MEASURING PEACE IMPACT

Challenges and Solutions

EMERY BRUSSET, GARY MILANTE,
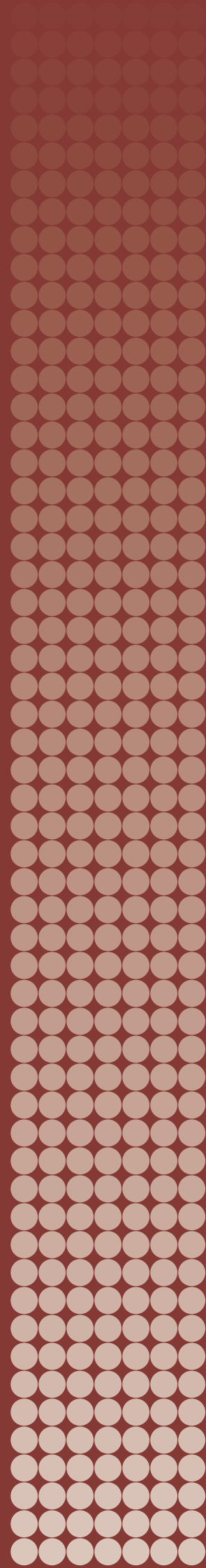MARIE RIQUIER AND CAROLINE DELGADO

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sipri

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Acknowledgements

The SIPRI–WFP Knowledge Partnership and Disclaimer

WFP and SIPRI established a knowledge partnership in 2018 to help strengthen WFP's contribution to improving the prospects for peace in the countries where it works. The research for phase I of this partnership visited four case study states—El Salvador, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan and Mali—and produced initial findings in June 2019. The evidence from these case studies indicated that some WFP programming positively contributes to improving the prospects for peace, but also identified various issues that needed to be addressed. The preliminary report made a number of general and country-specific recommendations on how WFP's contribution to improving the prospects for peace could be improved. However, further research was required to test the robustness and general applicability of the initial findings and recommendations, and to refine and add to them with more case studies. Accordingly, phase II of the inquiry was broadened by adding new states and deepened through a focus on five thematic areas.

Eight states were identified for research in phase II: Colombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Lebanon, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sri Lanka. The five thematic areas are climate change, stabilization, gender, cash-based interventions and measurement. The research has inquired into and reported on these areas in all eight states, and there was also a deep dive in each country into one or two of the thematic areas. This paper is part of the thematic deep dive on measurement that seeks to identify current empirical measurement methods and possible areas for improvement.

The findings and recommendations are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the positions of SIPRI, WFP or the individual Peer Group Members. The authors alone are responsible for any errors or omissions.

Executive summary

Measuring an organization's contribution to peace in fragile settings presents many challenges. Peace is a complex process with various understandings, which remain elusive hence difficult to verify. These complexities result in the lack of a standard for peace performance measurement, which complicates efforts to assess overall progress on peace.

This first chapter of this paper presents two main types of challenges: the conceptual challenges of understanding peace as a complex, contextual, multi-level and variously mandated process, as well as the practical challenges inherent in peace proximate environments. These practical obstacles are further divided into structural, temporal, methodological and analytical challenges. This chapter concludes that additional and varied monitoring is necessary for institutions and organizations who set ambitious levels of peacebuilding.

The second chapter of the paper presents the current state of the art of peace measurement and recent solutions proposed by academic researchers and practitioners in the field. Notwithstanding the challenges identified in chapter 1, there are promising examples of ongoing initiatives, methodologies and innovative tools to advance peace measurement. These examples include progress on the localization of peace measurement and complex concepts such as social cohesion and resilience as well as concepts related to adaptation and adaptive measurement. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the World Food Programme (WFP) initiative People-centred Risk Indicator Monitoring and Evaluation (PRIME) has adapted to these challenges and opportunities, by, for example, focusing on concepts such as social cohesion in a resilience-based measurement framework.

The paper concludes that peace monitoring can be improved with the use of mixed methods approaches that are responsive to local conceptualizations of peace. Not only is better monitoring a technical exercise, it is also a change management process that requires buy-in from the many stakeholders. A better understanding of the values and perspectives of actors engaged in building peace is critical to inform what is and needs to be measured.

Objectives and methodology

This paper explores some of the main challenges to measuring peace impact in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings and shares possible solutions to these barriers. In doing so, it highlights ongoing initiatives launched by institutions, academic researchers and practitioners and suggests potential ways forward in peace measurement.

This paper is the distillation of a series of 40 meetings of the Peace Evident Expert Research (PEER) Group established in 2020 as part of the measurement deep-dive under the SIPRI–WFP Knowledge Partnership—a partnership launched in 2018 to help strengthen WFP's contribution to improving the prospects for peace in the countries where it works. The PEER Group convened institutions, monitoring experts and practitioners to explore the state of the art of measuring peace, ongoing initiatives as well as build further expertise in measuring peace impact in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings.

Recommendations

1. *Identifying standards and principles on peace and peacebuilding.* Some preliminary steps on this have been taken by members of the group. Knowing what qualifies as peace will help with measuring and monitoring impact.

2. *Continuing to expand mixed methods and localized approaches to measuring peace, making clearer distinctions between levels of analysis (household, community, system, institution, whereby peace at one level may undermine it at another level) and understanding these interactions.* If sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, economists, ambassadors, human rights advocates, politicians and civil society actors are to work collectively on building peace, they will all need to speak each other's languages.

3. *Developing a systems-thinking understanding of peace and peacebuilding.* This could contribute to a better understanding of impacts, especially when these are seen through the eyes of affected populations. More systemic thinking would engage with the multiplicity of actors involved in building peace on questions pertaining to the quality and the nature of peace: What version of peace is being built? By whom? For whom? How will it be sustainable? How will we know when we have achieved it?

4. *Pursuing efforts to capture both short- and long-term peace impacts of interventions and processes in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings.* Peace is a process and building sustainable peace is inscribed in long-term objectives. These are likely to manifest beyond programme implementation, which requires actors to put in place regular and long-term impact monitoring. Long-term monitoring would allow the actors involved in building peace to better capture the impact of interventions on individuals, households, communities and societies over time and beyond project cycles.

5. *Promoting learning between peace contributing decision makers.* This is necessary in order to expand the evidence base and promote the field-based lessons that are identified. This can be done through increased real-time feedback loops, adaptive iteration and knowledge-sharing. One way to do this would be to continue to convene PEER and groups like PEER to support knowledge exchange.

