



SUB-SECTOR REVIEW OF EVIDENCE FROM RECONCILIATION PROGRAMS

Developed by CDA Collaborative Learning for the Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium

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The Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium (PEC)

The Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium (PEC) is a project of Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP) in partnership with CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, Mercy Corps and Search for Common Ground (SFCG). The project is funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) and is field-wide effort to address the unique challenges to measuring and learning from peacebuilding programs. The PEC convenes donors, scholars, policymakers, local and international practitioners, and evaluation experts in an unprecedented open dialogue, exchange, and joint learning. It seeks to address the root causes of weak evaluation practices and disincentives for better learning by fostering field-wide change through three strategic and reinforcing initiatives: 1) Developing Methodological Rigor; 2) Improving the Culture of Evaluation and Shared Learning; and 3) Fostering the Use of Evidence to Inform Peacebuilding Policy.

CDA Collaborative Learning Projects

CDA (www.cdacollaborative.org) is a US based non-profit organization committed to improving the effectiveness of those who work internationally to provide humanitarian assistance, engage in peace practice, support sustainable development, and conduct corporate operations in a socially responsible manner. CDA is a thought leader in peacebuilding effectiveness, conflict sensitivity, accountable aid, and responsible business. We help peace practitioners and organizations improve the relevance and accountability of programming through better tools for conflict analysis, program strategy, design, and monitoring and evaluation. In the evaluation sphere, CDA has contributed to influential policy guidance, such as the OECD/DAC guidance on evaluating conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities.

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1. Background on PEC sub-sector reviews

This review of evidence gathered from formal evaluations of reconciliation programs is part of a larger effort undertaken by CDA in partnership with the Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium (PEC). One of PEC's pillars focuses on fostering the use of evidence to inform and improve peacebuilding policy and programming. Specifically, in 2017-2019 period, PEC members sought to:

- understand what evidence exists on what is effective peacebuilding programming;
- increase the evidence base and synthesize the documented results of peacebuilding programs;
- support evidence-based policy and practice and inform decision-making in the design, implementation and evaluation phases.

As part of this consortium effort, the Alliance for Peacebuilding (AfP) has published a review of theories of changes and indicators in use by violence reduction programs¹, and CDA has developed this synthesis of available evidence and reported outcomes from evaluations of reconciliation programming. Reconciliation and violence reduction programming were identified by PEC members as most in need of an evidence review. The decision was also based on availability of evaluations and existing desk research and typologies of programming, such as the one developed by the United States Institute of Peace.²

Both desk-based reviews drew on results and documented lessons reported in formative and summative evaluations while also assessing the current state of evidence in these two programming sectors. The two reviews share common objectives related to communicating the findings about effective and impactful programming to practitioners in the AfP network, the DME for Peace online community and to policymakers in the bilateral and private foundation spheres. The review of available evidence also demonstrated the data gaps and deficiencies in monitoring and evaluation methods and processes which limited the extent of evidence gathered by evaluations.

PEC sub-sector reviews are not intended to draw definitive conclusions on program effectiveness, but instead to launch a process of substantive learning that can be continued by PEC members and other peacebuilding organizations and researchers. Our syntheses of existing evidence identify gaps in current knowledge that may require additional research efforts, beyond project- and program-level evaluations.

Finally, this report is another call for building the evidence base for improving practice. Evidence reviews such as this one would not be possible without access to such evidence. We encourage peacebuilding practitioners, policymakers and evaluators to increase transparency, support learning and contribute to building the evidence base by sharing and publishing evaluations of peacebuilding programs. Without this, invaluable lessons, measured results, tested approaches, and useful datasets would remain insulated from collective inquiry and preclude learning, strategic funding decisions and improved program design and implementation.

¹ Alliance for Peacebuilding (2019). Violence Reduction Subsector Review. See also AfP's Case Statement on Violence Reduction <https://allianceforpeacebuilding.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Violence-Reduction-Case-Statement-Alliance-for-Peacebuilding-4.pdf>

² United States Institute of Peace (2015). *Reconciliation in Practice*, Accessed August 2018 from: <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW111-Reconciliation-in-Practice.pdf>

2. Methodology

The main lines of inquiry that guided this evidence review were:

- what do evaluations report as tangible outcomes of reconciliation programs;
- how are organizations monitoring and evaluating results attributed to these programs;
- and, ultimately, what can be said about the long-term effects of such programs on community-level and societal-level reconciliation?

Our inquiry recognized that the process of inter-group and societal reconciliation can take generations to demonstrate tangible and measurable results. Hence, we also acknowledge that organizations that engage in reconciliation efforts and seek to improve them, often face the reality of “too soon to tell” and the pressures to pilot and adapt programming based on short-term, limited and unreliable monitoring and evaluation data. This is particularly true for projects funded by short-term grants while attempting to achieve long-term change after violent conflict and protracted tension.

Our methodology and coding process were designed to also identify aspects of programming that were deemed to be essential to both program effectiveness and short and mid-term measurable impact.

2.1 Scope of the evidence base and selection process

CDA conducted an initial desk review of evaluations available in the public domain and evidence summaries presented in peer-reviewed journals. An open call soliciting confidential submissions of evaluations was issued through the Alliance for Peacebuilding member newsletter and was complemented by a targeted outreach to organizations that design, implement and evaluate reconciliation programs. In addition, CDA reached out to independent evaluators through the American Evaluation Association and other professional listservs. We conducted key informant interviews with evaluators in the humanitarian sector, including colleagues at the Active Learning Network for Humanitarian Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP) and sought their input on the methodological pitfalls to avoid in this evidence review.

Given the limited evidence base, we intentionally chose to broaden the scope of the inquiry by working with a larger set of evaluations of diverse type of reconciliation projects, while applying exclusion criteria to ensure quality of evidence.³ We applied the following thresholds:

- minimum 20 completed summative (final) evaluations;
- geographic spread and a range of conflict contexts;
- any number of mid-term/formative evaluations;
- any number of donor commissioned evidence reviews, if they meet the below criteria;
- any number of implementing organization internal evidence reviews, if they meet the below criteria.

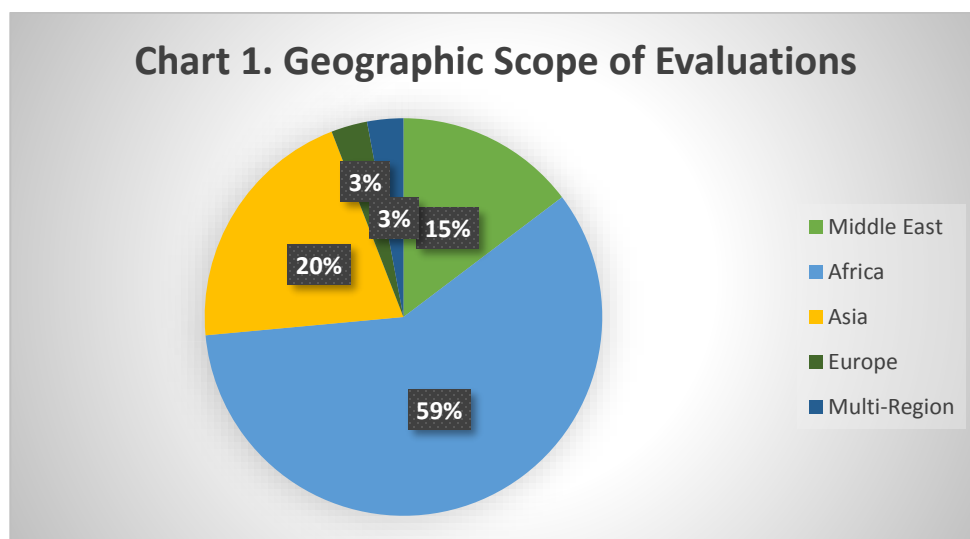
³ There is a level of subjectivity involved in interpreting inclusion and exclusion criteria for evidence reviews. Our effort was not immune to this as we attempted to maintain a sizable sample of evaluations.

