



Programming in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries: A Learning Companion

Contents

- 1 About this companion
- 2 What is Oxfam's role in fragile and conflict-affected contexts?
- 3 Oxfam's approach to working in fragile and conflict-affected contexts
- 4 Programme identification
- 5 Programme design
- 6 Programme implementation and management
- 7 Programme monitoring, evaluation, and learning
- 8 Further reading

Learning objectives

After reading this Companion, you should:

- understand the key terms involved in programming in fragile and conflict-affected contexts;
- know where to find further guidance and tools to help you plan and implement programme activities;
- know where to get more help or further information.

1 About this Learning Companion

This learning companion aims to provide background information and practical guidance for all those who are designing and implementing programmes in conflict-affected countries or contexts. It is intended for use in conjunction with the Programme Policy Guidelines, 'Programming in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries' (2011). Programme staff are encouraged to design interventions that are imaginative, robust, and realistic, while also being agile and responsive to complex and rapidly-changing situations.



Shahristan District (Daikundi Province), Afghanistan, December 2010. Oxfam GB team meeting with Community Development Centres. Oxfam works with 581 CDCs in Daikundi Province. Photo: Sheeba Harna/Oxfam.

Understanding the key terms

Fragile states

States that fail, through lack of capacity or lack of will, to provide public goods to their citizens – including safety and security, economic well-being, and essential social services.

Drivers of conflict

Factors that contribute to the conflict, without which it would either not exist or would be significantly different; such factors can be long-term structural issues, more immediate triggers, or anything in between.

Conflict transformation

A holistic, multi-faceted process of engaging with conflict to reduce violence and protect and promote social justice and sustainable peace.

‘Do No Harm’

A principle developed to help assess the impact of aid in areas affected by conflict. The ‘Do No Harm’ framework can help you understand the complex issues that often characterise conflict-affected environments. It can also help you to clarify how programming decisions affect relationships.

Conflict sensitivity

Conflict-sensitive programming requires you to understand the interaction between the proposed intervention and the conflict dynamics, in order to avoid any negative impacts and to maximise positive impacts.

Theory of change

This expresses how we expect to bring about change in the lives of those people we work with. Developing a theory of change requires an understanding of how change happens in a particular context in order to identify the short- and long-term outcomes needed to deliver change, and what can be done to help deliver that change. In fragile or conflict-affected contexts, there is a need to focus at least as much on the process as on the outputs.



Midwife Training classes run by Oxfam in Sayoun, Yemen, February 2007. Photo: Abbie Trayler-Smith/Oxfam

2 What is Oxfam's role in fragile and conflict-affected contexts?

Fragile and conflict-affected countries or contexts are often characterised by chronic humanitarian need, limited capacity of civil-society groups, dysfunctional markets, and sudden and unpredictable political developments, as well as internal constraints (not least the difficulty in attracting and retaining staff). In such contexts, the risks of getting something wrong are heightened; a badly-designed or poorly-delivered programme exposes poor and vulnerable people, as well as staff and partners, to unacceptable levels of risk. However, there is always the potential to bring about positive change and we have the ability to both influence and respond to it. Striking a balance between supporting positive change and managing and minimising risk is the key to effective programming in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

When Oxfam decides to engage in fragile or conflict-affected contexts, programme staff need to have confidence in the decisions that are made and the reasons for those decisions. This is vital to enable you to build and strengthen relationships with key stakeholders, including governments, donors, other NGOs, local or regional power brokers, staff, partners, and local communities.

2.1 Working with risk

Forward planning, risk assessments and plans, and strong relationships with partners and beneficiaries are all essential to enable you to design programming that is effective, agile, and flexible. The decisions that country programme staff take regarding risks – to staff, partners, beneficiaries, and even to Oxfam's reputation – are linked to risks regarding project timeframes, cost, and scope. (See box below for a description of the different types of risk you will need to assess.)

Whether directly, in emergency contexts, or with partners in development programmes, you need to have a strong and confident approach to risk management that balances the risks facing different groups. It is not just programme staff who need to consider risk. Other teams, including Human Resources (HR), finance and logistics, need to adopt risk management strategies, and develop an awareness of how their actions and procedures can affect local power dynamics.

Different types of risk

Organisational risk

Inappropriate or poorly informed interventions may put Oxfam's reputation at risk. Examples might include being seen to favour one group involved in a conflict over another, or hiring staff from a particular faction or religious group. However, thorough analysis, planning, and internal and external ownership of decision-making processes will give a programme the confidence to be bold in its strategies. Transparent and accountable decision-making processes can, in themselves, be a risk management strategy.

There is always some degree of risk for international NGOs operating in fragile or conflict-affected contexts, as these are among the most difficult environments to work in. Country-level strategies or programmes should have built-in contingency plans (for example, in the event that Oxfam and other agencies are ordered to leave the host country), which are detailed down to project level.

Risks facing staff

In countries or areas affected by conflict, Oxfam's international staff, and often local staff too, understand that there is a certain level of personal risk involved in implementing programmes. Programme managers should ensure that each staff member, as part of their induction, performance appraisals, and objective-setting exercises, clearly articulates their risk threshold, within the context of the relevant security guidelines. They should consider a number of scenarios and plan their response in each case so that they are well prepared for a wide range of eventualities. This will also give other staff in the team confidence that they can handle things even when extremely challenging developments occur.

Risks facing partner organisations and staff

Staff from partner organisations can also face serious personal risks through being involved in the programme, including loss of life. A country change strategy should include a requirement for a shared understanding of the risks that individuals and partner organisations are willing to take. Programme managers and other relevant staff should consider issues in the relationships with partners, with a view to reaching agreement on how different levels of risk can be assessed and managed. During the programme design stage, time and money should be factored in for more detailed, ongoing risk-related discussions and reviews.

Risks facing beneficiaries

Experience shows that humanitarian and development interventions can sometimes cause misunderstandings within and between the communities they are designed to support. For organisations working in challenging contexts, the likelihood of programme interventions fuelling existing conflicts or inequalities – or indeed creating new ones – is high. Country change strategies should allow extra time and money for additional attention to be given at each stage of programming to revisit the risks to beneficiaries from their association with the programme.

An emergency programme delivering humanitarian aid in a conflict-affected context can also put beneficiaries at risk because of the input of scarce goods. Distribution points are often obvious and necessarily pre-planned, enabling supplies to be easily appropriated by combatants; and the movement of women and children over long distances can present considerable risks to their safety (they may be at risk of rape, or may be injured by unexploded ordnance, for instance). Staff responsible for programme design in these contexts must include sufficient analysis of risk and strategies for risk reduction, applying the 'Do No Harm' Framework approach. Where high levels of risk are perceived, you should prioritise discussions with partners and, where possible, beneficiaries, to design more favourable outcomes. Again, this has implications for the cost and timing of projects, and these should be considered up front.

