is central to children and adults, communities and systems becoming resilient against conflict by building capacities and skills to manage and resolve tensions and conflict peacefully.[73]

UNICEF is also among a rising tide of organizations that recognize that conflict-sensitive programming design and implementation is essential to address the root causes of violence and to ensure that education contributes to peace and more equitable access.[74] UNICEF is also at the forefront of peacebuilding and education programming, thanks to its flagship Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy (PBEA) programme, Learning for Peace, established in 2011, which was launched after multiple studies pointed to the value of intentional peacebuilding programming in the education sector.[75] The PBEA, implemented in 14 countries, focuses on strengthening peacebuilding outcomes – conceived as resilience, social cohesion and human security – in conflict-affected contexts.

Resilience serves as a platform for UNICEF and its partners to engage governments, education institutions, communities and individuals in dialogue around peace, to infuse conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding into education services, and to generate new knowledge that informs the education sector on its role in peacebuilding. UNICEF has recognized that building peace and resilience through the education sector requires both upstream and downstream strategies at the levels of child/individual, household, community and education system/institutional level. In 2013 alone, close to 340,000 children and youths were engaged in education and peacebuilding activities, ranging from participation in sports and theatre groups that convey peacebuilding messages and promote social cohesion, to improved access to conflict-sensitive education and participation in peacebuilding programmes such as peace clubs.[76]

UNICEF is arguably at the forefront of innovation in charting pathways to link education, peacebuilding and resilience, as the following cases illustrate. The discussion on core areas of research and practice is embedded within the framing of this report's proposed theories of change outlined in Diagram 2 (see Section 2.3). Diagram 3 outlines how health interventions can apply the theories of change for contributing to resilience through peacebuilding that targets peace dividends, sector governance and community cohesion.

3.1 EDUCATION AS PEACE DIVIDEND

As delineated in the PBEA's Learning for Peace advocacy brief, "Education is arguably the single most transformative institution that can touch every citizen, female and male, when it is equitably available, good quality, relevant and conflict-sensitive. It forms the bedrock of a country's economy, good governance, gender equality, identity and culture."[77]

Education provision in situations of conflict and fragility cannot be 'education business as usual'. It requires a more systematic approach to programming that is conflict sensitive and contributes to peacebuilding,

71 UNICEF Executive Board, 'UNICEF Education Strategy', E/ICEF/2007/10, United Nations Economic and Social Council, New York, 4 May 2007, p. X. Available at: <www.unicef.org/about/execboard/index_40364.html>.
72 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Child Protection in Educational Systems', UNICEF, 2012.
73 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Education, Peacebuilding, and Resilience, Background Paper: Kathmandu Resilience Workshop', UNICEF, 2014, p. 1.
74 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Learning for Peace Advocacy Brief', UNICEF, New York, January 2014, p. 2.
75 In 2010, for example, UNICEF participated in a study that mapped theories of change around the contributions of social services (including education) to peacebuilding, and undertook consultations with communities in the Central African Republic, Kyrgyzstan and Uganda that identified the

potential for education to lay the foundation for respect, tolerance and social/national cohesion (McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding,* United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012, p. 30). In 2011, a UNICEF study conducted by Mario Novelli and Alan Smith further built the case for incorporating education into peacebuilding in a way that utilizes the theories of change articulated in Peace Dividends (Novelli, Mario, and Alan Smith, 'The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone', UNICEF, New York, December 2011).
76 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Education, Peacebuilding, and Resilience', UNICEF, pp. 1, 7.
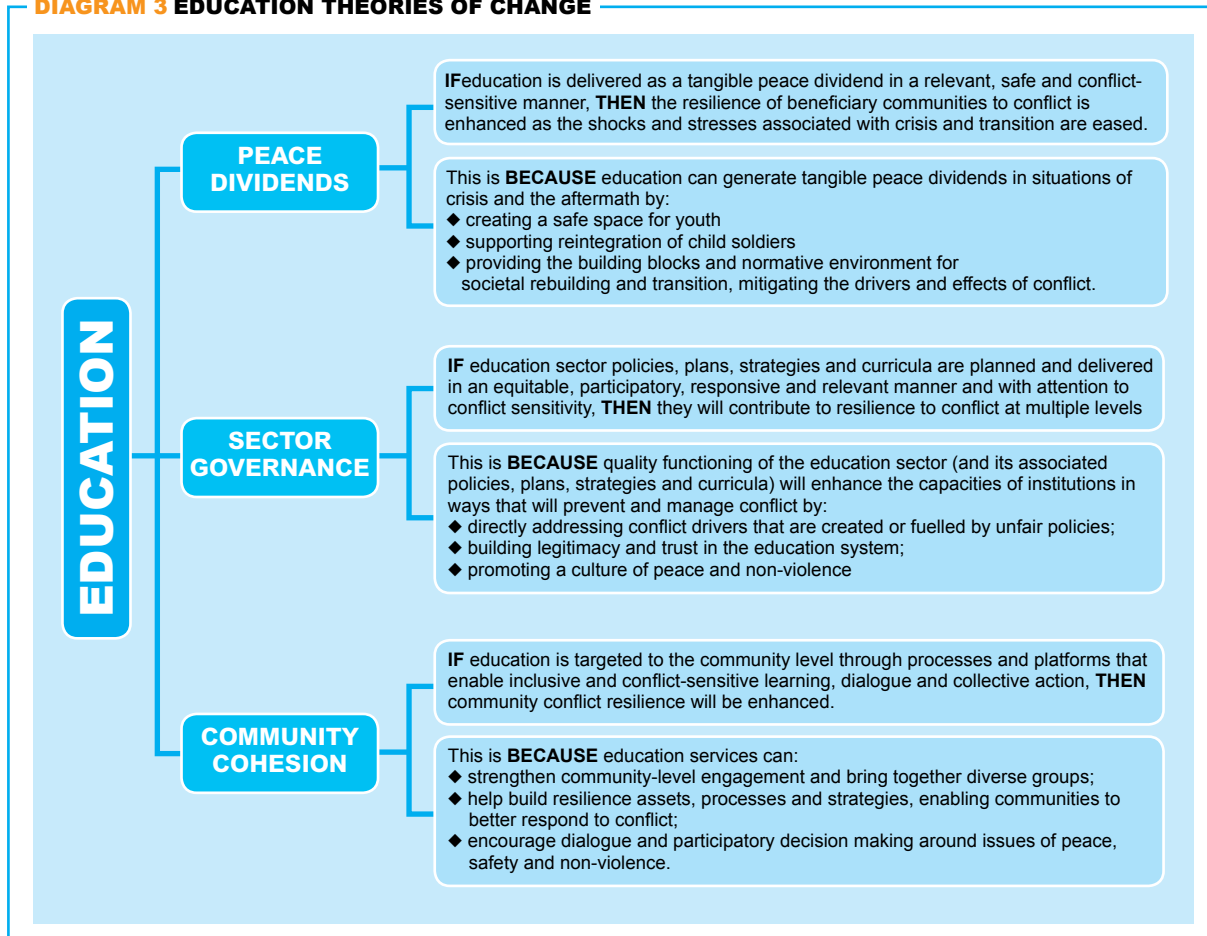**77** United Nations Children's Fund, 'Learning for Peace Advocacy Brief', UNICEF, New York, January 2014, p. 2.

DIAGRAM 3 EDUCATION THEORIES OF CHANGE

EDUCATION

PEACE DIVIDENDS

IF education is delivered as a tangible peace dividend in a relevant, safe and conflict-sensitive manner, **THEN** the resilience of beneficiary communities to conflict is enhanced as the shocks and stresses associated with crisis and transition are eased.

This is **BECAUSE** education can generate tangible peace dividends in situations of crisis and the aftermath by:
◆ creating a safe space for youth
◆ supporting reintegration of child soldiers
◆ providing the building blocks and normative environment for societal rebuilding and transition, mitigating the drivers and effects of conflict.

SECTOR GOVERNANCE

IF education sector policies, plans, strategies and curricula are planned and delivered in an equitable, participatory, responsive and relevant manner and with attention to conflict sensitivity, **THEN** they will contribute to resilience to conflict at multiple levels

This is **BECAUSE** quality functioning of the education sector (and its associated policies, plans, strategies and curricula) will enhance the capacities of institutions in ways that will prevent and manage conflict by:
◆ directly addressing conflict drivers that are created or fuelled by unfair policies;
◆ building legitimacy and trust in the education system;
◆ promoting a culture of peace and non-violence

COMMUNITY COHESION

IF education is targeted to the community level through processes and platforms that enable inclusive and conflict-sensitive learning, dialogue and collective action, **THEN** community conflict resilience will be enhanced.

This is **BECAUSE** education services can:
◆ strengthen community-level engagement and bring together diverse groups;
◆ help build resilience assets, processes and strategies, enabling communities to better respond to conflict;
◆ encourage dialogue and participatory decision making around issues of peace, safety and non-violence.

resting upon "innovative programming, partnerships and changing the way we think and do business."[78] It has also been recognized that providing quality and relevant conflict-sensitive education is imperative, and that education models must acknowledge the unique needs of out-of-school and overage youth.[79]

Efforts are increasingly being placed on weaving conflict sensitivity into resilience programming. UNICEF maintains that reducing vulnerability to shocks and stresses through resilience programming requires a conflict-sensitive approach.[80] In Chad, school planners, architects and engineers were trained in conflict-sensitive and resilient construction, including selection and construction of school sites and learning spaces to secure them against violence and discrimination. Although a focus on building resilience through education may have higher costs than traditional emergency education programmes, in the long run this approach will be more sustainable[81] and provides an important peace dividend in countries emerging from war.

While peace dividends are often viewed as a post-conflict measure, they are also being utilized in emergency and conflict settings to promote transitions to peace and development, and in ways that foster resilience to conflict and wider risks. The disruption of education in emergencies can be a significant catalyst for igniting conflict or exacerbate existing conflict. Quickly restoring and/or building educational facilities and other social services post-emergency and post-conflict is an essential. As stated by UNESCO:

78 Alipui, Nick, 'UNICEF and Peacebuilding: Opportunities, challenges, and leadership', PowerPoint presentation, 2014, slide 14.
79 United Nations Children's Fund, 2013, p. 47.

80 See, for example: United Nations Children's Fund, 'Working Paper: UNICEF and Resilience', UNICEF, 2013.
81 "Go to school initiative": Joint Strategy Document between UNICEF and the Somali Federal Republic, 2013.

Peace settlements create a window of opportunity. They provide governments and the international community with a chance to lay the foundations of a society that will be more resilient and less prone to violent conflict. Education can be a pivotal part of the reconstruction process. It gives post-conflict governments a way to deliver an early and highly visible peace premium. And the development of a good quality, inclusive education system can help overcome social divisions that may have fuelled conflict. Yet all too often the post-conflict window of opportunity closes before governments and donors have acted decisively. … education has to be given a far more central place on the post-conflict reconstruction agenda and … donors need to start early and stay the course in supporting the reconstruction effort.[82]

Services then, can "focus on exploiting quick wins and delivering the 'peace premium,' " for example, by eliminating school fees to facilitate equitable access, scaling up community initiatives and offering accelerated learning programmes, recruiting more teachers, and providing psychosocial support to children who have been involved in combat.[83]

In Nepal, the Schools as Zones of Peace project supported by UNICEF and Save the Children sought to protect children's right to attend school during the Maoist insurgency, when schools were often closed due to random violence, and children were recruited as soldiers. Schools as Zones of Peace improved education quality, as well as protected schools and children from violence. To ensure safe environments for learning, codes of conduct were developed to address drivers of conflict, and armed groups and police were required to move out of schools.[84] By engaging teachers, students, political leaders and the community as a whole, the process began to rebuild state-society relations. Further, revising the curriculum to represent an inclusive, equitable vision of society was an important step in building a stronger system and laying a vital foundation for longer-term development.

