

Article: Strengthening child protection through community education and monitoring in Chad and Burundi

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All opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and local partners and do not reflect official UNICEF policies.

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Executive Summary

Introduction

Children are affected by armed conflict in multiple ways: as civilian victims, in the context of targeted ethnic attacks, as sexual slaves, and as conscripted combatants (Machel, 1996; Children and Armed Conflict, 2015). Since 1990 an estimated 90% of deaths in conflicts have been civilians, and of these fatalities 80% have been women and children. There is an immediate protection need for children as well as long-term psychosocial support (UNICEF, 2015).

In the child protection sector increasing emphasis is being placed on strengthening formal (government, INGO) and non-formal (child, families and other kinship structures, women's groups, Elders and other persons with traditional social knowledge) protection systems. The systems approach to protection was initially implemented in development settings and has historical roots going back to 2010 (Wulczyn, Daro, Fluke, Feldman, Glodek, Lifanda, 2010). As formal and non-formal child protection systems are eroded due to conflict, children (and others) experience increased abuse, neglect and exploitation. This makes them easy victims for recruitment for armed violence and other harms, and has increased the sectoral emphasis on systems approaches to child protection in humanitarian contexts (Child Protection Working Group, 2015).

Project Context and Research Questions

The two-year (2014-2016) Child Protection Social Cohesion initiative draws on both existing literature and in-country fieldwork experience supported by UNICEF and local partners. These agencies have been collaborating for a number of years on child protection systems strengthening in conflict affected communities, and had decided to strengthen programmatic linkages between child protection and social cohesion. Local partners included FVS Amade and International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Burundi, and in Chad the Association Pour la Recuperation et L'Encadrement des Enfants en Detresse (ARED). The field visit of the IICRD team to Burundi and Chad took place between February 2015 and May 2016. The initiative built on prior baseline research undertaken by the North-South Institute (NSI) from 2013-2014 (NSI, 2014).

IICRD's activities explicitly aimed at consolidating baseline information on social cohesion, identifying relevant child protection stakeholders, drivers of conflict and eliciting local perceptions on structures and process contributing to (or hindering) social cohesion and peacebuilding at the community level. It also sought to identify the structural factors that provide the broader context in which social cohesion and child protection efforts take place and to implement a monitoring, planning and action strategy to reinforce formal and non-formal protection systems.

The guiding action research question for the work in Burundi and Chad was:

- How do groups at the community level protect children, youth and women/girls while promoting social cohesion, peacebuilding and general human security?

Secondary questions include:

1. What are the conflict drivers in each of the settings, and how do these conflict drivers contribute to (child) protection risks and harms?
2. Do non-formal and formal groups influence communities differently?
3. What group characteristics, activities, functions, processes, and mechanisms actively support or erode social cohesion and child protection in conflict and post-conflict settings?
4. What is the agentive role of youth, women's groups and traditional leaders in promoting or hindering community cohesion?

It is recognized that by ensuring such community engagement with all aspects of the research, the specific and localized understandings of social cohesion and its links to peacebuilding and child protection can more effectively be revealed.

Intervention Methods

Child centred, participatory action research (PAR) and narrative, ethnographic research methods and local monitoring, planning and action using Outcome Mapping (Early, Carden, Smutylo, 2001) and IICRD's Reflective Action tools, were combined over the two years of the project cycle. The combination of these was designed to leverage local knowledge on the development of, and the actors involved in the creation of social cohesion at the community level was implemented.

Burundi and Chad Conflict Context and Selection of Intervention Sites

Burundi context of conflict. Both Burundi and Chad have long histories of conflict. In Burundi the exploitation and manipulation of ethnic rivalries during colonial times led to cycles of ethnic-related violence that continue today, in particular since the elections of 2015, and post-independence Burundi has remained plagued by massacres, assassinations and other crimes against humanity that often have a markedly ethnic character.

One of the most significant and violent episodes in Burundi's history, widely recognized as genocide, took place in 1972 with the massacre of tens of thousands of the Hutu ethnic group by the Tutsi-dominated regime. The tragedy of 1972 also created a legacy of fear and mistrust that has been linked to subsequent episodes and still lasts to this day.

A second round of ethnic violence took place during the crisis of 1994. This is also acknowledged as genocide and was triggered by a failed coup d'état during which the first democratically elected President, Melchior Ndadaye (a Hutu) was assassinated. This event sparked the massacre of an estimated 50,000 Tutsi by Hutu, followed by a brutal repression of Hutu by the army. In the aftermath, more than 600,000 Hutus sought refuge in neighboring countries while many others became internally displaced. The ensuing civil war between Hutu rebels and the Tutsi-dominated army resulted in the further deterioration of social relations, security and political stability (Dexter and Ntahombaye, 2005).

In August 2000, after years of negotiation and intensive diplomatic efforts, the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (APRA) was signed by 17 political parties and the Burundi government. Unfortunately, the recent failed elections undermined the Arusha accord as the current President Nkurunziza claimed a third term as President, and breaking the conditions agreed to in the APRA.

The current situation in Burundi, particularly since the 2015 elections, has led to heightened tensions and renewed violence. These are clearly highly relevant factors that will, one way or another, impact conditions of social cohesion and child protection in the country.

Intervention settings in Burundi. In Burundi, the research focused on two provinces in Burundi, Bururi and Makamba, previously chosen through a consultative process, which was led by UNICEF, and involved local and international partners, government actors and NGOs. More specifically, the communities visited were Rumonge (Bururi Province) and Kayogoro, Buga, Makamba, Mabanda, Nyanza-Lac and Nyabutare (Makamba Province).

Chad context of conflict. The Republic of Chad, is a landlocked Sahelian country in north-central Africa. With an area of 1,284,000 km², it stretches 1,500 km from north to south and 1,000 km from east to west (UNICEF 2010: 20). It borders Libya to the north, Sudan to the east, the Central African Republic to the south, Cameroon and Nigeria to the southwest, and Niger to the west. Lake Chad, from which the country gets its name, lies on the western border with Niger and Nigeria. The north of the country is a desert that runs into the Sahara (Republic du Tchad 2010: 8).