To promote greater accountability in emergency settings, *The Good Enough Guide* provides a checklist on 'How to introduce your agency', and asks you to consider questions you may be asked by beneficiaries, government officials, and other stakeholders.

TOOL

Emergency Capacity Building (ECB) Project (2007) Impact Measurement and Accountability in Emergencies: The Good Enough Guide, pp. 30–31.

You can find it here:

<http://publications.oxfam.org.uk/display.asp?k=9780855985943&keyword=good+enough+guide&m=5&dc=7>

2.2 Ethical dilemmas and risk

The box below presents examples of the kinds of risks and ethical dilemmas likely to be encountered during programming in fragile and conflict-affected contexts. These and other context-appropriate dilemmas can be role-played in training workshops at country and project levels. This is a useful exercise to be undertaken in the lead-up to strategic planning. The process of talking

through these dilemmas and reflecting on the conflicts that arise within the group(s), as well as the proposals for resolving the situations and moving forward, can be documented and shared. The country office or programme manager may need to seek additional support from external consultants with experience of conflict resolution and transformation to support such sessions.

Examples of ethical dilemmas and risks

Programming in fragile and conflict-affected contexts will require making decisions that involve weighing up a number of risks. These are some hypothetical examples.

1. Personal security of staff, partners, and beneficiaries

Oxfam is working in a country where there is increasing conflict and where food distributions may present personal risks to Oxfam staff, the staff of partner organisations, and beneficiaries at distribution points. Do you and your partner organisations continue with the distributions? Do you decide that it is safer for partner staff to run distributions, thereby reducing the risk to Oxfam staff? Is this simply transferring the risk to partners? Are there reasons why partner staff might be better placed than Oxfam staff to manage the distributions? Are there different methods of distribution that might reduce the risk to beneficiaries? In reducing the risk to beneficiaries, might you increase the risks faced by staff from partner organisations or Oxfam staff?

2. Solidarity vs. practicality

Oxfam's partner has a three-year commitment to support the advocacy campaign of a local women's group working to make female genital mutilation (FGM) illegal. With the campaign on the verge of success and having gained the support of an international alliance of NGOs, the government forbids Oxfam and its partners from working on the campaign. How do you weigh up the risk of being denied access to the country if you continue to support the campaign against the risk of losing the trust of the local community if you decide to stop supporting it?

3. Doing harm

Members of a rebel group, known for abducting and brutalising young people, have been gathered in a camp awaiting disarmament, demobilisation, and rehabilitation (DDR) – a process funded by international donors. There are no facilities in the camp and, without food and water, the rebels have been meeting their basic needs in the same way they have done for years – by raiding local villages. Civilians in the area have lived in the conflict zone for many years and have often been the targets of extreme and horrific acts carried out by rebels. Oxfam has been providing basic humanitarian assistance and advocating for their safety for many years, building close relations with this community in the process. Now Oxfam has been asked to provide water points for the DDR camp in order to stop the rebel raids whilst they await the start of the DDR process. How do you react to the request to provide services in the DDR camps? What principles would you use to guide you? What are the issues you have to consider in terms of the impact on your relationships with local communities, government, and donors, and the humanitarian principles and space in general?

2.3 How change happens

The causal relationships between poverty, conflict, fragility, inequality, social exclusion, and competition over scarce resources are neither clear cut nor consistent – poverty, social exclusion, and inequality can be both drivers and consequences of conflict. In these environments, linear (often Western) approaches to bringing about change do not hold. A direct causality between action and outcome or a linear progression from one point to another, step-by-step – the usual basis of programme logframes – cannot be assumed. The dynamics of fragility and conflict are fluid, complex, and volatile. Unpredictable changes such as a large-scale natural disaster or an election that results in a change of leadership are usually very context specific; often, the situation can change on a daily basis, and plans and strategies need to be responsive and adaptable. Sometimes, it is during these moments that organisations and individuals have the opportunity to make ‘the impossible’ possible, especially if they are well prepared.

While Oxfam’s entry point is usually through an emergency response to humanitarian needs arising from fragility and conflict, it is vital that an assessment of the programme environment identifies which change processes Oxfam is best placed to deliver. Programme design needs to consider the different spheres of influence, and this will very much depend on the local context. Distributing food and other vital supplies is likely to be one priority, but influencing other organisations and actors through well-targeted and appropriate advocacy work is also likely to be key to bringing about broader change. In some contexts, for instance, providing job opportunities – particularly for young people – may be a critical factor in addressing the root causes of conflict.

While local factors are likely to have a strong influence on the conflict dynamics, regional and global factors can also have a positive or negative impact. For this reason, you should try to think more broadly and be

open to making connections between elements you may previously have assumed to be separate. For instance, diaspora communities can engage on both sides in an internal conflict, or can be a source of much-needed investment and skills.

In the absence of legitimate and accountable state structures, there may be other institutions (religious or social, for example) that hold the necessary legitimacy and accountability. In some situations, these are the only structures that have the potential to provide functional governance at local level. Traditional authorities and tribal structures can provide a hub for change, as can private sector networks, such as the exchange houses in Somalia which enabled effective cash transfer programmes. Diaspora populations can also play a role in constructing new kinds of legitimacy and accountability.

Fragile and conflict-affected countries may include areas that are pockets of stability and functionality – whether sectoral or geographic – and these should be investigated for opportunities for engagement. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), for example, a context analysis found that the education sector was functional in a way that other line ministries were not.

In order to develop a plausible theory of change, a regular, ongoing analysis needs to be made of the local context, including the dynamics of power and key power brokers, the cultural environment, changing demographics, political and economic realities, and how these factors all interact. By its nature, change is often unpredictable and rapid, and it is critical to update analysis as frequently as the situation requires. Ultimately, the aim is to improve people’s lives by developing programming that is agile and responsive enough to take advantage of all opportunities to bring about positive change. But if the most that can be done in a challenging context is to prevent people’s lives getting worse, then that is worth doing.

3 Oxfam's approach to working in fragile and conflict-affected contexts

Our approach recognises the need to adapt programmes to reflect the nuances of a rapidly changing situation. Promoting an internal culture of collaborative decision-making, cultural awareness and understanding, and organisational change can lead to a more agile country programme that ultimately has greater impact. The following principles should help guide your approach to programming and developing a country change strategy.

Address the 'big problem'

A context analysis should identify the 'big problem' (or problems) which underlie the conflict-affected or fragile situation, and what Oxfam can do about it. While it may be unrealistic to expect Oxfam, as an external and relatively small actor, to address these big problems directly, you should try to identify ways that your programming can make small but important contributions to addressing these problems. For example, you might decide that strengthening the capacity of civil society organisations and local governance structures is the most effective way to bring about change.

Consider the longer term

'No quick impact programming will be effective without a link to agreed long-term goals.'

