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OPERATIONALIZING THE PATHWAYS FOR PEACE STUDY IN COMMUNITY-DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONS:
GUIDANCE NOTE

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ACRONYMS

CDD   Community-driven development

FCS   Fragile or Conflict-Affected State

FCV   Situation of Fragility, Conflict or Violence

IEG   Independent Evaluation Group

LIC   Low income country

LICUS   Low income countries under stress

MIC   Middle income country

WDR   World Development Report

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. **Fragility, conflict and violence have emerged as key global development challenges of our time.** Some two billion people in the world – and half of the world's extreme poor – live in countries affected by fragility, conflict and violence (FCV). In 2016, more countries were experiencing violent conflict than at any time in nearly 30 years. Since 2007, the number of major civil wars has tripled, while the number of lower intensity conflicts has risen by 60 percent. At the same time, conflicts have grown more complex, with a proliferation of armed groups: while in 1950, the average number of armed groups in a civil war was eight, by 2010 it had jumped to 14. The increased complexity and reach of today's violent conflict contributes to its intractability: while conflicts that ended in 1970 tended to last an average of 9.6 years, conflicts that ended in 2014 had lasted an average 26 years, and those that ended in 2015 had lasted 14 years. The direct economic losses from violent conflict are staggering; by one estimate, these amount to USD14.3 trillion, about 12.6 percent of world GDP.[1]

2. **In March 2018, the World Bank and the United Nations released a joint study on conflict prevention.** Entitled *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*, the study aimed to explore ways to effectively prevent, end and prevent the recurrence of violent conflict. It was the first joint study by the Bank and the United Nations and aimed at bringing together the latest global knowledge about the nature of conflict, including its drivers, current trends, and changing characteristics. The study built on the 2011 World Development Report on *Conflict, Security and Development*, and drew on a range of new research and analysis to reflect on changes in the global context since the WDR's publication.[2]

3. **The Pathways study contains lessons and recommendations for policymakers across the political, security and development spectrum, but is of particular relevance for the community-driven development (CDD) community of practice, given the frequent use of CDD approaches in situations affected by fragility, conflict and violence (FCV).** CDD operations allow communities a say in how development financing is used to better their lives by emphasizing community control over planning decisions and investment resources. The approach of enabling local decision-making and putting resources in the direct control of community groups has led to the efficient delivery of basic services and, when sustained over time, measurable gains in access to vital services and poverty reduction, particularly among the poorest populations and communities. In FCV situations, CDD approaches offer governments a proven way to deliver services and local infrastructure at scale, including in remote, inaccessible or insecure areas.

4. **Because of their ability to reach scale relatively quickly and to operate even in remote or conflict-affected environments, CDD approaches have increasingly become the modality of choice in FCV environments.** As of June 2018, the Bank's active CDD portfolio in FCV situations

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[1] United Nations; World Bank. 2018. *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict.* Washington, DC: World Bank. Hereafter, "Pathways study." Available at
https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337

[2] World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development.* Washington, DC: World Bank. Hereafter, "2011 WDR." Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389

totaled $3.3 billion, with an additional $1.1 billion provided by borrowers and other donors. This CDD portfolio covers 44 projects in 29 countries, with almost half the financing going to countries in Africa. A 2015 IEG evaluation found that CDD was the most frequently used operational approach by the Bank in FCV situations.[3] These range from engagements with dramatic political transitions (Myanmar and Afghanistan) to instances of intense national political violence (Sudan), but programs also extend to middle-income countries facing sub-national conflict (Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines).

5. **This guidance note aims to distill the findings of the Pathways study, focusing on implications of particular relevance to the CDD community.** The analysis and recommendations of the Pathways study offer new ways of thinking about the prevention of violent conflict, and the role of aid in this context. Highlighting key findings of a 300 page report, this note aims to provide Bank task teams working on CDD operations with a quick reference guide to key findings from the study, and operational implications in the design, supervision and evaluation of CDD programs. In doing so it is important to remain realistic and modest: CDD does not by itself solve or prevent conflict, but it is a powerful tool to address some of the key underlying risk factors identified in the Pathways study in a cost-effective manner.