In Somalia, there is presently a focus on bringing schools to 'newly liberated areas' that have never had schools. The Bondere District, previously controlled by Al-Shabaab and a scene of regular battles with government, is illustrative. Following the area's liberation from Al-Shabaab control, community members worked together to rehabilitate schools, and the PBEA developed child-to-child clubs to increase children's participation in school and implemented training programmes on peace, tolerance and conflict resolution for community members and educators. Community members' participation increased a sense of ownership in the schools, contributing to the potential for longer-term sustainability. This illustrates how a 'fast track' programme can be developed to take advantage of the situation in liberated areas by providing conflict-sensitive education as an immediate peace dividend.[85]

Education as a peace dividend can also foster humanitarian and development transitions as this vital social service is a foundation for peaceful and resilient societies. Sierra Leone is a classic example of education serving as a peace dividend, both in the emergency period and in post-conflict: The inequitable, elitist and collapsing education system not only served as a grievance prior to war, the massive demand for this service post-war demonstrated the value of education for Sierra Leoneans. In this setting, an innovative programme provided education during war through emergency schools that offered free attendance for all and later transitioned to permanent schooling; this was especially beneficial to girls.[86]

3.2 EDUCATION TO ADVANCE BETTER SECTOR GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY (VERTICAL SOCIAL COHESION)

According to guidance from the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, "Conflict-sensitive curricula and teaching methods promote inclusion and the elimination of stereotypes. At the local level, a

82 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011: The hidden crisis – Armed conflict and education*, UNESCO, Paris, 2011, p. 256.
83 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Working Paper: UNICEF and Resilience', UNICEF, 2013, p. 1.
84 Ibid., pp. 74–75.

85 United Nations Children's Fund, 'PBEA Annual Report 2013', UNICEF, p. 46.
86 McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012, p. 70.

relevant curriculum that includes local learning and teaching resources is essential to increasing access and enrolment."[87] Because strengthening sector governance and institutional accountability plays a central role in re-establishing state legitimacy in the eyes of a country's citizens, the way in which education is designed and delivered is crucial. A key goal of sector governance must be conflict sensitivity – that is, to ensure that education policymaking and programming, particularly when delivered by the government, does not reinforce inequalities or cause further divisions. There are often substantial challenges around working with a government in systems strengthening, particularly when those in power may not hold legitimacy in the eyes of their populace.

Sector governance can directly support peace by including a peace education component, formal or informal, in the curriculum.[88] UNICEF has focused on developing conflict-sensitive policies, plans, strategies and curricula that 'mainstream' peacebuilding – and on increasing the recognition and inclusion of education into peacebuilding policies and processes that support a reduction in violent conflict. There has also been attention to overall systems strengthening, which seeks to increase and strengthen institutional and human capacity at multiple levels to deliver conflict-sensitive education. This is achieved through capacity building for government officials, developing equity and conflict-sensitive Education Management Information Systems, training teachers in conflict-sensitive education and the promotion of peace, and addressing violence against children.[89] Achievements in these areas are ongoing and well documented, such as in the PBEA annual reports.

Many countries have successfully integrated peacebuilding and conflict sensitivity into education plans and policies. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the technical assistance of Pôle de Dakar and UNICEF, conflict and equity considerations were integrated into the Rapport d'Etat du Système Educatif Nationale (State Report on the National Education System) and a working group in charge of addressing conflict and vulnerability was established. This allowed the provision of data and information on conflicts and vulnerability to guide policies and programmes in the education sector throughout a period of important reforms.

Programming efforts also focus on capacity building for government officials and training for teachers training to aid with system strengthening and better delivery of conflict sensitive and equitable education plans. An example of strengthening educational institutions to deliver in more conflict sensitive ways is illustrated in Pakistan, where capacity development workshops have been held for curricula developers and trainers at provincial level. The workshops focus on developing conflict-sensitive education materials that promote social cohesion, resilience and child-friendly education. A survey indicated that 90 per cent of participants felt they had learned valuable conflict-sensitivity skills for implementing educational materials and that more than 8,500 students benefited from the training the educators received.[90]

UNICEF is currently considering upstream strategies to build peace and resilience. It is being argued that UNICEF should influence education policies, plans and programmes not only to ensure equity, inclusivity and conflict sensitivity, but also to adapt them so that they actively contribute to peacebuilding, social cohesion and resilience. Such efforts include UNICEF advocating with national education authorities to integrate risk-related data collection and analysis on a more systematic basis in the education planning and policy-setting processes.[91] Programming for this theory of change captures the conclusions of the UNICEF Kathmandu workshop on resilience, which proposed that programming will require "directing resources and programmes to communities that are prone to conflict or other types of risks and addressing issues of actual or perceived inequalities and marginalisation. As education indicators are often worse in these most marginalised communities, focusing on increasing coverage and availability of education services are important."[92]

87 Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, 'Guidance Notes on Teaching and Learning', INEE, New York, 2010, Open PDF from: <www.educationandtransition.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/04/INEE-Teaching-and-Learning-Guidance-Notes.pdf>.
88 Novelli, Mario, and Alan Smith, 'The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone', UNICEF, New York, December 2011, p. 12.
89 United Nations Children's Fund, 'PBEA Annual Report 2013', UNICEF, pp. 23, 29.
90 Ibid., p. 33.

3.3 EDUCATION FOR PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL (HORIZONTAL SOCIAL COHESION)

Peacebuilding is often targeted to the community level, where local conflicts can easily erupt around social service-related issues that reflect core needs for meeting daily livelihoods. In conflict-affected and fragile contexts, this is particularly important, because state structures are often not functioning or trusted. Community-based activities can establish links and build relationships between different groups and key stakeholders, fostering a sense of ownership in social services through community engagement. Further, it is increasingly recognized that resilience building at the community level can have far-reaching effects.[93] If sector governance is weak and institutional accountability low, community-level efforts can support the building and strengthening of trusted government services, and catalyse upstream governance reforms in ways that build a sector's resilience. This can have wider effects on national-level peacebuilding and resilience of society and the state as a whole.

Programming at the community level around peacebuilding that supports resilience occurs in numerous ways. In can include increasing the capacities of children, parents, teachers and other stakeholders to prevent, reduce and cope with conflict and promote peace. This includes increased capacities for community dialogue, inter-group relationship building, social mobilization and participation, community-based conflict resolution, civic engagement for social cohesion, and coping skills during and in the aftermath of conflict.[94] It can also help to target and build platforms that enable inclusive planning, monitoring and accountability, conflict-sensitive planning, dialogue and collective action around education priorities that support peace and resilience. Programmes can include school-based approaches, extra-curricular activities, and non-school community-based approaches.

In Afghanistan, school enrolment has been increasing but continues to be a problem, particularly for girls, who have limited access to education due to insecurity, cultural limitations, and shortages of teachers and facilities. Establishing community-based schools has provided flexibility and increased access to education in insecure areas, significantly for girls. By engaging out-of-school children and adult community members in the education process, programming helps to build their capacity to prevent future conflict around education access, greatly increase access for girls, and build the resilience of education for the future. One example is the work taking place with community shuras (consultative councils), which is a major strategy of the Ministry of Education towards reopening and protecting schools against attacks in the 17 most insecure and conflict-affected provinces of Afghanistan.[95]

In Côte d'Ivoire and Uganda, extra-curricular activities such as theatre, music, dance and sports are key initiatives for bringing children together to learn about conflict management. In Sierra Leone, theatre programmes taught children how to engage school officials and community members in discussion about corporal punishment and built youth capacity to influence community perceptions of violence. UNICEF is in the process of developing a survey to assess the development of youth influence through these initiatives.[96]

Non-school-based community education approaches such as community education committees, child-to-child clubs and mother/father groups appear in peacebuilding and gender-sensitivity programming, and are featured in UNICEF's resilience programming. Providing training and education around peacebuilding, psychosocial support, women's empowerment, literacy and numeracy instruction, and school management, these groups bring together community members from different ethnic and social backgrounds and offer a platform for social interaction and dialogue on education that builds conflict resilience. In and through the

91 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Education, Peacebuilding and Resilience', Part 2, UNICEF.
92 Ibid., Part 3,
93 *See, for example:* United Nations Children's Fund, 'Kathmandu Background Report: Education, peacebuilding, and resilience', UNICEF, LOCATION, 2014; United States Agency for International Development, 'Community Resilience: Conceptual framework and measurement', USAID, 2013; and World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, security, and development*, World Bank,

Washington, D.C., 2011.
94 United Nations Children's Fund, 'PBEA Annual Report 2013', UNICEF, p. 37.
95 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Proposal on Peacebuilding and Education', UNICEF, 2011, p. 8, citing Koons, C., 'UNICEF EEPCT Brief: Education as a path to peace', LOCATION, 2011.
96 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Proposal on Peacebuilding and Education', UNICEF, LOCATION, 2011, pp. 40, 42,

process, anecdotal evidence is building about how they are contributing to reducing social tensions and increasing cohesion in regions affected by conflict.[97]

UNICEF's programming in Somalia around resilience, as part of the Joint Resilience Strategy (with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the World Food Programme), seeks to strengthen community resilience and has an education component. This involves the development of community education committees to address educational challenges at the community level, notably promoting continuation of classes even during crises. Community education committees also assist with developing child-to-child clubs that provide extra-curricular involvement for youth to learn about livelihood strategies and participate actively in community decisions. Preliminary evaluations from the first phase of the resilience programme indicate that these clubs "exceeded all expectations in changing children's perceptions of themselves and their ability to be agents of change," with strong positive spillover effects in and around the community.[98]

UNICEF is also supporting the development of non-school-based community conflict resolution approaches in various countries, such as Burundi, Chad, Liberia and Pakistan. These models provide education for community stakeholders in alternative dispute resolution, human rights, child rights and justice models that reinforce the rule of law and peaceful conflict resolution. Critically, they also create linkages between traditional systems of justice and modern court systems via education and advocacy[99] – a key entry point for supporting peacebuilding and resilience at all levels, where the diversity of transitional settings demands the valuing and support of different systems, alongside efforts to build a conducive system for parallel systems to function in a harmonized manner.

3.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE EDUCATION SECTOR

◆ **Education must be provided in conflict-sensitive and relevant ways in the aftermath of emergency and conflict in order to serve as a peace dividend that can support transformative transition processes.**

◆ **Conflict-sensitive and relevant education policies, plans, strategies and curricula provide an opportunity to build legitimacy and trust as well as mainstreaming peacebuilding. Promoting a culture of peace and non-violence through sector planning and strengthening can build resilience to conflict and influence vertical social cohesion.**

◆ **Local communities should be involved in the planning and delivery of education services – both formal and informal programming. Extracurricular and non-school based community education can assist in building the capacity of the community to respond to conflict and (re)build social cohesion.**

4. HEALTH

The negative impact of conflict on health and societal resilience, particularly on children and women and including both physical and mental health, is well documented.[100] Malnutrition, for example, is an almost unavoidable consequence of conflict that makes recovery more complicated by undermining the resilience of individuals, communities and societies. Broader infrastructures of importance to health are also negatively impacted in periods of conflict. In the Sudan, it has been noted that the civil war led to reductions in the health budget, thus disrupting medical services.[101]

97 Ibid., p. 40.
98 UNICEF Somalia Country Office, 'UNICEF Funding Proposal 2013', United Nations Children's Fund, pp. 12–13.
99 PBEA annual report, 2013, p. 41.
100 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series,* no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 185; and Egal, Florence, 'Nutrition in Conflict Situations', *British Journal of Nutrition,* 2006, vol. 96, Suppl. 1, S17–S19.
101 Dodge, C. P., 'Health Implications of War in Uganda and Sudan', *Social Science and Medicine,* vol. 31, no. 6, 1990, pp. 691–698.

High disease and mortality rates, migration, pollution and widespread malnutrition can result, and also exacerbate or cause new forms of fragility – with a disproportionally negative impact on women and children.[102] Displaced populations are particularly vulnerable and have a crude mortality rate often up to 30-fold higher than baseline rates, primarily due to communicable diseases and malnutrition. [103] At the level of society, the breakdown of health systems severely undermines the capacity to absorb and adapt to stresses and shocks, whether human-made or not.[104] From a UNICEF perspective, statistics clearly demonstrate that the most common causes of childhood mortality – including diarrhoea, pneumonia and neonatal causes, as well malaria, HIV and malnutrition – are greatly exacerbated in conflict zones.[105]

A growing body of evidence suggests that contexts with poor health and nutrition experience a greater probability of conflict[106] and that health services can reinforce fragility if they are delivered in ways that exclude or marginalize certain groups. It is also increasingly recognized that health interventions have the potential to play an integral role in peacebuilding,[107] although it is only during the past 10 years that more focus has been placed on health programming as a platform for peacebuilding.[108]

UNICEF is highly involved in health and nutrition programming in conflict contexts around the word. However, where public health objectives and concerns are the guiding principles for programming, deliberate peacebuilding or resilience objectives in the organization's health sector activities are seldom articulated. Of the 52 UNICEF projects funded by the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund, the only project that directly links health service provision with peacebuilding is one with a focus on "recognition of sexual violence as a tool of conflict in the Nepal peace building process through documentation and provision of comprehensive services to women and girl victims/survivors."

