

From Principle to Practice A User's Guide to Do No Harm

by Marshall Wallace

© 2014, revised 2016 Marshall Wallace







This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode

www.principletopractice.org

A Note on Using this Text

Take this book apart!

From Principle to Practice is a user's guide. It is designed to be used: every page, front and back, contains either related concepts or a single concept. For example, pages 7 and 8 are "The Principle of Do No Harm" and "The Project of Do No Harm", and pages 33 and 34 are "How to do a Dividers/Connectors Analysis". (There are two places where a concept covers four pages—or two, front and back.)

One result of this format is that the Table of Contents is extensive (8 pages), as you will see when you turn the page.

This book design encourages you to focus on what is important to you. Whatever issue or effort you are engaged with, take the page that deals with that and use it to help frame your thought process. You don't need the whole book—or all the concepts—all of the time. Sometimes, you need to eliminate distractions.

What this book is not

From Principle to Practice is not a book of theory or evidence. Those have been amply covered elsewhere, most notably in Mary Anderson's Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—Or War (Lynne Rienner, 1999).

A Note for Readers new to Do No Harm

Read this book however you like—it welcomes both a straight read through and jumping around as something interests you—but spend some time with Section II, The Six Lessons of Do No Harm. These are the foundation of the practical concepts and techniques that follow; they are based on the experience of thousands of people just like you.

In any discipline, it is important to grasp the fundamentals. Take the time to really think about these lessons. Observe them in your community and your daily life. Build the foundation that will support your ability to make the best use of the rest of this book. Build the foundation so you can Do No Harm.

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments	I
Introduction	2
The Principle of "do no harm" and the Practice of Do No Harm	2
Where does this book come from?	3
The structure of this book	3
From experience to principle to practice	4
Section I: Principle, Project, and Practice	5
The Principle	7
Misunderstanding the principle of "do no harm"	7
The Project	8
Misunderstanding the project of Do No Harm	8
The Practice	9
Do No Harm is four simple techniques	9
Two modes of effective Do No Harm Practice	10
Adaptive Do No Harm	10
Predictive Do No Harm	10
Section II:The Six Lessons of Do No Harm	11
The Six Lessons of Do No Harm	13
Key Publications about Do No Harm	14
Lesson 1: Interventions become part of the context	15
There is no such thing as neutrality	15
Lesson 2: Contexts are characterized by Dividers and Connectors	16
Lesson 3: Interventions interact with Dividers and Connectors	17
Negative Impacts	17
Positive Impacts	17
Lesson 4: Actions and Behaviors have Consequences	18
Resources as a result of the Action of intervention	18
Messages sent by Behavior	18
Lesson 5:The details of interventions matter	19
Lesson 6:There are always Options	20
Do No Harm Techniques	21
Four Do No Harm Techniques	23
What is a Technique?	24
Building blocks	24
Learning	24

Practice	24
Tools	24
Section III: Using Dividers and Connectors	25
Dividers and Connectors as Categories	27
Dividers are	27
Connectors are	27
Context and Conflict Analysis	28
Understanding Dividers and Connectors	29
Choosing your tactics	29
Using Dividers and Connectors	30
Common Misunderstandings about Dividers and Connectors	31
Assumptions about Dividers	31
Assumptions about Connectors	31
"Our organization is a Connector/Divider"	31
"We can create Connectors to bring people together"	31
"That person or group is a Divider/Connector"	32
Weak Connectors are not Dividers	32
How to do a Dividers/Connectors Analysis	33
Key Questions to unlock Dividers and Connectors	35
Checklist for Dividers/Connectors Analysis	36
Why Divider and Connectors Work So Well	37
They are grounded in everyday experience	37
They are not too many categories	37
They encourage and facilitate Judgement	38
Do No Harm SAVES: Categories for Disaggregating a Context	39
Systems and Institutions	39
Attitudes and Actions	39
Values and Interests	39
Experiences	39
Symbols and Occasions	39
Other Categories for Disaggregating a Context	40
Geographical Area	40
Internal and External Factors	40
Broad or Narrow Factors	40
A Way to Track Dividers and Connectors	41
How to Prioritize Dividers and Connectors	42
Dividers and Connectors are not opposites	42
Dividers are dangerous	42

Connectors are everyday	42
Section IV: Using Critical Detail Mapping	43
Using Critical Detail Mapping	45
Criteria Matter	45
What do we do when we are having Negative Impacts?	46
Two ways to map critical details, and mapping constraints	46
Two Methods of Critical Detail Mapping	47
Six Critical Details	47
Seven Elements of Circumstance	48
The Constraints Box	48
Using the Six Critical Details	49
Criteria Around the Six Critical Details	49
Red Flags	49
Critical Detail Mapping with the Six Critical Details	50
Interrogating the Critical Details	50
Interrogating the Critical Details for who is excluded	50
Critical Detail: Targeting – Who receives the benefits?	51
Critical Detail: Resources – What do we provide?	52
Critical Detail: Staffing – Who is hired?	53
Critical Detail: Partnering – Who do we work with and through?	54
Critical Detail: Working with local authorities	55
Critical Detail: How to intervene	56
Critical Detail Mapping with the Seven Elements of Circumstance	57
Why?	57
Where?	57
When?	57
What?	58
With Whom?	58
By Whom?	58
How?	58
Mapping with the Constraints Box	59
Mandate	59
Fundraising and Donors	59
Headquarters	59
Using the Constraints Box	60
Using the ABCs	61
Impact Analysis	63
Understanding and Using Patterns	64