Abbreviations

BMZ   Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
EPI   Everyday Peace Indicators
JICA   Japan International Cooperation Agency
PEER   Peace Evidence Experts Research
PRIME   People-centred Risk Indicator Monitoring and Evaluation
SIDA   Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund
WFP   World Food Programme

1. Introduction

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the World Food Programme (WFP) launched a Knowledge Partnership in 2018 to help strengthen WFP's contribution to improving the prospects for peace in the countries where it works.[1]

Divided into two research phases, the research for phase I of the partnership visited four case study countries: El Salvador, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan and Mali. The evidence from these case studies indicated that WFP positively contributes to improving the prospects for peace, but that there were issues that needed to be addressed. Further research was required to test the robustness and general applicability of the initial findings and recommendations, and to refine and add to them with more case studies. The inquiry broadened in phase II by incorporating new countries, and deepened through its focus on five thematic areas. Research in phase II covers eight countries: Colombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Lebanon, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sri Lanka. The five thematic areas are climate change, stabilization, gender, cash-based transfers and measurement. This paper is part of the thematic deep dive on measurement that seeks to identify current empirical measurement methods and possible areas for improvement.

The term measurement is used to include context assessment, performance monitoring and evaluation, which explore the extent to which an initiative causes a broader change or impact. The knowledge partnership acknowledges that finding causal evidence that demonstrates a cause-and-effect relationship between the impact of programmes and peace is complex for a variety of reasons. Since the fragile contexts and peace and conflict issues involved are often politically sensitive, sustained efforts are required to refine methods that can generate comparable data across regions and over time.

To address this complexity, a group of institutions and experts was convened as part of the knowledge partnership. The Peace Evidence Expert Research (PEER) Group met virtually 40 times in the period 2020–22. (Two groups divided mostly by time zone each met once per month.) These unique and timely meetings convened some of the world's leading expertise on this topic.

This paper presents the emerging thinking about the challenges of measuring peace impact (chapter 2) and the possible solutions to these challenges (chapter 3) that came from these meetings. It is intended to provide a useful stocktake of and reference document on the current state of knowledge on peace measurement and to signpost ways forward for practitioners and researchers.

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[1] The Peace Evidence Experts Research Group (PEER Group) was convened on a monthly basis from Oct. 2020 to June 2022 as part of the WFP–SIPRI Knowledge Partnership to inform the People-Centred Risk Indicator Measurement and Engagement initiative, a WFP measurement of contribution to peace.

2. The challenges of measuring peace impact

The PEER Group convened regularly to reflect on the practice of measuring and monitoring peace. The breadth and depth of the PEER Group discussions allowed members to share their experience and the lessons they had learned, which led to identification of the main challenges of measuring peace impact. These challenges, which are explored in this chapter, are divided into two main types: conceptual and practical (see table 2.1).

Under the conceptual heading are the challenges of understanding peace as a complex, contextual, multi-level and variously mandated process.[2] These conceptual complexities are further complicated by practical challenges, which have been further divided into structural, temporal, methodological and analytical. All these challenges, both conceptual and practical, may be present in each context. This chapter considers the two main types of challenges in turn and presents a simple framework that came out of the PEER Group meetings that might be used for calibrating the level of monitoring to the level of peacebuilding ambition.

Conceptual challenges: Complexities of peace

There are five main facets of peace that make measuring impact difficult:[3]

Peace is a process. No society in the world has achieved the outcome of a lasting peace, although some countries are more peaceful than others. When peace is achieved, it rarely persists without continued investment. The conditions that sustain and promote peace are created every day (resilience, social cohesion and trust are discussed further below). In countries that succeed in building peace, these conditions can be reinforced until violence is no longer a preferred or viable option for actors to resolve conflicts.[4]

Peace is contextual. Obstacles to peace include historical legacies, intergroup rivalries and grievances, local and environmental stressors, regional power dynamics, political pressures and community specificities. As a result, how peace is understood will vary by, or within, a village, province, community, country, ethnic group or region, depending on who is defining the peace that is being built. Furthermore, peacebuilders may have their own understandings or biases when it comes to defining peace. Thus, peace and its metrics can rarely be standardized.

Peace is multi-level. Peace and conflict operate at multiple levels of society: from the international and transnational to the local and hyper-local and all levels in between. Actions at one level may have negative or positive spillover effects at other levels, intended or otherwise. Peace at one level is rarely comprehensive. For example, the reintegration of former combatants following armed conflict requires that peace is built at the village, household and individual levels.

Peace mandates vary. Security, diplomatic, humanitarian and development actors may define peace differently depending on their mandates and level of engagement. As a result, measuring impact—how much peace is built by an actor—can vary too. There are incentives for actors to measure the type of peace they are mandated to build.

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[2] The authors do not contend that these are the only conceptual or practical challenges; only that they were foremost in the many PEER Group discussions and are used here as an organizing framework for the paper.

[3] Adapted from Brusset, E. and Milante, G., Round Table Document, *Measuring Peace Performance Round Table* (SIPRI and WFP: Stockholm and Rome, 2021).

[4] Blattman, C., *Why We Fight: The Root of War and Path to Peace* (Hurst: London, 2022).

Table 2.1. Conceptual and practical challenges of measuring peace impact

Conceptual	Practical
Process (vs. discrete outcome)	Structural
Contextual (vs. standardized)	Temporal
Multi-level (vs. comprehensive)	Methodological
Variously mandated (vs. universal)	Analytical
Complex (vs. linear or simple)	

Note: As one reviewer of this paper noted, many of these challenges are similar to the features of wicked problems as originally defined in Rittel, H. W. and Webber, M. M., 'Dilemmas in a general theory of planning', *Policy Sciences*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1973), pp. 155–169.

Peace is complex. In addition to being a process, peace is dynamic and non-linear, and often emergent.[5] Like other complex systems, peace, conflict and violence are dynamic and reflexive, resulting in cascading and self-perpetuating vicious and virtuous circles. These can grow exponentially or exhibit discrete state changes that reduce predictability and require context-specific metrics. In many ways, complex systems evolve over time, and the actors that are building peace rarely know what the outcome will be until it happens, as reflected in the concept of 'stumbling into peace'.[6]

It is not just these facets but their interaction that makes measuring peace so complex. A humanitarian actor working with a local implementing actor in one province on promoting pastoralist livelihoods is likely to have a very different definition of what type of peace is being built and how sustainable it is to a diplomat negotiating a cease-fire between warring parties in the same country.

Furthermore, because peace is contextual, it can also be a contested concept.[7] When definitions of peace vary along ethnic, sectarian, regional or political lines, a definition of peace by one group may be a source of grievance to another. Understanding how peace is understood by actors in the system is a necessary precondition for a meaningful measure of peace.

It is important to note that the absence of violence is not necessarily peace. Knowing the difference between negative peace (an absence of violence) and positive peace requires nuanced peace awareness and conflict sensitivity.[8] Because peace is emergent, action at the right moment can promote the virtuous circles necessary for a sustainable peace.

Moreover, the outcomes of a peacebuilding intervention may be unknown before it is attempted. Peacebuilding often requires adjustments or piloting to determine where and when an experiment might succeed and any unintended consequences.[9]

In recognition of the fact that peace is a contested, complex and evolving concept, as reflected in the facets discussed above, experts from the PEER Group largely promoted a systems approach to understanding peacebuilding and the measurement of peace impact. Societies, both peaceful and conflict-affected, are *complex* systems that have the ability to self-organize and emerge with manifold outcomes.[10] Complex

[5] Here and throughout this text, emergence is understood as the property of a realized state of change, wherein a new state is fundamentally different from the previous state because of the organization, constitution and/or integration of its parts. Phrases like 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts' or 'there has been a sea change' reflect emergence in a system. For an academic definition of emergence see Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 'Emergent properties', 10 Aug. 2010.