II.   THE CHANGING NATURE OF CONFLICT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PREVENTION: KEY FINDINGS FROM THE PATHWAYS STUDY

6. **The Pathways study was initiated in the midst of a fundamental change in the nature and trends of global conflicts.** After decades of decline, most indicators of violent conflict are now increasing, and they paint a picture of a world in violent upheaval. Since 2010, the number of major violent conflicts has tripled. In 2016, more countries experienced violent conflict than at any time in nearly 30 years. Much of this violence remains entrenched in low-income countries, yet some of today's deadliest conflicts are occurring in countries at higher income levels with capable state institutions. This shift is not only quantitative but qualitative: today's violent conflicts are more protracted and internationalized than at any time in recent history, and they spill across borders to create regional humanitarian, political, security, and developmental challenges. These impacts reverberate globally: the numbers of people seeking refuge from war in other countries have reach historic highs, and national peace and security policies are changing dramatically in reaction to new threats. Civilian casualties have doubled between 2010 and 2016 alone, with many more deaths caused by unmet medical needs, inadequate shelter and famine as a result of conflict.

7. **The costs of conflict, in terms of lives lost and opportunities foregone are tremendous, and because violent conflict tends to persist once it takes root, its impacts accumulate.** Infrastructure and institutions are quickly destroyed and take decades to rebuild; exposure to violence can have devastating, lifelong impacts on psychosocial well-being; when basic service delivery is halted or quality is diminished, the generations that do not receive those services carry the impacts

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[3] *World Bank Group Engagement in Situations of Fragility, Conflict and Violence.* Independent Evaluation Group, 2015. Available at http://ieg.worldbankgroup.org/evaluations/fragility-conflict-violence

for the rest of their lives in detriments to physical and psychosocial health, forgone education, and limited job opportunities. Drops in investment, together with the cost of responding to violence, also put intense strain on economic growth: countries at war lose an average 8.5 percentage points in economic growth in the first year of civil war and 4.5 percent in subsequent years. By 2030, the horizon set by the international community for the Sustainable Development Goals, more than half of the world's poor could be living in countries affected by high levels of violence.

8. **At the same time, analysis conducted for the Pathways study showed that preventing entry and relapse into a cycle of conflict holds the potential to save lives and avoid the immense losses in human and economic capital that accompany conflict – and safeguard considerable development gains.** It is also cost-effective: according to one estimate, targeting resources toward just four countries at high risk of conflict each year could prevent between $5 and $70 billion in losses.[4]

9. **On a policy level, the Pathways report highlighted that effective prevention needs to comprehensively address structural issues, reform of institutions, and direct incentives of actors if they are to bend the pathways towards peace.** To break cycles of violence, first identified in the 2011 WDR, prevention must focus on the interaction between grievances and contestation, across arenas of power, security and resources. Like other development challenges, evidence presented in the study shows that prevention strategies are most effective and can only be sustained when they come from within a society and address the grievances and aspirations of all groups within it. Taken together this underscores the primary responsibility of national governments; however, the complexity of conflicts today transcends the ability of any one actor to effectively address them alone. It also requires support from a coalition of partners across sectors, including development partners, the private sector and civil society.

10. **On an operational level, the Pathways report highlights the importance of (i) improving assessments and monitoring; (ii) integrating operational responses across institutions; (iii) promoting inclusion through targeting arenas of contestation; and (iv) improving community involvement in prevention efforts.** The implementation note of the Pathways study, prepared in July 2018, focuses on the arenas of contestation identified in the Pathways study where grievances have the highest potential to manifest in violent conflict: power and governance, resources, service delivery, and security, as well as on building the capacity to undertake prevention.[5] The note calls for WBG sectoral work – analytical or operational – to consider new approaches or adaptation of existing ones to address inequality-related grievances and foster greater inclusion, especially in situations of emerging risk.

11. **The Pathways study argues that "inclusive decision making is fundamental to sustaining peace at all levels, as are long-term policies to address economic, social, and political aspirations."[6]** It goes on to argue that there are four key arenas of contestation, where providing communities with the means of peaceful contestation can significantly reduce the

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[4] Mueller, H. 2017. *How Much is Prevention Worth?* Background paper for the Pathways study. Cited in Pathways study, p. 3
[5] Implementing Pathways for Peace: Prevention in World Bank Group Operations. July 2018.
[6] Pathways study, p. xix

likelihood of violent conflict: power and governance; land and resources; service delivery; and justice and security. Across these areas of contestation, it highlights equity as a key driver of conflict and risk, looking at both inequality (emphasizing horizontal dimensions, e.g. inequality between groups) and exclusion (highlight geographic, e.g. center-periphery tensions and lagging regions). It is in targeting arenas of contestation that CDD approaches can most directly support the prevention agenda called for in the Pathways report.