Chad became an autonomous republic within the French Community in 1958, and gained its full independence on August 11, 1960. Throughout most of its recent history, the country has been confronted with endless armed conflict generated by deep ethnic, religious and political divisions and exasperated by recent civil conflicts in Eastern Nigeria (e.g. sectarian violence led by Boko Marem), South Sudan (e.g. conflict in Darfur), Algeria, and Central African Republic (World Bank 2014).

Intervention setting in Chad: In Chad, the research focused on one of Chads 23 regions (Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement du Tchad: n.d.), Mandoul. Located in the south of the country, the population of Mandoul was 637,086 inhabitants as of 2009 (the date of the latest available official census). The main ethnico-linguistics groups are the Sara, the Mbaï, the Nar and the Daï, and the main products are subsistence agriculture and cotton. The regional capital of Mandoul is Koumra, the sixth largest town in Chad, where most of the Mandoul-based portion of this field based took place. Mandoul is also reputed to be one of the Chadian regions with the highest incidents of violations of children rights, as well as one of the poorest¹.

¹ Interview with UNICEF's Child Protection staff. N'Djamena, May 18, 2015.

Results

1. Results of Baseline in both Burundi and Chad

Initial data gathered by NSI (2014) and IICRD (2015) described a variety of child protection challenges in Burundi and Chad. Child protection responsibilities are distributed among a number of public institutions, with services provided by local authorities, non-state actors and local associations (See IICRD 2015 Systems Mapping report for a more detail discussion of these institutional and community stakeholders). In response, current programs supported by UNICEF Chad involve a work in strengthening the formal system including training of staff in public institutions, such as the police, and legal authorities (BIDE, 2014).

2. Results of the Outcome Mapping, Reflective Planning Workshops (Immediate and post 3 months)

Partner training workshops took place in February and March 2016, with participation from: 1) Representatives of government ministries responsible for child protection, 2) Civil society (e.g. NGO's, media, human rights institutions) leaders, 3) Women's groups, 4) Traditional leaders, and 5) Youth (16-25) representatives.

The initial focus of the workshops supported each stakeholder group in identifying local risk and protective factors as well as discussing root causes that underpin child protection and social cohesion.

Discussion

The final conclusions and discussion are framed in three sections: 1. Assessing the local root causes of conflict; 2. Local understanding of protective factors; 3. Developing local indicators to strengthen social cohesion processes through child protection; and 4. Implications for bottom up approaches to child protection and social cohesion interventions – The Theory of Change.

3. Local assessment of root causes of conflict
 - Poor governance, corruption and ethnic violence.
 - Risks associated with poor services, in particular non-formal and formal education.
4. Local understanding of protective factors
 - Formal and non-formal education.
 - Community child protection mechanisms.
 - Socially engaged youth, women and Elders
5. Developing local indicators to strengthen social cohesion through child protection
 - Mission statements – areas of strategic future focus.
 - Creating graded progress markers (indicators), intentional planning processes and follow up actions.
6. Implications for bottom up approaches to child protection and social cohesion interventions – The theory of change
 - Revising the Theory of Change
 - Psychosocial support

Introduction

Children are affected by armed conflict in multiple ways: as civilian victims, in the context of targeted ethnic attacks, as sexual slaves, and as conscripted combatants (Machel, 1996; Children and Armed Conflict, 2015). Since 1990 an estimated 90% of deaths in conflicts have been civilians, and of these fatalities 80% have been women and children. There is an immediate protection need for children as well as long-term psychosocial support (UNICEF, 2015).

In the child protection sector increasing emphasis is being placed on strengthening formal (government, INGO) and non-formal (child, families and other kinship structures, women's groups, Elders and other persons with traditional social knowledge) protection systems. The systems approach to protection was initially implemented in development settings and has historical roots going back to 2010 (Wulczyn, Daro, Fluke, Feldman, Glodek, Lifanda, 2010). As formal and non-formal child protection systems are eroded due to conflict, children (and others) experience increased abuse, neglect and exploitation. This makes them easy victims for recruitment for armed violence and other harms, and has increased the sectoral emphasis on systems approaches to child protection in humanitarian contexts (Child Protection Working Group, 2015).

Many conflict related drivers of risk for children have antecedents in broader community violence. Recently interest has grown on including child protection as a core component of broader social cohesion strengthening. Socially cohesive societies are characterized by the principles of inclusion, participation and social justice. Inclusion refers to embracing – not coercing or forcing – diversity, and ensuring equal opportunities – that everyone, regardless of their background, can achieve their full potential in life (DESA-ECOSOC 2015). Participation requires involving all stakeholders in decision-making that affects their lives. Justice, broadly understood, encompasses the social, procedural and legal dimensions of justice and accountability. Socially cohesive societies are not necessarily demographically homogenous. Rather, by respecting diversity, they harness the potential residing in their societal diversity in terms of ideas, opinions, skills, etc. Therefore, they are less prone to slip into destructive patterns of tension and conflict when different interests collide.

Child protection can contribute to social cohesion and peacebuilding through various means. These include: systems-based approaches that intentionally strengthen laws and policies; government structures and functions; care services, including reporting, referral and reintegration of vulnerable children; family support; and ongoing monitoring and evaluation with strong child and community involvement. This emphasis on meaningful child and community engagement is important to understand the key role that local actors play in understanding the deeper causes of risk in order to successfully leverage local assets to protect children from abuse, violence and neglect, particularly in situations where government mechanisms are under threat or non-functional.

Often these local resources are referred to *endogenous* systems. The local systems, often characterized by beliefs, practices, knowledge or ways of doing things rooted in tradition,

frequently exist in parallel to government practices and in some instances are more effective than government led initiatives (Child Frontiers, 2011; Cook, 2015). For example in research conducted by Child Frontiers (2011) and Terre Des Hommes (2014) in West Africa, local protection beliefs and practices were the first line of defence for children experiencing abuse and trafficking. Similarly, in Colombia, local Government protection services were often negatively related to endogenous concepts of “*familia denunciado*” (denouncing families), as this notion is frequently associated with the historic experience of poor communities persecution by repressive military regimes. In this context, community members were much more likely to draw on the support of trusted neighbours or community based women’s groups for issues of family violence and sexual abuse (Cook, 2014).