Section V: Using the ABCs: Resource Transfers	65
Resource Transfers: Five Patterns	67
Chart: Five Patterns of Resource Transfers	68
Distribution Effects	69
Why do negative Distribution Effects happen?	69
Distribution Effects in post-conflict settings	69
Distribution Effects in resource management	70
Distribution Effects based on the easy route	70
Distribution Effects based on social or economic criteria	71
Distribution Effects in post-disaster settings	71
Using Distribution Effects	72
Legitimization Effects	73
Legitimizing a bad actor	73
De-legitimizing a good actor	73
De-legitimizing a bad actor	74
Legitimizing a good actor	74
Why do negative Legitimization Effects happen?	74
Using Legitimization Effects	74
Market Effects	75
Incomes	75
Wages	75
Profits	75
Prices	76
Why do negative Market Effects happen?	76
Using Market Effects	76
Substitution Effects	77
Substitution Effects free up resources to pursue conflict	77
Substitution Effects result in authorities' loss of capacity	77
Substitution and legitimacy	78
Why do negative Substitution Effects happen?	78
Using Substitution Effects	78
Theft	79
Why does Theft happen?	80
Using Theft	80
Thieves Need FourThings	81
Knowledge	81
Value	81
Opportunity	81

Impunity	81
Adaptability	82
Kidnapping is Theft	82
Using Resource Transfers	83
Resource Transfers are Relationships	84
Good relationships are better than good intentions	84
Local perceptions matter	84
Section VI: Using the ABCs: Messages through the RAFT	85
Using the RAFT: Behavior and Messages	87
Patterns of Behavior and Mindsets	87
The RAFT: Respect, Accountability, Fairness, and Transparency	88
The RAFT and organizations	88
Three Spheres of Behavior	89
Conduct	89
Policy	89
Publicity	89
Chart:The RAFT	90
Respect	91
Chart: Patterns of Respect	92
Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Disrespect	93
Disrespect through hostile competition	93
Disrespect through Suspicion	93
Disrespect through Aggression, Anger, and Belligerence	94
Disrespect through Indifference	95
Organizations and Disrespect	96
Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Respect	97
Collaboration and cooperation as expressions of respect	97
Trust as an expression of respect	97
Calm and respect	97
Listening and respect	98
Organizations and Respect	98
Using Respect	98
Accountability	99
Chart: Patterns of Accountability	100
Negative Patterns of Behavior based in lack of Accountability	101
Powerlessness and lack of Accountability	101
Impunity and lack of Accountability	101
Security, Arms and Power and lack of Accountability	102

Organizations and lack of Accountability	102
Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Accountability	103
Positive Action and Accountability	103
Responsibility and Accountability	103
Rule of Law and Accountability	103
Organizations and Accountability	104
Using Accountability	104
Fairness	105
Chart: Patterns of Fairness	106
Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Unfairness	107
Unfairness through demonstrating Different Value for Different Lives	107
Unfairness through Ignoring the Rules	107
Organizations and Unfairness	107
Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Fairness	108
Fairness through Recognizing Value	108
Fairness through Following the Rules	108
Organizations and Fairness	108
Using Fairness	108
Transparency	109
How to be Transparent	110
Using the RAFT	111
Generating Options	111
Codes of Conduct	112
Section VII: Using the Do No Harm Frameworks	113
The Do No Harm Frameworks	115
What is the Relationship Framework?	115
What is the Action Framework?	115
Why two Frameworks?	115
What are they good for?	115
What is a Framework?	116
The Relationship Framework	117
Building the Relationship Framework from the Six Lessons	117
Chart:The Relationship Framework	118
The Action Framework	119
Where did the Action Framework come from?	119
Building the Action Framework	119
Chart:The Action Framework	120
Using the Do No Harm Frameworks	121