III.   OPERATIONALIZING PREVENTION: A FOCUS ON INCLUSIVE SERVICE DELIVERY

12. **The Pathways study shows the central importance of exclusion and unfairness – including perceptions thereof – in generating grievances that can lead to violent mobilization and conflict.** Effectively addressing these grievances requires greater attention to lagging regions, excluded groups, and perceptions of fairness, particularly in relation to the state and service delivery. To this end, the Pathways study recommends that governments should seek – and the WBG to support – innovative ways of delivering services and strong community involvement in development efforts, and a reorientation of service delivery systems to make people partners in the design and

delivery of public services.[7] This echoes other work in the peacebuilding field that highlights the importance of service provision, including in quality, inclusion and effective feedback mechanisms, to building the legitimacy of the state and fostering peacebuilding.[8]

13. **In this context, the implementation note of the Pathways study identifies three contributions that CDD operations can make in preventing conflict:** (i) the ability to deliver services cost-effectively, including in remote and insecure areas; (ii) the ability to generate a high degree of social acceptance of the fairness of distribution; and (iii) the ability to create meaningful opportunities for community involvement in service delivery through CDD processes.

14. **These recommendations mark an important shift for the CDD community, moving away from the perennial question of whether CDD processes by themselves build social capital, foster better governance, or promote peace, to a series of technical recommendations on which the global evidence base is strong.**

Improve access to services in a cost effective manner

15. **In discussing the importance of targeting lagging areas, the Pathways study notes that**
    "border areas and zones of low population density tend to be particularly vulnerable to risks of violence, as state presence is often weak, delivering services is often expensive, and identifying economic investments with positive rates of return is also a challenge. However, the benefits of addressing perceptions of exclusion and grievances can be well worth the investment. **Such efforts often require innovative ways of delivering services and strong community involvement in development efforts**.*"*[9]

16. **There is strong evidence that CDD operations are effective at improving public infrastructure and access to services, through an ability to improve access to services by quickly reaching large areas and reducing unit costs by better matching project resources with local needs.** Several meta analyses of CDD programs support these claims, finding that communities are capable of effectively managing grants to provide small-scale infrastructure, and that these investments deliver positive effects on material welfare.[10] By transferring decision-making powers and implementation responsibilities to communities, CDD programs are able to lighten the institutional load on governments, and are often able to expand rapidly across large geographic areas. Studies across multiple CDD projects have shown that infrastructure and public works are built at comparatively lower costs than other forms of service delivery, without sacrificing technical quality, with studies from the Philippines, Indonesia, Nepal, Burkina Faso, and Malawi, for example,

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[7] Pathways study, p. xxvi
[8] See for example Babbitt, Eileen et al. *Building Legitimacy in Conflict-Affected and Fragile States.* Fletcher School, Institute for Human Security. December 2016. Available at https://sites.tufts.edu/ihs/files/2018/02/Building-Legitimacy-in-Conflict-and-Fragile-States.pdf
[9] Pathways study, p. 281, emphasis added
[10] Casey, Katherine. Radical Decentralization: Does Community Driven Development Work? Stanford Graduate School of Business, Working Paper 3598. September 2017, p. 12. Available at https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/faculty-research/working-papers/radical-decentralization-does-community-driven-development-work; Wong (2012)

demonstrating 15 percent to 40 percent lower costs, depending on the type of investments.[11] These savings come primarily through elimination of middle men or contractor overhead, as well as community contributions of labor or materials. By empowering communities to identify their own needs, CDD programs are also more effective than other forms at matching resources to development priorities.[12]

Box 2:
Using CDD to Address Forced Displacement

In recent years, CDD programs have been used to help manage displacement caused by conflict for both refugees and returnees, including by helping communities hosting refugee populations by delivering services quickly and effectively and ensuring that assistance aligns with community priorities.

In Jordan, for example, the Emergency Services and Social Resilience Program(ESSRP) reached more than 2 million beneficiaries, of which nearly 250,000 were Syrian, representing about 40 percent of total registered Syrians in Jordan. The project supported the improved management of significant increases of municipal solid waste volumes (of 200 to 300 percent), addressing serious health and environmental risks, and the opening of community spaces, soccer fields, and parks providing opportunities for integration of refugees into the community and reducing tensions. At the same time, the project also supported service provision to marginalized Jordanian host communities in 16 municipalities with the highest percentages of Syrians, including through vocational training centers and sewing workshops that offer livelihood opportunities for women and youth. Following completion of the ESSRP, a new phase of the program is currently under implementation with support from a number of bilateral donors and the Jordanian Government, expanding support to 21 Jordanian municipalities to help address municipal service delivery improvement while focusing on improved citizen monitoring, and job creation.