Penny Lawrence, Oxfam GB International Director

A country change strategy must prioritise the links between short-term humanitarian programming and longer-term development programmes. This may require searching out opportunities to work with other actors to ensure complementarity of activities and to maximise impact over the longer term at a variety of levels. The choice of local partners should also reflect a longer-term perspective. This may mean working closely with partners that have limited organisational capacity but have the potential to be effective organisations given the right support.

Keep an open mind

Try to assess what is actually happening in any given situation rather than what others (or indeed your own preconceptions) may tell you is happening. In conflict-affected and fragile contexts, it is vital that your approach is non-prescriptive. Country change strategies must encourage creativity and place high value on finding solutions that are workable at local level. This not only ensures that the programme is based on a comprehensive knowledge of the local context, it also necessitates detailed discussions that develop an understanding of the impact of the conflict or fragility on programme success and any potential negative impacts of programme activities.

A country programme may want to replicate successful strategies for reintegrating former child soldiers into their home communities, based on strong gender analysis, focused psychological counselling, and other interventions. But a country change strategy that encourages open inquiry and values local connectedness may find that the local communities have their own rites for 'healing' the child that involve the local shaman as a necessary first step to successful reintegration.

Develop conflict sensitivity

One way of ensuring that your programming is conflict sensitive is to apply the 'Do No Harm' principle; however, in practice, you are likely to encounter many institutional or other constraints that make implementation difficult (for example, staff attitudes towards gender roles may reinforce rather than challenge the status quo; or the time and effort invested in data collection may be wasted if sufficient time is not dedicated to analysis).

The Conflict Sensitivity Consortium¹ has developed a self-assessment tool to help its members analyse institutional capacity for conflict sensitivity. Country programmes should engage with this process and identify their own capacity-building needs to support conflict sensitivity, based on an analysis of their institutional strengths and weaknesses.

Develop agile programming that actively manages risk

Agile programming means actively and rapidly responding to changes in the context. These changes could involve the dynamics of the conflict, political and economic developments, or the choices and actions of other actors. It might mean that you need to scale up some areas of work and scale others down; or it might mean selecting new types of partners and limiting future support to existing partners. Agility needs to rest firmly on appropriate risk analysis and a clearly defined strategy for bringing about change (see Section 4.3, 'Analysing the context', for more on this).

Look inward as well as outward

Your country office will need to spend time and money assessing how their usual ways of managing programmes and staff teams help or hinder an agile, well-connected programme.

The country change strategy needs to include an assessment of the likely impact (internally and externally) of the mix of local programme staff. If a country office only employs staff from a particular faction within the conflict or from a particular social background, you should consider what impact this might have on your

8 ¹A consortium of 37 international NGOs set up in 2008 and funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) to work on conflict sensitivity. For more information, see: <http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/>

other relationships locally, and on your ability to gauge changes in the conflict dynamics. If the local staff team is made up of people from across the conflict, will this affect your programme's cohesion? Depending on the context you are working in, it may be important to employ staff from different ethnic or religious groups; or this may in fact be inadvisable if it would have negative consequences. What is vital is that, wherever possible, teams have this discussion and are transparent, and therefore accountable, for the decisions they make. As part of this process, you will also need to consider whether your country office has adequate HR resources to guide you in these decisions, and if not, you may need to access external advice or support.

The country office will also need to engage with donors to foster an understanding of the need to spend time on internal staffing concerns, as investment early on is often the best strategy to deliver positive impact and outcomes. There may be broader opportunities for Oxfam to advocate with donors for a changed timeframe for start-up components of funding proposals, as these are integral to effective programming in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

Address gender issues and inequalities

You must address gender concerns at all stages of the programme cycle. The analysis of the country office team's composition needs to include a specific breakdown by gender. You need to consider gender from a range of perspectives. For instance, what difference could it make to your planned outcomes if you employ many more men than women, or vice versa? How does this affect your assessment of risk and risk management strategies? You also need to bear in mind that staff are just as likely to be affected by gender roles and stereotypes as other people.

Take advantage of all opportunities to learn

Monitoring and evaluation takes on particular significance in conflict-affected contexts because you need to keep the programme agile, to manage dynamic risks, and, critically, to anticipate possible unintended consequences.

As well as keeping an open mind and being open to learning from local communities and staff, managers need to enable the programme teams to be creative learners. Standard methods of data collection for monitoring and evaluation may not be possible due to sensitivities of community members and combatants; apprehensiveness within the community about answering questions; and only limited access to project areas because of ongoing insecurity. The country change strategy needs to consider innovative methods of learning that are not only sufficient for donors, but also meet Oxfam's minimum standards, and are useful for understanding change in the context and impact of programmes.

Learning is an activity as well as an outcome – a process that allows project staff and local communities to communicate and learn about dynamics and change at both the local and national levels. Stories of change, collated regularly by trusted staff or consultants, can be a simple and non-threatening way of understanding impact and change (see Section 7.2, 'Storytelling', for more on the differences between stories of change and traditional case studies).

The country change strategy must review expectations within the programme for learning, monitoring, and evaluation. You should prioritise the minimum amount of reporting and support this in negotiations with donors.

The STEPS Project

The Collaborative for Development Action (CDA) has observed conflict prevention activities at a range of levels, and by a range of actors. It set up the STEPS Project, which involved a systematic review of experiences in 13 countries (Afghanistan, Bosnia, Burkina Faso, Colombia, Fiji, India, Kosovo, Mozambique, Nigeria, the Philippines, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sri Lanka) in order to examine how communities avoid participating in conflict in the face of extreme pressure to engage in violence. The case studies allowed CDA to explore the elements that were common to prevention experiences and to learn from them.

These studies saw a number of patterns emerge that challenge the established concepts of conflict prevention. Some of the most important observations were:

- On leadership – who effective leaders are in prevention efforts, and how they interact with their communities;
- On identity – how people choose their identities and how they are able to maintain them;
- On engagement with other actors in the context – the range of strategies communities use for interacting with armed groups.

For more on the STEPS Project, see: www.cdainc.com/cdawww/project_home.php

TOOL

Collaborative for Development Action (CDA) Collaborative Learning Projects, 'What has the STEPS Project learned that may be useful for the international community?'

You can find it here:

http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/project_profile.php?pid=STEPS&pname=Steps%20Towards%20Conflict%20Prevention

4 Programme identification

There are a number of considerations to bear in mind when assessing whether to engage in a fragile environment. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) has produced a working paper entitled, 'A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) of Development Projects in Conflict Zones', that outlines a raft of points to consider prior to engaging in a conflict-prone region. The context is likely to be fluid, which means that the impact and ultimate success of any intervention is heavily dependent on its ability to capitalise on opportunities as they arise and to avoid or minimise any potentially damaging impacts.

For Oxfam, the decision to initiate work in a conflict-affected context often emerges from an emergency response to a humanitarian crisis, where a decision to engage is made quickly. This is later followed by a more considered decision about whether to stay on and engage in longer-term rehabilitation or development activities. This decision needs to involve programme staff with longer-term development expertise.