In cases where endogenous practices may be harmful to children, for example kinship based trafficking in girls to supplement family income, an understanding of the deeper root causes of these practices can lead to strategies that change the harmful practice (e.g. risky trafficking) while maintaining the deeper root cultural value (e.g. children supporting their extended family).

This builds on current thinking in resilience orientations to child protection, emphasizing the strengthening of internal, human socio-emotional and cognitive factors such as personal agency, alongside external factors such as social networks and collective spiritual beliefs assisting in individual and collective coping and recovery (Werner & Smith, 1992; Boyden, 2005; Masten, 2014; Ungar, 2015).

Global focus on humanitarian crises frequently addresses Nation State fragility, examining rights gaps and analysing deeper drivers of conflict. More recently there is a growing interest on resilience, the capacity for societies to withstand and recover from conflict what makes societies, communities, people and institutions resilient. This frequently involves understanding creative endogenous capacity for peace making, conflict resolution, healing and recovery (McCandless, Simpson, Maroney, 2015; Wessells, 2015; Cook, 2016).

Several conflict drivers undermine the resilience of communities’ social structures especially families and communities, as well as disrupting service delivery, by undermining the social fabric of communities and by exacerbating the negative consequences of a range of shocks and stresses.

Conversely initiatives that augment formal protection systems such as education, health and community based protection mechanisms can enhance important role of children and youths in supporting society’s capacity to understand, mitigate and respond to a range of risks.

Community based child protection mechanisms have become a common approach to protecting children in conflict and post-conflict settings. Widely utilized by NGOs, international agencies, the UN and communities themselves as a means to prevent and respond to child violence, abuse and exploitation, their effectiveness and sustainability are often assumed but rarely empirically assessed (Wessells, 2009, 2015).

Similarly, little is known about alternative endogenous community mechanisms that can be implemented to promote social cohesion and enhance the protection of children and adolescents in adversity. Externally-driven child protection mechanisms tend to suffer from lack of “fit” with cultural context and local ownership by the community as well as weak linkages with the national child protection system, often resulting in wasted resources and poor performance (Ibid.). These shortcomings are particularly serious for children and their communities in conflict and post-conflict settings where adequately considering local circumstances is a critical requirement, as a deterioration of already critical conditions may compromise peacebuilding² efforts and even trigger a return to violence.

Bottom up approaches in which communities develop their own protection and social cohesion monitoring, evaluation, planning and action strategies are frequently an effective way to understand root causes of conflict while intentionally building on locally identified assets (IICRD, 2012; Search for Common Ground, 2015).

The current project in Chad and Burundi attempted to address this gap by applying participatory action research interventions to strengthen child and broader community engagement in social cohesion and child protection.

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IICRD’s activities explicitly aimed at consolidating baseline information on social cohesion, identifying relevant child protection stakeholders, drivers of conflict and eliciting local perceptions on structures and process contributing to (or hindering) social cohesion and peacebuilding at the community level. It also sought to identify the structural factors that provide the broader context in which social cohesion and child protection efforts take place and to implement a monitoring, planning and action strategy to reinforce formal and non-formal protection systems.

² According to the UN Secretary-General’s Policy Committee: “Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.” (Decision of the Secretary-General’s Policy Committee, May 2007).

The guiding action research question for the work in Burundi and Chad was:

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Secondary questions include:

1. What are the conflict drivers in each of the settings, and how do these conflict drivers contribute to (child) protection risks and harms?
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It is recognized that by ensuring such community engagement with all aspects of the research, the specific and localized understandings of social cohesion and its links to peacebuilding and child protection can more effectively be revealed.

This process is further elaborated in a revised Theory of Change (ToC) that was piloted and adapted over the course of the project. The Theory of Change was shared with local participants and refined with input from community and district level child protection stakeholders, including members of child protection committees, government representatives, women's groups, traditional leaders and youth. The ToC was informed by the Outcome Mapping process and used to monitor final project outcomes.

Intervention Methods

Child centred, participatory action research (PAR) and narrative, ethnographic research methods and local monitoring, planning and action using Outcome Mapping (Early, Carden, Smutylo, 2001) and IICRD's Reflective Action tools, were combined over the two years of the project cycle. The combination of these was designed to leverage local knowledge on the development of, and the actors involved in the creation of social cohesion at the community level was implemented.

PAR and Ethnographic research. The main methods for the PAR and ethnographic research processes were focus group discussions (FGDs), individual interviews, and child centered participatory reflective exercises (i.e. "Unity circle: Social cohesion reflection" and "Community social mapping") developed by IICRD and led by the core research team and assisted by three research assistants/interpreters (RA), members of the "*Association des Scouts du Burundi*" in Burundi and by 5 interpreters/rapporteurs (two in Koumra and three in the communities visited in Moyen Chari) in Chad. All provided invaluable aid with note-taking and translation to the local languages spoken by research participants (i.e. Arabic, Sara, Sango), proving invaluable for the overall success of this first field trip. Results from the baseline research were compiled in an initial report (2015) and are summarized in the results section below.

Outcome Mapping and IICRD's Reflective Action processes. The recommendations of the initial research were used to develop capacity building tools (IICRD, 2016). These tools targeted a number of areas in which to engage groups of key local government and community stakeholders. Included in the training was a focus on: 1) Taking a systems approach to child protection and social cohesion; 2) Using a child rights approach to comprehend children's protection needs (including psychosocial needs) and children's agency; 3) Understanding risk and protective factors and their relation to root causes of lack of protection and social cohesion; 4) Applying Outcome Mapping to develop a vision and mission and statement, progress markers (indicators); and 4. Developing measurable action plans.

The training process combined adult education methods, participatory learning and experiential reflective games suitable for adults and adolescents. Progress markers were developed across three graded levels of outcomes participants would: 1. Expect to see, 2. Like to see, and 3. Love to see. The time frame for outcomes was 8 months.

Groups of participants engaged in the training were also selected based on the findings from the research. These included: 1) Representatives of government ministries responsible for child protection, 2) Civil society (e.g. NGO's, media, human rights institutions) leaders, 3) Women's groups, 4) Traditional leaders, and 5) Youth 25 representatives aged 16-25.