The 43 submitted documents were triaged according to relevance to the programmatic sector under review and a set of established criteria. Namely, we used the following **exclusion criteria**:

- evaluations that fell outside the scope of reconciliation programming as defined by USIP typology (see Table 1 below);
- grey literature and internal “lessons learned” summaries were excluded due to their descriptive and anecdotal nature and lack of evaluative rigor;
- reports that did not contain an explicit methodology section explaining data collection and analysis methods;
- incomplete or partial drafts of evaluation reports;
- evaluations which did not clearly present the evidence and results; and
- peer reviewed articles that summarized evidence from multiple evaluations and lacked the programmatic details needed to understand how outcomes linked to program design choices.

After eliminating documents that did not match the above criteria, our sample was reduced to 36 evaluation reports. Two were submitted in French and were coded by hand. In total, seven organizations shared evaluation reports; some organizations sent a single evaluation while others sent multiple. The largest number of evaluations were submitted by the members of the Peacebuilding Evaluation Consortium (PEC): Search for Common Ground and Mercy Corps. All evaluations were submitted by international or local NGOs.

The evaluations covered projects from across four geographical regions: 20 in Africa, 7 in Asia, 5 in the Middle East and 1 in Europe (see Chart 1). One evaluation was completed in 3 of these regions and in Latin America. Six of these evaluations were conducted internally; the remaining 27 were conducted by external evaluators. In the overall sample, 32 evaluations were final or summative evaluations, two were formative/midterm. The completion dates on the reviewed evaluations range from 2002 to 2017.



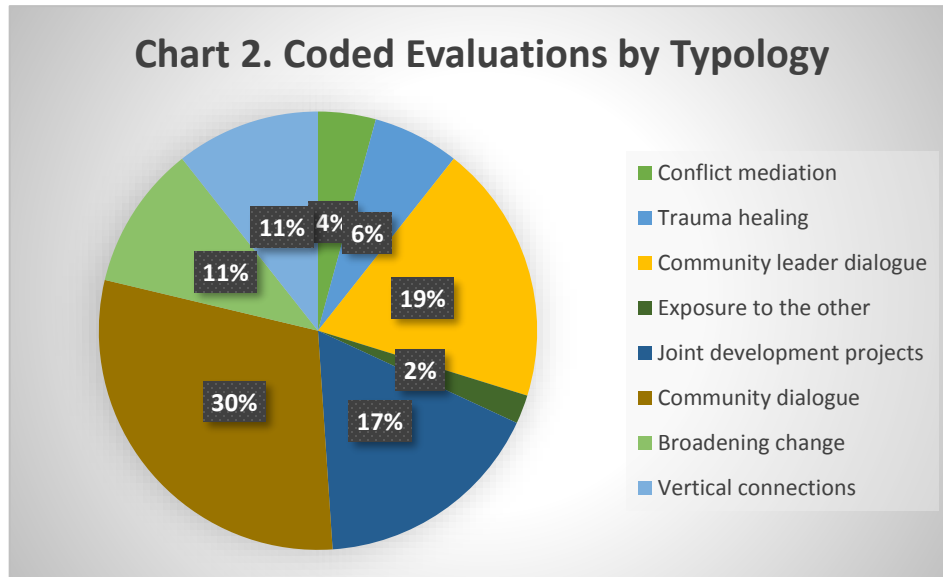
2.2. Content Analysis Process

To ensure the confidentiality that was promised to organizations that submitted evaluations, CDA created a restricted repository of materials that only the research team could access. We used NVivo 11 software to code selected reports and developed coding categories with input from PEC partners. Three people coded the material and two performed cross-material analysis and extracted relevant evidence. We discussed the weighting of the coded results in order to avoid presenting insignificant findings as significant evidence. Two evaluations in French were coded by hand in the summer of 2018.

The typology of programming used for coding was drawn directly from USIP's report, *Reconciliation in Practice*, published in 2015.⁴ The evaluations were categorized using ten reconciliation programming categories outlined in the USIP report and listed in Table 1 and Chart 2 below. Several evaluations in our sample size described multi-pronged intervention strategies that fall into several of these categories.

Program / Intervention Strategies	Number of evaluations in our sample
Conflict mediation	2
Trauma healing	3
Community leader dialogue	9
Exposure to the other	1
Joint development projects	8
Community dialogue	14
Broadening change	5
Vertical connections	5
Documenting history	0
Research initiative	0

⁴ USIP (2015). *Reconciliation in Practice*, Accessed August 2018 from: <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW111-Reconciliation-in-Practice.pdf>



In addition to using intervention typology, the types of results and change reported by the evaluations were coded under seven broad categories (parent nodes) selected by the PEC team during the initial method development. Each was divided into sub-categories (or “child nodes”) that denoted the types of change that was intended or reported.⁵

Parent Nodes	Description	Types of change / results (Child Nodes)
Intended Outcomes	The outcomes expected from the intervention.	Attitude; behaviors, skills, processes, and structures.
Unintended outcomes	Resulting outcomes from project intervention that were no planned for or considered the purpose of the project.	Attitude; behaviors, skills, processes, and structures.
Long-term impact	Observable and measurable change for extended time after completion of the project	
Participant Population	Specific intended target population for project intervention	
Theories of Change	Clearly defined logical explanation of how change will occur with the help of the project intervention	(Discussed by program type in Section 4)

⁵ “Parent nodes” include the broad categories agreed by the research team with input from the PEC, and include such nodes as “intended outcome”, “unintended outcome”, “barriers to achieving results” and others. “Child nodes” are additional elements coded under some of the parent nodes, such as levels of change that are typically associated with reconciliation programming: “attitudes”, “behaviors”, “skills”, “structures” and “processes”.

Indicators	Project defined indicators coded to support the ongoing development of peacebuilding indicators' database led by AfP.	Presented by program type in the Annex
Barriers to achieving results	Barriers and factors that limited or prevented the project's ability to reach intended results.	

2.3. Challenges & Limitations

Several limitations and challenges are noteworthy in an evidence review such as this one. The evaluations were collected through an open call process and required an assurance of confidential treatment of submitted documents. This complicated the analysis and presentation of findings for this synthesis because of the need to omit identifying details and descriptions of easily recognizable projects.

Also, some organizations submitted more evaluations than others thus skewing the sample towards a certain programming modality. In our sample size of 36 evaluations, 12 of these reports were from one organization, and 10 were from another. This over-representation by two organizations that use a specific set of program methodologies is not ideal. Similarly, there is a significant representation of reports from projects completed in Africa with significantly less representation from other continents. Finally, even with the help of multi-person coding, some of the conclusions are indisputably subjective due to interpretation of data, factors and barriers presented in inconsistent ways across the evaluations.

The quality of peacebuilding evidence is one of the challenges that the PEC has sought to address through its multiple pillars. Even after application of the above exclusion criteria, once the coding process began, we noted that evaluations reported results and outcomes inconsistently. Some reports clearly indicate outcomes that were based on self-assessment by project participants and staff and distinguish these from outcomes that were evidenced by additional secondary and primary data collected during the evaluation process. Other evaluations do not make this distinction or rely primarily on participant generated assessment and perceptions data. Some evaluators were missing baseline data but had access to midline data and other information regarding the contextual realities (e.g. level of intercommunal tension or inter-group economic cooperation prior to the project). Some evaluations did not include the criteria or indicators used to understand the effects of reconciliation programming.

And finally, an important limitation is the long-term, generational nature of inter-group and societal reconciliation. Project evaluations simply cannot sufficiently capture a measurable change in hearts, minds, level of communal cohesion and resilience to renewed tensions immediately after project completion. Our review accepted this limitation and considered reported indications of emerging change or “green shoots”, some of which are discussed below.

3. What we know about reconciliation in practice

This review builds on the “Reconciliation in Practice” report by USIP which offers a typology of common interventions developed based on core project activities and notes theories of change for each even in

cases where they were not explicitly articulated.⁶ USIP report drew on Peace Direct’s Insight on Conflict database and a content analysis of websites and documents of 150 identified organizations.

The summary of findings, presented below, is indicative of the conceptual, evidentiary and methodological challenges, and the reasons why we undertook this sub-sector review.