[6] Bartoli, A., Sant Egidio Foundation, Intervention in PEER Group meeting.

[7] Öjendal, J. et al., 'Peacebuilding amidst violence', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2021), pp. 269–88.

[8] For definitions of negative and positive peace on a continuum, see: Caparini, M. et al., 'Sustaining peace and sustainable development in dangerous places', *SIPRI Yearbook 2017: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2017), pp. 211–52.

[9] Blattman (note 4).

[10] De Coning, C., 'Adaptive peace operations: Navigating the complexity of influencing societal change without causing harm', *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 27, no. 5 (2020), pp. 836–58.

systems 'are defined more by the interactions among their constituent components than by the components themselves'.[11]

Systems approaches analyse how a system adapts and fluctuates over time, and how this might be necessary for measuring peace. Measuring the impact of such a system requires critical awareness of the effects of impacts across the system (not just at the level of an individual actor or intervention), including the unintended consequences and spillovers. Furthermore, because of the complexity, mixed methods approaches that use both qualitative and quantitative data, as well as triangulation from multiple sources are important parts of the evidence base for measuring peace impact.[12]

Practical challenges of measuring peace

Monitoring, assessing, evaluating and measuring peace require evidence that captures the complexities of the peace being built. This is no easy task in the abstract but even more difficult for a variety of practical reasons in peace proximate environments. This section briefly discusses the structural, temporal, methodological and analytical challenges.

Structural

Conflict, violence and insecurity make data collection and data analysis for monitoring and evaluation more difficult.[13] Implementing actors face challenges when measuring peace, often at great personal risk. Where actors such as WFP use remote monitoring to monitor outcomes and overcome environmental obstacles, this raises new structural challenges, including financial, linked to the costs of remote monitoring and employing dedicated staff, and with regard to technical capacity, reporting, accountability and trust, due to a lack of field presence and the potentially low capacity of partners. These reflections address two specific questions: around capacity, and whether actors will really be able to use the technology; and inclusivity, or whether important voices and perspectives might be left out where remote monitoring is adopted.[14]

Other structural concerns are deeper. Where there are deeply polarized narratives or entrenched inequalities of access or power, for example, peacebuilding can be interpreted as 'taking sides', challenging notions of neutrality. This is a key area where conceptual challenges intersect with practical challenges of implementation. For example, negotiated access requires diplomacy not only for delivery, but for the monitoring of delivery. In such situations, what might have otherwise been considered a technical or apolitical project can become a source of contestation with programming implications that can slow down or complicate monitoring and measurement.

Temporal

The evolving and dynamic nature of conflict means that indicators might have a temporal mismatch when, for example, metrics identified at project design are no longer relevant once the project is being implemented. Metrics may also be mismatched to a project cycle, for example where a two-year project may have peace impact only five or ten years on. Long-term societal changes require measurement across project

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[11] Preiser, R. et al., 'Social-ecological systems as complex adaptive systems: Organizing principles for advancing research methods and approaches', *Ecology and Society*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2018).

[12] Baumgardner-Zuzik, J. et al., *Some Credible Evidence: Perceptions About the Evidence Base in the Peacebuilding Field* (Alliance for Peacebuilding and One Earth Future: Washington, DC, May 2021).

[13] For a discussion on the practical considerations for monitoring in such places, see: van Beijnum, M., van den Berg, W. and van Veen, E., 'Effective monitoring in situations of conflict', Chapter 4, CRU Report, *Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Monitoring Aid Implementation in Situations of Conflict* (Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations: The Hague, 2018).

[14] Van Beijnum, van den Berg and van Veen (note 13).

and programme cycles, even after the project has ended, but this type of planning or monitoring is rarely incorporated into projects or programming.[15] Furthermore, because of the complexity of the topic, the process of collecting evidence may itself be slower if, for example, consultation is necessary to identify what will be monitored, and how to interpret the results and socialize stakeholders to those results. Peacebuilders designing monitoring systems need to account for the complexities of peacebuilding in design, which may test the patience of other actors that do not need to accommodate such complexities.

Adaptation and learning are necessary in complex settings. Feedback mechanisms have to be responsive so that flags raised about possible harm can be addressed in order to help actors avoid doing harm. This requires real-time updating of evidence, particularly context analysis, as well as short causal links to connect activities to outcomes (see attribution below). When unanticipated or unintended events happen that either support or undermine peace, these are likely to be missed by indicators designed before implementation.[16] The delay (or latency) inherent in designing, verifying and reporting on indicators is compounded by the unpredictable and emergent nature of externalities.

Methodological

Most organizations work in isolation from one another, use different language to describe impacts or outcomes and/or do not report on their impacts on the broader systems in which their interventions operate.[17] The resulting lack of understanding related to the broader system hampers their ability to demonstrate the scope and efficacy of programming in a collective and consistent way.

Mixed methods approaches are often advised for peace measurement, but not all actors have the capacity to process both quantitative and qualitative evidence.[18] Mixed methods and evidence can be co-produced by various stakeholders, but time is needed for communication and coordination. The types of indicators may be important as well. Some indicators may need to be process-oriented (inputs, processes, outputs), whereas others will be outcome-oriented to reflect transformations that may be larger than the individual projects.[19] Moreover, many measures of peace focus on proxies that act as explanations for conflict or the absence of conflict, rather than for peace.[20]

In many cases, international institutions have a predilection for quantitative indicators.[21] There is no doubt that quantitative indicators are useful for aggregating and comparing: they demonstrate effectively what has happened and to what degree. They also often have the advantage of being objective and standardized. These can include conflict indicators, such as battle-related deaths or number of internally displaced persons, or indicators linked to human rights, which assume minimum universally applicable standards and therefore comparability between contexts.[22] Quantitative methods such as surveys can also be excellent tools for understanding

[15] Mac Ginty, R., 'Indicators+: A proposal for everyday peace indicators', *Evaluation and Program Planning*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2013), pp. 56–63.

[16] Milante, G., Branca, D. and Goldwyn, R., *The World Food Programme's Contribution to Improving the Prospects for Peace in Iraq* (SIPRI and WFP: Stockholm and Rome, 2020).

[17] Baumgardner-Zuzik et al. (note 12).

[18] Baumgardner-Zuzik et al. (note 12).

[19] For a discussion on input, process, output and outcome indicators, as well as a large reference list of relevant indicators, see: Government of Germany and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *The Indicators We Want: Goal 16, Virtual Sourcebook on Measuring Peace, Justice and Effective Institutions* (UNDP: New York, NY, 2015).

[20] Mac Ginty (note 15), pp. 56–63.

[21] Lugo-Ocando, J., Kent, G. and Narváez, A., 'Need a hand? No thanks! Media representations and peace building indicators: The case of UK foreign aid programmes in Colombia', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2013), pp. 514–29.