Outcome mapping (OM) is a methodology for planning and assessing development programming that is oriented towards change and social transformation in situations of complexity, including conflict settings (Early, Carden, Smutylo, 2001; Saferworld, 2016). OM provides a set of tools to design and gather information on the outcomes, defined as behavioural changes, of the change process. OM helps a project or program learn about its influence on the progression of change in their direct partners, and therefore helps those in the assessment process think more systematically and pragmatically about what they are doing and to adaptively manage variations in strategies to bring about desired outcomes. OM puts people and learning at the centre of development and accepts unanticipated changes as potential for innovation (Outcome Mapping, 2016). IICRD has used OM in a variety of child protection contexts and has adapted the standard OM tools to suit interventions in which children and adults are co-engaged in CP systems strengthening in conflict or post conflict settings. Previous examples of the work involved supporting youth lead interventions in conflict affected communities in Southern Thailand (2011) and post conflict child protection peace-building work in Timor Leste (2012).

Burundi and Chad Conflict Context and Selection of Intervention Sites

Burundi context of conflict. Both Burundi and Chad have long histories of conflict. In Burundi the exploitation and manipulation of ethnic rivalries during colonial times led to cycles of ethnic-related violence that continue today, in particular since the elections of 2015, and post-independence Burundi has remained plagued by massacres, assassinations and other crimes against humanity that often have a markedly ethnic character.

One of the most significant and violent episodes in Burundi's history, widely recognized as genocide, took place in 1972 with the massacre of tens of thousands of the Hutu ethnic group by the Tutsi-dominated regime. The tragedy of 1972 also created a legacy of fear and mistrust that has been linked to subsequent episodes and still lasts to this day.

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In August 2000, after years of negotiation and intensive diplomatic efforts, the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement (APRA) was signed by 17 political parties and the Burundi government. Unfortunately, the recent failed elections undermined the Arusha accord as the current President Nkurunziza claimed a third term as President, and breaking the conditions agreed to in the APRA.

The current situation in Burundi, particularly since the 2015 elections, has led to heightened tensions and renewed violence. These are clearly highly relevant factors that will, one way or another, impact conditions of social cohesion and child protection in the country.

Intervention settings in Burundi. In Burundi, the research focused on two provinces in Burundi, Bururi and Makamba, previously chosen through a consultative process, which was led by UNICEF, and involved local and international partners, government actors and NGOs. More specifically, the communities visited were Rumonge (Bururi Province) and Kayogoro, Buga, Makamba, Mabanda, Nyanza-Lac and Nyabutare (Makamba Province).

Chad context of conflict. The Republic of Chad, is a landlocked Sahelian country in north-central Africa. With an area of 1,284,000 km², it stretches 1,500 km from north to south and 1,000 km from east to west (UNICEF 2010: 20). It borders Libya to the north, Sudan to the east, the Central African Republic to the south, Cameroon and Nigeria to the southwest, and Niger to the west. Lake Chad, from which the country gets its name, lies on the western border with Niger and Nigeria. The north of the country is a desert that runs into the Sahara (Republic du Tchad 2010: 8).

Chad became an autonomous republic within the French Community in 1958, and gained its full independence on August 11, 1960. Throughout most of its recent history, the country has been confronted with endless armed conflict generated by deep ethnic, religious and political divisions and exasperated by recent civil conflicts in Eastern Nigeria (e.g. sectarian violence led by Boko Marem), South Sudan (e.g. conflict in Darfur), Algeria, and Central African Republic (World Bank 2013).

In the early 1990s, the State adopted sweeping political reforms, holding multiparty elections and what appeared as the beginning of a process of democratization with the arrival of President Idriss Deby to power. Subsequently, this stability was increasingly questioned, particularly after the 2005 constitutional amendment that allowed President Deby to stand for a third term in May 2006. That constitutional revision plunged the country into a political crisis and triggered a wave of rebel attacks in the east of the country as well as in N'Djamena, the capital (World Bank 2013). The signing of the "Political agreement for the reinforcement of the democratic process in Chad," concluded in August 13, 2007 with the support of the international community (France, EU and OIF), reestablished a measure of political stability in the country (UNDP 2013).

The United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (*Mission des Nations Unies en République Centrafricaine et au Tchad* - MINURCAT) was established in September 25, 2007 through Resolution 1778 of the UN Security Council in order to protect civilians and restore the rule of law and peace in the region.

The Government of Chad has assumed full responsibility for the protection of civilians and the safety and security of humanitarian actors since the 2010 withdrawal of the MINURCAT forces. Arrangements have been implemented to reinforce security conditions in eastern and southern Chad, including additional deployments of the national police and the *gendarmerie*, the National and Nomadic Guard of Chad (*Garde Nationale et Nomade du Tchad* GNNT), the Integrated Security Unit (*Détachement Intégré de Sécurité*, DIS), and the continued deployment of joint Chad-Sudan mixed forces along the border (United Nations 2012: 2).

Intervention setting in Chad: In Chad, the research focused on one of Chad's 23 regions (Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement du Tchad: n.d.), Mandoul. Located in the south of the country, the population of Mandoul was 637,086 inhabitants as of 2009 (the date of the latest available official census). The main ethnico-linguistic groups are the Sara, the Mbaï, the Nar and the Daï, and the main products are subsistence agriculture and cotton. The regional capital of Mandoul is Koumra, the sixth largest town in Chad, where most of the Mandoul-based portion of this field based took place. Mandoul is also reputed to be one of the Chadian regions with the highest incidents of violations of children rights, as well as one of the poorest³.

Results

1. Results of Baseline in both Burundi and Chad

Initial data gathered by NSI (2014) and IICRD (2015) described a variety of child protection challenges in Burundi and Chad. Child protection responsibilities are distributed among a number of public institutions, with services provided by local authorities, non-state actors and local associations (See IICRD 2015 Systems Mapping report for a more detail discussion of these institutional and community stakeholders). In response, current programs supported by UNICEF Chad involve a work in strengthening the formal system including training of staff in public institutions, such as the police, and legal authorities (BIDE, 2014).

³ Interview with UNICEF's Child Protection staff. N'Djamena, May 18, 2015.

The type of relationship between child protection and social cohesion remains unclear at this stage of the research. Whether social cohesion results in enhanced child protection – or vice versa – or both issues are correlated, rather than causally related, and associated with broader social circumstances such as general societal stability, still needs to be determined.