4. Review of Theories of Change and Results by Program Type

The goal of evidence reviews is to improve policy and practice. This goal hinges on the quality of evaluation and research evidence as well as its accessibility to research teams. Our review of available evidence from evaluations of reconciliation programs was impacted by a wide range of quality in the sample and the request by submitting organizations to anonymize their evaluations findings. Nevertheless, the process of reviewing the theories of use, intended outcomes and reported results by common programming typology was an informative exercise with findings useful to funders, as well as program design and implementation teams.

Summary of findings presented in USIP “Reconciliation in Practice” Report:

- Reconciliation projects can be loosely organized into **ten overlapping intervention strategies**. Related activities are associated with particular groups of participants, intended beneficiaries, objectives, and underlying theories of change. In general, practices draw heavily on contact theory.
- Operationalizing the **definition of the word reconciliation and commonly associated terms**, such as trust, social cohesion, and social harmony, would be a tremendous gain in monitoring and evaluating reconciliation projects.
- **Indicators used to measure reconciliation are generally weak**. Those related to personal or institutional change would especially benefit from more development. Relatively stronger indicators, typically used by larger and more established organizations, are not being adopted on a wider scale. Concerted efforts to disseminate existing evaluation tools would contribute significantly to the field.
- How information is transferred between stakeholders receives little if any evaluation attention. Organizations instead **focus primarily on what messages are being delivered**, not on how the consumers of this information are understanding and reacting to these messages.
- Evaluators **rarely explicitly name their working assumptions** and, a few projects aside, do not test the validity of these assumptions. Furthermore, many of the evaluations have some (possibly a significant) selection bias, but in general do not account for potential data distortions in analyses.
- Most intervention strategies **focused on early-stage reconciliation**. This could point to a lack of funding for medium- to long-run practices or to unclear distinctions between short- and long-run strategies. A strong but unstated and unproven assumption in the field is that negative peace is an acceptable indicator of reconciliation and that, with time, reconciliation will naturally progress to positive peace.

⁶ Complex programs were broken down into project components, which created 277 distinct units for analysis. For more on methodology, see USIP, 2015.

Our cross-analysis of outcome level results reported in evaluations is structured according to programming or intervention categories listed in Table 1 (page 7). Some of the evaluated projects had multiple programmatic components and activities. We highlight examples of results attributed to multi-faceted programming for a more detailed illustration.

The reported results are presented along with the Theories of Change (ToC) which have become increasingly common in project proposals and design documents. Some organizations struggle to clearly state the logical pathway of change and the working assumptions embedded in program choices. Our sample included evaluations that had no listed ToC, and some that reported a very vague ToC extracted from program objectives or other program descriptions. For framing and illustration purposes, we start with the common ToCs for each program type drawing from the USIP typology⁷ (see Table 1). For each program type where we have evaluations (8 out of 10, Table 1), we present additional examples and key ToC elements drawn from our sample.

Our cross-evaluation analysis also looked at how reconciliation programming is currently evaluated in order to better understand the current state of evidence in reconciliation programming and to make recommendations on how it can be improved. Many evaluations equated the measurement of program effectiveness with achievement of stated or desired changes, but effectiveness criteria and how these were established and measured were not explicitly listed in each case. Similarly, some evaluations measured attitudinal changes resulting from programs activities (i.e. impacts on participants) but did not address the attribution or contribution directly and did not always connect the measured attitudinal changes to the intended objectives of the program.⁸

Short-term and intermediate results were reported across all 36 evaluations, with the highest concentration of results found under the attitudes, behaviors and skills sub-categories, across the different types of programming. Reported changes in **attitudes** (83 instances of positive attitudinal change across 23 evaluations) and **behaviors** (55 instances of positive behavior change in 18 evaluations) were balanced across all types of programming with a slight concentration of results reported across 10 evaluations of 1) community dialogue, 2) community leader dialogue and 3) integrated projects that linked community dialogue with joint development projects. Outcomes of conflict mediation projects largely pointed to improved **skills, competencies and capacities** (64 references in 24 evaluations) were particularly notable in evaluations of community leader dialogue projects.

Short-term and intermediate results achieved against intended outcomes related to **structures** that support reconciliation processes (37 references to strengthened or new structures in 17 evaluations) focused primarily on establishment of networks, associations, and reconciliation mechanisms at the community and national levels. The existence of such structures at the end of the project timeframe was reported as an outcome with far-reaching potential. Because there are no ex-post evaluations in our sample, there is limited available information on the sustainability of such structures or the long-term outcomes resulting from their existence and functions.

⁷ The illustrative Theories of Change presented in the boxes below are drawn from USIP's report on Reconciliation in Practice referenced above.

⁸ Weak or non-existing monitoring processes were reported across multiple evaluations. In the absence of such, reconciliation programs could not track or measure incremental changes and progress towards intended outcomes. In some examples, there were inconsistent assessment of newly gained knowledge and skills provided as part of project activities. In many cases, there was no baseline data collected or made available to evaluation teams.

Much of the data synthesized in the evaluations focused on how people perceive the possibility of a more peaceful and cohesive community and society and their willingness to play a role in supporting such transformation as individuals, community members or in their official capacities. Changes at the personal level (i.e. attitudes, behaviors, skills) were repeatedly described by project staff and participants as essential building blocks for transforming inter-group relationships and the social fabric at a wider scale. One evaluation noted that “It was recognized by respondents that the transformations may be small-scale and on a personal level, but participants found these valuable.” Few evaluations sought to demonstrate with data and concrete examples how personal level changes have helped project participants to improve communal level reconciliation with other groups.

The program ToCs and summary of reported results by program type⁹ are presented below to illustrate the changes as well as barriers to achieving results that were reported in our evaluation sample.

4.1. (Community Level) Conflict Mediation

Illustrative ToCs for Conflict Mediation Interventions

Theory 1. “If we build local capacity to resolve disputes jointly across lines of division, then we will see a reduction in disputes because people will gain tools, skills, and relationships needed to resolve disputes peacefully.”

Theory 2. If local institutions can repeatedly demonstrate that disputes across lines of division can be resolved peacefully, then people from the divided communities will be more capable of peaceful coexistence in the short term and more likely to forge working relationships in the medium to long term through increased cooperation and dialogue.

The emphasis is on developing local capacity for managing inter-group disputes and non-violent resolution of on-going conflicts which improves trust and supports coexistence. Common project activities include engaging community leaders and local authorities in training on mediation, negotiation and conflict analysis skills, and setting up direct mediation and dispute resolution mechanisms.

ToCs in our sample also stress the following elements and assumptions:

- Trained leaders need the authority and resources to actively engage in crisis prevention and mitigation activities in order to quickly resolve immediate concerns before they escalate;
- Reconciliation and good governance are strengthened when local leaders gain technical ability to resolve more specialized disputes (i.e. customary land disputes, border disputes);
- Negotiation, mediation, and dialogue skills can also be used to jointly develop violence prevention and reconciliation projects with community members.

Summary of reported results:

Evaluations results for community level conflict mediation programs consistently demonstrated that individuals who participated directly in project activities and received skills training reported significant

⁹ As noted above, some program types were significantly underrepresented in our sample (see Table 1).

improvements in their ability to mediate, resolve disputes and diffuse inter-group tensions. Evaluations largely relied on self-reported assessments and perception surveys. In a few cases where evaluations referenced concrete and quantifiable outcomes such as “a decrease in violent actions by 30% as a result of mediation efforts” there was acknowledgement that the program did not have a working definition of violence and no baseline of violent incidents was conducted, raising obvious questions about validity. In addition:

- Most evaluations reported an increase in number of disputes resolved by community mediators and former participants in mediation training programs.
- In one evaluation, members that formed a conflict mediation mechanism and community leaders expressed greater confidence in themselves and their ability to proactively resolve problems, mediate new ones, and promote better community relations. There was a sense of space to engage on these issues within their own communities. For example, 95% of participants in one conflict mediation skills project expressed confidence in their ability to resolve inter-communal conflicts and 100% claimed they use the knowledge and skills received during training. Specifically, community leaders trained in dispute resolution and conflict mediation resolved 247 out of 307 active disputes ranging from social, economic to criminal in nature (exceeding the targets of the project).
- Increased positive interactions at the community level and with members of different identity groups working toward a common aim.
- Increased role for women, whose exposure to mediation and dispute resolution has led them to seek greater representation in local mediation structures.