There is no specific guidance within UNICEF on health and nutrition-related peacebuilding programing, although the need for updated and sector-specific guidance is clearly recognized. At the United Nations system level, in 1997 the World Health Organization developed technical guidelines for health professionals to assist both peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts at different stages of conflict.[109] Since this time, a growing body of literature has advanced the understanding of the role of health and nutrition programming in conflict and post-conflict settings. UNICEF is increasingly focused on developing risk-informed health programming where conflict is considered to be a significant risk. In such contexts, the need for good, health-specific conflict analysis is recognized, as is capacity development of UNICEF health staff in country offices, many of whom are not used to working with conflict analysis as a tool in priority setting and decision-making processes.[110]

UNICEF mostly works through partners at the field level and has therefore been focused on developing sector-level rather than community-level resilience. However, pilot projects and research processes are being planned that will focus more on community-level preparedness for health both human-made and natural disasters. The 2011 joint statement 'Scaling-up the Community-Based Health Workforce for Emergencies', developed by multiple organizations and agencies, including UNICEF, highlights the importance of community-level action and the role of the community health workforce in reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience.[111] In Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the Integrated Community Care Management approach is being applied to managing Ebola, and UNICEF is ensuring rapid response to the outbreak through social mobilization and community engagement, along with maintaining access to essential social services throughout different sectors. Similarly, UNICEF is supporting the countries at risk to develop comprehensive prevention and response plans.

102 *See, for example:* Newbrander, William, 'Rebuilding Health Systems and Providing Health Services in Fragile States', *Management Sciences for Health*, no. 7, 2007, p. 6; and United Nations Children's Fund, 'The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls in West and Central Africa and the UNICEF Response', UNICEF, 2005.
103 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series,* no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 185.
104 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience, Health and DRR: Kathmandu Background Paper', UNICEF, 2014; and Dodge, C. P., 'Health Implications of War in Uganda and Sudan', *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 31, no. 6, 1990, pp. 691–698.
105 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience Health and DRR: Kathmandu Background Paper, UNICEF, 2014.
106 *See, for example:* Pinstrup-Andersen, P., and S. Shimokawa, 'Do Poverty and Poor Health and Nutrition Increase the Risk of Armed Conflict Onset?', Food Policy, vol. 33, no. 6, 2008;

and Brinkman, and Hendrix, 'Food Insecurity and Violent Conflict: Causes, consequences, and addressing the challenges', World Food Programme, 2011.
107 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 176.
108 Laplante, Lisa J.,Linking Peacebuilding and Health in Post-Conflict Settings: The right to health, empowerment and civil society', *FriEnt Essay Series*, no. 03, Working Group on Peace and Development, Bonn, Germany, 2011.
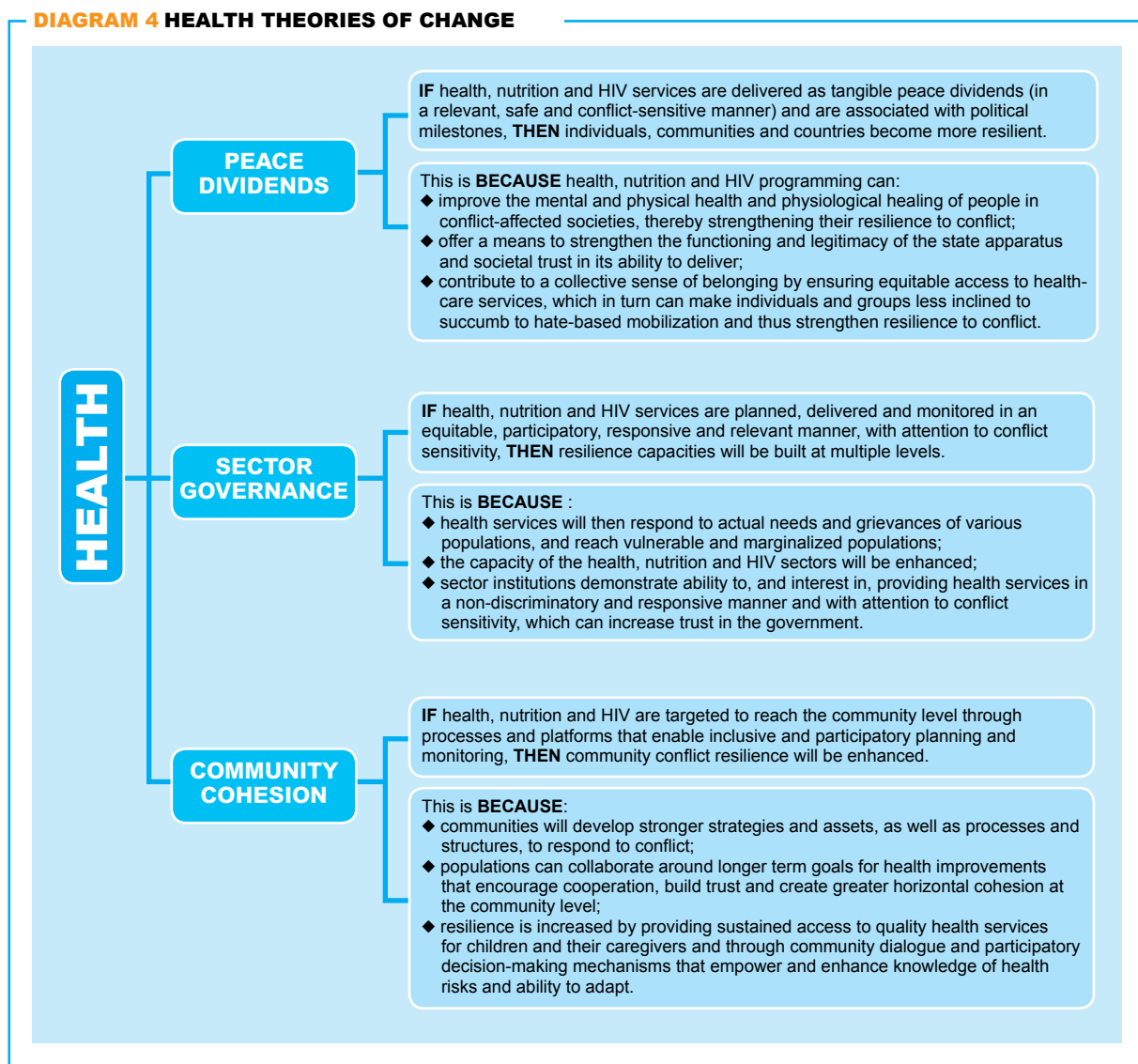**109** World Health Organization, open at http://www.who.int/hac/techguidance/hbp/comparative_ analysis/en/
110 Interview with senior health advisor, UNICEF New York.
111 Global Health Workforce Alliance, et al., 'Joint Statement: Scaling-up the community-based health workforce for emergencies', GHWA, October 2011. Available at: <www.who.int/workforcealliance/knowledge/resources/chwstatement/en>.

The role of the health sector in peacebuilding is often characterized as a bridge between individuals and communities, including children and their caregivers, using health improvements as a common goal.[112] In some instances, the 'impartiality' of the health sector and the unique access health professionals have to a population have been seen as a potential entry point for deliberate efforts to build peace. As stated in a policy brief published by George Washington University: "Humanitarian assistance, health leaders, and health personnel are in the unique position to be able to leverage something universally important, irrespective of the details of any given conflict: *The promise of good health*. This makes the international health community a potentially powerful force in peace efforts throughout the world" [emphasis in the original].[113]

Diagram 4 outlines how health interventions can apply the theories of change for contributing to resilience through peacebuilding that targets peace dividends, sector governance and community cohesion.

DIAGRAM 4 HEALTH THEORIES OF CHANGE

HEALTH

PEACE DIVIDENDS

IF health, nutrition and HIV services are delivered as tangible peace dividends (in a relevant, safe and conflict-sensitive manner) and are associated with political milestones, **THEN** individuals, communities and countries become more resilient.

This is **BECAUSE** health, nutrition and HIV programming can:
◆ improve the mental and physical health and physiological healing of people in conflict-affected societies, thereby strengthening their resilience to conflict;
◆ offer a means to strengthen the functioning and legitimacy of the state apparatus and societal trust in its ability to deliver;
◆ contribute to a collective sense of belonging by ensuring equitable access to health-care services, which in turn can make individuals and groups less inclined to succumb to hate-based mobilization and thus strengthen resilience to conflict.

SECTOR GOVERNANCE

IF health, nutrition and HIV services are planned, delivered and monitored in an equitable, participatory, responsive and relevant manner, with attention to conflict sensitivity, **THEN** resilience capacities will be built at multiple levels.

This is **BECAUSE** :
◆ health services will then respond to actual needs and grievances of various populations, and reach vulnerable and marginalized populations;
◆ the capacity of the health, nutrition and HIV sectors will be enhanced;
◆ sector institutions demonstrate ability to, and interest in, providing health services in a non-discriminatory and responsive manner and with attention to conflict sensitivity, which can increase trust in the government.

COMMUNITY COHESION

IF health, nutrition and HIV are targeted to reach the community level through processes and platforms that enable inclusive and participatory planning and monitoring, **THEN** community conflict resilience will be enhanced.

This is **BECAUSE**:
◆ communities will develop stronger strategies and assets, as well as processes and structures, to respond to conflict;
◆ populations can collaborate around longer term goals for health improvements that encourage cooperation, build trust and create greater horizontal cohesion at the community level;
◆ resilience is increased by providing sustained access to quality health services for children and their caregivers and through community dialogue and participatory decision-making mechanisms that empower and enhance knowledge of health risks and ability to adapt.

112 World Health Organization, 'Health in Social Development', Position paper for the World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen, March 1995, WHO, Geneva, 1995, p. 19.
113 Rodriquez-Garcia, Rosalia, Marita Schlesser and Robert Bernstein, 'How Can Health Serve as a Bridge for Peace?', Policy Brief, George Washington University School of Public Health and Health Services, May 2001, p. 16.

4.1 HEALTH SERVICES AS PEACE DIVIDEND

There is very little documentation of how and when health services are perceived as peace dividends. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the health sector is crucial in improving the health of war-torn populations and supporting healing in war-torn societies by offering psychosocial support after trauma. As the World Food Programme has stated, a peace dividend should be something people can see, feel, use or spend.[114] In that sense, health services represent a very tangible dividend that citizens can potentially associate directly with the absence of conflict.

Although health services typically deteriorate or disappear very quickly when conflict erupts, they can also be rolled out again fairly quickly, often by health non-governmental organizations, once the security situation allows it. Health is evidently a key aspect of societal resilience: Individuals and communities with poor health and substandard health services are particularly vulnerable to shocks and stresses and will often have reduced coping mechanisms. In the post-conflict period, the health sector is crucial in reforming systems and structures that contributed to the inequities that helped fuel the conflict.[115]

A study of the conflict in Sierra Leone found that "the continuing failure of those in power to provide economic opportunities and public services for the population of the country fuelled discontent and led to widespread alienation."[116] Conversely, by ensuring equitable access to health-care services, a collective sense of belonging can be nurtured, which in turn can make individuals and groups less inclined to participate in hate-based mobilization.[117] In Kyrgyzstan, even in the aftermath of violence, fear of discrimination and mistreatment by medical staff who belonged to another ethnic group prevented Uzbeks from accessing local hospitals. Health-care provision was identified as an important entry point for rebuilding trust in government and among different ethnic groups.[118]

In Liberia, the Psychosocial and Community Support programme implemented by the United Nations Population Fund represents an integrated, community-based approach. The programme established psychosocial support teams and provided them with training, and strengthened community-based networks in six communities with livelihood support through skills training for returnees. According to programme review and evaluation, individuals who completed psychosocial counselling had a decrease in symptoms of depression and aggression. Feelings of vulnerability within the community were also reduced, an indicator associated with trust and a sense of inclusion that supports enhanced social cohesion. In addition, community residents, including returnees, were better able to reconcile their differences, the project was believed to have an impact on reducing gender-based violence within the community.[119]

Health services can also be a peace dividend associated with the re-emergence of a state apparatus and help change the image of the state from being a predatory part of the conflict to being a shared platform for individual, communal and societal recovery.[120] As with any of the social services, the health sector – through the design and delivery of policy and programming – can thus contribute to the drivers of fragility or, conversely, to building peace and resilience. The process of negotiating even short ceasefires for immunizations can be one example of an immediate peace dividend. While in the past these activities have been ad hoc, undertaken when humanitarian needs in a war zone became acute, when used strategically, immunization drives can support the delivery of vital peace dividends and strengthen community resilience. In Afghanistan, negotiating and instituting immunization days gave health authorities a sense of purpose by delivering a very tangible and visible service, and enhanced the perception of government interest in providing health services to its citizens.[121]

114 Laughton, Sarah, and Nicholas Crawford, World Food Programme, taken from Peacebuilding Support Office, 'UN Peacebuilding: An orientation', 2010. 115 Ibid.
116 Rushton, Simon, 'Health and Peacebuilding: Resuscitating the failed state in Sierra Leone', International Relations, 2005.
116 Ibid.
117 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series,* no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 187.
118 McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012.
119 Peacebuilding Fund, 'Peacebuilding Fund Liberia: Mid-Term Review'; and United Nations Population Fund, 'Evaluation Report: Psychosocial and Community Support project', UNFPA, 2011.
120 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 187.
121 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Immunization in Emergencies: Expert opinion – Shamsul Farooq, Deputy Director, UNICEF Supply Division', UNICEF, <www.unicef.org/immunisation/23244_emergencies.html>.