4.1 Programme change strategies

Programme change strategies need to consider location, timing, political context, and other relevant factors (such as colonial legacy, cultural factors, or availability of natural resources) that may affect the impact of the conflict or fragility on the programme.

TOOL

To find out more about these considerations, see IDRC (1998) 'A Measure of Peace: Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment of Development Projects in Conflict Zones' pp. 12–13.

You can find it here:

http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-28756-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html

Assuming that Oxfam is already working in the context, the country programme needs to prepare for a more fluid context with increased flexibility in programming and heightened awareness to conflict sensitivity.

4.2 Individual motivations and preconceptions

Oxfam staff and partners engage in contexts where social and government structures are not necessarily the same as those expected or experienced elsewhere. Therefore, careful consideration of how staff perceive the future for the societies in which they work and how they engage with members of that society is important if Oxfam is to contribute to social change through its way of working, as well as through its actions. Country offices should hold staff training sessions to develop greater

awareness of cultural factors and the local context, so that staff can gain a coherent understanding of their role. The format of these sessions should be decided by country office staff but may draw on team building tools available from the Oxfam GB Learning and Development team.

4.3 Analysing the context

The context in which you are working is likely to be very fluid, and you can only carry out your analysis based on the best information available at the time. In order to understand the level and type of conflict and fragility you are dealing with, you need to work with other programme staff and partner organisations, as well as the communities with whom they work, to answer a series of questions that may not have been looked at in detail before. You should also refer to any research that has been undertaken recently by donors or others, and talk to other organisations that may have more operational experience in the area to support their understanding of the context.

Your context analysis should include answers to these questions:

- What phases has the conflict context moved through?
- What are the symptoms of fragility?
- What kinds of actors are involved in the growing fragility?
- What struggles over resources and power have played a role in the growing fragility?
- What are the power relationships within the context – who has what kind of power and what does it rest on?
- What resentments and stereotypes have played a role in the growing fragility?
- What is the political, economic, and socio-cultural context?
- What are the emergent political, economic, and social issues?
- What conflict-prone/affected areas can be identified within the context?
- What are the structural causes of the conflict and any economic and social instability?
- What issues can be considered as the most likely causes of conflict?
- What triggers could contribute to further outbreaks or escalation of conflict and increased instability?
- What new factors contribute to prolonging the conflict dynamics?
- What factors can contribute to increased peace and stability?

TOOLS

Power Analysis / Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) / Conflict Impact Assessment

You can find these here:

'An introduction to power analysis', Powercube
www.powercube.net

'Mapping Political Context: Power Analysis',
Overseas Development Institute (ODI)
www.odi.org.uk/rapid/tools/toolkits/Mapping_Political_Context/Power_analysis.html

'SWOT Analysis', ODI www.odi.org.uk/rapid/Tools/Toolkits/Policy_Impact/SWOT_analysis.html

'Conflict-Sensitive Approaches to Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Peacebuilding: Resource Pack', Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, Chapter 2: Conflict analysis,
<http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/publications/conflict-sensitive-approaches-development-humanitarian-assistance-and-peacebuilding-res>

(Annex 1 of the above publication describes various tools for conflict analysis, and includes links to relevant webpages.)

4.4 Understanding stakeholders

Your programme will also need to carry out a stakeholder analysis, but it will need to have a slightly different focus, with attention being paid to each stakeholder's relationship to the conflict. Stakeholders' goals and interests differ, as do their positions and capacities to realise their interests, and their relationships with other stakeholders. In understanding the different stakeholders' interests, it is important that you consider the relationships between them at various levels and how these affect the conflict dynamics. A conflict-sensitive stakeholder analysis should answer the following questions:

- Who are the parties to the conflict? What are their positions, interests and capacities, and alliances?
- What position do the (intended) beneficiaries have towards the conflict? How does the conflict affect them?
- What survival strategies have they developed?
- What capacities do parties to the conflict have to continue the fighting? Are there capacities for peace?
- What are the conclusions of this analysis for the selection of partners and beneficiaries?

TOOL

'Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes', Department for International Development (DFID)

You can find it here:

www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications/conflictassessmentguidance.pdf

4.5 Being open-minded

Exploring the nature of the fragile or conflict context you are working in requires an open mind rather than relying on preconceived ideas of what the main causes are. The characteristics of fragility, its underlying causes, who is affected by it, and how it is experienced, will be very different from one context to the next.

The nature of conflict or fragility will be highly dependent on:

- The social structures and norms currently in place;
- The social structures and norms that may have been in place before the conflict;
- People's perceptions of what the changes should lead to;
- The political landscape within the affected area and more broadly;
- The roles of women and men, and how they have changed in recent times.

Ask yourself these questions:

- Do we know enough about how groups interact with and perceive each other?
- Are we coming with preconceived solutions or is our analysis critical and enquiring?

4.6 Further research

Carrying out further research into specific issues will give your analysis greater depth. The capacity of partner organisations and other institutions, and the proposed scale of activity, may need particular attention. Your research should investigate the role of systems and institutions, and actors with shared or different values and experiences, in influencing the conflict, including opportunities for conflict transformation. More in-depth power analyses may provide insights into the relationships between different groups – including government officials, members of tribal groups, competing factions, politicians, business leaders, community leaders – as well as providing deeper insights into gender relations.

4.7 Fit with the programme framework

Interventions are likely to have greater impact and achieve their outcomes if they are flexible and responsive to local learning at all stages. It is therefore vital that project staff discuss what is possible within the current programme framework. Some projects will need to focus on process outcomes, such as building particular kinds of relationships and alliances, rather than more tangible outcomes, as it is these 'process projects' that allow for greater flexibility and an agile response to rapidly changing priorities.



Oxfam team providing WASH Training session for partner organisation, Norwegian Project Office/Rural Rehabilitation Association for Afghanistan, in Shahrستان District (Daikundi Province), Afghanistan, December 2010. Photo: Sheeba Harmal/Oxfam.

5 Programme design

Negative and positive approaches to programme design

Negative

A girls' education programme conducted a detailed context analysis that identified the need for better school access paths as one output that would increase the number of girls attending school. Unfortunately, the programme did not carry out a conflict sensitivity analysis, and thus was not aware of local sensitivities created by opening up paths across the land of a rival community. The intervention inadvertently increased opportunities for negative interactions between the two communities.

Positive

A water and sanitation (WATSAN) project decided to procure inputs locally, but where this was not possible, staff explained the reasons why to representatives from the local community. This deliberate decision aimed to provide credibility for the NGO but also gave the local community the opportunity to put forward alternative suppliers who were otherwise unknown. It was also designed to foster trust and a spirit of partnership in a community where there is considerable economic instability and corruption. The WATSAN activities were likely to fail in the long term without this approach of connecting with the community.