Similarly, in the Horn of Africa region, Africa the Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project (DRDIP) is being implemented in four countries (Ethiopia, Uganda, Djibouti and Kenya), to support both refugees and host communities. In Ethiopia, an intensive community mobilization and consultation process included the preparation of village development plans and their integration with Woreda (district), regional and federal plans, followed by funding of priority interventions. Led by local government and centered on communities, the program has supported investments in basic service delivery, environmental and natural resources management and livelihoods support.

Similar approaches have been used in Afghanistan, Cameroon, Sudan and other countries, to foster a "whole of community" approach to displacement response.

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17. **Moreover, the community-based nature of CDD programs allow them to operate even in insecure environments and, to some degree, during times of conflict.** In Aceh, villages participating in the BRA-KDP CDD program experienced declines in poverty of 11% compared to villages outside the program, with almost 90 percent of funds in the BRA-KDP program being used

[11] Wong, Susan and Scott Guggenheim. *Community-Driven Development: Myths and Realities.* World Bank Group Policy Research Working Paper 8435. May 2018. Available at https://collaboration.worldbank.org/content/sites/collaboration-for-development/en/groups/community-driven-development-global-solutions-group/documents.entry.html/2018/06/18/community-drivendev-haJ4.html
[12] Barron, Patrick. *Community-Driven Development in Post-Conflict and Conflict-Affected Areas.* Background paper for the 2011 World Development Report. Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/27414

for purchasing private goods.[13] Operating during active conflict in Nepal, the Poverty Allevation Fund helped raise average nominal income for extremely poor and marginalized households in project communities by 145 percent.[14] In South Sudan, the Local Governance and Service Delivery project was able to continue its subproject cycle in 89 percent of villages despite the resumption of intense conflict in 2013. NSP is the only government program to reach all 34 provinces in Afghanistan, where it has provided small-scale infrastructure to over 35,000 rural communities over thirteen years despite intense civil conflict. Nepal was able to sustain national operations in all but one district during an escalating Maoist insurgency. Indonesia's KDP program sustained operations in high conflict areas when violence was at its highest even as many other programs pulled out. Similar findings are replicated in the cases of Philippines, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Northern Uganda. Local ownership has also proven to be an effective protective factor against destruction in cases where conflict resumes.

Generate social acceptance of the fairness of distribution

18. **The Pathways study notes that service delivery is critical for state legitimacy and argues that "inclusiveness and perceptions of fairness matter as much – perhaps more – than the quality of services."[15]** It further notes that service delivery "is a primary way by which many citizens directly encounter the state and shapes their perception of it" and that "the legitimizing effect of service delivery depends heavily on *how* services are delivered," citing studies that find that with regard to state legitimacy, "fairness and inclusiveness in the service delivery process matters as much as, if not more than, the quality of services or who delivers them."[16]

19. **CDD approaches offer opportunities to effectively deliver services and target marginalized groups while building social acceptance of the fairness of distribution.** CDD programs have proven successful at poverty targeting, including when using a mix of community-based identification and national statistical data.[17] In Indonesia, for example, Alatas et al. have shown through a randomized control trial that using community targeting systems produces nearly as accurate a targeting of results as highly sophisticated statistical systems do, but with much higher rates of local legitimacy and satisfaction due to the abilities of communities to articulate why some people receive benefits over others.[18] Similarly, Nepal's PAF employed participatory poverty mapping to ensure that grants were matched to the poorest and most marginalized, including groups that have traditionally been excluded by reasons of gender, ethnicity, caste and location. Moreover, by devolving decision making to local community councils and by applying requirements of

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[13] Barron, 23

[14] Parajuli, Dilip; Acharya, Gayatri; Chaudhury, Nazmul; Thapa, Bishnu Bahadur. 2012. *Impact of social fund on the welfare of rural households: evidence from the Nepal poverty alleviation fund*. Policy Research working paper 6042. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/587531468290125060/Impact-of-social-fund-on-the-welfare-of-rural-households-evidence-from-the-Nepal-poverty-alleviation-fund