A number of significant risks as well as protective factors affecting social cohesion and child protection have, nevertheless, been ascertained by study participants, including the repatriation of refugees; land issues, food insecurity and constrained livelihood options; poverty; family relations and social support; education and schooling; unmarried mothers and unwanted pregnancies; orphans; the various manifestations of violence in the country; and, the role of groups and associations **in Burundi**, and poverty, child trafficking, the worst forms of child labor, violence, early marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM; excision-clitoridectomy), and limited birth registration **in Chad**.

2. Results of the Outcome Mapping, Reflective Planning Workshops (Immediate and post 3 months)

Partner training workshops took place in February and March 2016, with participation from: 1) Representatives of government ministries responsible for child protection, 2) Civil society (e.g. NGO's, media, human rights institutions) leaders, 3) Women's groups, 4) Traditional leaders, and 5) Youth (16-25) representatives.

The initial focus of the workshops supported each stakeholder group in identifying local risk and protective factors as well as discussing root causes that underpin child protection and social cohesion. The three groups of protection factors are identified below⁴.

⁴ Interestingly in Chad workshops participants also suggested some solutions to root causes and these included: Good governance; Education for a culture of peace; Equality in the spirit of tolerance; forgiveness; mutual acceptance; Social mobilization; Advocacy; Protection of vulnerable groups; Support and legal assistance to vulnerable group.

3. Table 1: Chad - Challenges, Protective Factors and Root Causes related to peace-building and social cohesion

RISK FACTORS (CHALLENGES) RELATED TO SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACEBUILDING	PROTECTIVE FACTORS RELATED TO SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACEBUILDING	ROOT CAUSES OF LACK OF SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption leading to protection cases being dropped • Social Inequalities • Social exclusion • Cultural and religious diversity not accepted • Lack of respect for human dignity • Persistence of harmful practices (FGM, early marriage, child trafficking, child labour) • Women not involved in decision-making • Lack of basic education • Low school registration • Domination of certain groups over others (contempt, mistrust) • Impunity of those who break the law • Atmosphere of mistrust related to political history of Tchad • Evasion of responsibility by certain parents • Social injustices are maintained by certain authorities in faulty conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School, as a safe place for education and cross-community mixing • Ratification of legislation protecting children by Chad (CDE) • Traditional local Elders (<i>Mbang</i>) who solve problems • Existence of human rights laws • Mutual aid through community relations • Spirit of tolerance, of forgiveness and of growing awareness manifested by communities • Existence and commitment of grassroots organizations • Cross-community weddings • Community cultural and sports activities • Organization of ecumenical prayer groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historically poor Government Policy: (exclusion, violation of human right, discontent, revolt, rebellion, civil war, political instability, North-South division, Christian and Muslim). • Long standing conflict between farmers and herders that has worsened in recent years • Climate change, poor soils on farms leading to changing migrations patterns of herders and overgrazing. • Injustice: bad faith, corruption • Suspicion: North south Division, Christina- Muslim • The thirst for power by some leaders • The low commitment of the state • Lack of parental responsibility • The war of 1979 leading to political discontent and instability (rebellion/ coup/civil war/ethnic/clan) • Lack of professionalism amongst some social workers

4. Table 2: Burundi - Challenges, Protective Factors and Root Causes related to peace-building and social cohesion

RISK FACTORS (CHALLENGES) RELATED TO SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACEBUILDING	PROTECTIVE FACTORS RELATED TO SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACEBUILDING	ROOT CAUSES OF LACK OF SOCIAL COHESION AND PEACE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community conflict over land use/ resources • Social exclusion • Poverty resulting from lack of economic opportunities • Girls dropping out of school /lack of opportunity for schooling • Teen pregnancy • Being Albino or having a disability • The affects of HIV/AIDS • Orphans • Politically corrupted youth groups • Belonging to a minority group • Abusive parents /household conflict • Polygamy • Overcrowding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functioning formal child protection systems • Informal support groups – NGO, local associations, religious groups, • Child protection committees • Women’s savings groups • Traditional mediation lead by local leaders (<i>Bashinganate</i>) • Socially engaged youth groups • Mediation circles • Access to quality education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical conflict/civil war/ethnic conflict • Land disputes • The effects of climate change leading to famine and migration • Infertile land • Population explosion due to lack of birth control • Harmful cultural values /Customs/Religious Beliefs • Poverty leading to famine • Colonization • Gender inequity/ discrimination • Historical lack of access to school for girls • Politics – Unequal distribution of land/state property • Lack of civil education • Drug use

5. Table 3: Chad - Outcome Mapping Progress Markers and 3 month progress

Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
ARED in partnership with local youth groups (e.g. AARMOK)	Raise awareness within communities on issues of child trafficking, migration and peaceful resolution of farmer-herder conflicts (<i>mass-awareness campaigns, radio shows, participatory theatre, games, contests</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARED, UEB, CREM, • Academic Institutions, • Youth Groups AARMOK, Messengers of Mandoul, • Tob Radio, Radio Lotiko, • Cultural Champagne, • CLAC, Religious Confessions Representatives of Communities (Refugees, Returnees, IDPs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNICEF, • IICRD, • World-Vision 	
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Formation of a steering committee 2. Preparatory meetings with different partners 3. Key messages written 4. Elaboration of scenarios for plays 5. Recorded radio spots <p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. At least 500 cases of child trafficking/migration indexed and documented 2. Radio spot broadcasting on Radio Tob, Radio Lotiko 3. Talks, debates and game contests organized in Kourma 4. Mass-awareness campaign and game contests organized in Peni and MateKaga 5. Documentation of migrations and child trafficking is shared by IICRD <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. At least 15 cases of child victims resolved (rehabilitation, judgments...) 2. Improvement in collective awareness of child-trafficking, migration and peaceful conflict resolution 3. Peaceful conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 475 cases of child trafficking/migration identified • 12 cases of child trafficking successfully brought to court in partnership with the police and local child protection committees • 10 case studies jointly documented with IICRD • Youth steering committee formed • Women's awareness of child marriage and the education of girls in Bessada, Bedaya and Koumra communities • The youth group organized two (2) competitions in two high schools (Modern and Mari Kital). In addition, two theatrical presentations were delivered on migration and child marriage and the importance of peaceful coexistence. These were conducted in Koumra and Peni by the theater group the messenger Mandoul • Awareness campaigns were conducted with 468 youth • 768 cases of trafficking were identified by participants 		
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Women's Groups	Raise awareness within communities on the importance of girl schooling and the harm resulting from early marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARED, CERIAF • Youth groups • Association of Parents • Religious leaders • Traditional leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNICEF, • IICRD 	
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Installed girls schooling steering committee to oversee ongoing actions 2. Preparatory meetings scheduled with different partners 3. Key messages and awareness support tools written 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased enrolment of 230 local women in protection committees • Awareness raising in 10 communities on the dropout and low enrolment of girls in the 		