[22] Mac Ginty (note 15), pp. 56–63.
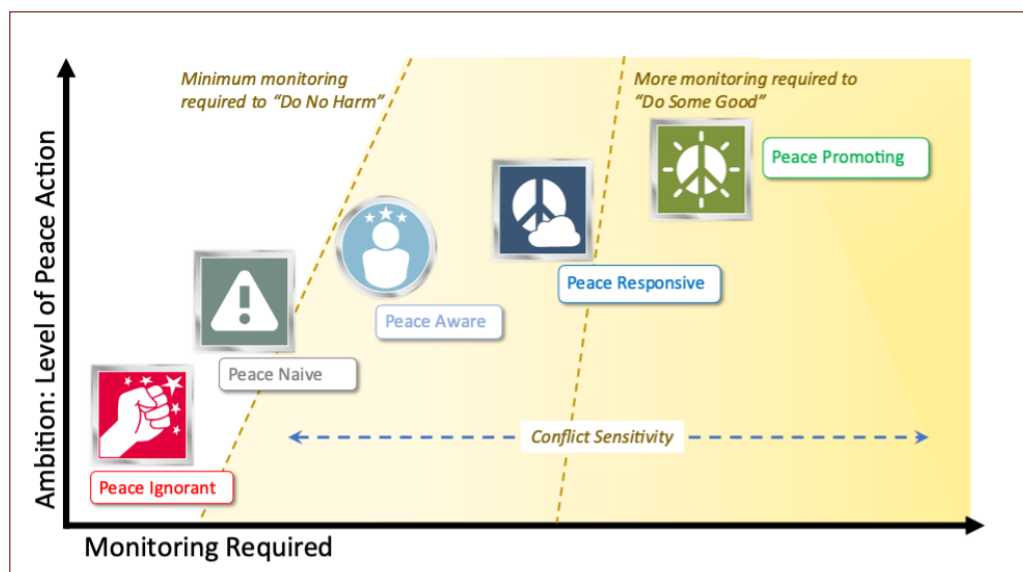
Figure 2.1. More monitoring is required for higher levels of ambition

Source: International Organization for Peacebuilding (Interpeace), 'Peace responsiveness', Sep. 2021. This version was developed for the World Food Programme Executive Board Room Document presented on 26 April 2021.

whether something has happened or changed. However, peace is highly contextual and the experience and knowledge that populations have of it can rarely be standardized or generalized without isolating a highly specific dimension.

There is a hidden cost to focusing primarily on quantitative methods as this type of data can rarely describe *how* or *why* things happen or change. Relying on quantitative methods alone risks overlooking sensemaking and the indicators that populations use for their lived reality, which can often be better captured through qualitative analysis.[23] A known risk with objective and standardized indicators is their inability to capture sub-state level evidence around positive peace.[24]

Analytical

One of the main analytical challenges implied by the complexity described above is the range of possible types of evidence: input, output, process and impact. A variety of programmes and activities conducted by various actors could be considered peacebuilding. Furthermore, peacebuilding actors engage at several levels from the state/policy to the community and individual. Simply identifying what will be measured and how at this level of complexity is an analytical challenge.

Ascribing a direct causal link between an intervention and an observed change in conflict and post-conflict settings is a difficult, occasionally impossible, task. Where multiple actors are working on peacebuilding, it may be difficult to ascribe an outcome to any one of their actions. In addition, all actors engaged in peacebuilding are themselves part of the system they are monitoring, raising issues with endogeneity. Furthermore, if evidence lags significantly behind delivery, as in the temporal issues identified above, attribution can become more difficult. These issues with causality and attribution are also analytical challenges.[25]

Indeed, actors find it hard to isolate the impact of a specific intervention and establish a causal link between the impact and the intervention in complex and

[23] Milante, Branca and Goldwyn (note 16).

[24] Firchow, P. and Mac Ginty, R. M., 'Measuring peace: Comparability, commensurability and complementarity using bottom-up indicators', *International Studies Review*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2017), pp. 6–27

[25] Delgado, C. et al., *The World Food Programme's Contribution to Improving the Prospects for Peace* (SIPRI: Stockholm, 2019).

dynamic settings where various actors are intervening.[26] Other contextual factors may have contributed to the observed peace impact, which makes attribution of an impact to a single actor or specific activity less reliable.

Nonetheless, organizations and institutions are experimenting with ways to ascribe attribution. Although conflict settings can be fragile and unstable, randomized experiments have been successfully conducted, giving communities access to important evidence on programme effectiveness. Finally, it should be noted that while 'more evidence' may be necessary for better results, it is not always sufficient because better results may be contingent on social and political factors that affect implementation.

More ambitious peacebuilding requires more and varied monitoring

Overcoming the challenges discussed above requires triangulation, and mixed methods approaches using a variety of types of evidence from perception surveys to administrative data, consultations, field research, interviews, expert surveys, satellite imagery, social media content, national accounts and data from local observatories, among others. Specific examples from the PEER Group discussions are presented below.

The PEER Group concluded more generally that, all other things being equal, additional and varied monitoring would be necessary for more ambitious levels of peacebuilding. This builds on the concept of 'peace responsiveness' first developed by Interpeace,[27] which was later developed into a framework to adjust the level of monitoring to different levels of peacebuilding ambition, from peace ignorance/naiveté to peace awareness, responsiveness and being peace promoting (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 shows the proposed relationship between the level of monitoring required and the level of ambition a peacebuilder has. Some minimum level of monitoring (often referred to as conflict sensitivity) is required to avoid being peace ignorant or peace naive; that is, to apply the humanitarian principle of 'do no harm', which is also the second Paris principle for good donor engagement in fragile states.[28] With conflict sensitivity, an actor can avoid doing harm and be 'peace aware'. With higher levels of ambition—being peace responsive, or responding to opportunities to promote peace; and being peace promoting, or actively building opportunities for peace, possibly where there are none—the levels of monitoring required increase.

Thus, actors such as WFP, which work primarily in fragile, conflict-affected and complex settings, must integrate conflict sensitivity into areas where peace, or the lack of peace, are important considerations. In such settings, conflict sensitivity allows actors to minimize the negative effects of their work and identify opportunities to maximize a positive contribution to peace. This, however, is possible only where contributing to peace is within reach and does not contradict their mandate, and lies within the organization's competence and expertise.[29] According to a Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) member of the PEER Group, WFP's contributions to food security provide a good example of peace proximate work. These contribute to resilience, which is itself essential to make peace possible. This is further reflected in SIPRI research, which found that WFP employs conflict sensitivity to ensure that food security supports and does not undermine peace.[30]

[26] Brusset, E., *Second Circle: The Science and Art of Impact Assessment* (Urbane Publications: Rochester, UK, 2020).

[27] This concept was introduced by a representative from Interpeace during the PEER Group meetings, see International Organization for Peacebuilding (Interpeace), 'Peace responsiveness', Sep. 2021.