4.2 HEALTH SERVICES TO ADVANCE BETTER SECTOR GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY (VERTICAL SOCIAL COHESION)

Sustaining good health is seen as a core government responsibility and an important public good – locally, nationally, globally[122] – and is thus at the core of the state-society contract. As armed conflict is about destroying the health of opponents, reinstating health services is also at the core of recovery processes, particularly when the government has been a belligerent party.[123] Equitable access to quality health services is therefore one indicator of a government's ability and commitment to reach all its citizens without favouring specific groups. In many fragile and conflict-affected contexts, health services are provided by non-state actors, in which case it is the management of these organizations and their services that are the subject of citizens' scrutiny. When health services are not equitably provided, alienation and deep-rooted grievances can develop, potentially materializing as conflict or even armed opposition against a government.[124]

In Somalia, as part of the United Nations Joint Programme on Local Governance and Decentralised Service Delivery, UNICEF has worked on improving local government capacity for equitable service delivery. Achievements related to health include: the introduction of participatory planning system and the development of district development frameworks; reform and restructuring of village committees to include marginalized populations; support to communities to participate and conduct advocacy; the development of mechanisms for social accountability; piloting of decentralized service delivery in education, health and WASH in two northern zones; and capacity assessment of government social affairs departments. A midterm review found that the Joint Programme had made a substantial contribution to entrenching peace and stabilization by supporting more accountable and legitimate local governance institutions that can peacefully mediate between competing and at times opposing demands. In Sierra Leone, UNICEF, the Government and other stakeholders have developed a risk and control matrix to reduce risks related to procurement and distribution of drugs for free health care in response to inadequate accountability and transparency.[125]

UNICEF's community health worker programmes in Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Malawi, Mozambique and the Niger have also been assessed as strengthening trust in health authorities by bringing services closer to the recipient populations. This proximity has resulted in a much better reach of health services, improved ability of the community health workers to introduce 'modern' medicine to remote communities, and enabled health authorities to become more responsive to local needs.[126] The programme also helped mitigate the impact of conflict, for example, in Mali as conflict erupted during the roll-out of the Integrated Health Systems Strengthening Programme of which the community health worker initiatives are a part.

In Kyrgyzstan, UNICEF has implemented an equity programme as a cross-sector approach to improve access to basic social services for the most vulnerable children, women and families in southern Kyrgyzstan. The programme had a dual objective of using access to basic social services as a platform for enhancing resilience and improving peace and stability, and lessening ethnic tensions in those conflict areas. A recent evaluation found that the programme contributed to peacebuilding, particularly through its focus on youth; however, it also noted that peacebuilding outcomes are often not easily attributable to a specific intervention due to the multitude of variables involved.[127]

Health personnel also have a unique role as conveyors of unbiased medical knowledge in conflict contexts. For example, they may be able to emphasize the medical consequences of conflict on victims, including children, regarding the use of certain types of weapons and warfare tactics – a role that has been described as

122 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 181.
123 Laplante, Lisa J., 'Linking Peacebuilding and Health in Post-Conflict Settings: The right to health, empowerment and civil society', *FriEnt Essay Series*, no. 3, Working Group on Peace and Development, Bonn, Germany, 2011.
124 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, no. 19, Institute for Peace

Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 187.
125 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Sierra Leone Country Programme Document 2013–2014', UNICEF.
126 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Report on the Summative External Evaluation of the Integrated Health System Strengthening Programme in Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Ghana, Malawi and Niger', UNICEF, 2014.
127 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Equity Programme: Kyrgyz Republic – Evaluation, 2012–2014', UNICEF, DATE.

"restricting the destructiveness of war."[128] Such facts can help 'personalize' the victims of conflict and counter the dehumanization of enemies that is often used as a strategy to broaden the acceptance of casualties, including civilians.[129] Conversely, health services can play into the conflict if perceived as politically motivated; the opposition of the clergy in Nigeria and Pakistan and Nigeria to polio vaccinations is a case in point.

4.3 HEALTH SERVICES FOR PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL (HORIZONTAL SOCIAL COHESION)

Many of the examples mentioned previously contribute to building peace and resilience at the local level. Improved health contributes directly to the resilience of communities, and many health interventions have the potential to contribute to developing social cohesion, trust and confidence in the government if planned and implemented correctly. Entry points include programmes that strengthen the social fabric by bringing together populations across diversities – socio-economic, ethnicity, gender, political lines, geographical areas, etc. – around health services delivery, and reconciliation and healing. This may include bringing groups together at the local level to agree on goals that transcend their immediate interests and to establish longer-term goals for health improvements that benefit all sides of the conflict by strengthening community-level resilience.[130]

UNICEF has identified that children and mothers with sustained access to quality health services in risk-prone and fragile contexts can contribute to increased resilience to shocks and stresses. Further, mainstreaming resilience can change health sector results by putting additional emphasis on risk-prone/fragile communities, advancing the equity agenda.[131] In Haiti, one of the key nutrition interventions UNICEF and partners put in place promoted exclusive and continued breastfeeding through the establishment of baby-friendly spaces. These spaces were created as a safe and peaceful environment where mothers could receive support and advice for their young children, and engage in dialogue with other mothers, which in turn contributed to reduced tension in the community.[132]

The local-level focus of some health programmes also helps strengthen resilience by developing community dialogue mechanisms. In Ethiopia, households have developed a feeling of empowerment through participating in discussions and decision making about local health and nutrition issues. Through community conversation groups they are able to identify health concerns early and decide how to adapt to address them. A study found that the conversation groups were perceived to strengthen members' resilience through enhanced participatory decision making, and knowledge and ability to adapt. Those involved felt better informed and felt they could make more informed collective and individual decisions about important health issues such as how to prevent acute watery diarrhoea.[133]

4.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE HEALTH SECTOR

◆ **For health services to be perceived as a peace dividend, it is important that service providers engage with local communities to understand their most pressing health needs. It is also important that services are accompanied by an information campaign linking the delivery of better health services with the absence of conflict.**

◆ **Local communities should be involved in the planning, delivery and monitoring of local health services, which can also help strengthen state-society relations at the local level.**

◆ **Health interventions offer an opportunity for UNICEF to engage in building resilience and peace**

128 MacQueen, Graeme, and Joanna Santa-Barbara, 'Peace Building through Health Initiatives', *BMJ*, vol. 321, 29 July 2000, pp. 293–296.
129 Shinoda, Hideaki, and Ho-Won Jeong, editors, 'Conflict and Human Security: A search for new approaches of peace-building', *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, no. 19, Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, 2004, p. 187. 130 MacQueen, Graeme, and Joanna Santa-Barbara, 'Peace Building through Health Initiatives', BMJ, vol. 321, 19 July 2000,

pp. 293–296.
131 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience, Health, and DRR', 2014.
132 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding in UNICEF Technical Note', UNICEF, June 2012.
133 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Review of Adaptive Basic Social Services', UNICEF, 2014.

at the community level, which aligns well with UNICEF's current focus on community-level health delivery. Generally, this will require a strengthened focus on the role of health services during conflict, taking into consideration such factors as how inequity in access to health services may act as or is perceived as a cause of conflict.

5. WASH

Water is essential for life and for economic development. In many contexts, it is an issue of fierce competition. The water usage of one individual or group will often decrease availability for others, and usage for one purpose may exclude other uses. As a result, accessing and managing water resources is historically a significant source of armed conflict among and within countries and communities.[134] In the years ahead, water-related violence is expected to increase due to climate change, population growth and new settlement patterns.[135]

In addition to inequities in access to water, issues arising from water service and sanitation provision include: disputes over land for water facility installation; competition among communities over water resources; disagreements over water use for human needs vis-à-vis animals or crops; and poor maintenance of water facilities and unhygienic waste disposal causing problems for other water users. WASH service provision thus needs to be conflict sensitive to manage its impact on peacebuilding.[136]

Regions within countries that are vulnerable to water stress are particularly at risk for conflict, and in turn, communities with the least access to clean water are the most vulnerable to conflict-induced disease, malnutrition and displacement. In addition to its fundamental contributions to livelihoods, water supports livestock and agricultural production and can generate energy. It is thus a key element in supporting a complex livelihood 'ecosystem'.[137]

The lack of access to sanitary facilities and drinking water affects women and girls disproportionately and uniquely. For example, travel to collect water early in the morning or late at night can put girls and women at particular risk, and unsafe sanitary facilities can expose girls and women to gender-based violence and abuse.[138] A lack of WASH services negatively impacts their health and dignity, and worsens their vulnerability, which undermines efforts to empower women to lead healthy and economically and socially productive lives.[139]

As the global cluster lead on WASH, UNICEF implements and coordinates WASH programmes in numerous conflict-affected contexts. In more stable settings, the overall objective is to increase access to safe water and basic sanitation services in an equitable and sustainable manner, and to improve hygiene as a contribution to the survival and development of children and their caregivers.[140] However, there is limited articulation of how WASH programmes can contribute to peacebuilding, with only a few examples of how they deliberately include peacebuilding objectives and no UNICEF-specific guidance.

In a consultation for this study, UNICEF's WASH programming in conflict-affected contexts is described as "ultra-sensitive to 'do no harm' principles,"[141] reflecting awareness of the potential issues for water-related interventions. A UNICEF position paper states:

> **Where competing rights to access to water sources are not acknowledged and negotiated ahead of the establishment of a new source, or rehabilitation of old sources, e.g. where the conflict**

134 *For an overview of water conflicts throughout history, see:* Gleick, Peter H., 'Water Conflict Chronology', Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment, and Security, 2008. Open PDF from: <www.worldwater.org/conflictchronology.pdf>.
135 Gehrig, Jason, and Mark M. Rogers, *Water and Conflict: Incorporating peacebuilding into water development,* Catholic Relief Services, Baltimore, Md., 2009.
136 *See:* United Nations Children's Fund, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding in UNICEF Technical Note', UNICEF, June 2012.
137 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience: A position paper', UNICEF, 2014.
138 *See, for example:* Amnesty International, ' "Where is the dignity in that?": Women in Solomon Islands slums denied sanitation and safety', Amnesty International, London, September 2011.