[15] Pathways study, p. 141

[16] Pathways study, p. 158

[17] Wong and Guggenheim, p. 19

[18] Alatas, Vivi, Abhijit Banerjee, Rema Hanna, Ben Olken, and Julia Tobias. 2012. "Targeting the Poor: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia." American Economic Review 104 (2) (October): 1206-1240. Available at https://economics.mit.edu/files/5577

transparency and accountability, CDD programs improved the extent to which distribution of resources are accepted as fair, mitigating contestation and strengthening ownership over outcomes.[19]

Create meaningful opportunities for community involvement in service delivery

20. **Finally, the Pathways study calls for governments to "reorient service delivery systems to make people partners in the design and delivery of public services,"** including by mainstreaming people's engagement in community development programs.[20] It notes that "citizen's perceptions of and regard for the state, particularly at the local level, are improved when they are consulted, when they feel heard, and most important, when they are brought directly into the process itself."[21]

21. **Inclusive local decision making and management is, of course, at the heart of CDD approaches.** A review of CDD programs found participation rates in community meetings ranging from 40 to 70 percent of households in a village, with women representing anywhere from 30 to 70 percent of attendees.[22] CDD programs typically feature committees and councils elected by villagers to prepare plans, implement projects, and oversee operations and maintenance. This is reflected in the high popularity of CDD programs, with citizens giving high marks to the government's service delivery through CDD programs, ranging for example from 82 percent satisfaction levels in Myanmar to over 90 percent in Lao PDR.

22. **Importantly, the participation in CDD programs includes women and marginalized groups, broadening the range of voices involved in development debates at the local level.** In most CDD operations, women's participation is mandated under program rules, usually as a minimum percentage of council membership and attendance at meetings. While the quality of women's participation varies, a recent review found a broadly positive trend, with women's participation in CDD operations being exponentially higher than it is in traditional local councils or in sectoral community-wide programs.[23] A 2010 study of the National Solidarity Program in Afghanistan found a 10 percentage point difference among men (and 7 percentage points among women) who answered positively to the question of "is there a women in the village who is well respected by men and women."[24]

23. **Finally, CDD operations are able to involve communities in decision-making and service delivery even in alternatively governed spaces.** The Prevention study notes that nonstate actors often provide alternative forms of governance, especially in areas where the state has no or only a limited presence. The study warns against an approach that relies only on security, noting instead that

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[19] Barron, p. 24

[20] Pathways study, p. 284

[21] Pathways study, p. 160

[22] Wong and Guggenheim, p. 18

[23] Wong and Guggenheim, p. 18

[24] Beath, 2010 as cited in the 2011 World Development Report, p. 170

> *"To assert its presence and gain the trust of citizens, which is a prerequisite for legitimacy, the state needs to maintain a positive, visible presence. Delivery of services provides the means to do so and can have particular resonance for women..."[25]*

Recognizing the logistical, security and cost impediments to this approach, the study further notes that

> *"security, justice, basic and livelihood services can be delivered with a small government presence so long as mechanisms are nested within customary practices, ad hoc community structures, and communities themselves are invested in the success of delivery modalities."[26]*

24. **CDD operations have an extensive track record of operating effectively in these types of "alternatively governed" spaces.** In the Philippines, the Bangsamoro Development Agency was created as part of the 2001 agreement between the Government of the Philippines and the MILF, and to date has delivered community development and livelihood programs to over 500,000 people in more than 215 villages in 75 conflict-affected municipalities across Mindanao. Similarly, in Myanmar the national community-driven development project has been the only government program able to operate effectively across communities under the control of a broad range of ethnic armed organizations.[27]

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CDD COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

25. **For the CDD Community of Practice, the contribution of the Pathways study is not that it suggests a new operational model for CDD approaches, but rather that it encourages teams to focus on operational strengths that have been developed over the past 20 years and tested in a broad range of contexts.** As such, teams should continue to use the broad range of resources available through the CDD secretariat and to draw on previous guidance related to CDD operations in FCV environments (see Box 3).[28]

26. **In addition to the stocktake, there is a rich body of literature, how to notes, and case studies available to teams.[29]** Beyond these, there are five core principles that bear repeating, flowing from the logic of the Prevention study and operational experience to date.