4.2. Trauma Healing

Illustrative ToCs for Trauma Healing Interventions

Theory 1. If trauma-affected individuals or communities are aware of their trauma and have strategies to cope with it, we will see more willingness and ability to constructively participate in other reconciliation activities.

The focus of most interventions is on individuals and entire communities with typical activities ranging from trauma awareness raising, trauma counseling, arts- and performance-based approaches to trauma and skills training to equip community-based support structures. Most organizations providing psychosocial support draw a causal link between increased awareness of trauma and civic participation and as well as increased levels of personal and community resilience to future conflict.

Summary of reported results:

Outcome level results for this type of intervention are commonly considered difficult to measure given highly subjective nature of personal experiences with trauma. Among the results reported in our sample were the following:

- Training in trauma awareness was critical for community members who were expected and called upon to mediate disputes in their communities. Participants who received trauma

awareness training, in one project, described their improved ability to carry out their responsibilities.

- In a psycho-social program that focused on children and youth, the reported data suggested that the program had a particularly positive effect on the following aspects of children’s behavior: decreased sense of fear (49% improvement); improvements in levels of irritation (48.8% improvement); restlessness (47.3% improvement) and concentration (46.6 % improvement). There was no similar data from a comparison group to validate the findings. Three-quarters of parents in the same psychosocial intervention reported that their children demonstrated significantly fewer behavioral problems and more positive behaviors, at the end of the program than they did at the beginning.
- Improved relationships within and between the communities, increased contact with other identity groups and willingness to communicate and work together to address key community needs and reach an understanding of each other was reported across the sample.
- Improved understanding and exploration of negative feelings such as hatred towards perpetrators of violence, desire for revenge, feelings of hopelessness, inadequacy, and discouragement were attributed to “many project participants” although sampling figures were not consistently available across the reviewed evaluations.
- Qualitative evidence of personal transformation and shifted attitudes especially in areas such as self-awareness, willingness to be non-judgmental and non-biased, increased mutual tolerance and trust of other groups.
- Indigenous community members reported feeling empowered and more self-confident to engage in wider reconciliation processes.

4.3 Community Leader Dialogue

Illustrative ToCs for Community Leader Dialogue Interventions

Theory 1. If dialogue enables leaders to understand the narratives, religious and cultural perspectives, and wartime experiences of people from across lines of division, then leaders will set a precedent for positive inter-group interaction and will be able to share this knowledge with their communities to demonstrate that positive intergroup interactions are possible, which in turn will help prepare community members for participation in future reconciliation activities.

The focus of these dialogue efforts is often on locally identified leaders (traditional, tribal, religious, or secular). Examples include both dialogue amongst community leaders and between leaders and others in the community. The distinct emphasis is on people with social capital, authority and influence, whose views and behaviors, if directed at reconciliation can result in positive change for the wider community. A USIP report states, that “after data collection, it became clear that the objectives and underlying theories of dialogue strategy for community leaders and for community members differed markedly, although the essence of the activities was similar. Dialogue targeted at leaders was therefore analyzed separately from that targeted at community members.”¹⁰ The report draws on CDA’s Reflecting on

¹⁰ USIP, 2015.

Peace Practice Project framing of “key people” vs “more people” strategies and validates the central finding in CDA’s “Confronting War”¹¹ publication about interdependence (or linkages) between these two levels:

- If people see respected leaders speak out in favor of peace, then they will be less likely to view violence as a legitimate way to resolve differences.
- If influential religious individuals actively collaborate to resolve conflict and promote greater tolerance, and if communities take action across religious lines, then communities will experience reduced interreligious tension and conflict, because the moderate majority will have relationships, skills, and leadership assisting them to act nonviolently in respect of religious differences.

Summary of reported results:

The type of outcomes and results reported for this programming type included:

- Community leaders gaining improved leadership qualities and increased confidence and capacity to intervene on issues affecting their communities.
- Increased capacity of leaders to mediate and resolve local conflicts as evidenced by the increase in number of cases (disputes) resolved by community leaders and peace committee. For example, one evaluation reported that 18 out of 20 priority cases of land conflict had been resolved in all target communities.
- Increased number of women involved in mediating disputes (measured against a baseline).
- New modes of collaboration and group norms established and reinforced with each new hurdle that the community leaders had to address jointly.
- Increased access to justice by vulnerable groups (no baseline comparison data provided).
- Strengthening of interfaith networks measured by growing number of members and joint activities.
- Increased capacities to conduct joint conflict analysis and develop joint conflict resolution plans.
- Increased number of leaders setting goals for themselves to reduce interreligious tensions.

Barriers to achieving results included lack of cultural competency and inclusion of different language groups when structuring leader dialogue and sessions. Among unintended results reported were:

¹¹ CDA (2003) *Confronting War*, CDA Collaborative Learning Projects: Cambridge, MA. “Key people” approaches focus on involving particular people, or groups of people, critical to the continuation or resolution of conflict, due to their power and influence. “Key people” strategies assume that, without the involvement of these individuals/groups, progress cannot be made toward resolving the conflict. “More people” approaches aim to engage increasing numbers of people in actions to promote peace. Practitioners who take this approach believe that peace can be built if many people become active in the process, i.e., if “the people” are broadly involved. This may involve mobilization of larger constituencies or expanding the numbers of people committed to peace.

- Crossover effects such as application of new skills to non-priority or non-target areas. In one evaluation, it was noted that 17 non-priority (not land related) cases were resolved in addition to priority cases. Community leaders and former participants were reporting using new approaches in non-land related cases such as family conflicts, among others.
- A project that involved traditional religious leaders and other community leaders across multiple municipalities reported that violent incidents related to land conflict as well as the number of court cases filed decreased considerably due to the new conflict resolution introduced by the project. At the time of the evaluation 35 land conflict dispute cases had been facilitated by trained community leaders outlining either mutually agreed solution options agreed by conflicting groups or efforts that contributed to land security of affected communities.
- In one community leader mediation project, the project had a reported conflict prevention effect by way of de-escalating tensions. Community members admitted that they were planning to buy arms to defend their rights, but after engaging with the project, they felt they found an alternative way for dispute resolution and decided not to arm themselves.

4.4 Community Dialogue

Illustrative ToCs for Community Dialogue Interventions

Theory 1. If we bring people together from across lines of division to share their experiences during the conflict, the therapeutic effects and the empathy and trust resulting from sharing and being understood by the “other” will drive changes in individual attitudes and behaviors because participants will be better able to peacefully and productively deal with the effects of the past on their lives.

Theory 2. If participants in community dialogue projects are able to trust and empathize with people from across lines of division, they will become leaders who will promote intergroup healing in their communities and broader society, which in turn will produce a more peaceful, inclusive, and tolerant society.

This intervention type is by far the most prevalent in our sample and has been the mainstay of many peacebuilding programs over the last three decades. By definition, it involves a cross-section of communities affected by conflict and constitutes the “more people” approach, including people who directly participated in violence: ex-combatants, youth, women, elders, educators, and survivors of violence. Community dialogue can seem like a catch-all category and includes dialogue sessions, summer camps and inter-group sports activities, peer and cultural exchanges. Communal dialogue projects are influenced by the contact theory and encompass expected changes at both personal level (empathy, trust) and intergroup levels (positive behaviors, intergroup respect and trust).

Community dialogue is often combined with or integrated into other project interventions with associated ToC that assumes a correlation between positive community dialogue results with progress in other spheres that the interventions is targeting. For example, one post-election reconciliation project had community dialogue as a pre-requisite for subsequent higher-order outcomes such as communal level mechanisms for de-escalating violence in the future and building resilience to manipulation by local politicians.

Several ToCs linked “community dialogue” with “joint development projects” where youth and other participants received economic support and were involved in dialogue with community members across lines of division in order to build economic cooperation while increasing understanding and trust. This approach is represented by the following ToC:

- If we build economic relationships across lines of division, then we will see greater stability because people will see tangible, concrete economic benefits from cooperation and they will place a higher value on cooperation than conflict with former adversaries.