Available at: <http://reliefweb.int/report/solomon-islands/where-dignity-women-solomon-islands-slums-denied-sanitation-and-safety>.
139 *See, for example:* Lennon, Shirley, 'Fear and Anger: Perceptions of risks related to sexual violence against women linked to water and sanitation in Delhi, India', *Briefing Note*, Sanitation and Hygiene Applied Research for Equity, November 2011. Available at: <www.susana.org/en/resources/library/details/1758>.
140 United Nations Children's Fund, 'UNICEF WASH Strategies', 4 March 2008, <www.unicef.org/wash/index_43084.html>.
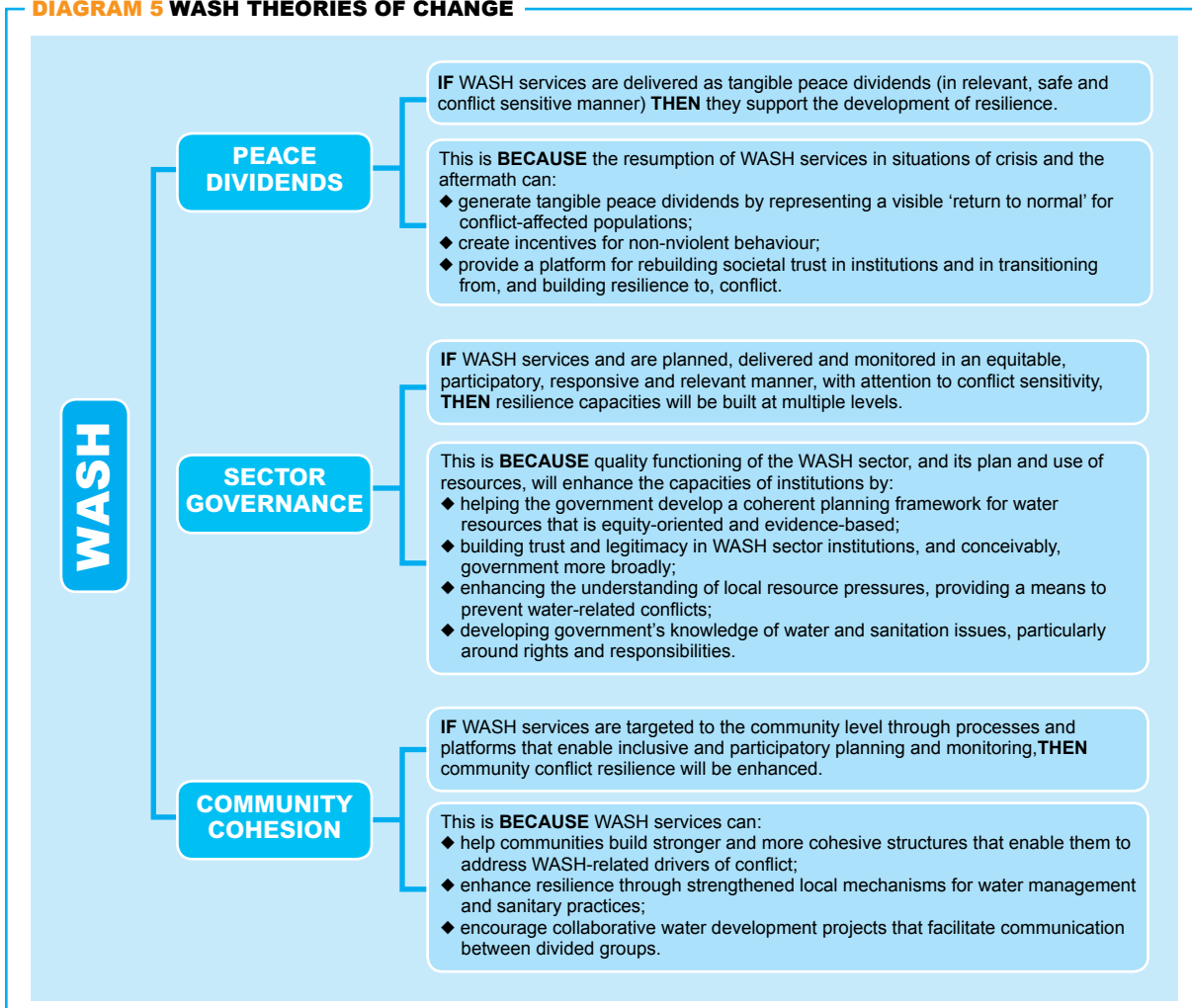**141** Interview with senior WASH advisor, UNICEF New York.

dimension that is particularly inherent to the provision of water in arid and semi-arid lands, is neglected, UNICEF is in danger to becoming a destructive factor in a conflict prone setting.[142]

In response to water scarcity – a well-evidenced driver of conflict – experts suggest it is important to develop integrated strategies for water resources management that set national water use levels within the limits of environmental sustainability and provide a coherent planning framework for water resources that is equity-oriented and evidence-based.[143]

Resilience in WASH programming within UNICEF is understood as the interplay of three different levels: How will WASH facilities withstand shocks and stresses? How will the users of WASH facilities respond to shocks and stresses? And how will local and national, formal and informal systems absorb and adapt to shocks and stresses and facilitate wider transformation? There is a growing focus on using WASH programming to develop community resilience, including through community-based water resource management, or 'water resource planning', and is promoting this approach in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other places, with support from the WASH Programme Division.

DIAGRAM 5 WASH THEORIES OF CHANGE

WASH

PEACE DIVIDENDS

IF WASH services are delivered as tangible peace dividends (in relevant, safe and conflict sensitive manner) **THEN** they support the development of resilience.

This is **BECAUSE** the resumption of WASH services in situations of crisis and the aftermath can:
◆ generate tangible peace dividends by representing a visible 'return to normal' for conflict-affected populations;
◆ create incentives for non-nviolent behaviour;
◆ provide a platform for rebuilding societal trust in institutions and in transitioning from, and building resilience to, conflict.

SECTOR GOVERNANCE

IF WASH services and are planned, delivered and monitored in an equitable, participatory, responsive and relevant manner, with attention to conflict sensitivity, **THEN** resilience capacities will be built at multiple levels.

This is **BECAUSE** quality functioning of the WASH sector, and its plan and use of resources, will enhance the capacities of institutions by:
◆ helping the government develop a coherent planning framework for water resources that is equity-oriented and evidence-based;
◆ building trust and legitimacy in WASH sector institutions, and conceivably, government more broadly;
◆ enhancing the understanding of local resource pressures, providing a means to prevent water-related conflicts;
◆ developing government's knowledge of water and sanitation issues, particularly around rights and responsibilities.

COMMUNITY COHESION

IF WASH services are targeted to the community level through processes and platforms that enable inclusive and participatory planning and monitoring, **THEN** community conflict resilience will be enhanced.

This is **BECAUSE** WASH services can:
◆ help communities build stronger and more cohesive structures that enable them to address WASH-related drivers of conflict;
◆ enhance resilience through strengthened local mechanisms for water management and sanitary practices;
◆ encourage collaborative water development projects that facilitate communication between divided groups.

142 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience: A position paper', UNICEF 2014.
143 Watkins, Kevin, *Human Development Report 2006: Beyond scarcity – Power, poverty and the* *global water crisis,* United Nations Development Programme, New York, 2006, p. 16.

WASH programmes will seldom be 'primary objective' peacebuilding interventions but are more likely be development interventions in which peacebuilding objectives are integrated as secondary goals. A recent Tearfund study found that WASH programmes can be designed to achieve local-level 'double dividends' of enhanced and effective service provision and peace- and/or statebuilding outcomes. However, to demonstrate this dual impact, interventions must be designed with these outcomes included as specific objectives and monitored accordingly.[144]

Diagram 5 outlines how WASH interventions can apply the theories of change for contributing to resilience through peacebuilding that targets peace dividends, sector governance and community cohesion.

5.1 WASH SERVICES AS PEACE DIVIDEND

The lack of quality WASH services undermines community resilience as a result of poor health and the spread of infectious diseases, particularly to the disadvantage of children. In South Sudan, limited access to water and sanitation has contributed to poor child health, and a third of children under age 5 suffer from diarrhoea.[145]

WASH infrastructure is often destroyed during conflict, which means that the resumption of WASH services could represent a visible 'return to normalcy' for conflict-affected populations; however, the relationship between WASH and peacebuilding is complex and has yet to be fully articulated.[146] As with other social services, WASH services can serve as an important peace dividend if they are associated with the cessation of violence and as an additional benefit of a peace process or agreement.

For UNICEF, delivery of WASH services is determined by the need, taking into consideration access and safety, and does not require peace as such. However, as WASH services can be enhanced in the absence of open conflict, UNICEF's WASH programming will represent a peace dividend in many contexts. Further, WASH infrastructure and systems can also help develop resilience against shocks and stresses decreasing their negative impact, for example, by reducing the negative impacts of displacement or the spread of waterborne diseases.

Water and seasonal conflict are also closely linked. Typically, in drought or severe dry seasons, pastoralist men or families travel with herds and may risk hostile conflict with neighbouring groups over scarce water. Poor placement of new water supplies close to lines of inter-group tension has been known to exacerbate conflict when pastoralist groups settle there permanently or semi-permanently. Conversely, the process of bringing communities together to discuss such activities as the placement of boreholes is an opportunity to ensure local ownership of a very important peace dividend and at the same time potentially address conflict drivers such as water scarcity and lack of inter-communal dialogue.[147]

In the drought-affected region of Galkayo and Habyo in Somalia, UNICEF negotiated with local clans to allow boreholes to be dug to deliver clean water to communities, which the local population saw as an important peace dividend.[148] The boreholes represented peace dividends (while evidently also facilitating community-level collaborative processes) as they were being dug in areas where fighting had recently ceased and where water provision could consequently be re-introduced. By providing sustainable access to safe water, and ensuring effective sanitation and hygiene behaviour, the health of young children and their caretakers has been improved while the programming has also contributed to community resilience more broadly. A reliable, affordable water supply system removes one of the major stresses, which burden households in fragile environments and undermines their resilience. Further, village Water Committees will be responsible for the oversight and management of local water resources and infrastructure and will support acute watery diarrhoea and cholera monitoring, thus strengthening community-level preparedness and response mechanisms.[149]

144 Yardley, Sue, 'Double Dividends: Exploring how water, sanitation and hygiene programmes can contribute to peace- and state-building', Tearfund, Teddington, U.K., 2013. 145 UNICEF South Sudan, 'Water, Sanitation and Hygiene: Issue', United Nations Children's Fund, <www.unicef.org/southsudan/wes.html>.
146 See, for example: Mason, Nathaniel, 'Relationships between Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) Service Delivery and Peace-Building and State-Building: A review of the literature', ODI Working Paper, no. 362, Overseas Development Institute, London, December 2012.

147 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Resilience: A position paper', UNICEF, 2014.
148 Warfa, Maulid, and Douglas Abuuru, 'Water Brings Drought Relief and a Peace Dividend in Central Somalia', United Nations Children's Fund, Galkayo, Somalia, 18 April 2011, <www.unicef.org/somalia/reallives_8001.html>.
149 UNICEF Somalia Country Office, 'UNICEF Funding Proposal, 2013', United Nations Children's Fund, pp. 12–13.

5.2 WASH SERVICES TO ADVANCE BETTER SECTOR GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY (VERTICAL SOCIAL COHESION)

The OECD has identified WASH, alongside health care, as 'politically neutral, which can provide a platform for social cooperation and partnerships between citizens and government.[150] Establishing more accountable and transparent mechanisms for water governance, bridging state and non-state stakeholders, can lead to more effective water management, increased trust in the government, and a shared sense of purpose.[151] UNICEF's 2011 community consultations undertaken in the Central African Republic, Kyrgyzstan and Uganda found that the communities considered water to be a priority that government was expected to address. Another key finding was that lack of accountability and responsiveness to citizens' basic needs, including for WASH services, fuelled grievances and created distrust in government.[152]

UNICEF's systems strengthening work focuses on equity-oriented and evidence-based WASH services management at all levels of society: local (with communities), intermediate (with states, provinces, districts, municipalities, etc.) and national; and with all stakeholders – government, communities, local and international non-governmental organizations, and the private sector.[153] The primary focus of the government-oriented work is to provide support for the development of poverty reduction strategy papers and sector-wide approaches to planning, through the UNICEF country programme process and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework. In South Sudan, UNICEF is working to forge a framework for the reform of the WASH sector, generate strategic sub-sector investment plans and build a stronger evidence base to support planning process.[154]

Another prominent driver of conflict is the impact of commercial use of resources in water-scarce environments, such as water used for mining, hydropower facilities and large-scale agriculture. Such usage can consume water reserves for human use and livestock, redirect the flow of rivers and contaminate the water. WASH programming can include components aimed to enhance understanding of local resource pressures and the consequent water-related conflicts.[155] A programme in Darfur, Sudan focused on including communities, civil society and traditional authorities in water management, nurturing structures through which different ethnic groups have traditionally worked together to overcome environmental and conflicts stresses. The collaboration increased water supplies and helped address poor water management as a trigger of conflict by addressing the root cause of inadequate and uneven water supplies.[156]

To more deliberately use WASH services to strengthen state-society relations, a two-pronged approach is needed: (1) supporting the development and growth of local and national civil society; and (2) building government knowledge and capacity on water and sanitation issues, particularly regarding the rights and responsibilities of different stakeholders, management issues and strategies, and technical information.[157] Programmatic responses to this effect may include implementation of an approach that focuses on human rights, making drinking water and access to sanitation facilities a right for citizens of a given country, thus establishing minimum standards for all with a view to limiting deliberate discrimination against certain groups.[158]

Another approach is to place social equity and the interests of vulnerable groups at the centre of integrated water resources management as a means to increase security.[159] WASH programming can also work with the 'demand side' by supporting grass-roots organizations and civil society in order to enable communities to better articulate their needs and rights vis-à-vis access to WASH services. At the national level, this can include empowering civil

150 Ibid.
151 Woodrow, 'Strategic Analysis for Peacebuilding Programmes: A modest proposal', 2002. **152** McCandless, Erin, Flora Smith and Beth Prosnitz, *Peace Dividends and Beyond: Contributions of administrative and social services to peacebuilding*, United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, New York, 2012.
153 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Strategies for 2006–2015', United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2005.
154 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Water, Sanitation and Hygiene', UNICEF, 2012.
155 *See, for example:* Conca, Ken, 'The New Face of Water Conflict', *Navigating Peace,* no. 3, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., November 2006. Open PDF from: www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/NavigatingPeaceIssue3.pdf>.