27. **Continue to focus on remote, inaccessible, or insecure areas.** A recurring tension during project design is the desire to reach as many people as possible versus reaching the most marginalized communities. Despite the ability of CDD operations to reach remote areas in a cost-effective manner, the per capita costs of reaching remote areas will often be significantly higher than

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[25] Pathways to Prevention, p. 159

[26] Pathways, p. 160

[27] Myint, Nikolas and Oliver Russell. *Myanmar National Community Driven Development Project: Engagement with Ethnic Armed Organizations.* Discussion draft. May 2018.

[28] A broad range of operational guidance materials is available, for example, in the CDD resource library, available at https://collaboration.worldbank.org/content/sites/collaboration-for-development/en/groups/community-driven-development-global-solutions-group.html

[29] These include a 2003 paper on community driven reconstruction as an instrument in war-to-peace transitions, a 2006 paper on challenges and opportunities for CDD in conflict-affected countries, and a 2011 background paper for the 2011 WDR on CDD in post-conflict and conflict-affected areas; all available in the CDD resource library.

a focus on more densely populated, easily accessible regions. The findings of the Pathways study provides policy arguments for the operational choice of engaging even in remote, inaccessible, or insecure areas.

28. **Design for sustainability.** While it is important to accept the higher costs of reaching remote areas, it is also important for CDD operations to design from the beginning with sustainability in mind. This includes focusing on getting sufficient scale to reduce the share of overhead costs, with examples abounding of CDD operations that have been able over the years to attract an increasing share of government resource contribution, in addition to leveraging donor funds. It also includes proactive efforts to build alliances of champions, including by seeking integration where feasible into broader processes of decentralized government decision-making, as has happened in countries from Afghanistan and Cameroon to Indonesia and Vietnam.[30]

Box 3:
Designing CDD Operations in FCV Situations: Findings from a 2013 Stocktake

In 2013, the CDD secretariat undertook a review of CDD operations in FCV environments to identify lessons for design and implementation. By looking at the designs of a representative sample of CDD programs that have operated in FCS over the prior 15 years, the study identified a set of 10 key lessons:
1. Understand context
2. Stay focused (limit objectives, at least initially)
3. Assess and, if needed, build counterpart capacity
4. Engage local government
5. Ensure ongoing learning
6. Think carefully about targeting
7. Plan on multiple community cycles
8. Obtain buy-in from critical stakeholders
9. Ensure robust M&E and fiduciary arrangements
10. Have a strategy for engaging with multiple stakeholders

In addition, the study highlighted four cross-cutting principles:
1. Be responsive to context
2. Think long term
3. Keep things simple
4. Think scale

de Regt, Jacomina; Majumdar, Shruti; Singh, Janmejay. 2013. *Designing community-driven development operations in fragile and conflict-affected situations : lessons from a stocktaking (English)*. Washington DC ; World Bank Group. Available at:
http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/115121468327411033/Designing-community-driven-development-operations-in-fragile-and-conflict-affected-situations-lessons-from-a-stocktaking

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29. **Focus on quality.** There is no magic inherent in CDD approaches, and projects are as susceptible to bad design and implementation as any others. An ongoing focus on quality – in facilitation, infrastructure, and accountability among others – is important to ensure that projects are able to

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[30] See Wong and Guggenheim, p. 13

deliver on the ambitious goals set out here. This includes ensuring that infrastructure is built well, that processes are inclusive of marginalized groups, and that complaints are dealt with effectively. Falling short on quality can jeopardize the positive impact on conflict prevention, as well as the specific project objectives.[31] Of particular note is the importance of focusing on continued learning and adaptation during implementation: despite best efforts, project design is always likely to be imperfect, with information incomplete and subject to change, making it essential to ensure space for adaptive learning during project design and using this space during implementation. This can include the inclusion of regular inflection points in the project cycle (through annual reviews or social audits), or testing feedback mechanisms to ensure their effectiveness across geographic areas and population groups.

30. **Measure with rigor.** Linked to the above, an early and ongoing focus on effective monitoring and evaluation is critical, both to learn and to demonstrate success. For conflict prevention, this could include, for example, measures related to the social acceptance of block grant distribution, the ability to expand the reach of government, or the ability to bring marginalized groups into the development dialogue. These lessons can in turn help build the global stock of knowledge (see Box 3).