[28] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 'Principles for good international engagement in fragile states & situations', Formally endorsed by ministers and heads of agencies at the Development Assistance Committee's High Level Forum on 3–4 Apr. 2007.

[29] Brusset and Milante (note 3).

[30] Delgado et al. (note 25).

This does not mean that food security is automatically peacebuilding, but that peace awareness in the promotion of food security can open the door to peace responsiveness.

Conclusions on challenges

The significant conceptual and practical challenges of calibrating measurement identified above mean that the more ambitious the peacebuilding goals, the more demanding the monitoring will be. The design of monitoring requires reconciling decisions on a variety of factors: (*a*) the scale and scope of measurement; (*b*) the level of measurement (individual, community, national, system); (*c*) the objectivity/subjectivity and standardization of the evidence being collected, or contextualization of the indicators; (*d*) the relevance to local conceptualizations of the peace being built; (*e*) the temporality of the evidence; and (*f*) the timing and uses of feedback.[31]

None of this is simple. As yet, there is no standard for peace performance measurement, which complicates efforts to assess overall progress on peace. There are promising examples, however, and advances are being made on the localization of peace measurement and complex concepts such as social cohesion and resilience, including by members of the PEER Group.

[31] Baumgardner-Zuzik et al. (note 12).

3. Some solutions from the PEER Group: Experiments and current state of the art from academia and the field

While the previous chapter focused on the challenges of peace measurement, this chapter looks at recent solutions from both academic researchers and practice in the field, and concludes with some nascent work within WFP. Many of these solutions have been adapted to respond to the multiple challenges or facets of measuring peace identified above.

To provide some structure, the solutions discussed are grouped into four perspectives: a relational perspective, which includes social cohesion; the local perspective on peacebuilding; a resilience perspective; and adaptation and learning perspectives. Elements of all these approaches would probably need to be considered in any proposed solution in a given context and capacity. The chapter closes with a discussion on People-centred Risk Indicator Monitoring and Evaluation (PRIME), a WFP initiative developed concurrent with the PEER group meetings to a design informed by the discussions there.

Relational perspective on peace and social cohesion

A relational approach to peace focuses on peace in terms of the relationships between actors, which can be actors of different types and at levels above, at and below the nation state.[32] In every relationship between actors, peace and conflict exist along a continuum.[33] Because peace is not simply the absence of conflict and will vary by context, the relational perspective serves as an entry point for bringing systems thinking into monitoring design. In the absence of a generally agreed definition of peace, indicators and evidence can be calibrated to the local relational aspirations of peacebuilding as the relationship is built.

The concept of social cohesion captures much of the relationship between actors, and the promotion of social cohesion is often used as shorthand or a proxy for peacebuilding. International organizations increasingly approach peace measurement through a social cohesion lens. Experts caution that although a focus on social cohesion has gained momentum among academics, policymakers and practitioners, definitions vary.[34]

Among the central notions in the varied definitions of social cohesion are concepts of trust, a sense of belonging and acceptance of other ethnic, religious or language groups. These dimensions are often central to or a prerequisite for peace, which explains their growing use in monitoring. Like peace, social cohesion is a process, which means that it needs to be monitored over time and that impacts are often experienced beyond the project cycle. Specific organizations might approach social cohesion with unique definitions linked to their theory of change in a given context or associated with a specific mandate. As a result, caution should be exercised in comparing the measurement of social cohesion across contexts and actors.

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[32] Söderström, J., Åkebo, M. and Jarstad, A., 'Friends, fellows, and foes: A new framework for studying relational peace', *International Studies Review* (June 2021).

[33] Davenport, C., Melander, E. and Regan, P. M., *The Peace Continuum: What it is and How to Study it* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2018).

[34] Schiefer, D. and van der Noll, J., 'The essentials of social cohesion: A literature review', *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 132 (2017), pp. 579–603; and Chan, J., To, H. P. and Chan, E., 'Reconsidering social cohesion: Developing a definition and analytical framework for empirical research', *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 75 (2006), pp. 273–302.

The social cohesion score developed by WFP for use in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey provides a picture of the relationship between refugees and host communities, and is further explored through experimental evaluation methods.[35] It informs about potential tensions (promoting conflict sensitivity and peace awareness) and opportunities to promote social cohesion between these communities (peace responsiveness), which can inform the design and delivery of interventions.

Social network analysis can capture aspects of social cohesion through a focus on social structures and relationships. Social network analysis can also provide insights into political economy and conflict assessment. A good case in point is the WFP pilot in South Sudan in the context of forced migration.[36] Individuals map important personal connections in their social network in a facilitated process, and this is associated with outcomes on information sharing, migration decisions and social norms. Learning about social ties can ultimately inform on pre- and post-displacement relational patterns and social cohesion through the forming and breaking of social ties. This information is key to interventions on matters of targeting and decision making. Of course, care must be taken to protect the anonymity of sources and ensure that personal information remains private.

As part of a commitment to strengthening resilience in fragile contexts and contributing to the humanitarian development and peace nexus, with a focus on the local level, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) uses its Transitional Development Assistance to support its partners to contribute to establishing peaceful and inclusive societies. To inform this approach, it carried out a systematic review of existing rigorous evidence on interventions that support social cohesion between groups.

The review revealed that several common intervention types can build social cohesion even in the most difficult settings of inter-ethnic tension. However, the impacts are small, suggesting that these programmes have only limited effects in their current form. In addition, to be effective, social cohesion interventions need to be embedded in multisectoral programmes that address structural change. The systematic review also revealed that interventions need to be designed based on thorough context and conflict analysis. This broadly underscores the need for more research on and development of interventions that can build social cohesion more effectively. For this review, social cohesion is defined as any change in attitudes in the categories of trust, sense of belonging, willingness to participate, willingness to help and acceptance of diversity. BMZ is funding a number of dedicated joint projects, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)/WFP resilience and social cohesion programme in Niger (Diffa), which is piloting new measurement approaches to resilience and social cohesion. This project is based on the need to develop measurement frameworks on social cohesion. UNICEF and WFP plan to introduce and test resilience- and social cohesion-specific indicators and measurement.

The local turn in peacebuilding

The local turn in peacebuilding reflects a trend towards context-specific, and locally meaningful and owned measurement processes that address many of the challenges identified above. The core proposition of the local turn in peacebuilding is that conflicts are prevented or resolved when the various stakeholders involved develop enough of a common understanding of the causes of the conflict for a shared vision to emerge of

[35] World Food Programme, 'Assistance to vulnerable Syrian refugees and host communities in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey', Standard Project Report 200987, 2017.

[36] McCollum, K., PEER Group presentation, 18 Nov. 2021.

how to resolve it. When responding to this local turn, measurement encounters both an opportunity, in tapping into local knowledge systems, and a challenge linked to the complexity of peace. Knowledge systems in this context refers to a set of beliefs, assumptions, values and shared understandings that amount to a shared world view among a community, society, identity or professional group. Application of the body of knowledge known as information science to development and peace studies has highlighted that information is shared and processed between knowledge systems through interfaces and circuits that facilitate the emergence of new self-organizing networks.[37]

One example of the local turn in peacebuilding is Everyday Peace Indicators (EPIs).[38] EPIs comprise participatory research and evaluation in partnership with communities affected by conflict. They build bridges between diverse actors working on peace and conflict issues to inform peacebuilding practice, policy and scholarship.