	<p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Awareness messages put out on International Women's Day 2. Diverse activities conducted during National Women's Week 3. Interactive radio shows on girl schooling and support as well as early marriage organized by Tob Radio 4. Each targeted zone to host sketches/plays on selected themes 5. Documentation on women's groups good practices across the world shared by IICRD <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gradual reduction of incidence of early marriages 2. Authorities (religious, traditional, administrative, customary) take measures for the education and support of girls 	<p>Mandoul region</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordination of activities by the CBI and civil society • 5 radio broadcasts with ToB Radio • Identifying 200 vulnerable mothers and linking them with local services • Enrolment of 40 girls in school 		
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Traditional leaders	Advocate and Educate the administrative authorities on the difficulties encountered in the context of conflict management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARED • Religious leaders, • Traditional and customary chiefs, • Heads of State, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CBI, • UNICEF, • IICRD 	
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory Meeting of advocacy is organized / coordinated by ARED 2. The guidelines on the advocacy approach are given by ARED 3. The advocacy document is drawn up <p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advocacy to authorities place is done with the effective presence of all stakeholders 2. Recommendations and resolutions from the plea accepted by the authorities 3. The administrative authorities facilitate the work <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The administrative authorities take measures to ensure social justice, through resolving local conflict 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocating for the involvement of other authorities in the resolution of conflicts fairly.' • Meeting with government officials to discuss peaceful resolution of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists • Documentation of cases of violence against children • <i>Mbang</i> (traditional leaders) leading the creation of safe initiation ceremonies for girls and piloting this in 1 community with 15 girls aged 10-13. 	

6. Table 4: Burundi - Outcome Mapping Progress Markers and 3 month progress

Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Child Protection Committee (CPE)	Mobilize the CPE (Child protection Committee) to child protection and social cohesion through education of families to peace and change bad habits to serve as a model for children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FL and LJ • Police • Health • Administration • Education • Church • Youth Centres • Family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • CDF • NGOs (FVS, Anglican Province of Burundi, ACDRD) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scouts • Right To Play • IRD
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Exchange of experience between the CPE on child protection at EU level 2. CPE mobilized to change community practices that do not protect the child 3. Identify the bad practices and make the assessment to measure the reduction of such practices <p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Children exchange on poor community practices that are contrary to their protection and their consequences 2. Existence of youth centers where children can meet to discuss their future <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Working in synergy with community leaders " Bashingantahe " to abolish the bad practices that do not protect children 5. Establish sports social youth associations 6. Organize youth associations meetings to banish bad practices 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bashingantahe</i> (traditional leaders) engagement in 10 cases of peaceful conflict resolution • Strengthened child protection system in social cohesion through involvement of women and youth • Peaceful practices community for children and youth being rolled out by women's social solidarity groups 	
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Women's Solidarity Groups	Women's awareness and other community members on the importance of social cohesion so that they adopt peaceful behavior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families • CPE • Solidarity groups • FVS • Association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administration • KIYO • Churches 	
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Educate women and others at Community level on the child protection and social cohesion 2. 80 % of women are involved in solidarity groups to support children and social cohesion 3. The whole community is committed to living in harmony, in peace <p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Educate women and others at Community level on the child protection and social cohesion 2. 80 % of women are involved in solidarity groups to support children and social cohesion 3. The whole community is committed to living in harmony, in peace <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Let there be peace in the land for the community to be 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14 communities trained to improve knowledge and skills among women solidarity groups on child protection and social cohesion • Women solidarity groups 'members introduce community on peaceful behaviour • Children and youth access to peaceful community 	

	2. That the state does everything possible so that there are more street children 3. That there are more children who are deprived of their property, are in a situation of injustice			
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Traditional Leaders (Bashingantahe) and Female Leaders	Draw on traditional peaceful values to sensitize the community to cooperate and promote behavior change in the protection of children's rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CPE • Community Leaders • Youth Forum Local government • Solidarity Association • Religious Leaders • Police • Justice • Health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGOs • Governor • CDFC • President of the Republic 	
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	Expected (Expect to see) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Report on the training on child protection and social cohesion to other Women Leaders and Traditional Leaders 2. Plan 4 awareness sessions 3. Traditional Leaders and Women Leaders actively involved in awareness sessions Desired (Like to See) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The community is involved in the protection of children's rights 2. The community research what children need to live better 3. The exchange community on social cohesion and the protection of children's rights Ideal (Love to See) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. See the whole community live Kirundi proverb "Umwana si Ubumwe" (everyone working in unity) 3. Initiate youth clubs to learn their rights and defend themselves 4. Assist youth clubs in order to fight against the violation of children's rights 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional Elders working in 5 communities to support activities promoting the Kirundi values of "Umwana SI Ubumwe" (Everyone working in unity) • Committees of <i>Bashingantahe</i> partnering with youth clubs engaged in their rights promotion from an African (Kirundi) perspective • <i>Bashingantahe</i> support provided to youth clubs to fight against the violation of the children's rights 	
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Scouts – Youth Group	Educating young scouts on the skills of everyday life so that they become agents of change and Messengers of Peace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scouts and the local group • Prayer groups (fraternity, UMUBANO) • Local authorities • The police • The parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The song • UNICEF • FVS • Projects: Amahoro Amani Messengers of Peace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schools • Bars / Restaurants • Churches
	Progress Markers		Initial Results	
	Expected (Expect to see) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organize meetings to identify the difficulties encountered and the challenges they do 2. Prepare training to prioritize and direct actions in the community 3. Establish methods of awareness and prevention of toxics products Desired (Like to See)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scouts of Burundi are now working with other youth groups (e.g. Right To Play) • IICRD is accrediting community social cohesion activities using university level, competency based "stamps" • Women's leadership promotion 	