The ToCs coded in our sample are replete with references to increased trust, empathy, tolerance, and ‘relationships needed to resolve disputes peacefully.’ The evaluations consistently note that for indicators to meaningfully and reliably measure changes in trust, empathy and tolerance they need to be context specific, otherwise they may be entirely irrelevant.

Summary of reported results:

We coded the highest number of positive results and outcomes reported by the evaluations in our sample in this program category. Specifically, outcomes coded as attitudinal changes were reported in 15 out of 36 evaluations. The changes highlighted by evaluations included greater acceptance of members of other ethnic groups, forgiveness, building dialogue skills that strengthened reconciliation processes, and breaking through social taboos such as discussing ethnic identity. One evaluation noted, that “Forgiveness has become a meaning of life for both many participants and trainers and added new layers to their identity.” Most of these were self-reported and few evaluations had baseline or comparative data. Among other notable outcomes, both intended and unintended, were:

- Historically marginalized communities and indigenous people reported feeling more assertive in demanding their rights and better equipped to do this in non-violent manner.
- Participation in dialogue on social cohesion and reconciliation resulted in pardoning of former rebel group members by local religious leader and a subsequent joint project of rebuilding a local mosque.
- An RCT of a communal level truth and reconciliation effort designed and implemented by a local NGO, examined the results from community level forums in which victims shared war atrocities and perpetrators confessed to war crimes. The evaluation team examined results from 200 villages and gathered data from 2,300+ individuals. The evaluation found positive effects among those who participated in the reconciliation process such as greater forgiveness of perpetrators and strengthened social fabric. Specifically, people contributed more to public goods in villages that participated and reported having larger social networks. However, at the individual level, participation in the reconciliation process worsened people’s psychological health, increased depression, anxiety and posttraumatic stress disorder in the same villages. The evaluation team measured outcomes at 9 month and 31 months for a smaller set of villages and saw that both positive and negative effects persisted over time. One of the recommendations from this evaluation was to design reconciliation processes in ways that achieve positive social cohesion and reconciliation results but reduce the negative psychological effects.

4.5 Exposure to the Other

Illustrative ToCs for Exposure to the Other Interventions

Theory 1. “Peace emerges out of a process of breaking down isolation, polarization, division, prejudice and stereotypes between/among groups. Strong relationships are a necessary ingredient for peacebuilding.”

Focused on building relationships, these interventions seek change at a personal level (attitudes, perceptions, relationships, stereotypes) and are rarely implemented in isolation. Our sample has just one example, but elements of ToCs and intended outcomes for this type of programming were described within other project activities:

- If writers, dramatists, and filmmakers work together to create stories—with cultural content that humanizes the “other” and with role models who seek relationships with people from across dividing lines—audience members will emulate the attitudes and behaviors portrayed. When attitudes and behaviors transform, it promotes tolerance and value for a multi-ethnic society on a broader societal scale, ultimately creating cultural drivers of peace.
- In addition, in CDA’s meta-evaluation of evaluations of Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation programs conducted in 2015-2016, we looked for evidence of ‘wider impacts’ of reconciliation programs. There were many assumptions in project designs and ToCs that wider impacts will happen, and that they could be measured in the short-term. However, there was very little evidence of this reported in evaluations.

Summary of reported results:

- In one project in MENA, dialogue participants reported being empowered by gaining a deeper awareness and knowledge of their own history and narrative as well as by the act of articulating their narratives and sharing their point of view and experiences with the group. For the other side in the same conflict, changes in perceptions largely took the form of new knowledge and understanding of the Palestinian narrative, rather than their own narrative. Participants indicated significant increase in their willingness to engage with the “other.” This took the form of increased belief in the value of engaging with the “other,” and optimism about the possibility of positive change resulting from this engagement.
- Other **attitudinal changes** such as increased trust in members of different communities was reported across multiple evaluations where programs emphasized sustained contact and informal activities between conflicting community members. Most of these were based on self-reported qualitative evidence:
 - “a sense of belonging to a community again in the same way they felt before the war.”
 - In one evaluation, 98% of respondents reported increased understanding of members of other communities. 90% indicated that they recognized the benefits of cooperating with the conflicting communities. Half of the respondents reported behavior changes such as spreading awareness of human rights, encouraging women and youth to engage socially and economically and promoting peaceful coexistence.
 - Increased self-awareness, willingness to be non-judgmental and non-biased, increased

- mutual tolerance, respect and trust of other.
 - Increased understanding of youth from other groups which made participants see the benefits of cooperation.
- Beyond attitudinal change, however, there were examples of personal commitment and **behavior change** on behalf of project participants. These changes included willingness to listen to others and understand their perspectives, respect and value differences, responding flexibly, calmly and patiently in times of conflict, restraining the use of derogatory language towards other, being mindful of the feelings of other groups. In addition, increase willingness to cooperate and collaborate with others was mentioned across multiple evaluations.
 - In one such example, a participant realized during the reconciliation workshop that living and working together is possible. Later, he organized a multi-ethnic Association of Former Camp Prisoners (prisoners of war) which grew to include over 3,000 members from Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian communities.

4.6 Joint Development Projects

Illustrative ToCs for Joint Development Projects

Theory 1. If people from divided communities jointly develop and implement development projects that benefit the larger populations of each community, then the increased intergroup interactions will catalyze the formation of the trustful and cooperative relationships needed to create community harmony, peace, and reconciliation.

Theory 2. If people from divided communities jointly develop and implement development projects that benefit the larger populations of each community, then the concrete economic advantages of the projects will promote cooperation, help mitigate the economic causes of the conflict, and establish the economic interdependence needed to build sustainable peace.

ToCs coded in our sample emphasize economic trade and cooperation, but there are notable gaps in logic or circular logic about the relationship between trade and increased tolerance and peace, as illustrated by these excerpted ToCs:

- By bringing together women engaged in cross-border trading on a regular basis, they will overcome mistrust and prejudices that divide them, and they will cultivate resistance to ethno-political manipulation.
- Peacebuilding increases women's self-confidence, and reduces divisive attitudes. These attitudinal changes lead to improved relationships between cross-border traders, which increases their collaboration which leads to economic results.
- If women cross-border traders acquire better competencies in peacebuilding, they will be able to contribute to intra and inter communal conflict resolution without resorting to violence, which will reinforce a culture of peace in the region. Interactions catalyze positive relationships; economic advantages promote cooperation.

Some of the joint development projects are based on shaky assumptions of a direct relationship between economic advancement, job creation and reduction in violence which has generated

considerable debate in the peacebuilding research community. As this debate is ongoing and the evidence base continues to evolve, our understanding of how this type of programming may contribute to reconciliation was enhanced by a recent review of impact of employment programs on peace in fragile and conflict-affected countries¹² done by the International Security and Development Center.

Summary of reported results:

- A sharp reduction in inter-group disputes was reported as a result of setting up a joint committee that helped the entire community to schedule and conduct its livelihood activities according to seasonal planning, grazing, and migration patterns. These steps helped the local community to avoid bloody clashes over land use.
- Increased trust of other ethnic groups in conflict affected contexts was measured by tracking changes in trading and economic collaboration activities, including cross-border activities.
 - For example, one project reported that women cross-border traders gained “trusted clients” across the border with whom they buy and sell merchandise. The decisions of women who provide merchandise on credit for other women to sell on the other side of the border were seen as compelling illustration of increased trust. Earlier context analysis indicated that traders lacked trust and had entrenched stereotypes about women from across the border in the past.
 - Increased solidarity among the women traders was demonstrated by their acts of defending and supporting each other to stand up to border officials in cases of harassment and violations of their rights. The evaluation reported this solidarity as the result of improved relationships between the women, based on shared interests in their business transactions.
 - In addition, family members and other community members who observed this increased cooperation between women traders reported that they now “think differently” about their neighbors across the border. People in the wider community reported greater tolerance and acceptance of differences in nationality, ethnicity, religion and class because the women traders provided a positive example to their families and communities by working together across these dividing lines.
- The act of sharing costs and collaborating to implement joint projects was reported as a contribution to both improved relationships and a strong sense of ownership of the projects and their outcomes.
- Among other effects of reconciliation-focused economic development projects, evaluations reported increased self-confidence, self-respect and respect from others in their communities. One evaluation stated a hypothesis that increased self-confidence could be linked to increased effectiveness in advocacy and peacebuilding, as illustrated by a quote from a local participant: “We now have the confidence to stand up in front of neighborhood groups or groups of other market women and tell them what we learned about peacebuilding and running businesses.”
- Participants in another cross-border trade project noted that as they are helping their families to develop and raise their economic standing in the community, this creates more peace in their

¹² Tilman Brück, Neil T. N. Ferguson, Valeria Izzi & Wolfgang Stojetz (2016), Review of the Theory and Practice of the Impact of Employment Programmes on Peace in Fragile and Conflict-affected Countries. International Security and Development Center. Accessed on November 6, 2018. <http://isd-center.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Employment-Interventions-and-Peace-Final-Report-Final-Version-2016-09-16.pdf>

families, and mitigates some of the underling causes of conflict, such as poverty and unemployment.