A contextual understanding of peace engages with the different social contexts of conflict and peacebuilding environments, recognizing that people may have varied expectations.[39] The 'local' or the 'everyday' is placed at the centre of the analysis and of peacebuilding endeavours.[40] This means that any activity that seeks to contribute to the prospects for peace is grounded in local understandings and drivers of peace, and by extension of violent conflict. In this way, a contextual approach to peace is also more *inclusive* as it incorporates voices around, understandings of and approaches to peace that are frequently marginalized in donor- or international actor-dominated peacebuilding practice.

In practice, peace in societies emerging from violent conflict tends to be a *hybrid* between the external and the local.[41] Therefore, when globally defined peace indicators do not measure the lived experience of peace, security and conflict, intervening actors run the risk of imposing a meaningless version of peace that is foreign to beneficiaries.[42] The importance of locally derived indicators that reflect local conceptualizations of core concepts and dynamics, such as conflict, societal power structures or identities, is also reflected in the approach to peace evidence taken by Interpeace, the International Organization for Migration's (OIM) Community Stabilization Index, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) surveys on social cohesion in Mindanao and the methodology of Measuring Safety and Security indicators in South Sudan.

Scholars behind the EPI project contend that standardized approaches to peacebuilding are likely to recommend interventions that focus on technical solutions, such as state-building, good governance and resource distribution. While these may be positive ends in themselves, these 'one-size-fits-all solutions' often risk leaving other key elements of peacebuilding unaddressed. In an effort to tackle these shortcomings, the EPI methodology promotes local, everyday understandings of peace, coexistence and justice in war-torn contexts through a bottom-up approach.

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[37] Long, N. and Long, A. (eds), *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development* (Routledge: London, 1992); Mac Ginty, R., 'Complementarity and interdisciplinarity in peace and conflict studies', *Journal of Global Security Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2019), pp. 267–72; and de Coning, C., 'From peacebuilding to sustaining peace: Implications of complexity for resilience and sustainability', *Resilience*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2016), pp. 166–81.

[38] Mac Ginty, R. and Richmond, O. P., 'The local turn in peace building: A critical agenda for peace', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 5 (2013), pp. 763–83.

[39] Richmond, O. P. and Franks, J., 'The impact of orthodox terrorism discourses on the liberal peace: Internalisation, resistance, or hybridisation?', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2009), pp. 201–18.

[40] Uesugi, Y. et al. (eds), *Operationalisation of Hybrid Peacebuilding in Asia: From Theory to Practice* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2021).

[41] Richmond, O., 'The dilemmas of a hybrid peace', E-International Relations, 23 Dec. 2012.

[42] Richmond, O. and Franks, J., *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 2009).

Measuring resilience to conflict

The concepts of peace and resilience are often intrinsically linked.[43] Resilience shares characteristics with peace as a multidimensional and situational concept that can be difficult to define and measure. Resilience is, however, values-free and an aspect of a system, so not all peacebuilding reinforces resilience. For example, racist or totalitarian systems can be resilient. Nonetheless, organizations have developed conceptualizations and new ways of measuring resilience to assess their impact and help interventions to enable local agency and capacity.

Interpeace is developing a concept of peace resilience where resilience is defined as 'doing well' despite adversities with a system adapting to shocks without losing its core functionality'.[44] The Interpeace approach uses a multi-methods assessment in which primary assessment modalities capture resilience-promoting capacities. Four stages complete the measurement of resilience: (*a*) a participatory conceptual design with local stakeholders; (*b*) the selection and adaptation of measurement instruments; (*c*) data collection and analysis; and (*d*) a participatory policy dialogue to explore findings and co-design interventions. The final product is a resilience diagnostic with multiple resilience scores (for example, one for each region/state in a country). To overcome the challenges, the process is participatory and adaptive, which means that the selection of measurement instruments that emerges from a participatory system mapping and library of metrics can be adjusted to local context. With this approach, data collected from random national samples of individuals, households, institutions and communities can be used to generate resilience scores that will help to identify which resilience capacities (age, gender, location) are most prevalent across population groups.

While this initiative is in its early stages, Interpeace aims to develop baseline metrics on resilience capacities that will generate timely flash survey data, and facilitate empirical studies and monitoring of the development of societal resilience. Broadly speaking, this approach seeks to empower national and international actors by providing visibility on the effectiveness of their policy interventions and impact on resilience. This is a space to watch as the connection to resilience, and local agency and capacity could provide a way to systematically compare peacebuilding across contexts.

Monitoring and adaptability

There are many examples of attempts to develop processes at the management and/or working group levels that break down at the implementation level.[45] As many of the participants in the PEER Group noted, implementing such processes may mean taking time and attention away from other perceived priorities. This, in turn, can lead to resistance at the implementation or local level. There is a consequent risk that the challenge becomes how to persuade or use authority to see the new ideas implemented, which could reinforce perceptions that they are being imposed from above or outside. While technical advice from experts is of course valuable, it should not be in contention with local expertise and knowledge, which ought to be incorporated into the design of monitoring to minimize these risks.[46]

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[43] International Organization for Peacebuilding (Interpeace), *Assessing Resilience for Peace: A Guidance Note*, 2016; and Menkhaus, K., *Making Sense of Resilience in Peacebuilding Contexts: Approaches, Applications, Implications*, Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, Paper no. 6 (2013).

[44] International Organization for Peacebuilding (Interpeace), 'Strategy 2021–2025: A resilient peace'.

[45] Manashil, M., New York University, Presentation to PEER Group, Jan. 2022.

[46] The Alliance for Peacebuilding (AFP) has published a key resource to facilitate the implementation of adaptive management in conflict-affected and fragile states. AFP, *What are the Key Challenges and Recommendations for Implementing Adaptive Management in Peacebuilding Programs?* Case Study Review, Jan. 2018 (AFP: Washington, DC, 2018).

Changes to firmly established monitoring systems pose technical challenges that rely on expertise and best practice to deliver known solutions, as well as adaptive challenges which require leadership to engage with diverse stakeholders to bring about required changes to attitudes and behaviours.[47] Organizations and institutions need to find innovative ways to address these to improve buy-in and prompt the acceptance and adoption of the desired changes to existing systems. This is not merely a technocratic exercise. Simply collecting more evidence or creating new requirements or reporting structures will not necessarily result in more and better peace monitoring. However, the work of changing organizational values, attitudes and behaviours takes time. In other words, improving a monitoring system is ultimately a change management process that requires the buy-in of stakeholders in the system.