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Share with others the various youth problems identified 2. Create Youth Mentoring groups 3. Educate youth of the town MUHA on Drug Abuse <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create synergy among all stakeholders for change of mentality (schools, head bars, police...) 2. Encourage the creation of youth attraction areas (yard, young center, movie theater...) 3. Promoting women's leadership for a change of mentality and a global view of the place of the young in society 	initiatives lead in changing mentality and youth perception in society.		
Structures	Mission	Implementing Partners	Strategic Partners	Other Partners
Government Actors	Promote and protect children's rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IRC • FVS • W. C • OIDEB • Red Cross • TDH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNICEF • HCR • CICR • PAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FNF • CPE • Religious Confessions • Community Leaders • Media • Bashingabahe
Activities	Progress Markers	Initial Results		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Coordinate local actors working in the protection of children's rights 2. Organize information sessions, Education and Communication (IEC) in communities 	<p>Expected (Expect to see)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organization of two quarterly coordination meetings in August and November 2016 2. Facilitate 4 community awareness sessions on birth registration from June to December 2016 3. Educate the community on solidarity and mutual aid 4. Educate the community about membership in solidarity groups and the creation of AGR in June and December 2016 <p>Desired (Like to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All children enjoy their rights 2. The community is committed to protecting children's rights 3. Improvement of the birth registration rate in Vital <p>Ideal (Love to See)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Existence of a protective and safe environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 quarterly coordination meetings • 4 community awareness sessions on birth registration • 4 community education sessions conducted on solidarity and mutual aid • 5 community education sessions held to strengthen membership in solidarity groups and the creation of AGR 		

Discussion

The final conclusions and discussion are framed in three sections: 1. Assessing the local root causes of conflict; 2. Local understanding of protective factors; 3. Developing local indicators to strengthen social cohesion processes through child protection; and 4. Implications for bottom up approaches to child protection and social cohesion interventions – The theory of change.

1. Local assessment of root causes of conflict

Poor governance, corruption and ethnic violence. There was considerable overlap between the local understanding of root causes of conflict in Chad and Burundi. In the participating regions both countries, one of the leading drivers of local violence was poor governance and corruption and resulting ethnic induced conflict. This was specifically attributed to the governments of

Chad and Burundi exploiting ethnic conflict during the 1979 war in Chad and the 1972 and 1994 genocides in Burundi.

Many of the subsequent and more recent social tensions were attributed to these early ethnic conflicts. For example in Chad local politicians have started investing in large herds of cattle that are maintained by their clans (e.g. *Miserie* Arab clan). When these pastoralist groups migrate to the South, including the Koumra region, conflict often erupts with local *Bantu* farmers taking exception with pastoralist families using their water sources, trampling and damaging diminishing arable farmland, and abusing local sacred sites used for ancestor worship. Often youth are central to the violence that erupts and Elders, who would normally be consulted in these disputes, are sidelined as the pastoralist communities with political connections leverage their power to undermine local dispute resolution. Climate change was also mentioned as a related recent root cause of conflict as changing seasonal rains have increased tensions over water and the availability of viable arable and pastoralist land.

Risks associated with poor services, in particular non-formal and formal education. Some of the root drivers of conflict were associated with provision of quality government services. Girls and boys access to quality formal education was seen as especially important. For boys this was often identified as a mitigating factor in young men being drawn into political (in the case of Burundi) or farmer-pastoralist conflict (in the case of Chad). In Chad school was also seen as a critical protective factor in reducing the practice of trafficking of boys to work as herders - *les enfant bouviers*. For girls access to quality education was perceived to be a primary protective factor against harmful traditional practices such as early marriage, abusive labour and FGM.

One of the consequences of the conflict in Chad and Burundi is the breakdown in social transmission of positive values such as the Kirundi value of “*Umwana SI Ubumwe*” (Everyone working in unity), that promote peace and well-being. Traditional non-formal mechanisms upheld by *Bashingantahe* in Burundi and *Mbang* in Chad, were described as normally existing between groups such as youth, women and Elders. The root cause of social mistrust, social isolation and displacement further eroded the ability of communities to manage non-formal support systems such as Elders advising youth stay out of conflict, non-formal education on conflict resolution being passed intergenerationally, and women’s groups assisting in support for vulnerable girls and wives affected by domestic violence.

A final root cause of conflict in both countries identified in the workshops was youth unemployment, youth being manipulated by political forces, and youth engaging in migration and trafficking (e.g. the *enfant bouviers* in Chad). This has resulted in young people being perceived as both a threat to social cohesion, and vulnerable to child protection risks. One outcome of this situation is that youth are typically only seen as either instigators or victims and are subsequently excluded from community strategies to mitigate abuse, exploitation and violence.

2. Local understanding of protective factors

An important stage in the participatory research involved augmenting resilience by identifying and building on local protective factors.

Formal and non-formal education. As stated in the root causes, education was seen as both a key risk factor for boys and girls deprived of education and as a protective factor in buttressing children from harms such as exploitive labour for boys, sexual exploitation and early marriage of girls, migration and trafficking, and boys engagement in community violence including violent political activity associated with ongoing conflict in Burundi and Chad. Similarly school was identified as a safe place for children to escape the hazards of domestic and other community violence. In addition, children and youth access to traditional, non-formal education, especially in regards to bolstering relations with Elders holding important social knowledge on dispute resolution and peacebuilding.

Community child protection mechanisms. In both Chad and Burundi, functioning child protection mechanisms were identified as an important protective contributor to social cohesion. This was especially important in assessing, referring and providing rehabilitation supports for many vulnerable children. Interestingly this extended beyond the CPC's role in protecting children and included the role frequently played by protection committees, especially in Burundi in partnership with the Women's Solidarity Groups, to also protect the rights of women. Ratification of laws, awareness raising on laws (including child protection and human rights laws), and the use of laws and policies at the community level to enforce CPC's was seen as very important in both countries. Unfortunately, in both countries, local corruption especially amongst police sometimes weakened the effectiveness of these mechanisms as cases were not followed through on, or subverted.