31. **Don't overpromise.** CDD can do a lot, but it is not a panacea and there are important areas where early promises have fallen short, including for example on social cohesion, where evaluations have not found consistent evidence of CDD programs increasing cohesion. Similarly, impacts have been mixed in creating broader spillover into demand for good governance, or increasing social capital. This can in part relate to the fact that most CDD projects do no claim to build social capital but to use the social capital that already exists; measurement issues (some of these concepts are hard to measure), short versus long term effects, or the limited impact of CDD operations in the larger scheme of life in rural villages.[32] Without being able to conclusively answer these questions, it is important for the CDD community to learn from the lessons of the literature to date, including in an environment of limited resources, to focus efforts on areas where results are strongest and limit promises accordingly, while continuing to learn and study the broader impacts of CDD programs.

32. **In this context, it is important to recognize that even the best designed and managed CDD programs remain but one piece of a larger puzzle** – CDD approaches should be one part of an overall government strategy, and if other parts of that strategy don't work (ranging from getting teachers into schools, to providing security, and an environment that fosters growth), then CDD approaches may not be fully successful either.[33] Oftentimes, governments have embedded CDD approaches within larger processes of decentralization, and indeed the Pathways study notes the role of CDD approaches in accompanying decentralization, especially in contexts where the capacity of local government is weak or contested.

33. **Beyond these general principles, applying the lessons from the Pathways study will require analyzing the drivers of conflict.** One consequence of the focus on prevention is the need to

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[31] For a discussion of the importance of technical quality, see Babbitt et al, p. 3. For a discussion of the importance of quality in ensuring inclusive processes, see Pathways study p. 160

[32] For a concise summary of the debate on these issues, the July 2018 exchange on the Oxfam blog *"From Poverty to Power"* by Duncan Green is instructive: https://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/the-last-word-in-the-community-driven-development-wonkwar-scott-guggenheim-responds-to-howard-white-and-radhika-menon/

[33] See Wong and Guggenheim, p. 23

think about how CDD operations interact with drivers of fragility and violence in a far larger range of contexts than previously, including in areas where violence has not yet emerged. This means adopting a conflict or fragility lens when designing and implementing CDD projects, even in places that may not appear to be particularly conflict-affected, including understanding the drivers of fragility in a specific context. For example, if horizontal inequalities between groups is a driver of contestation, if project areas are ethnically heterogeneous, and if the dominant ethnic group manages to capture the process or project funds, then the project may worsen an important driver of fragility. As such, project designs need to draw on an analysis of the drivers of fragility and conflict in a given

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Box 4:
Adapting Program Rules to Foster Inclusion: Neighborhood Elections in Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, the National Solidarity Program (NSP) relied on democratically-elected Community Development Councils (CDCs) to represent the multiple interests of Afghan communities. These CDCs proved important avenues for community participation: by the end of the NSP, 96 percent of sampled communities reported recognizing their CDCs as the legitimate representative of decision making and development of their communities. While CDC functions varied by geography, they ranged from a narrow role in support of local development to a broader role, including dispute resolution and the establishment of linkages between the community and higher levels of government. Importantly, CDCs enabled female community members to participate in decision making, with women participating in decision making related to the identification and selection of sub projects in an estimated 79% of sampled communities.

Building on the success of establishing this platform, a recent study points to the importance of election rules for promoting the inclusion of marginalized groups: The NGOs who facilitated the program were allowed to apply two electoral systems. In the first, an at-large system let each voter vote for any CDC candidate in his or her village. In the second, village constituencies were broken into smaller neighborhoods, with each voter restricted to voting for one candidate for the neighborhood in which they reside. The study found that in at-large elections, the distance between the homes of elected officials and the village center (in the context of Afghanistan, this is a reasonable proxy for relative wealth and standing) is smaller than in elections that applied the neighborhood system. In other words, at large elections appeared to favor local powerholders. Maps found that in communities where powerful actors were CDC office bearers and lived in close proximity to each other, NSP infrastructure was built close to their residences, while marginal parts of the communities did not benefit.

Drawing on these insights, the follow-on Citizen's Charter project set out to design an electoral system that would further foster inclusion. Instead of allowing 'at-large' elections, the Citizens' Charter adopted a nation-wide 'neighborhood' election system, working with communities to create election units of equal size. This way, marginalized groups do not have diminished chances to elect CDC representatives.

Analysis of the first 5,000 CDCs elected under the new system showed an increase in voter turnout, especially among women. Equally significant is a trend of new and younger members being elected to the Councils: 90 percent of newly elected members had never served on a CDC before, and nearly two thirds of all elected male members and three quarters of all elected women members are under the age of 45. Further analysis of these results is needed, as always, but the *prima facie* evidence that electoral rules can have significant impacts on reducing the risks of elite capture of community decision-making bodies is quite strong.