Monitoring and adaptive management

To complement frameworks such as adaptive leadership, adaptive management strategies can be applied as an iterative process to deal with uncertainty in monitoring. Building organizational and institutional adaptive capacity can help actors to make decisions and to adjust programming and activities where necessary. Institutions need to facilitate this shift by providing space for the changes while also continuously exploring solutions. The limited time and capacity available in large organizations for monitoring and reporting are the two main constraints to adaptation. Time is often not allocated to deal with the complexity of topics such as peace, social cohesion, stability and conflict.

In response to these constraints, recent initiatives such as the Eirene Peacebuilding Database have catalogued, curated and shared key peacebuilding indicators with practitioners and policymakers attempting to assess their work and to design better systems for measuring impact.[48] Eirene is a comprehensive collection of 3381 indicators from 2008 publicly available peacebuilding resources that have been organized into seven programme areas: dispute resolution, governance, perceptions of safety and security, resilience, trust, social cohesion and violence reduction. A forthcoming digital expansion with more than 10 000 indicators that can be filtered and sorted by programme areas, making the larger dataset more accessible to busy practitioners, will be available in the spring of 2023. The new database will also have participatory means to contribute new indicators.

Adaptive measurement

Many organizations already collect large amounts of data for programmatic and accountability purposes. The simplest approach to monitoring in many situations would be to nudge these measurement processes to inform peacebuilding and related aspects. For example, some beneficiary data collected by humanitarian actors using household surveys could be used to measure social cohesion or local perceptions of insecurity and risk.

In the absence of peace measures, some organizations and institutions adapt their monitoring by using conflict data to reveal the evolution of peace. They are developing new ways of analysing data in conflict-affected settings, with a focus on the two-way interaction between conflict dynamics and interventions. To this end, JICA monitors

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[47] Heifetz, R., *Leadership Without Easy Answers* (Belknap Press: Cambridge, MA, 1994); Heifetz, R., Linsky, M. and Grashow, A., *The Practice of Adaptive Leadership: Tools and Tactics for Changing Your Organization and the World* (Harvard Business Press: Cambridge, MA, 2009); and Williams, D., *Leadership for a Fractured World: How to Cross Boundaries, Build Bridges and Lead Change* (Berrett Koehler Publishers Inc.: Oakland, CA, 2015).

[48] Baumgardner-Zuzik, J. et al., Eirene Peacebuilding Database, Alliance for Peacebuilding, Washington, DC, 2020.

projects in conflict-affected countries using a project monitoring sheet. These perspectives are incorporated into project evaluation in six Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) evaluation criteria, as additional aspects required in conflict-affected settings.[49] There is a strong reliance on periodic surveys, which provide a net-change set of indicators that track the probable effect of a project. These surveys track negative/positive project impact on drivers of conflict and fragility, maximizing peace promoting factors and identifying relationships between fragile situations and the project implementation process. For those projects that are intended to promote peace from the outset, each is monitored based on indicators that are agreed on by stakeholders, and identified through conflict analysis (peacebuilding needs and impact assessment) and other surveys, such as social surveys and governance surveys. Projects are also encouraged to collect episodes and/or stories that indicate change, since peacebuilding deals with horizontal and vertical relationships, as well as processes. A timely assessment will allow adjustments to interventions where necessary to ensure that the positive impact of the interventions on these drivers is maximized and the negative impact minimized.

PRIME solutions: How WFP has adapted to these challenges and opportunities

The WFP People-centred Risk Indicator Measurement and Engagement system, known by its acronym as PRIME, is a combination of practice and theory that seeks to take account of the challenges identified in chapter 1 and some of the solutions described above to develop a solution tailored to WFP. PRIME was designed concurrently with the PEER Group meetings and discussions in the PEER Group frequently included updates on its development, resulting in feedback and dialogue on its application within the WFP country teams. This final chapter discusses the approach piloted by WFP to measuring its contribution to peace.

WFP posture on peace measurement

Peace is not part of WFP's mandate: at its core, WFP is both a humanitarian and a development actor delivering food assistance, improving nutrition and promoting food security through resilience. As the 2020 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, however, WFP seeks to take a people-centred approach and is increasingly taking steps to understand the risks people face, and thereby to support an enabling environment for peace.[50]

In a global landscape characterized by frequent shocks and stressors, there has been a shift within WFP to a more integrated, risk-informed approach, for example by designing a resilience measurement approach. In this way, WFP aims to help governments, communities and households build stronger capacity, systems and institutions for collectively managing multiple risks.

PRIME was launched in 2020 in the wake of these efforts. It was conceived as a pilot programme to link a series of data sources, data sets and analyses to produce the most valid evidence of WFP's effects on peace and conflict. It was structured into lines of enquiry that could be easily implemented in WFP's existing capacities in three country applications: Bangladesh, the Philippines and South Sudan.

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[49] The OECD DAC Network on Development Evaluation has established six evaluation criteria: relevance, coherence, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability, see OECD, 'Evaluation criteria' [n.d.].

[50] See the 7 guiding principles in World Food Programme (WFP), 'WFP Strategic Plan, 2022–2025: Turning the tide against hunger', Feb. 2022. A 2013 WFP informal consultation paper defines the main parameters for its engagement in peacebuilding activities as supporting peace and avoiding doing harm, see WFP, *WFP's Role in Peacebuilding in Transition Settings* (WFP: Rome, 2013).

PRIME's workarounds

The primary challenge of treating 'peace as process rather than outcome' was relatively easy for measurement to address. Peace is described in WFP's programming and reporting documents both as an opportunity and as conflict sensitivity, allowing WFP's contribution to be seen as an externality or indirect effect rather than an objective. By addressing the above-mentioned challenges around mandate in this way, there was no intent to identify a finite end-state, but only a continual harmonious relationship.

In essence, this implies a careful effort to build bodies of evidence through the principal assessment and reporting tools that the organization uses routinely—building on the availability of teams of local survey enumerators, and of cooperating partners with which to organize focus group discussions and large surveys.

This evidence was packaged into dashboards designed to be easily accessible to and monitored by senior management in the country offices, and to field personnel in sub-offices. The information flow was designed to be real time, and even in one case interactive with affected populations, through a social media component deployed in the Philippines. This was a deliberately designed short cycle of adaptive programming, as distinct from adaptive leadership which PRIME was not tasked to address.

Contextualized analysis was seen as the second pillar of successful measurement. Participatory and locally meaningful scoring allowed for comparison over time and space. PRIME data collection was designed to identify the key drivers of conflict, the key risks that conflict pose to populations and the key capacities available to populations to respond to these risks. This has long been a recommendation of the peace evaluation literature, but such a degree of consultation is often difficult to secure over time in institutional operations.[51]

To deal with the challenge of non-linear and complex effects, a time-based mapping of successive events and trends was formulated, or alternatively of shifting relations, based on focus group discussions. This visual tracking presented ethnographic notions of risk and capacities, such as social network analysis in South Sudan, that were then analysed and directly matched against the effects of WFP's outcomes. The measurement defined this interaction in terms of the sensitivity of programme activities to social risk. Rather than spend time defining the causal mechanism by which WFP contributed to peace, it was decided to measure influence.[52]

The most significant challenge was the multilevel nature of the measurement. WFP tends to focus on the individual and household levels, and to some extent the community, but conflict must also be understood at the system and national levels. The measurement was therefore anchored in the notion of resilience, which is also conceptualized and measured as multilevel. The broadly accepted definition of resilience to which PRIME subscribes is: 'The ability of individuals, households, communities, cities, institutions, systems and societies to prevent, resist, absorb, adapt, respond and recover positively, efficiently and effectively when faced with a wide range of risks . . .'[53] By measuring its contribution to resilience to conflict through its programming, WFP has sought to measure its contribution to peace.