5.1 Timeframes

The standard one to three year project timeline does not necessarily allow twelve, or even six, months for the start-up phase, which will include vital trust-building processes with the local community that will enable them to participate meaningfully in project design. A country change strategy should include discussions and advocacy with donors to influence their programming choices, particularly relating to timeframes, expectations, and programme design. Research has found that differences in managers' expectations of what can be achieved within a given timeframe, and those of project staff working in the challenging context, are a significant source of tension. Managers are likely to push for a quick start-up with tangible short-term results which will enable them to secure further funds from donors on the basis of early reporting. Field staff are more likely to understand the need to prioritise relationship building, intervention analysis, and ground work with local communities and other stakeholders in the early stages of the project. Managers will need to handle the tension between these different expectations and competing priorities.

5.2 Evolving programmes

In many cases, Oxfam and its partners will prefer to submit process-type project proposals that allow for the flexibility needed in a fragile or conflict-affected context. This will provide you with the opportunities and space for project activities to evolve through discussions with community members, and will enable you to engage stakeholders as much as possible in the analysis and planning stages. The country change strategy should encourage, support, and facilitate the use of process proposals.

5.3 Selecting partner organisations

Oxfam's partnership guidelines require that we should assess the potential value and strategic fit of a partnership, and assess the capacity of Oxfam and the potential partner to carry out a specific piece of work together. But you will also need to consider the impact of selecting one partner over another given the nuances of the local conflict dynamics. All partnerships have the potential to have positive and negative impacts. You may need to design specific activities around internal organisational conflict transformation to ensure the partnerships are conflict sensitive and therefore able to be effective in your specific setting. The legal or other status of partner organisations, the ethnic identities of their staff and management, and their power within fragile social contexts require careful consideration.

When deciding which partners to work with, the following should be considered:

- Their political affiliations;
- The diversity of their funding and membership (with a view to riding out instabilities);
- Power relationships within their management structure;
- Financial stability and potential linkages with unstable government or non-government institutions;
- The likelihood that they can actually begin to influence the 'big problem' or be able to respond to opportunities.

You may also need to explore new and innovative forms of partnership – for example, with local government or the private sector (both formal and informal).

Use these questions as a checklist:

- Are we and our partners confident in our strategic choices about programming in fragile or conflict-affected contexts? Are we willing to explain and justify these choices to a wider audience (within the bounds of safety and confidentiality)?
- Do we and our partners have a real and transparent engagement with the people for whom we are working on the issues of risk and security?
- Do we and our partners know how much risk local community members are willing to take?
- If our partners decide they are unwilling to take as high a risk as the local community members, are we happy to accept that and are we comfortable relaying this decision within the communities where we and our partners are working? Are our reasons well thought through in terms of public perceptions, delivery, and values?
- Are we and our partners clear about what role other organisations or actors are taking? Are we confident in our engagement with them?

More guidance on developing a good partnership-conversations and accountability is available from the Oxfam GB Learning and Development team.

TOOL

Oxfam Partnership Companion

You can find it here:

<http://intranet.oxfam.org.uk/programme/pm/partnership/tools-and-resources-for-working-with-others/index.html>

5.4 Engaging with all relevant stakeholders

There are a number of levels at which it might be appropriate to work with stakeholders, and you will need to engage a wide range of stakeholders within each level. This breadth of engagement means you are more likely to be able to target your activities towards those areas or stakeholders who can really help to achieve change.

You need to decide which of these levels (and, within each level, which stakeholders) to work with. A SWOT analysis of Oxfam GB and its partners, together with stakeholder and power analyses covering all levels, will help determine the appropriate level of engagement with each.

Upper level:

- With state government
- With non-state actors
- With private sector (economic elite)
- With national religious leaders
- With international NGOs/UN at national level

Middle level:

- With middle-level government officers
- With local power holders (business leaders, religious leaders, warlords, leaders of associations, economic elite in the region)

Grassroots level:

- With local government officials
- With the poorest
- With powerless groups
- With individual women and men
- With children
- With community rights holders
- With community leaders
- With respected individuals

5.5 Planning impact

Defining the potential impact of your programme requires a circular process of adjusting objectives and methods in light of the information you gain through practice. This will involve the continual analysis of positive and negative impacts (both actual and potential) of the activities. This is the time when, together with your partners, you should be looking at your theories of change. Such theories are particularly important for new and innovative work where the links between a particular set of activities and changes in people's lives are untested. It is very important that you, your partners, and the communities you work with have a clear understanding of how change might happen, and identify the outcomes that are

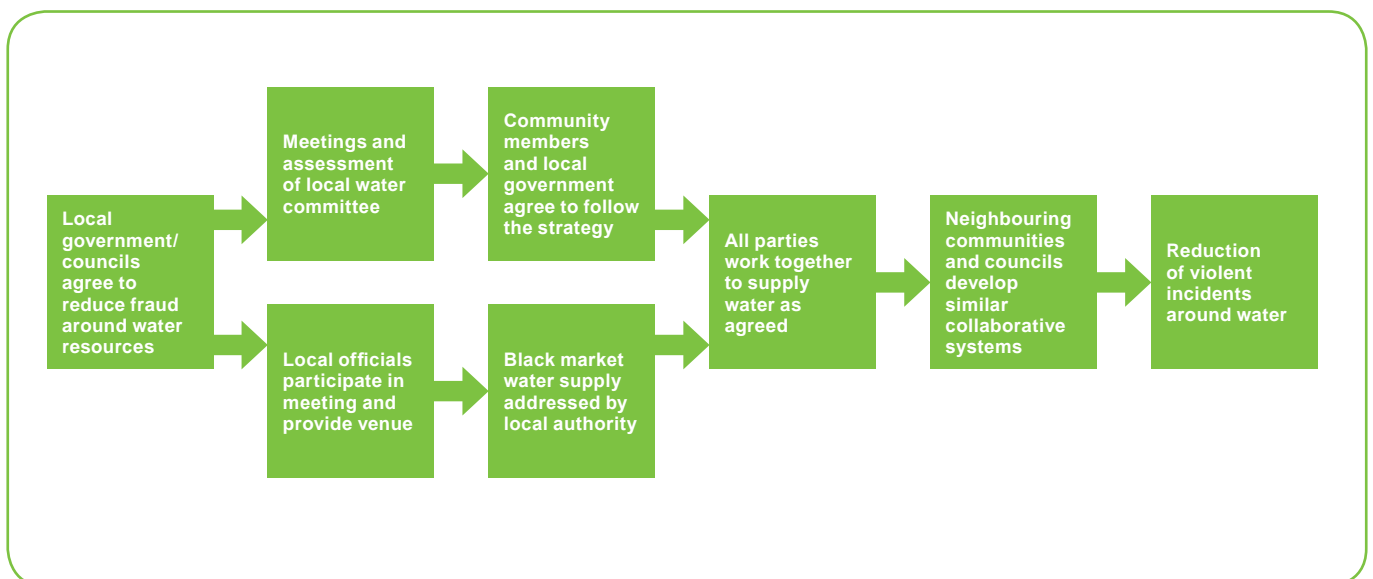
necessary and sufficient to achieve the intended impact. The process of making your theory of change explicit, together with regular monitoring, can help you to identify other activities, as well as other actors or institutions, that need to be involved in the programme. You can find guidance about how to document your theory of change in Oxfam GB's *Programme Framework*.