Socially engaged youth, women and Elders. One of the most important findings from the participatory research with community members was the need to strengthen the engagement of youth, women and Elders in both child protection and social cohesion. Youth were perceived to have many skills in understanding the current reality of young people in communities, while women as primary care providers and those engaged in many well being initiatives were considered central to social change. Finally, Elders such as *Bashingantahe* in Burundi and *Mbang* in Chad were frequently mentioned as crucial to solving local disputes using locally recognized and respected values and practices that lie at the core of these collectivistic societies. It should be recognized that in some cases, women participants questioned the capacity of local Elders, many of whom are men, to adequately and justly address gender based rights violations and this is an area requiring further exploration and refinement.

3. Developing local indicators to strengthen social cohesion through child protection

Mission statements – areas of strategic future focus. Mission statements were developed by the 5 groups participating in the workshops: 1) Representatives of government ministries responsible for child protection, 2) Civil society (e.g. NGO's, media, human rights institutions) leaders, 3) Women's groups, 4) Traditional leaders, and 5) Youth 25 representatives aged 16-25. These

reflected the strategic piece, or “bite” (using OM terminology), that each group would focus on in their indicators (progress markers) and associated activities.

Mission statements ranged from youth focusing on awareness raising and conflict resolution between ethnic groups or farming and pastoralist communities, to women addressing issues of vulnerable girls access to quality education. They also included Elders applying traditional peacekeeping values to strengthen community social and cultural capital and dispute resolution practices as well as advocating for these practices with local and district levels of governments. These statements provide an important entry point for social engagement and were developed after much reflection and discussion by each of the group. This process included using experiential tools in which participants were encouraged to imagine themselves traveling on a “magic carpet” to view their communities in the future as peaceful and cohesive, including imagining specific behaviors, attitudes and actions that would be represented in a such a community. They were then supported in constructing a strategic series of steps to get to this mission before encapsulating this as a mission statement.

Creating graded progress markers (indicators), intentional planning processes and follow up actions.

Each group created unique progress markers at three levels of expected, desired and ideal outcomes. The indicators were frequently written as action statements (e.g. “At least 500 cases of trafficking indexed and documented”). These progress markers (PM) were then used to plan specific actions that could be assessed through qualitative and quantitative measurement. At the level of “expect to see” PM youth focused on doable actions such as establishing a steering committee, women on holding preliminary meetings with key community and government partners and Traditional leaders on drafting and advocacy document during one of their monthly committee meetings. At the level of “like to see” PM for youth included conducting radio awareness raising shows through local community radio networks, women’s groups planned to host a more ambitious event on girls rights to education during the upcoming International Women’s Day (with the support of UNICEF), and Traditional leaders committed to facilitating the ownership of local recommendations by local authorities. Finally, at the level of “love to see” youth and ARED were hopeful that at least 15 trafficking cases would be brought to court by police and adequately resolved, while women’s groups hoped that there would be a gradual reduction in incidence of early marriage as more girls attended school, and Traditional leaders hoped that administrative authorities would take measures to ensure social justice was improved, and impartial measures were adopted to resolve conflict.

Monitoring three months after the training intervention showed impressive progress in implementing indicators based actions. Examples included: youth had formed steering committees in both Burundi and Chad, and had conducted a variety of community training sessions with other youth and offered awareness raising programs on community radios. IICRD was also working with the Scouts in Burundi and AARMOK in Chad to accredit these activities with a “social cohesion” accredited series of “stamps”. In Chad ARED had also been working with local youth to identify victims of forced migration and trafficking and 768 cases were identified of which 12 were successfully brought to court in partnership with local police.

In Chad women's groups had increased local enrolment of 230 village women in child protection committees, and had identified 200 vulnerable mothers linking them to local services and registered 40 vulnerable girls in school. In Burundi women's solidarity groups conducted training on micro credit programs for women in 14 communities and introduced training on peacebuilding as part of this training.

Finally, Traditional leaders, including women leaders, in Chad designed a revised format for initiation of young girls aged 10-14 and piloted this training with a cohort of 15 girls in one community. They also met with the regional governor of Koumra and signed an agreement strengthening their role in monthly conflict management meetings. In Burundi Traditional leaders designed a training based on the concept of "Umwana si ubumwe" (Everyone working together), to instill local peacebuilding and dispute resolution practices and piloted this training in 5 communities.

4. Implications for bottom up approaches to child protection and social cohesion interventions – The Theory of Change

Revising the Theory of Change. An initial Theory of Change (ToC) was developed for the project based on the initial proposal developed for the intervention. Over the course of the project the ToC was revised with input from local partners. Key assumptions about process of change in strengthening social cohesion focused on working with community educational and child protection government stakeholders. Following the initial participatory research with local stakeholders in Chad and Burundi it was discovered that there was a need to involve local non-formal stakeholders in strengthening formal child protection systems. Based on these analyses special emphasis was placed on working with youth groups, such as the Scouts in Burundi and AARMOK creative youth group in Chad, and local women's networks. This is reflected in the focus on non-formal actors in the activity level of the ToC. In addition, due to the importance accorded to traditional leaders such as the *Bashingantahe* in Burundi and *Mbang* in Chad, the ToC was revised to include a specific focus on the influence these traditional leaders played in enhancing social cohesion. Finally, following the preliminary research with communities in both countries, it was decided to employ Outcome Mapping and IICRD's reflective planning and action process to employ participatory indicators as a process to engage local stakeholders in meaningful systems change for social cohesion. This is reflected in the activities, outputs, and mid term outcome level of the ToC.

Psychosocial support. Psychosocial implications of formal and non-formal systems engagement also became a special focus of the Theory of Change. The former arose in relation to the need for special consideration of psychosocial support for vulnerable children in social services such as child protection and education. In the context of non-formal systems, this related to strengthening family and community supports especially those provided by families, women's groups and Traditional leaders. These are two key foundational dimensions of psychosocial support are outlined in the Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) guidelines for mental health and psychosocial support in emergency settings and will be further supported in next stages of UNICEF's child protection mandate in both countries.

The ToC will continue to be shaped, refined and adapted as the participatory monitoring, planning and action stages continue, in particular with ongoing engagement with the youth, women's, and Elders groups supported by local child protection government mechanisms.

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