4.7 Broadening Change

Illustrative ToC for Broadening Change

Theory 1. If public events can draw large audiences from divided communities and if attendees have positive interactions participating in the event activities, this positive contact will set a precedent for further interaction that promotes greater tolerance and cooperation to widen and deepen reconciliation.

Theory 2. If people are more informed about their rights, they will be empowered to protect their personal and group rights, creating a more respectful and just society capable of genuine reconciliation.

Theory 3. If people are more aware of the work being done to promote reconciliation at the different levels of society and if they have avenues through which they can engage in the work and discussions of the reconciliation process, they will have the knowledge and ability needed to effectively contribute to existing and future projects, thereby informing and amplifying the impact of reconciliation policies and programs.

Interventions in this category emphasize “more people” or broad-based approaches that engage participants across multiple communities and regions, as well as nation-wide by using media and communications technologies. With a focus on broadening public and civic participation, many of the ToCs are rooted in civic activism and mass mobilization as well as inclusive governance, and inclusion of minority voices. Specifically, ToCs and program objectives seek to “consider all the minority communities affected by the conflict” because “it is vital to create an environment where diverse communities feel comfortable to exchange ideas and experiences.”

The role of youth and historically marginalized groups is central to this type of intervention. Several project ToCs in our sample focus on them as political actors, for example linking “constructive exchange

Integrated community leader dialogue with economic activities

One impact evaluation of a West Africa program examined the results from an integrated effort of community-based conflict management with joint economic development. The overall program goal was to reduce violent conflicts between pastoralists and farmer community groups and increase local economic activities in four states. The program was designed based on three underlying theories of change, which linked conflict mitigation and joint economic projects to address the underlying drivers of conflict, while providing tangible development results to communities to guarantee their commitment and engagement. The evaluation reported that at project sites:

- 86% of households reported decreased tensions compared to 56% in comparison sites (43 % point difference).
- An improvement of 49% points of increased trust between conflicting groups.
- Households had 44% points increase in freedom of movement compared to comparison sites.
- Households were 47% points more likely to report that conflict did not affect their livelihoods than the comparison communities.

and dialogue between youth from different political parties and political leaders about governance issues, particularly political manipulation of youth and its resulting violence” to “peaceful cohabitation.”

Summary of reported results:

One evaluation in our sample noted that evidence of change resulting from “a nationwide dialogue on inter-religious and inter-ethnic reconciliation” which was seen as a step towards “shifting perception of community members away from intolerance and prejudice towards greater tolerance and inclusiveness” requires a relevant scope, a representative sample size and ability to disaggregate results by different demographic groups in order to understand the inclusion and exclusion dynamics better. Disaggregation was inconsistently applied across the sample. Reported results included:

- Participants of reconciliation projects making commitments to participate in similar event and to cooperate in planning future joint activities. There were many anecdotal examples of participants affirming that they often support each other outside the project scope and plan to continue to do so in the future.
- Increased capacity to work with other civil society organizations and local government structures as a result of engaging in a broader reconciliation focused initiative.
- In a context affected by post-election violence, an evaluation of youth-focused program reported that youth of different political affiliations developed a better understanding and improved attitudes regarding their responsibilities in maintaining peace in their own communities. The results also extended to political leaders who were engaged in the program and reported a greater awareness of the dangers of political manipulation of youth and a greater respect for human rights.
- Training program aimed at supporting skills for a public peace process resulted in participants feeling better prepared to communicate their communities’ issues to the government and to the wider public.
- Increased links between communal efforts and relevant government departments, education sector and the police.

4.8 Vertical Connections

Illustrative ToC for Vertical Connections

Theory 1. If key stakeholders from across and between the different levels of society come to understand one another’s perspectives and interests in the reconciliation process, then they will be able to collaborate to create more inclusive policies and programs that best advance the reconciliation process by meeting the diverse needs of the different stakeholders.

The program activities under this category engage participants occupying different roles and functions at the community level, private sector, civil society, and local, sub-national and national governments. The methodology for engagement quite often entails meetings, dialogue session and joint skills building with an aim of increasing collaboration and understanding of different viewpoints.

ToCs for this type of programming are notoriously broad. They rarely include the full range of assumptions about power dynamics, patron-client relationships and other interdependencies that can serve as the incentive or a barrier for engagement with these various stakeholders. For example, projects that seek to “increase understanding among key decision-makers in governments and INGOs” or “to enhance the operational capacities of CSOs to effectively manage intercommunity tensions and to engage with national, regional and international institutions” do not clearly articulate why the expected changes – “reduction in incidence of violent conflict” – will result from increased operational capacities of CSOs or other related objectives. There is also some indication that a fair amount of *horizontal connections* and alliances are essential for the vertical connections to have their intended impact.

Summary of reported results:

- Because of observed success of several community level reconciliation processes, other key stakeholders in one conflict demonstrated increased engagement with community leaders to learn more. In one instance, armed groups as well as the official advisor to an on-going peace process were asked to apply the lessons and approaches used in community-level process to broader political and border-related conflicts and to the wider reconciliation process.
- Linkages from local level reconciliation processes to decision-making structures, for example on land disputes, were noted in several evaluations. In one example, a reconciliation project received the support of 49 government offices who committed to its conflict resolution process. This allowed 16 policy proposals related to improvement of local dispute resolution structures to be passed in four municipalities targeted by the project.
- Local partners reporting that their activities reached and influenced local authorities by raising their awareness of minority rights and ongoing rights violations. Evaluation report noted that these claims remain difficult if not impossible to substantiate.
- International organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the UN Peacebuilding Commission, and the Council of Europe that were engaged by the reconciliation project reported using the materials provided by the project in their own outreach and training. Senior staff in these international bodies declared that the project’s focus on conflict prevention supported their own institutional development and had a positive impact on recently developed policy frameworks.
- Early warning briefs produced by another project enabled minority groups to participate in setting the reconciliation agenda and raising significant issues that affect them. The project focused on improving early warning information on local-level conflicts and increased coordination and exchange between civil society and national-level decision makers. The evaluation reported that the project contributed to an increased space for public debate on how policies and legal justice have been administered, development of new policy proposals, and increased demand on the political system to respond to people’s needs.

5 Sustainability and Long-Term Impacts

A commonly stated intent across the evaluated projects is to achieve reconciliation outcomes that are sustained beyond the timeframe of the project. Within our sample, 10 evaluations reported indications of long-term impact or “green shoots” such as sustained commitment, increased capacities and social

capital of those engaged and influenced by reconciliation efforts. Across all evaluations, different groups of stakeholders such as community and religious leaders, youth, and women stated the value of continuing the reconciliation processes that were developed during the project timeframe. However, many raised concerns about sustainability when considering the evolving regional and national conflict contexts. Continued escalation and setbacks were noted for their adverse effect on the motivation of former project participants to continue to apply their skills and to reach across the divide. Several evaluations also noted that specific reconciliation and dispute resolution mechanisms and approaches that were introduced and established during the project timeframe, may not be appropriate or feasible as the political, legal and institutional context evolves and new realities and needs arise.