TOOL

Oxfam GB's Programme Framework

You can find it here:

http://intranet.oxfam.org.uk/programme/pm/programme_cycle_management





A project funded by Oxfam America and implemented by an Oxfam partner (DACAR) in Shamali (north Kabul), Afghanistan, May 2004. Photo: Mohammed Salim/Oxfam.

Listening to stories from project participants and reflecting on what they say about the programme's overall impact can help you articulate the most appropriate theory of change for the context you are working in.

You should ensure that discussions of possible theories of change are integrated at several points in the planning process. The first is during a stakeholder analysis, which is critical, especially in situations involving deeply rooted conflict.

You can also incorporate discussions about theories of change into logframe discussions. Identifying assumptions for logframes often focuses on negative external events that could undermine the success of a project, such as a natural disaster or failure to obtain government approval. But this process can be used as an opportunity to reflect on the underlying theories on which the project is based as well.

TOOL

J.P. Lederach, R. Neufeldt and H. Culbertson (2007)
Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, and Learning Toolkit, pp 25–36, *The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies*

You can find it here:

<http://www.crsprogramquality.org/publications/2007/3/9/reflective-peacebuilding.html>

5.6 Documentation

The high turnover of staff in countries and contexts that are fragile or unstable requires simple but comprehensive documentation. Managers at country office level need to consider, early on in the planning and design processes, how to make the relevant documentation accessible to new staff members or visitors. It may be appropriate to use the 'other/optional' section in the Oxfam Programme Implementation Plan (PIP) for this purpose.

5.7 Budgeting

The budget should take into account the potential for more frequent security assessments and measures, in contexts where the security situation has the potential to deteriorate. Costs may need to cover remote management and additional travel expenses of field staff that may be unable to live or stay in operational areas due to security risks.

6 Programme implementation and management

6.1 Dealing with internal tensions

Within the fragile or conflict-affected context, Oxfam and its partners should set up specific strategies and sessions to analyse and address the dynamics that might develop among programme staff and affect either how the programme is implemented (for instance, tensions between staff from ethnic or religious groups or communities engaged in the conflict) or internal dynamics within the office.

There is likely to be a level of tension between a programme designed to look at the longer-term issues underlying the conflict and fragility, and an emergency programme with relatively short timeframes and a higher focus on security and risk aversion.

There may also be tensions between the longer-term programme, which has a relatively lengthy set-up and planning timeframe, such as developing civil society organisational capacity, and a 'quicker to get going' programme, such as water supply projects, which are also quicker to start producing tangible outputs. A high level of communication and understanding between the different types of programmes within an office will help to reduce possible tensions between staff, and managers should invest in developing a shared understanding of the purpose of each one.

Protecting and supporting staff

Unstable contexts can have significant and wide-ranging impacts on project staff. In order to best support staff as an organisation, Oxfam staff need to:

- Reinforce constructive messages and nurture an atmosphere of dialogue;
- Ensure that management systems do not negatively affect conflict dynamics, whether among staff or among the communities they work in;
- Be mindful of implicit messages that could damage our capacity to constructively address conflict dynamics through, for instance, the ethnic or caste composition of staff, suspicion, unnecessary security measures that increase anxiety, salary policies, gender biases, and other management practices inconsistent with the context.

Oxfam managers need to:

- Enable staff to perform their activities without endangering their safety;
- Make staff feel respected for their work, which they often carry out in difficult conditions.

The national country change strategy should prioritise and support team-building exercises that allow staff and partners to understand each other's motivations and identify potential areas of conflict that may undermine the cohesion of the team.

Some things to consider:

- How will the ethnic, religious, political, or other affiliations of staff influence the work of Oxfam and its partners in fragile and conflict-affected contexts?
- How does our way of working and use of programming timeframes support or hinder us and our partners in engaging meaningfully with conflict and with the people with whom we work? What might we need to change?
- Do all members of the team all feel part of the decisions being made about their work? Are initiatives at different levels (Oxfam headquarters, Oxfam in regional and country offices, and partners) connected in the ways they should be?

You can draw on the suite of team-building tools available from the Oxfam GB Learning and Development team to help you address these issues. To request these, please email learn@oxfam.org.uk

TOOL

Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 'Embracing the Practice of Conflict Sensitive Approaches: An analysis of the Kenyan context', ActionAid International Kenya.

You can find it here:

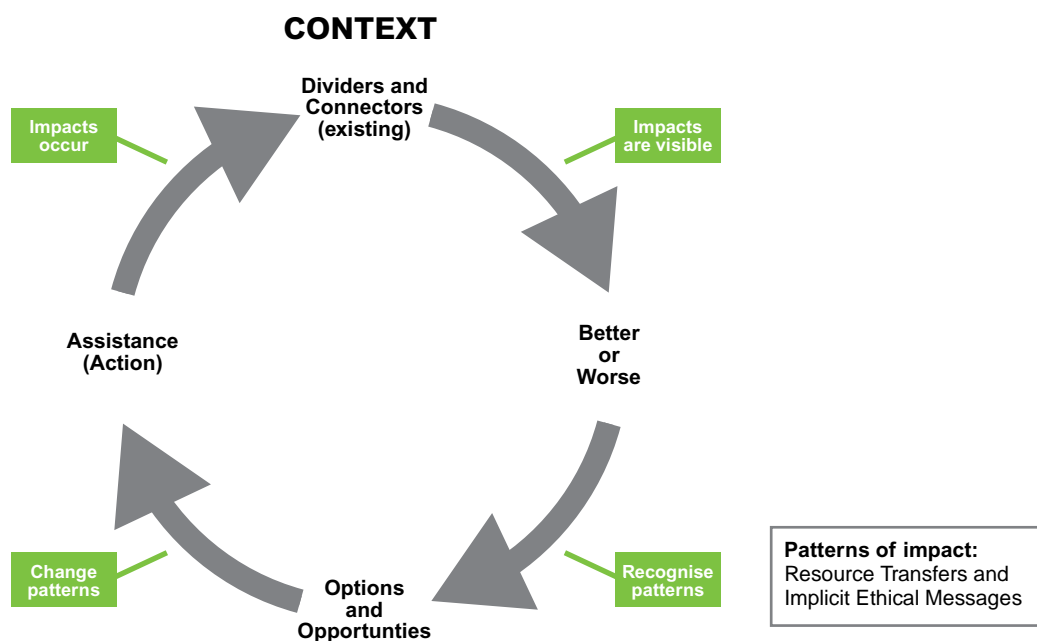
<http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/publications/embracing-practice-conflict-sensitive-approaches-analysis-kenyan-context>

7 Programme monitoring, evaluation, and learning

You should allow additional time for participatory reflection and learning among the staff teams, as well as considering how it is most appropriate to involve external stakeholders. Country change strategies need to design mechanisms for reflection and feedback that are specific to their own contexts. The standard programme monitoring requirement of six-monthly reports is insufficient for the frequent learning and reflection that is necessary in fragile and conflict-affected contexts.