156 Ibid
157 *See, for example:* American Association for the Advancement of Science, et al., *Manual on the Right to Water and Sanitation: A tool to assist policy makers and practitioners develop strategies for implementing the human right to water and sanitation,* Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, Geneva, 2007.
158 Wright, A., and D. Warner, 'Water for Life: A source of conflict', Presentation to the Catholic Social Ministry Gathering, 2008.
159 *See, for example:* Watkins, Kevin, *Human Development Report 2006: Beyond scarcity – Power, poverty and the global water crisis*, United Nations Development Programme, New York, 2006; and Conca, Ken, 'The New Face of Water Conflict', Navigating Peace, no. 3, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., November 2006.

society groups to highlight the impact of excessive military spending on, for example, government capacity to provide WASH services.[160]

Finally, WASH programming can help government and community authorities become better at understanding, mitigating and responding to the risks that threaten to undermine resilience. This can include: analysis and preparedness plans, and resilience-focused WASH sector plans; a risk-informed approach to developing water infrastructure; and strengthening relations between actors in the water management 'ecosystem' in order to develop the systemic capacities of WASH services to absorb, adapt and transform when subjected to external shocks and stresses.

5.3 WASH SERVICES FOR PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE BUILDING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL (HORIZONTAL SOCIAL COHESION)

Using community-based structures to manage and maintain water facilities has increasingly become the norm during the past decades, although the primary focus has been on enhancing the sustainability of WASH infrastructure, rather than developing community cohesion.[161] Also within UNICEF, community-level water management mechanisms have primarily been put in place to ensure sustainability and local agreement on water usage, while the potential use of such forums to more deliberately develop trust and cohesion among and within communities has been pursued to a lesser extent.[162] The focus here is on ensuring that local knowledge, norms and structures are considered in the design of WASH services and that communities are fully listened to and engaged, which helps develop community cohesion and can help prevent the negative impacts of conflict. As noted in a study published by the Overseas Development Institute:

> **WASH interventions may have the potential to bring communities together around the common goal of increasing access to water and sanitation, and in the process reduce hostility towards, or resentment between, different groups. Conversely, when not enough attention is paid to the wider context and to conflict drivers, projects themselves have the potential to cause further conflict.[163]**

Multiparty collaborative water development projects can facilitate constructive and safe contact between divided groups and help transform past sources of conflict, or 'dividers' into new 'connectors', linking people across conflict lines.[164] WASH programming can focus on creating incentives for joint action and provide platforms for collaboration that allow community-level trust and social cohesion to grow.[165] To this effect, informal and indigenous systems for managing water, often developed and tested over centuries, should be better understood, valued, recovered and utilized as community-cohesion oriented and sustainable approaches to water governance.[166]

Local informal authorities or figures of power can serve as important entry points and stakeholders in community-level WASH programming. In Ethiopia, tribal authorities and structures have played a key role in mediating conflicts over water in the pastoral regions, thus extending water management (and conflict resolution) mechanisms far beyond the presence of formal institutions.[167] WASH management systems, particularly at the local level, also often involve non-formal and non-state actors, and the gender dimensions of WASH services offer a specific opportunity to include women in catalytic state-building processes at the local level. This differs from formal political institutions that too often embed elite interests and marginalize women.[168] Case studies in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Liberia have demonstrated the pivotal role of women in improving water security for themselves and their communities by taking a lead role in water management structures.[169]

160 Gehrig, Jason, and Mark M. Rogers, *Water and Conflict: Incorporating peacebuilding into water development,* Catholic Relief Services, Baltimore, Md., 2009.
161 Ibid.
162 Interview with senior WASH advisor, UNICEF New York.
163 Wild, Leni, and Nathaniel Mason, 'Examining the Role of WASH Services within Peace- and State-Building Processes: Findings from Tearfund programmes in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of South Sudan', Overseas Development Institute, London, October 2012, p. 16. Available at: <www.odi.org/publications/7329-wash-conflict-fragile-states-water-governance>.
164 Neufeldt, R., et al., 'Peacebuilding: A Caritas training manual', Caritas Internationalis, Vatican City, 2009.
165 Gehrig, Jason, and Mark M. Rogers, *Water and Conflict: Incorporating peacebuilding into water development,* Catholic Relief Services, Baltimore, Md., 2009.

166 *See, for example:* Consorcio para el Desarrollo Sostenible de la Ecorregión Andina, 'The Andean Vision of Water: The perspective of the indigenous farming population', International Development Research Center, Canada, February 2003. Open PDF from: <http://192.156.137.121:8080/cipotato/publications/pdf/002198.pdf>.
167 Nassef, M., and M. Belayhun, 'Synthesis of Existing Knowledge and Experience on the Provision of Water Supplies to Communities in Ethiopia', RiPPLE, Addis Ababa, 2011.
168 Castillejo, C., 'Building a State that Works for Women: Integrating gender into post-conflict state building', Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior, Madrid, 2012.
169 Burt, M., and B. J. Keiru, 'Strengthening Post-Conflict Peace-Building through Community Water-Resource Management: Case studies from Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan and Liberia', *Water International,* vol. 36, no. 2, 2012, pp. 232–241.

Community Approaches to Total Sanitation, or Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS), can produce notable peacebuilding outcomes, such as providing space for community collaboration. In the village of Surkh, Afghanistan, the construction of latrines involved inclusive collaboration between households.[170] In Chad, UNICEF has used CLTS programming to strengthen resilience. Here, the WASH sector intervention was designed to build community resilience to ensure sustained service provision. This included construction of durable facilities, such as water points, followed by capacity building for communities to take ownership and maintain these facilities; community-based sanitation and household water treatment and safe storage; and use of low-cost manual drilling strategies.[171]

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WASH SECTOR

◆ **Peacebuilding-oriented WASH programming should be used to facilitate community partnerships and cooperative ventures and thereby help develop horizontal trust and social cohesion to promote peace.[172]**

◆ **There is a need for systems strengthening in ways that recognize and are sensitive to conflict drivers, and that build resilience to conflict and other risks. This in turn requires an adequate information basis on which to base programming.**

◆ **WASH-oriented conflict analysis should be undertaken to help facilitate the integration of conflict sensitivity in programming, as well as attempts to utilize WASH programming as a platform for more deliberate peacebuilding efforts.**

6. CHILD PROTECTION

Statistically, children under age 18 make up around half the population in contexts of widespread fragility, violence and conflict, and they are often disproportionally affected by conflict and other risks. There is an immediate protection need in such contexts, but also a need to minimize the longer-term psychosocial impact, with a view to enable children to live peaceful and constructive lives as engaged citizens who will soon hold the course of their countries in their hands. When focusing on adolescents, the links to peacebuilding are more immediate as adolescents and youth often play a critical role as makers or breakers of peace. Adolescents and youth make up large percentages of the population in many fragile and conflict-affected states, and if not provided with reliable livelihoods and meaningful ways to engage with society, they are at risk of being mobilized for armed conflict.

In many contexts, violence, abuse and exploitation both result from and drive conflict when protection systems collapse. According to a 2013 study on UNICEF's child protection programmes and peacebuilding, conflict drivers specifically related to child protection include:

◆ **Weak or failed social welfare systems that are weak or have failed.**
◆ **Violence against children, including gender-based violence, in the home, school and community.**
◆ **Potentially harmful social norms and 'cultures of violence'.**
◆ **Lack of knowledge or the capacities to address conflict's psychosocial impacts.**
◆ **Small arms and weapons being widely available.[173]**

While many traditional child protection activities contribute to peacebuilding, the main difference for programmes that are more directly linked to peacebuilding is the aim to create positive changes in the children themselves

170 Ndaruhutse, S., et al., 'State-Building, Peace-Building and Service Delivery in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States', Practical Action Consulting, Save the Children and CfBT Education Trust,2012.
171 United Nations Children's Fund, 'UNICEF Annual Report 2013: Chad', UNICEF.
172 Lubarr, T., 'Good Water Neighbors: A model for community development programmes in

regions of conflict', Friends of the Earth Middle East, Amman, 2005.
173 Scott, Laura, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding', United Nations Children's Fund, New York, December 2013, p. 6. Available at: <http://learningforpeace. unicef.org/resources/the-crossroads-of-child-protection-and-education-in-peacebuilding>.

or their environments. Child protection can also contribute to peacebuilding through 'upstream' or systems-based approaches that enhance the protective environment and the resilience of children and communities, including strengthening systems and forging links between informal mechanisms, such as community-based child protection networks, and formal national systems.[174]

UNICEF's approach in emergencies is framed by the Child Protection Strategy 2008[175] and the Core Commitments for Children in Humanitarian Action.[176] There is also an increasing understanding of the links between peacebuilding and children's development during early childhood, which UNICEF defines as spanning the first eight years of a child's life. During this period, children who are exposed to traumatic violence may develop violent or discriminatory attitudes that can potentially become lifelong.

There is strong evidence that ECD is a vital investment in the future, addressing the issues around inequality that can fuel conflict, as well as ensuring that children are prepared for the education system and labour market. ECD plays a key role in this context because it lays the "foundation for positive behaviour traits, such as learning to appreciate diversity and inclusiveness, working cooperatively, managing conflicts and disputes in healthy and peaceful ways, and learning to share with and care for others." [177]

Gender-based violence against children and women is also widespread in conflict contexts, which can negatively affect children directly or undermine supportive structures. Girls and women are often victims of sexual exploitation and abuse during conflict and boys are often recruited for armed conflict or are socialized into violent behaviour. Several of these conflict drivers also undermine the communities' resilience by disrupting service delivery, undermining the social fabric, and exacerbating the negative consequences of shocks and stresses. Hence, child protection-oriented peacebuilding, if implemented effectively, can both address the role of children as particularly vulnerable victims of crisis and the important potential role of children and youth in supporting society's capacity to understand, mitigate and respond to risks. The role of women is particularly important in this context – both as survivors of gender-based violence and as participants in peacebuilding.