Some participant feedback related to sustainability of outcomes touched on the programmatic choices made and the models (and Theories of Change) chosen at the outset by the peacebuilding organizations. The choice of participants, the timing of activities and the types of skills, processes and structures supported by the project had an impact on the sustainability of outcomes. However, even in the sub-set of final evaluations, it was too soon to draw conclusions on long-term impacts and sustainability. For example, a project in the Middle East was credited for establishing an important foundation on which to build up larger, societal level changes in crisis-affected areas of the country. The evaluation noted that participants reported long-term changes at the personal level such as deep shifts in their attitudes, behaviors and skills but there was no solid indication that these will have a sustained effect on structures and systems. We had no ex-post evaluations in our sample and therefore, no documented evidence of sustained results over time beyond the snapshot captured by the summative evaluation.

Evaluations also noted barriers to sustaining outcomes over time:

- Politicians were identified among the biggest barriers to sustaining reconciliation outcomes as they have tendencies to manipulate fears and people's distrust of other ethnic groups. In one context, project participants pointed out to the evaluator that communities and civil society are ready to reconcile; but given the political climate in the country which hasn't changed in the last two years the long-lasting positive impacts of the reconciliation processes were not achievable.
- Another barrier was the intentional sabotage of community dialogue workshops and other reconciliation activities by participants who joined without motivation to contribute to reconciliation, and at times disrupted or discredited the process.
- Some peacebuilding organizations, both local and international, were perceived to have their own agendas when organizing community dialogue and reconciliation processes which negatively impacted local ownership and commitments to sustain outcomes.
- Constrained project timeframes were consistently identified as a barrier to genuine reconciliation and trust-building. In one evaluation, the rapid shift from dialogue to action was described as problematic and too abrupt with a result of decreasing the potential of deeper personal relationships and community-level change. Uneven budget allocation for different aspects of reconciliation programming diminished overall program effectiveness and its reach especially in cases where community-based dialogue and reconciliation work was under-funded in relation to other program components that depended on trust and improved relationships as a pre-condition to achieving other outcomes.

A mediation capacity project in MENA provided basic and advanced training in mediation, coaching and mentoring. Project participants used these skills to mediate disputes in their local communities and sometimes farther afield, and to advocate for conflict management and peace in the country. These early trainees have now themselves trained around 400 additional men and women. This US government funded program had set a goal of assisting leaders from across the country to gain the tools and skills they needed to more effectively address tension and conflict that, if ignored, posed a risk to the country's fragile transition to peace and democracy.

Mediators trained before and during the program have intervened in disputes ranging from disagreements due to moral differences to perceived or real injustices and distribution and rights issues, as well as disputes over access to basic human needs. People trained under the project organized themselves into a network of negotiation experts and later established a new organisation registered by the government and offering mediation and negotiation support to communities experiencing local disputes.

The organization has since expanded its networks across most sectors of society. It includes leaders from formal and informal governance structures, as well as persons of national and local influence. **The result is a network of mediators built on trust and confidence in their fellow members and with a common ambition to build a truly national organisation with reach across the Middle East in the medium-term.** Bridges have been built between different groupings in society and extensive networks have emerged. Members have invested their personal and professional reputations and networks into growing the organization, which has contributed in the organizations achieving the national reputation it already enjoys. [Adapted and anonymized from evaluation of a mediation project]

6. Recommendations

The following recommendations are for organizations designing and implementing reconciliation programming and the evaluators and researchers working on strengthening the evidence base for reconciliation programming.

- It is not enough for program designs and evaluations of reconciliation programs to acknowledge the non-linear nature of reconciliation processes. The contexts in which reconciliation programs take place are often characterized by shifting political, informal power, socio-economic and communal structures and norms. Evaluations need to include lines of inquiry and judgement on how well reconciliation programming has responded and adapted to ongoing tensions and/or changes in the context (including new opportunities to strengthen inter-group relations), and not merely judge program effectiveness based on achievement of initial program objectives.
- Evaluations can be strengthened by consistently examining the relevance of program goals in relation to wider peacebuilding and reconciliation needs identified by existing conflict analyses.¹³ Relevance, when it is included in evaluation criteria, continues to be narrowly evaluated from the point of view funding priorities or is not evaluated to its full extent.

¹³ Relevant peacebuilding programming “is based upon current, accurate conflict analysis; aligns with peacebuilding needs; coincides with advantageous and/or critical moments of the conflict; are adaptive and responsive to changes over time; perceived as relevant by stakeholders; and aligned to strategy/policy.” See,

- Evaluators can strengthen the evidence base by making theories of change explicit in evaluation reports and testing the program assumptions with program teams, program participants as well as against available data and extracted lessons. Theory-based evaluation is particularly useful in this process and can be blended with other evaluation approaches.
- Improving the quality of MEL processes and subsequently the quality of evaluation designs will result in more valid and reliable data and credible evidence. Many of the standard recommendations for improving evaluability apply to reconciliation programs: setting up and collecting baseline, midline and endline data, monitoring for unintended and unanticipated effects, reaching out to indirect participants and other observers for different perspectives and using mixed methods to increase validity and reliability of collected data. Some organizations have started to use experimental designs and comparison groups. These and other evaluation approaches need to be conflict sensitive in their design and implementation.
- To better understand what works and what doesn't in reconciliation programming, as well as for whom and in what contexts, evaluators need to improve data disaggregation and analysis of results for different groups of people involved as direct and indirect participants in reconciliation programming (especially when trying to understand broader impacts of reconciliation programming beyond direct participants). In most cases, participants' gender and age are disaggregated, but other characteristics such as ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, citizenship and displacement status, and formal and informal leadership roles are not consistently documented or used in analysis of outcomes.
- Future evidence reviews and syntheses can benefit from posing a set of narrowly defined questions regarding what works in specific type of reconciliation programming. This can help to gather concrete evidence and to identify gaps on specific aspects of effective reconciliation practice.
- The largest gap in evidence relates to our understanding about what happens after the reconciliation projects are completed. Some evaluations in our sample openly acknowledged the limitations of summative evaluations in measuring long-term effects of individual level change. The sustainability of reconciliation outcomes and communal resilience to future setbacks and provocations cannot be judged from project completion reports and summative evaluations. An ex-post evaluation or longitudinal research studies are better placed to trace the progression from individual level changes to sustained behavior changes and their effect on broader communal or societal sphere.

7. References and Additional Resources

All evaluations referenced in this report have been kept confidential with examples anonymized at the request of submitting organizations. The full set of evaluations categorized by region and type of programming is listed in Annex 8.3

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8. Appendix

8.1. Intended outcomes by program type

The table below shows the prevalence of intended outcomes and results coded across types of programming and levels of change. It includes cross-coded or integrated programming.

	A : Attitudes	B : Behaviors	C : Processes	D : Skills	E : Structures
3 : Type of Programming = Broadening Change	4	3	1	3	1
4 : Type of Programming = Trauma healing & Community Leader Dialogue	5	9	5	6	1
5 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue	15	6	6	7	4
6 : Type of Programming = Community Leader Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	13	11	3	8	7
7 : Type of Programming = Vertical Connections	2	0	2	0	2
8 : Type of Programming = Joint Development Projects	13	8	0	4	2
9 : Type of Programming = Trauma healing	3	3	0	0	0
10 : Type of Programming = Conflict Mediation	0	1	1	2	3
11 : Type of Programming = Exposure to the Other	2	0	0	1	0
12 : Type of Programming = Community Leader Dialogue	7	1	2	5	3
13 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue	0	0	0	2	1
14 : Type of Programming = Community Leader Dialogue, Vertical Connections	1	0	2	3	2
15 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue, Community Leader Dialogue, Broadening Change	0	0	0	3	2
16 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	8	4	0	4	3
17 : Type of Programming = Community Development, Broadening Change	2	0	0	2	0
18 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects, Vertical Connections	0	0	1	1	1
19 : Type of Programming = Community Dialogue, Vertical Connections	0	1	0	2	0

8.2 Indicators collected from the evaluation sample organized by program type

The following indicators were coded in the evaluation sample in order to add to PEC's understanding of indicators in use. The indicators do not represent the full typology of reconciliation programming and are used for documentation and illustration only (not endorsement).