Awareness of the 'Do No Harm' Action Framework can help you simplify the reflection cycle. This cycle (Figure 1) can be applied any number of times and as frequently as required by your programme. Based on your needs assessment and analysis of the state of play, both within the programme context and the wider environment, this cycle can be used as often as every day or once a month. It can be used at the programme level or project level only, or at the programme level, but drawing from project processes.

Figure 1: The Do No Harm Action Framework



Source: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 'Do No Harm: Action Model - Additional Framework', http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/pdf/issue/dnh_framework_paper_Pdf.pdf

Oxfam can make a real contribution to thinking in this area by focusing on its learning/skills in the area of gender and governance, and the interplay of both of these with whichever impartial entry points are used in these contexts (such as supporting livelihoods or providing basic services). Some case studies, pilot projects, and collaborations with conflict-sensitive programmers can help to draw out and collate Oxfam's experience, strengths, and weaknesses.



Women in Daikundi (Miramour District), Afghanistan, undertaking an Oxfam led hazard vulnerability risk mapping in the community, December 2010. Photo: Sheeba Harna/Oxfam.

7.1 Community involvement

It is essential that you give early consideration, during the programme design phase, to the tools and techniques you need to use to ensure a meaningful partnership with project beneficiaries, to support their input and involvement in learning and reflection at every stage.

The *Participatory Vulnerability Analysis*, developed by ActionAid, is a valuable tool for informing the design of programme and advocacy work. Its strength lies in its potential to link local opinions and ideas with high-level policy decisions by providing an outline structure for analysis and local advocacy strategy.

TOOL

Participatory Vulnerability Analysis, ActionAid

You can find it here:

http://www.actionaid.org.uk/100262/participatory_vulnerability_analysis.html

In addition, ActionAid's *Accountability, Learning and Planning System* (ALPS) is designed to improve accountability to stakeholders, create space for innovation, learning, and reflection, and ensure participatory planning. As ActionAid says, it 'puts analysis of power relations and a commitment to addressing rights – particularly women's rights – at the heart of all our processes'. While ALPS is an organisation-wide system, you may find that certain elements of it are useful to adopt to support community involvement and accountability.

TOOL

Accountability, Learning and Planning System, ActionAid

You can find it here:

http://www.actionaid.org.uk/doc_lib/alpsfinal2006.pdf

Here are some of the principles you should adopt as part of your country change strategy planning:

- Optimise staff and partner time spent on critical reflection and learning;
- Enable staff to learn with and from poor and excluded people, our partners, and others, so that they make better decisions and share good practices and solutions;
- Encourage the use of creative media and alternative forms of communication in addition to the formal reports required for accountability. Art, oral traditions, theatre, and song are some of the ways people can engage their full creative talents and develop insights that surprise, inspire, and generate new ways of looking at and doing their work;
- Learn from our failures as well as our successes.

7.2 Storytelling

The 'Critical Stories of Change' and 'Most Significant Change' techniques are particularly good for eliciting meaningful and useful lessons in an appropriate format for beneficiaries and partners. During the storytelling process and in the stories themselves, the trusted

evaluator/facilitator is able to draw out the theories of change and use these to inform reporting. The box below provides a comparison between traditional case studies and Critical Stories of Change, and shows the significant advantage of using the latter format. You will need time to persuade and educate others, within Oxfam and elsewhere, about the value of the Critical Story of Change.

Some pros and cons of a critical story of change versus a traditional case study

A critical story of change...	A traditional case study...
Is valued beyond the parameters of the 'product' – the process itself is engaging, and reading the story challenges the reader. It is a vehicle for deepening discussion	Is valued as a 'product' – does not challenge stakeholders in the process of gathering, or challenge the reader.
Looks at, and engages with, the 'problem'	Looks for, and describes, the 'solution'
Is about 'how' something happened or did not happen	Is about 'what' happened or did not happen
Starts a process of critical engagement	Finishes a process by describing what happened
Aims to reflect a process of change through a critical lens	Aims to describe a project or process
Is about context – why something happened	Is about content – what happened?
Critically reflects tensions and challenges	Gives a linear picture and is more cosy and 'safe' in its analysis
Creates space to ask more questions	Uses space to answer questions

The 'Most Significant Change' technique is a similar way of collecting stories and analysing them to understand change. It can be particularly useful when access is minimal and data are unreliable. It can be undertaken at various times throughout the programme, including at the end, and is a useful complement to other learning tools.

TOOL

Critical Stories of Change, ActionAid

You can find it here:

http://actionaidusa.org/news/publications/stories_of_change/

TOOL

R.J. Davies and J. Dart (2004) The 'Most Significant Change' (MSC) Technique: A Guide to its Use

You can find it here:

<http://mande.co.uk/special-issues/most-significant-change-msc/>

7.3 Monitoring

It is likely that you will need to carry out rapid, frequent, and minimal or 'light' monitoring to keep a close check on small changes in the country context that could require you to make adjustments to programme implementation and could affect the business support resources you need.

Country office staff need to work with field officers, stakeholders, partners, and beneficiaries to determine the most appropriate format and context for information needed to carry out effective monitoring, that meets the needs of all stakeholders, and allows Oxfam to respond to changes in a timely manner, as well as to achieve learning at a strategic level.

Your monitoring strategy needs to cover:

- Business support resources, including risk management strategies that highlight any changes to the level of risk and any measures taken to reduce or improve risk;
- Programme progress, particularly picking out the focus points that might affect programme delivery;
- Minimal data collection, as agreed during earlier planning phases.

More frequent, ad hoc reports that are designed to assess rapidly changing security issues should help programme managers to make rapid decisions if needed.

In a context where staff are unable to visit affected communities because of security issues, but have some communication with them, it may be more appropriate to design systems for data collection or dialogue with partners, the implementing organisation, and beneficiaries through channels that do not rely on a consistent or guaranteed physical presence of Oxfam staff.

Disseminating records of discussions and action points is a key part of the learning process. It is therefore important that you give some thought to how you are going to feed the results of a programme monitoring review back to participants, and to other stakeholders.

If you have only involved a few beneficiaries or stakeholders in the monitoring review, you will need to think about how you are going to inform the wider community about what was decided. The same applies if you have only engaged beneficiaries or stakeholders through focus groups: how are you going to make them aware of the decisions that have been made?

Similarly, if you work through implementing partners, do not assume they will automatically disseminate information about decisions that were made using the information collected during the review. Agree a strategy with them for dissemination of this information at the end of the monitoring review, and follow up as necessary.