Bode, Brigitta. *Towards Representative Local Governance: The Electoral System of Afghanistan's Community Development Councils in the Citizen's Charter National Priority Program.* Institute of State Effectiveness. July 2018.

Beath, Andrew; Christia, Fotini; Egorov, Georgy; Enikolopov, Ruben. 2015. *Electoral Rules and Political Selection : Theory and Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan.* Policy Research Working Paper; No. 7361. World Bank, Washington, DC. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/22446

context, for example those identified through Risk and Resilience Assessments (RRA). This has happened for example in Tajikistan, where the Tajikistan RRA identified the need for local development platforms in high-risk regions (including border areas), informing the design of CDD operations under preparation, including through the IDA risk mitigation regime. These operations include design elements, for example, to reinforce the capacity and resilience of local community structures, engage idle and at-risk youth in community-based activities, and community investments that promote cross-border cooperation. A similar approach to addressing drivers of fragility and conflict is being taken by the local governance project under preparation in Guinea (see box 5, below), also as part of the IDA risk mitigation regime.

V. NEXT STEPS

34. **The Pathways study offers an opportunity for the CDD community to anchor its contribution to conflict prevention in demonstrated core strengths of CDD programs.** It brings together the latest global evidence and analysis on what works in preventing violent conflict, and through its emphasis on inclusive service delivery and addressing lagging regions, provides a series of important entry points for CDD operations.

35. **This guidance note is intended to serve as a starting point for applying and testing the findings of the Pathways study in real world operations.** Going forward, it will be critical to apply this framework to the design and implementation of CDD operations, including in developing effective M&E systems to test and demonstrate the impact of CDD approaches to operationalize the prevention agenda. The CDD secretariat and the FCV group are working to develop a set of activities that works with task teams to operationalize these findings through innovations and pilots,

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Box 5:
Using CDD Operations as Early Warning Systems

The prevention agenda outlined in the *Pathways for Peace* study necessitates more and better dynamic data that monitors fragility risks, since preventing something requires knowing when risks are escalating. CDD projects, with their networks of thousands of field level facilitators, have the potential to help produce this dynamic data.

CDD facilitators have been successfully mobilized in response to natural disasters, for example in Myanmar, where facilitators after devastating floods in 2015 carried out a rapid assessment of infrastructure damaged that led to the release of rehabilitation grants to communities. Following the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, facilitator surveys were used in Aceh, Indonesia to estimate both tsunami and conflict damages and to assess levels of conflict intensity, which were used to help determine the size of reintegration funds communities would receive. In Guinea, the proposed Support to Local Governance Project includes provisions for a community-based early warning and response system, focusing on conflict prevention and local resolution. The system will provide real-time monitoring and analysis of specific indicators to monitor potential risk on a diverse range of local conflicts, building on pilots developed through earlier CDD interventions.

These innovations hold the potential for leveraging CDD platforms to generate real-time data. Their use, however, must be carefully weighed against potential risks, including of potential real or perceived politicization of development interventions that could put projects or community facilitators at risk.

test and document their effectiveness, and disseminate lessons learned through global peer learning events for both Bank staff and government counterparts.

36. **In moving forward the CDD and conflict prevention agenda, it will be important to remain open to new opportunities.** The Pathways study aims for a change in mindset among policy makers and among development partners, shifting from a focus on conflict recovery to prevention. As the CDD community seeks to put the lessons of the study into action, innovation to identify new opportunities will be key. This could include using the CDD platform to develop early warning systems or to move from a narrow focus on service delivery to developing broader feedback loops for local government, or additional work to foster experimentation on if/how CDD can build social capital and social cohesion by evaluating the effectiveness of different types of interventions. The CDD secretariat will aim to identify promising innovations to incubate and integrate these into the broader portfolio, seeing the current note as a mere start into an exciting new conversation.

37. **Partnerships will be critical to exploring new opportunities in the CDD and prevention agenda.** This could include, for example, partnerships with UN agencies on early warning systems, community policing, and community-based conflict resolution mechanisms. There is a wealth of interventions at the community level, and while Bank-supported CDD programs tend to bring the advantage of working through government systems and working at scale, they can draw upon successful innovations happening at the local level across the globe to unfold their full potential.