WFP's Resilience Toolkit describes resilience not as an end objective, but as a means for sustaining well-being outcomes in the face of shocks and stressors.[54] This capacity

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[51] Brusset, E., de Coning, C. and Hughes, B., *Complexity Thinking for Peacebuilding Practice and Evaluation* (Palgrave MacMillan: London, 2016).

[52] Astbury, B. and Leeuw, F. L., 'Unpacking black boxes: Mechanisms and theory building in evaluation', *American Journal of Evaluation*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2010), pp. 363–81.

[53] UN Sustainable Development Group, *UN Common Guidance on Helping Build Resilient Societies*, Dec. 2020, p. 31.

[54] World Food Programme (WFP), *Policy on Building Resilience for Food Security and Nutrition*, WFP/EB.A/2015/5-C (WFP: Rome, 2015).
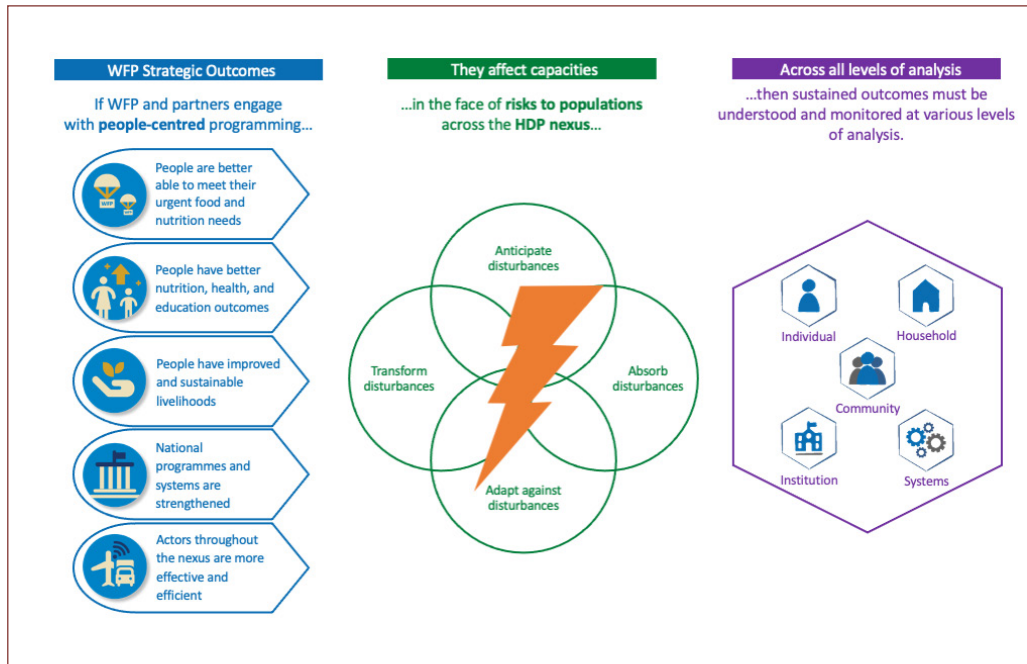
Figure 3.1. Resilience-based measurement framework

to respond to shocks allowed PRIME to measure the ability to respond to conflict risks.

Addressing the mandate challenge, PRIME focused on social cohesion as one particularly appropriate way for WFP to consider how it enables collective responses to conflict risks and related drivers. Under the umbrella of resilience, social cohesion is an enabler of the collective capacity to anticipate, absorb, adapt or transform in the face of shocks and stressors. This is not a stand-alone model for contributions to peace, but a transparent model that can be absorbed into existing programmes or theories of change (see figure 3.1).

PRIME has enabled WFP to create a menu of corporate indicators that can be grounded in its Corporate Results Framework and absorbed into plans for monitoring, review and evaluation.

4. Conclusions and recommendations

This paper organizes the main challenges of measuring peace impact and highlights some possible solutions to these challenges, as identified in the meetings of the PEER Group between 2020 and 2022. Some of these solutions are currently being explored or piloted in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings by institutions and organizations that played an active role in the PEER Group meetings.

Peace remains elusive for even the most advanced societies and no doubt the ways it is measured will continue to evolve as people get better at building peace. The above findings suggest that peace monitoring can be improved through mixed methods approaches that are responsive to local conceptualizations of peace. Furthermore, while there is some evidence of 'what works', collecting evidence is not the only obstacle to better peacebuilding. To be effective, solutions often need to be embedded in other programming and local visions of what constitutes peacebuilding. More broadly, this suggests that better monitoring is not simply a technical exercise, but a change management process that requires buy-in from the many stakeholders. Certainly, as the old adage goes, we 'measure what matters' but understanding what matters, the values and perspectives of those engaged in building peace, must inform what is measured.

As this discussion proceeds, possible next steps and recommendations might include:

1. *Identifying standards and principles on peace and peacebuilding.* Some preliminary steps on this have been taken by members of the group. Knowing what qualifies as peace will help with measuring and monitoring impact.

2. *Continuing to expand mixed methods and localized approaches to measuring peace, making clearer distinctions between levels of analysis (household, community, system, institution, whereby peace at one level may undermine it at another level) and understanding these interactions.* If sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, economists, ambassadors, human rights advocates, politicians and civil society actors are to work collectively on building peace, they will all need to speak each other's languages.

3. *Developing a systems-thinking understanding of peace and peacebuilding.* This could contribute to a better understanding of impacts, especially when these are seen through the eyes of affected populations. More systemic thinking would engage with the multiplicity of actors involved in building peace on questions pertaining to the quality and the nature of peace: What version of peace is being built? By whom? For whom? How will it be sustainable? How will we know when we have achieved it?

4. *Pursuing efforts to capture both short- and long-term peace impacts of interventions and processes in fragile, conflict and post-conflict settings.* Peace is a process and building sustainable peace is inscribed in long-term objectives. These are likely to manifest beyond programme implementation, which requires actors to put in place regular and long-term impact monitoring. Long-term monitoring would allow the actors involved in building peace to better capture the impact of interventions on individuals, households, communities and societies over time and beyond project cycles.

5. *Promoting learning between peace contributing decision makers.* This is necessary in order to expand the evidence base and promote the field-based lessons that are identified. This can be done through increased real-time feedback loops, adaptive iteration and knowledge-sharing. One way to do this would be to continue to convene PEER and groups like PEER to support knowledge exchange.

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