The planning phase of your monitoring review should be thorough, and should be based on conflict sensitivity, given the local context. Here are some pointers:

- Decide what you want to learn from the monitoring review;
- Develop a checklist of what evidence (data) you will need for the review;
- Set and distribute the agenda well in advance;
- Analyse the monitoring data you have collected and distribute it to participants beforehand, in a format that will be easily accessible to them;
- Decide who should participate in the review, and when:

Oxfam staff:

You will need to decide which members of staff should be involved in the review. Programme staff will obviously need to take part, but it is also worth involving staff from logistics, finance, and perhaps human resources and other teams as well. In the DRC, for example, this approach worked well, with staff from other departments bringing different perspectives to the review process. The review may raise issues that need to be discussed further internally before a final decision can be made. In Zimbabwe, meetings were conducted with a wide range of stakeholders as part of the country office monitoring review process; the last session, however, where key programme decisions were made, was limited to programme staff and donors because of specific conflict sensitivities.

Other stakeholders:

You will also need to think about which partners should participate and whether it is appropriate for representatives from government and donors to be involved in the process. Deciding how to involve beneficiaries will also require some thought. You should think carefully about how the presence of some participants may affect the openness and honesty of discussions during the monitoring review. In Somaliland, for instance, the presence of a large number of government officials limited the extent to which other participants felt they could raise certain issues, and restricted critical reflection. You may want to invite some individuals or groups for certain parts of the process, but not others.

TOOL

Increasing our accountability through programme monitoring

You can find it here:

<http://intranet.oxfam.org.uk/programme/pm/accountability>



CONIC Promoter Marta Ceto Cobo addressing a public meeting in Txe'l community, Guatemala, February 2003. Photo: Annie Bungeroth/Oxfam.

7.4 Evaluation

Evaluations are typically one-off assessments which take place midway through or at the end of a programme, and are often carried out by an external team. In fragile and conflict-affected contexts, the evaluation should explain the context as it has changed over time and be able to measure the interaction between the programme and the context.

Decisions about when to conduct an evaluation should be linked to the context, as defined in your conflict analysis. It may be that the most appropriate time is not at the end of the project, but instead could be, for example, around the time of the election of a district governor, or during or after changes to institutional structures.

The evaluator(s) should use indicators identified during the original conflict analysis or the most recent update of it. This should give relevant baseline data.

The evaluation should recognise that there is not always a direct cause and effect relationship between the context and the programme. Indirect indicators can also be useful in such contexts.

For example, the team could use indicators about the nature of the relationship between divided communities, or indicators of freedom of expression such as changes in restrictions on public announcements.

The evaluation team should include the following skills:

- Conflict analysis;
- Good knowledge of the local/regional/national context and history;
- Sensitivity to local issues;
- Local language skills;
- Monitoring and evaluation expertise.

The evaluation should draw on records of 'Critical Stories of Change' or 'Most Significant Change' taken throughout the programme, and follow up on particularly relevant stories that can highlight positive and negative changes brought about by the programme.

The evaluation should also gather reports collected throughout the programme. The team should discuss and document the responses to key issues arising from these reports. They should also comment on whether it is appropriate to share these more broadly within Oxfam, and with partner organisations. You should also try to integrate any lessons learned from evaluations undertaken by other agencies within the context, as there may be elements that can help you deliver more 'joined up' programming.

TOOL

Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP) (2009) 'Real-time Evaluations of Humanitarian Action - An ALNAP Guide'

You can find it here:

<http://www.alnap.org/resources/guides/evaluation/rte.aspx>

7.5 Accepting success and failure

When monitoring and evaluation processes are conflict sensitive, recommendations may prove challenging for staff within Oxfam and from partner organisations, as well as from within the institutional funding chain, as they require a different understanding of 'success'. A conflict-sensitive programme will place great value on how it 'interacts' with the context, and consider this an outcome in its own right; for your programme, delivery of results and outputs – of paramount importance in other contexts – may be less important than the processes involved.

For example, an emergency programme that under-performed on the planned number of shelters built may, from a conflict-sensitive perspective, still be considered a success if it contributed positively to the dynamics of the local conflict and did not increase tensions or destabilise community relationships. Given that the definition of a successful programme can be controversial, organisations may have difficulty in valuing an under-performing, conflict-sensitive programme over a well-performing one that unintentionally exacerbates conflict. The country change strategy needs to consider how to think differently and support innovative and appropriate ways of measuring impact in the specific context.

8 Further reading

Note for non-Oxfam readers: you will not be able to access some the links to internal Oxfam documents. Should you wish to obtain these, please contact the Oxfam GB Learning and Development team (learn@oxfam.org.uk).

- Responding to Conflict (RTC) is an organisation that can provide people to train country office staff in conflict sensitivity. For example, in March 2010, RTC provided training to staff from an NGO in South Sudan and its partners. The training aimed to prepare participants for their research using the 'Underlying Causes of Poverty/ Vulnerability' tool. It enabled them to consider the impact of the conflict on their programmes and, in turn, how their programmes might influence the conflict.
<http://www.respond.org/pages/tailor-made-training.html>
- 'Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes', published by DFID (2002), is aimed at donors. However, it includes information that may be useful for those involved in developing country change strategies. www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications/conflictassessmentguidance.pdf
The Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation provides current thinking in an online format.
<http://www.berghof-handbook.net/>
- The Conflict Sensitivity Consortium is developing tools for institutional capacity assessment.
www.conflictsensitivity.org
- Oxfam GB's Programme Framework
http://intranet.oxfam.org.uk/programme/pm/programme_cycle_management

If you would like more information, please contact governance@oxfam.org.uk



Teenagers (from right) Paulina Lomaala, Regina Lodokor, Magdalene Nachu, and Paulina Aperu studying in their local language at an Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja (ABEK) class at Nakapelimoru in Jie county, Uganda, October 2002. Photo: Crispin Hughes/Oxfam.

© Oxfam GB June 2011

The text may be used free of charge for the purposes of advocacy, campaigning, education, and research, provided that the source is acknowledged in full. The copyright holder requests that all such use be registered with them for impact assessment purposes. For copying in any other circumstances, or for re-use in other publications, or for translation or adaptation, permission must be secured and a fee may be charged. E-mail publish@oxfam.org.uk.

For further information on the issues raised in this paper please e-mail enquiries@oxfam.org.uk or go to www.oxfam.org.uk.

The information in this publication is correct at the time of going to press.

Published by Oxfam GB under ISBN 978-1-84814-897-0 in June 2011.
Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

Oxfam is a registered charity in England and Wales (no 202918) and Scotland (SC039042). Oxfam GB is a member of Oxfam International.

Front cover picture: A peace campaign meeting in Panyangara Sub-County, Kotido, Uganda, September 2010. Francis Odokorach/Oxfam.

This report was written by Kate Angus with support from Jo Rowlands.