To support the work of UNICEF and others, the Global Protection Cluster developed the *Handbook for Coordinating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings.*[178] In 2014, UNICEF launched the three-year Gender Action Plan,[179] and a guidance note has been developed in support of ECD interventions with a peacebuilding focus.[180]
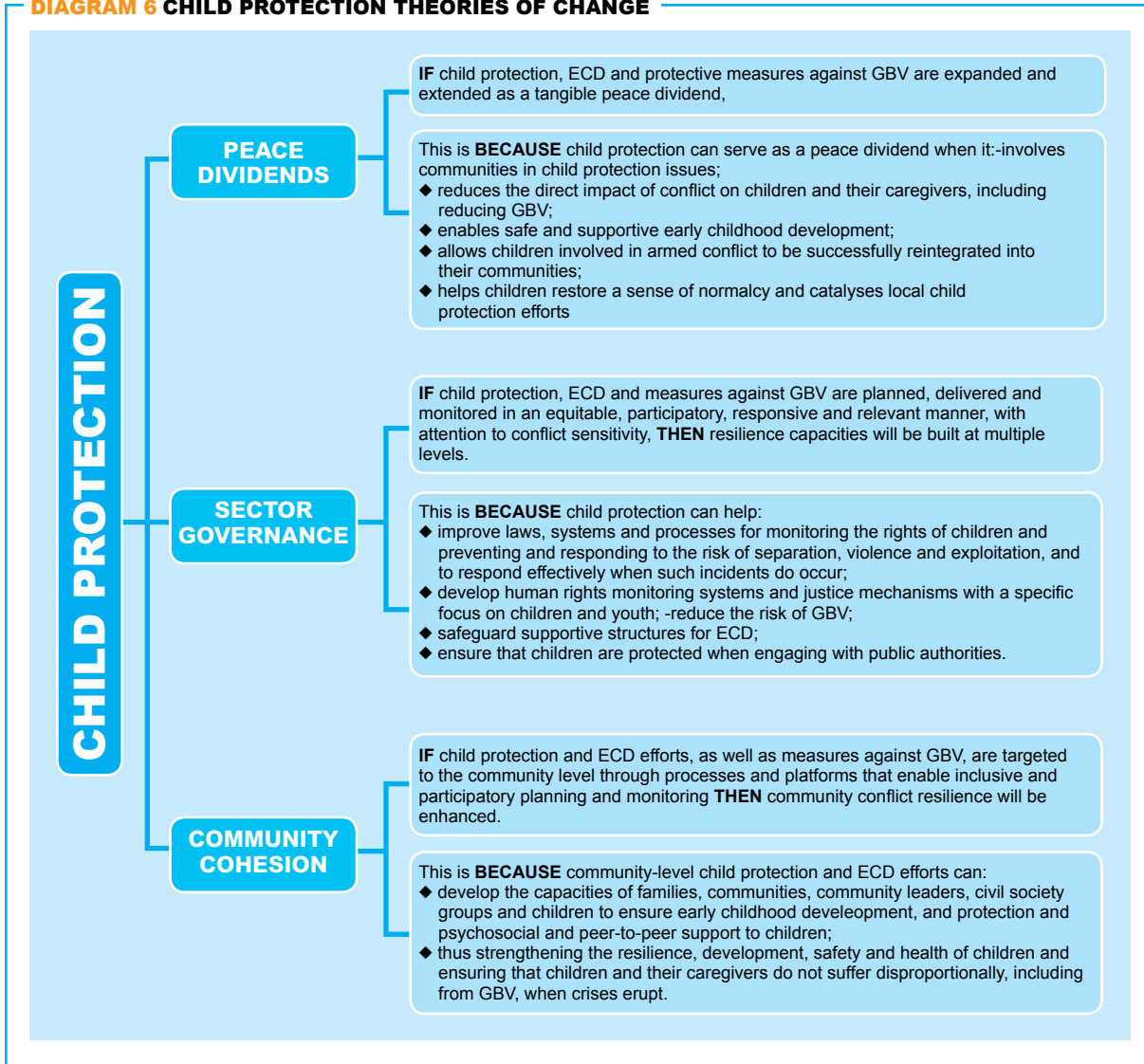
UNICEF's work on social protection also impacts child protection and ECD. Even in times of crisis, many communities sustain endogenous social protection systems that can be strengthened in parallel with efforts to develop more formal social protection systems.[181] There is also a connection between, for example, cash transfers to vulnerable communities, and those communities' ability to absorb shocks. As this review does not cover UNICEF's social protection programming in detail, it would encourage further work to this effect, for example, by drawing on the comprehensive research conducted by Carpenter, Slater and Mallett.[182]

Diagram 6 outlines how interventions related to child protection, ECD and gender-based violence (GBV) can apply the theories of change for contributing to resilience through peacebuilding that targets peace dividends, sector governance and community cohesion.

174 Elliott, Heather, Children and *Peacebuilding: Experiences and perspectives,* World Vision, Melbourne, Australia, 2002.
175 UNICEF Executive Board, 'UNICEF Child Protection Strategy', E/ICEF/2008/5/Rev.1, United Nations Economic and Social Council, New York, 20 May 2008. 176 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Core Commitments for Children in Humanitarian Action', UNICEF, New York, May 2010. Available at: <www.unicef.org/publications/index_21835.html>.
177 Chopra, Vidur, et al., 'Peace Building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note', United Nations Children's Fund, p. 6.
178 Gender-Based Violence Area of Responsibility Working Group, *Handbook for Coordinating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings,* Global Protection Cluster, July 2010. Open PDF

from: <www.unicef.org/protection/files/GBV_Handbook_Long_Version.pdf>.
179 UNICEF Executive Board, 'UNICEF Gender Action Plan 2014–2017', E/ICEF/2014/CRP.12, United Nations Children's Fund, 15 April 2014. Available at: <www.unicef.org/gender/gender_57856.html>.
180 Chopra, Vidur, 'Peace Building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note', United Nations Children's Fund. Available at: <www2.unicef.org:60090/earlychildhood/index_publications.html>.
181 Carpenter, Samuel, Rachel Slater and Richard Mallett, S*ocial Protection and Basic Services in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations*, Overseas Development Institute, London, October 2012, Sections 5.1 and 5.5. Available at: <www.securelivelihoods.org/publications_details.aspx?resourceid=145>.
182 Ibid.

DIAGRAM 6 CHILD PROTECTION THEORIES OF CHANGE

CHILD PROTECTION

PEACE DIVIDENDS

IF child protection, ECD and protective measures against GBV are expanded and extended as a tangible peace dividend,

This is **BECAUSE** child protection can serve as a peace dividend when it:-involves communities in child protection issues;
◆ reduces the direct impact of conflict on children and their caregivers, including reducing GBV;
◆ enables safe and supportive early childhood development;
◆ allows children involved in armed conflict to be successfully reintegrated into their communities;
◆ helps children restore a sense of normalcy and catalyses local child protection efforts

SECTOR GOVERNANCE

IF child protection, ECD and measures against GBV are planned, delivered and monitored in an equitable, participatory, responsive and relevant manner, with attention to conflict sensitivity, **THEN** resilience capacities will be built at multiple levels.

This is **BECAUSE** child protection can help:
◆ improve laws, systems and processes for monitoring the rights of children and preventing and responding to the risk of separation, violence and exploitation, and to respond effectively when such incidents do occur;
◆ develop human rights monitoring systems and justice mechanisms with a specific focus on children and youth; -reduce the risk of GBV;
◆ safeguard supportive structures for ECD;
◆ ensure that children are protected when engaging with public authorities.

COMMUNITY COHESION

IF child protection and ECD efforts, as well as measures against GBV, are targeted to the community level through processes and platforms that enable inclusive and participatory planning and monitoring **THEN** community conflict resilience will be enhanced.

This is **BECAUSE** community-level child protection and ECD efforts can:
◆ develop the capacities of families, communities, community leaders, civil society groups and children to ensure early childhood develeopment, and protection and psychosocial and peer-to-peer support to children;
◆ thus strengthening the resilience, development, safety and health of children and ensuring that children and their caregivers do not suffer disproportionally, including from GBV, when crises erupt.

6.1 CHILD PROTECTION AS PEACE DIVIDEND

Improvements in the conditions for children are a vital peace dividend when they address drivers of conflict and are perceived as being linked to the absence of conflict. While the cessation of hostilities often leads to direct improvements, including children and youth no longer being directly involved in armed conflict, the negative legacies of armed conflict on children's well-being and resilience is typically longer term. This includes ingrained GBV practices and trauma relating to sexual exploitation or corporal punishment. Conflict often weakens non-violent social norms beyond the conflict itself, resulting in increased domestic violence, corporal punishment and other forms of abuse. Further, conflict has long-lasting negative impact on early childhood development. Also conflict often undermines the platforms through which children and youth can normally make themselves heard. The consequences are directly felt by children and youths who may develop lasting psychosocial trauma and a sense of alienation, which is extremely counterproductive for the broader efforts to sustain peace.

Child protection and ECD interventions, along with measures to reduce GBV, offer a unique opportunity to deliver peace dividends that have a positive impact on children and their caregivers in both the short and long

term. UNICEF has been involved in establishing child- and adolescent-friendly spaces in a number of countries. These centres often become temporary platforms for community-level provision of psychosocial, recreational and educational support, including through the early childhood years. The spaces help children restore a sense of normalcy and catalyse local child protection efforts, therefore serving as crucial and immediate peace dividends.

Community dialogues and information campaigns also seek to reduce harmful social norms such as practices supporting or allowing GBV. Examples include the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where child-friendly spaces run by village committees have been credited with providing a vital entry point to initiate dialogue that brought together community leaders and children. In Pakistan, the Protective Learning and Community Emergency Services initiative has provided important opportunities for the community to engage on child protection issues.

In Nepal, UNICEF worked with Search for Common Ground to develop a programme aimed to prevent youth from being manipulated to engage in violence by providing a platform for children's and youth's 'voices' during the transition to peace.[183] This programme was crucial to creating a space for children in Nepal to be heard, opening dialogue on reintegrating child soldiers, and promoting engagement between the generations. Implemented included creating a radio programme run by children, the development of youth clubs, and communication campaigns explaining the importance of return and reintegration mechanisms for children involved in armed conflict. An evaluation conducted in 2009 found the project to be highly successful in achieving its objectives. Educating and engaging the community and involving children in the discussion lead to a collective knowledge gain and a new interaction between multiple generations and stakeholders within the community.[184]

6.2 CHILD PROTECTION TO ADVANCE BETTER SECTOR GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY (VERTICAL SOCIAL COHESION)

In every context, child protection and ECD programming are guided by the commitment to equity. The objective of this approach is to ensure that the most vulnerable, socially excluded and least visible groups in society are reached by child protection systems. Child protection focuses on the "laws, policies, regulations and services needed across all social sectors — especially social welfare, education, health, security and justice — to support prevention and respond to protection-related risks." [185] The aim of sector-focused child protection work is to improve structures to reduce social exclusion, to lower the risk of separation, violence and exploitation, and to respond effectively when such incidents do occur. Over the past several years, many UNICEF child protection staff have worked with parties to conflict, both state forces and non-state armed groups, in developing action plans to address grave violations against children in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict.

ECD interventions to advance better sector governance and institutional accountability can be aimed towards programmes for strengthening caregivers' capacities and institutions that support ECD. Such interventions could also include a focus on the role of media in children's lives, ensuring positive messages that promote peacebuilding.[186] Sector governance and institutional accountability can also be strengthened with regard to reducing GBV in emergencies where inadequate formal systems of protection and justice can put women and girls at increased risk of multiple forms of violence.[187]

Child protection's systems-based approach integrates multiple sectors – such as education, social welfare, health, law enforcement and justice – and stakeholders at all levels, which strengthens social cohesion and the resilience of children and communities.[188] In Uganda, UNICEF collaborated with UNDP, the United Nations Population Fund and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to implement the Peacebuilding through Justice for All and Human Rights programme in 2011. The programme aimed to fill some of the gaps in the justice system and enforcement of human rights that had been created by decades of conflict, and focused on "strengthening access to effective justice, supporting national reconciliation processes

183 Thapa, Rashmi, 'Final Evaluation Report: Children's Voices – Children associated with armed forces and armed groups', Search for Common Ground, Nepal, March 2009, p. 4.
184 Ibid., pp. 5–6.
185 Scott, Laura, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding', United Nations Children's Fund, New York, December 2013, p. 5.

186 See, for example: Chopar, Vidur, 'Peace Building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note', United Nations Children's Fund, pp. 17–18.
187 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Gender Action Plan 2014–2017', UNICEF, New York.
188 Seymour, Claudia, 'Adolescent Engagement in Peacebuilding: UNICEF Guidance Note' (First draft), UNICEF, 21 March 2013.

and promoting accountability and the protection of fundamental human rights."[189] A range of activities were implemented, including creating access to informal justice mechanisms, supporting capacity building for police and judiciary, engaging civil society organizations and communities in reconciliation processes, and campaigning to raise awareness about human rights issues. All of this work has focused on strengthening sector governance and institutional accountability as it relates to child protection.

6.3 CHILD PROTECTION FOR PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE BUILDING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL (HORIZONTAL SOCIAL COHESION)

UNICEF's peacebuilding-oriented child protection activities can also help develop community resilience through interventions that build capacities for dialogue, reconciliation and collaboration and thereby support community-level social cohesion and collective action, which are key dimensions of resilience.[190] ECD interventions help create a shared vision for the future that focuses on children. ECD interventions also promote collaboration, deliberation and the development of social networks across different groups, which strengthens resilience.

UNICEF's work to this effect primarily focuses on protection mechanisms and countering gender-based violence at the community level. In the absence of formal government-managed mechanisms, child protection often relies on families, local networks, and community and religious leaders. Programming thus depends on indigenous capacities and potentially reinforces resilient capacities that can help a community's ability to understand and manage multiple risks and uncertainty.

UNICEF has supported the establishment of community-based child protection mechanisms, networks and safe spaces for children and adolescents in a range of countries. Further, UNICEF supports programmes that use ECD as a platform for creating a shared vision for the future that focuses on children and promotes collaboration, planning and the development of social networks across different groups that can help strengthen cohesion within and between communities.[191] Further, UNICEF works with actors at the community level to address gender norms and behaviours in order to prevent gender-based violence.