Broadening Change	
1.	# of decision-makers or international actors would report that they had gained novel ideas or a new perspective, which they would promote in their own work.
2.	# of community leaders report that they felt more confident/skilled to work on inter-communal activities & showed more willingness to join with representatives of other groups.
3.	# of women report they gained more confidence and skills to work on inter-communal activities and had more willingness to work together with representatives of other groups.
4.	Peace dialogue engaged representatives of the smaller minorities and groups.
5.	Youths participate in outreach activities demonstrate a commitment to improve community relations
6.	Youths who participate in outreach activities demonstrate a better understanding and better ability to understand issues of governance linked to good cohabitation and non-manipulation.
7.	Cases of improvement of political leaders addressing youth of different political affiliations to renounce violence
8.	Political leaders interviewed demonstrate changes towards respect for human rights and the rule of law after the project
9.	Increase amongst youth perception that political leaders better understand human rights and the rule of law
10.	Number of cases of improved practices by political leaders in terms of respect for human rights and the rule of law following the project
11.	Citizens interviewed having followed at least one activity/radio program who say that they trust political leaders and can say why.
12.	Increase in the number and types of actions taken by partner civil society organizations and media to understand and manage issues addressed by the project
13.	Increase in the number and types of actions taken by partner civil society organizations and media to understand and manage issues addressed by the project
14.	Increase in the number and types of actions taken by partner civil society organizations and media to understand and manage issues addressed by the project
15.	Citizens interviewed can give specific examples of how civil society organizations and the media have covered the topics addressed the project
16.	% of population listening to peace media programming
17.	% of listeners/ viewers who state that programs are in line with their daily life and concerns.

Community Dialogue

1. Participation in Reconciliation Activities
2. Indicative correlation between exposure to program activity and 'open' attitudes towards reconciliation.
3. # of conflict resolution interveners finding coordination "helpful" or "very helpful"
4. % of participants citing a concrete example of how the NGO forum impacted their work
5. % of targeted communities where participation in reconciliation activities meets or exceeds national baseline
6. % of respondents who feel that reconciliation programs take their views into account

Community Leader Dialogue

1. Traditional, community and religious leaders have enhanced capacity to resolve inter-communal disputes peacefully
2. % of community members who report inter-communal tension in their community.
3. % of community members who report having taken steps in past six months to prevent election violence
4. % of program participants who report an increase in understanding of responsible citizenship.
5. % of community members who report having had positive interactions with members of different ethnic and religious groups in the past six months.
6. # of media campaigns implemented to facilitate the advancement of tolerance and reconciliation.
7. % of community leaders, security forces, election officials, and local government leaders collaborating to prevent violent conflict.
8. # of conflict prevention plans developed through inclusive participation.

Vertical Connections

1. The intervention of local CSOs has been successful in solving conflicts in a non-violent way
2. Potential conflicts have been contained / prevented in at least 3 instances involving minority communities
3. Innovative field-based strategies have been adopted to tackle intercommunity tensions
4. Implement at least # successful project / advocacy campaigns in the target countries
5. Partners meet with national / international decision makers in country at least twice during the year following the end of the intervention

Trauma Healing

1. # of family centers providing structured psychosocial activities for children
2. # of children attending family centers
3. # of children attend accelerated learning activities

4. % of interviewed families report improved behavior of children attending sessions
5. # of people who can accurately report necessary precautions and responses related to unexploded ordinances
6. # of family centers fully equipped and staffed
7. # of family centers that provided information about social services
8. # of children and parents participating in psychosocial activities
9. # of children who participated in psychosocial group sessions
10. # of group sessions for children
11. # of group sessions for children involved in accelerated learning activities
12. # of children who participated in individual counselling sessions
13. # of individual counselling sessions for children
14. # of parents who participated in psychosocial workshops
15. # of psychosocial workshops for parents
16. # of community gatherings hosted
17. # of community members participating in community gatherings
18. # of families who received information regarding social services through youth teams
19. # of Family Days organized
20. # of children, siblings or peers, and parents who participated in Family Days
21. # of children who participated in accelerated learning activities

Exposure to Other

1. # of people surveyed who report building relationships across dividing lines, and # of people in each target district who demonstrate respect for people from a different identity group
2. # of cultural activities implemented by multi-ethnic diverse groups to promote intercultural dialogue at the local level;
3. % of people in project target areas who report having positive relationships with at least two people/families/groups from a different ethnic or religious identity
4. % of participants in capacity building events who demonstrate increased capacity on aspects of intercultural dialogue and reconciliation;
5. # of trained participants who integrate the Approach into their work;
6. # of intercultural events in each target community that promote intercultural dialogue and reconciliation
7. % of people surveyed who report learning at least one positive new piece of information about the culture of other communities;
8. % of viewers/listeners of the program report resisting stereotypes about another identity group (ethnic, religious or political) in their community.

9. Reduced stereotypes and prejudices at a societal level, societal transformation that embraces diversity and mutual respect coupled with the gradual democratic transition, and increased collaboration across dividing lines.

Community Leader Dialogue & Joint Development Projects

1. Total freedom of movement within site over previous 6 months
2. Percent of locations within site that were always accessible over previous 6 months
3. Tensions between communities in same site decreased over previous 6 months
4. Respondent trusts conflicting community group in same site
5. Respondent feels it is acceptable to practice another religion
6. Respondent feels people are generally the same regardless of religion
7. Frequency disputes between communities are resolved successfully
8. Extent shared resources are managed peacefully
9. Community shares markets with other community group in site
10. Community shares pastures with other community group in site
11. Community shares farmland with other community group in site
12. Respondent feels their community's livelihoods not affected by conflict in previous 6 months
13. Access to goods has increased in previous 6 months
14. Access to work opportunities has increased in previous 6 months
15. Conflict never prevented respondent from working in previous 6 months
16. # of days conflict prevented respondent from working in previous 6 months

8.3 Anonymized list of evaluations coded

#	Region	Type of Programming	Mid-term / Final	Type of evaluation	Date of evaluation
1.	Africa	Broadening Change	Final	Internal	2011
2.	Asia	Broadening Change	Final	External	2017
3.	Middle East	Broadening Change	Final	External	2011
4.	Asia	Community Development, Broadening Change	Final	External	2008
5.	Africa	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2002
6.	Africa	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2014
7.	Africa	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2013
8.	Africa	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2013
9.	Asia	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2013
10.	Europe	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2012
11.	Middle East	Community Dialogue	Final	External	2014
12.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Community Leader Dialogue, Broadening Change	Final	External	2016
13.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	Final	External	2010
14.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	Final	External	2013
15.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	Final	Internal	2011
16.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects, Vertical	Final	External	2008
17.	Africa	Community Dialogue, Joint Development Projects, Vertical	Final	External	2008
18.	Asia	Community Dialogue, Vertical Connections	Final	Internal	2009
19.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue	Final	External	2015
20.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue	Final	External	2015
21.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue	Final	Internal	2016
22.	Asia	Community Leader Dialogue	Final	External	2014
23.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	Final	External	2017
24.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue, Joint Development Projects	Final	External	2016

25.	Africa	Community Leader Dialogue, Vertical Connections	Mid-term	Internal	2016
26.	Middle East	Conflict Mediation	Final	External	2017
27.	Middle East	Conflict Mediation	Final	External	2014
28.	Asia	Exposure to the Other	Final	External	2017
29.	Africa	Joint Development Projects	Mid-term	External	2015
30.	Africa	Joint Development Projects	Final	Internal	2016
31.	Africa	Trauma Healing	Final	External	2014
32.	Africa	Trauma Healing	Final	External	2014
33.	Middle East	Trauma healing	Final	Internal	2010
34.	Asia	Trauma healing & Community Leader Dialogue	Final	External	2015
35.	Africa	Vertical Connections	Final	External	2012
36.	Multiple	Vertical Connections	Final	External	2008