Such efforts draw on local capacities such as families, communities and children themselves in driving change, as well as providing protection and psychosocial and peer-to-peer support that strengthens the resilience, safety and health of children and their caregivers. Examples include children's clubs, women's and youth groups, traditional community groups, religious committees and government-mandated committees. Community and religious leaders often play a key role in empowering the groups by extending 'moral authority' that can advance the child protection agenda. UNICEF also strives to promote attitudes, behaviours and practices that are gender-sensitive, respectful and inclusive of girls and boys, particularly those who are most marginalized.

In Afghanistan, the BBC World Service Trust and UNICEF developed a training handbook on community dialogue as a tool to strengthen local child protection networks and develop the capacity of community leaders, including mullahs. The participants received training as community mediators to negotiate solutions for children affected by conflict, based on both Islamic principles and international standards.[192]

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Safer Environment for Children Initiative focused on violence prevention, particularly in schools, and helped support safe and peace-oriented ECD. This programmed "aimed to enable children, teachers and parents to develop actions to prevent peer violence among children … [and] to improve child safety through capacity building and promote youth participation in safety issues."[193] Activities included having peer groups and communities develop and implement safer community action plans that empowered

189 Scott, Laura, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding', United Nations Children's Fund, New York, December 2013, p. 24.
190 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Conflict Sensitivity and Peacebuilding Technical Note', UNICEF, June 2012.
191 Chopra, Vidur, et al., 'Peace Building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note',

United Nations Children's Fund, p. 3.
192 Scott, Laura, 'The Crossroads of Child Protection and Education in Peacebuilding', United Nations Children's Fund, December 2013, p. 12.
193 Ibid., p. 19.

children to voice their concerns, establishing violence prevention boards, and implementing a campaign to increase awareness about the importance of child safety.

An external evaluation of the Safer Environment programme concluded that it had been successful in increasing knowledge and awareness about the importance of child safety and violence prevention. More significantly, it increased youth engagement in the community and in school life, creating links that built cohesion and encouraged connections between community members to support long-term peace.[194] By developing the capacities of parents, teachers and children as well as engaging with the community, this initiative was able to achieve both upstream and downstream peacebuilding and resilience results.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CHILD PROTECTION SECTOR

◆ **While comprehensive guidance has been developed, there is limited consolidated evidence that focuses on the impact of UNICEF's ECD and GBV programming on peacebuilding. One example to follow is the 2013 study on child protection and peacebuilding, which has helped UNICEF document the impact of programming.**

◆ **Child protection, ECD and GBV-prevention initiatives often require action at multiple levels, which necessitates a comprehensive approach across several UNICEF sectors. A genuinely integrated effort, backed by senior management, will be necessary to promote and achieve cross-sectoral thinking and programming.**

◆ **UNICEF also has a unique role in promoting the role of children and adolescents as 'peace agents' who can contribute positively to peacebuilding. Specific 'primary objective' programming can be implemented to this effect.**

◆ **The comprehensive *Handbook for Coordinating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings*[195] and the guidance note[196] that has been developed in support of ECD interventions with a peacebuilding focus can be exceptionally relevant in this context.**

◆ **Finally, issues around child protection and gender-based violence are often deeply contentious, which requires UNICEF to apply a delicate and careful strategy for upstream and advocacy work.**

194 Ibid., p. 21, citing Jajčević, Lana, 'Safer Environment for Children in Primary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (Evaluation), December 2010.
195 Gender-Based Violence Area of Responsibility Working Group, *Handbook for Coordinating Gender-*

Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Settings, Global Protection Cluster, July 2010.
196 Chopra, Vidur, et al., 'Peace Building through Early Childhood Development: A guidance note', United Nations Children's Fund.

This study makes the case for valuing the contributions of social services to resilience through peacebuilding and to enhance programming in this direction. Key findings and recommendations are outlined in the following sections.

7. STRATEGIC POSITIONING FOR PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE

Peacebuilding processes and outcomes lie at the heart of 'conflict resilience', that is, the resilience of communities, societies and systems to predict, mitigate or prevent, and transform conflict. They also support sector conflict resilience – the capacities of sectors to resist and transform conflict drivers within planning, operations and evaluation. Resilience programming oriented towards disasters response and development can also benefit from a peacebuilding lens and/or peacebuilding dimensions infused into design, monitoring and evaluation – particularly in conflict-affected and fragile settings, where assuring resilience to conflict is a clear development goal.

Because it is present before, during and after conflict, and is a pivotal agency engaged in both humanitarian and development work, UNICEF is uniquely positioned to contribute to peacebuilding and resilience in conflict settings through its social services programming. The breadth and scope of its programming at all levels is apparent, and a wide array of stakeholders benefit from these programmes. UNICEF has a particular focus on the type of social services that are vital to achieving sustainable peace, development and the resilience of individuals, communities and whole societies.

Along with its leadership in peacebuilding and resilience thinking and practice, UNICEF is committed to informing practice and policy with evidence-based research and has a willingness to put finances behind this – always with a focus on children, who are the current and future agents of peace and resilience.

Funding mechanisms, processes, leadership and guidance must all support the principle that integrating peacebuilding and resilience objectives does not mean doing entirely different things, but doing existing things differently. Above and beyond other factors, scaling up will require leadership and commitment from headquarters. Country office staff, who often work in complex settings and are stretched in countless ways, may have little time to innovate. Senior management will need to fully back changes, and make it desirable and feasible for field staff to embark on this project.

UNICEF can increase the effectiveness of its contributions to building peace and resilience by:

◆ **Ensuring that it's humanitarian and development programmes move beyond being only conflict-sensitive and towards intentional peacebuilding whenever possible and applicable.**

◆ **Becoming more intentional and strategic about implementing programmes in this area, because conflict undermines all programming and creates and fuels humanitarian emergencies, destroying development foundations and potential. This can be achieved by such actions as:**

  ◆ Explicitly supporting systems and capacities for dialogue, reconciliation, inter-group collaboration and collective action within and between communities (horizontal social cohesion)and facilitating stronger relationships between communities and formal state institutions at the national and local levels (vertical social cohesion).

  ◆ Deepening support to governments in longer-term inter-sectoral planning and systems strengthening, as well as through policy efforts that address issues of conflict and other types of risks towards resilience.[197]

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197 'Education, Peacebuilding and Resilience: Kathmandu background paper, Part 4'.

◆ Investing in analysing and understanding internal capacities and mechanisms that drive conflict resilience at different levels, and implementing programmes that reinforce these capacities.

◆ **Spearheading strategy in this area throughout the United Nations system and beyond, particularly with a view to building bridges between humanitarian and development efforts.**

◆ **Using the resilience *chapeau* to make the case for deliberate peacebuilding programming in contexts where conflict is a primary risk, and articulate UNICEF's unique contributions vis-à-vis partners and donors.**

8. PROGRAMME DESIGN, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The focus on community-centred initiatives is proving to be a crucial strategy and target for peacebuilding and resilience programmes. This applies in post-conflict contexts in which peace consolidation requires enhancing societal engagement in and ownership of the responsibilities and benefits associated with this monumental task, as well as in humanitarian and transitional contexts where the state does not have full control over its territory. Community-level structures are vital entry points because people tend to organize at this level – and capacities for absorption, adaptation and transformation in response to shock and stress already exist or can be developed. UNICEF can arguably maximize benefits across its resilience programmes, but especially at the community level, by more intentionally integrating a peacebuilding and resilience 'lens' into this work.

Upstream and downstream links in programming generally, and particularly around peacebuilding and resilience, need to be strengthened. This is a priority for ensuring that societies are peaceful and resilient, and to make sure that gains achieved at different levels are catalytic in supporting positive, systemic change. UNICEF needs to strategize carefully how the benefits of its community-level programmes 'trickle up' and cohere with and strategically impact its upstream work, as well as strategy and programming of its partners, notably other United Nations agencies and United Nations political and peacekeeping missions.

A powerful entry point that is being unevenly accessed and capitalized on for policy-level impact is the New Deal for engagement in fragile states.[198] In Somalia, for example, greater United Nations coherence around conflict analysis to inform Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals could bring vital benefits to the New Deal process, such as in the working groups and the United Nations Integrated Strategic Framework, where conflict and fragility analysis should guide programme priorities. Similarly, UNICEF can have a more strategic role in influencing national policy frameworks – as well as joint United Nations strategies and the Development Assistance Framework – to be more conflict, peace and resilience sensitive, factoring these issues fundamentally into thinking across social service areas.

UNICEF staff will need considerable support in rising to the challenge of designing better programmes that can promote peacebuilding and resilience. Many UNICEF staff are not familiar with the meaning and practical uses of either peacebuilding or resilience, let alone the relationship between them and with social services. Education, thanks to the well-supported PBEA programme, is considerably ahead in awareness and practice. The non-education sectors will need to catch up and will expectedly need to do so without the same level of funding, capacity and interest that has been generated by the PBEA.

Cross-sectoral learning is important, and will be supported by shared theories of change. This will allow for deeper investigation and evidence production around the differences and similarities of peacebuilding and resilience results across programmes. Integrated programming is also vital, given the multidimensional – and never monocausal – nature of conflict and fragility.

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198 See: New Deal – Building peaceful states, <www.newdeal4peace.org>.

UNICEF can increase the effectiveness of its contributions by:

◆ **Developing the necessary staff capacities for peacebuilding and resilience programming. The ongoing capacity development initiative for conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding will be helpful to this effect.**

◆ **Investing more in analysing and understanding what actually drives people's resilience at different levels, not just what drives conflict. Programming could focus on identifying and strengthening existing capacities for resilience and developing communities' capacities to understand and prepare for whatever risks are identified as the most severe in a particular context, and to develop sustainable and locally owned responses to these risks.**

◆ **Ensuring that this report's theories of change around social services, peacebuilding and resilience are more intentionally programmed to produce a stronger evidence base, and advocating for broader usage among United Nations and other partners.**

◆ **Ensuring that conflict analysis is undertaken in a structured and predictable manner, and that pressure from donors and partners for UNICEF to deliver rapidly does not rule out important considerations that arise in and through such analysis.**

The strengths of peacebuilding and resilience programming have much to do with the intent of programme design as well as a willingness of traditional monitoring and evaluation officers to work with peacebuilding-oriented staff and think outside their traditional way of doing things. WASH, health and other key sectors could greatly benefit by having stronger capacities – technical, political and methodological – to design and implement programmes with specific peacebuilding and resilience intent. If UNICEF is to maximize the coherence and impact it is seeking in ways that effectively engage multi-sector and multi-level conflict and development challenges and achieve peacebuilding and resilience results, it is vital to ensure that these capacities exist across sectors.

UNICEF can increase the effectiveness of its contributions by:

◆ **More explicitly integrating peacebuilding and resilience objectives into its programming and defining appropriate indicators.**

◆ **Developing the capacity of UNICEF staff to design programmes that integrate peacebuilding and resilience objectives and theories of change as highlighted in this report, and collecting data on results to build an evidence base.**

◆ **Using and testing the indicators developed for the guidance accompanying this review as a starting point for developing country-level indicators for peacebuilding**.

◆ **Integrating peacebuilding and resilience indicators of all kinds into the next UNICEF Strategic Plan and other strategic documents.**

◆ **Building greater coherence around strategies for community-level programming to maximize the benefits of UNICEF's comparative advantage of working across multiple sectors, and during the humanitarian and development phases.**

◆ **Working for greater strategic coherence across upstream and downstream efforts – of UNICEF and United Nations and other partners – and across horizontal and vertical programming and strategy efforts.**

9. COHERENCE FOR EFFECTIVE PEACEBUILDING AND RESILIENCE PROGRAMMING

While significant efforts have been made in the area of conflict analysis to inform strategy and programming, this experience is not being utilized to inform programming and strategy efficiently or evenly across sectors and country programmes and missions. The United Nations as a whole could better respond to the recommendations repeatedly made by staff and consultants during the past decade, to allow its political analysis capacities to serve its development programming.

UNICEF and other agencies could greatly benefit from systematic, horizontal sharing of information by the political side of peacekeeping and political missions, in ways that could ensure greater attention to the conflict-sensitivity and peacebuilding design of its programmes.

Further, as with all of its overarching and influential policy agendas, the United Nations will need to work to cohere its understanding and policy approach to resilience, and work to foster a United Nations-wide agreement about the conceptual and practical relationship between peacebuilding and resilience. This report aims to support this necessary process.