Planning	121
Implementation & Monitoring	121
Redesign	122
Evaluation	122
A Seven Step Approach to Using the Relationship Framework	123
When to use the Relationship Framework	125
Challenges in using the Relationship Framework	126
Using the Action Framework	127
When to use the Action Framework	129
Challenges in using the Action Framework	130
Section VIII: Options & Opportunities	131
Options & Opportunities	133
How to develop Options and support Opportunities	133
Using the Patterns of the ABCs	134
Countering Dividers	134
Supporting Connectors	134
Don't "Create" Connectors	134
Reviewing Options	134
Two challenges in using the Patterns	134
How to develop Options and support Opportunities	135
Prioritizing Options and Opportunities	136
Key Questions for Options & Opportunities	136
When things don't go your way	137
Shared language and explaining Options	138
Talking to decision-makers	138
Talking to implementers	138
Section IX: History and Methodology	139
A Brief History of the Do No Harm Project	141
Where did Do No Harm Come From?	141
Local Capacities for Peace and Do No Harm	141
Collaborative Learning Methodology	143
Three Phases of Collaborative Learning	143
Case Studies: Field Visits and Group Analysis	143
Feedback Workshops	143
Implementation and Use	144
The "Fourth" Phase: Spread	144
Section X: Concluding Parable	145

Appendices 149

The Appendices are charts and handouts based on the concepts throughout the book.

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm

Two Do No Harm Frameworks

The Relationship Framework

The Action Framework

Dividers and Connectors Rating Chart

Key Questions for Unlocking Dividers and Connectors

Interrogating the Six Critical Details

Checklist for Red Flags in Critical Detail Mapping

Actions and Behaviors have Consequences

The RAFT Chart

Five Patterns of Resource Transfers

Patterns of Behavior and Mindsets

How to be Transparent

Preface and Acknowledgments

This Guide is built on the experience and learning of the many, many people around the world who use Do No Harm in their daily work. It also reflects the experiences and dilemmas of many would-be users who have, for a variety of reasons, found it difficult to apply Do No Harm as they want to.

Over several years, since 1993, the Do No Harm Project has visited people around the world who are working with the Do No Harm approaches and tools—or trying to do so. We have listened to them, learned from them, and worked with them. This Guide emerged from this ongoing collaboration. Through these many users and would-be users, the Do No Harm Project has gathered what appears here.

This Guide is Do No Harm *focused*. It is truly a Users' Guide in that it both reflects how people find Do No Harm most useful, and it translates it into new approaches, tools, and techniques that others can pick up, learn, and use.

From all of these efforts, as our world-wide users tell us, the impacts of interventions are not only predictable, they are trackable and, most important, they can be improved. The users of Do No Harm, who are the real "authors" of this Guide, report on how they have been able to engage with the social dynamics of their environments, in the ongoing processes of their work, to ensure that harm is not unwittingly done. Moreover, they are able to engage the social dynamics so that the outcomes of their work are increasingly supportive of significant, positive, lasting change in their societies.

This book exists only because tens of thousands of people have taken up and contributed to the concepts, ideas, techniques, and tools of Do No Harm. Do No Harm has been circulating around the NGO and international communities for 20 years. The changes in practice and policy from the early days are immense. I owe all of you a debt of thanks for teaching me so much about the world and about how great things are accomplished by dedicated, thoughtful people. You have made a difference.

May this book continue to help you as you have helped so many others.

Much of the background research for this book was made possible by the generous support of DFID, the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and USAID for the Do No Harm Project at CDA Collaborative Learning Projects. Portions of this book are revised from Guidance Notes available from CDA (see p 14 for a list of DNH material).

Introduction

How do we live our values?

This question carries special challenges for those who live their lives trying to help others. How do we describe ourselves? "Meddlers" is what one friend who has been meddling for several decades call us. Another friend calls us the "well-meaning interveners". Still another uses the term "busybodies".

All these terms are slightly self-deprecating, slightly unsure and anxious. The words signal a real concern about the audacity of intervening in other people's lives, other people's problems. We are right to be uncomfortable with this role and how it might be perceived, especially by those with whom we are working. What are our motives? Why do we do this? How can we be so sure that what we do is right?

Most of us would say that our values called us to this work. We could not stand by and watch —or ignore—human suffering without offering a helping hand. Yet our actions do not always the have the effect we intended, sometimes with terrible consequences. The recipients of our assistance question our motives and our presence. Our values seem unattainable.

How do we live our values so that they shine through? How do we avoid being overwhelmed by complex situations and perceptions that question our interventions, making them appear manipulative and mean? How do we get helping right?

We form principles based upon our values to guide us toward right action. We look to them to point us in the right direction, and they do. But, at the end of the day—and every day—what we do, what we practice is where we make a difference.

This book is about practice. This book is about how to "do no harm".

The Principle of "do no harm" and the Practice of Do No Harm

The principle of "do no harm" is that the wellbeing of the people we are trying to help *must* be the focus of our efforts to help them.

Where the principle guides and directs, there is also a practice of Do No Harm. There are techniques for thinking about and understanding a context and our impacts that bring the principle of "do no harm" down to earth in direct and simple ways. The bulk of this book contains discussion about four simple techniques and the concepts behind them, as well as how to build the techniques into frameworks, bringing them together, and showing how we can work in complex contexts.

Where does this book come from?

This book grows out of the experience of the Do No Harm Project (formerly the Local Capacities for Peace Project). For twenty years, this project has looked at international interventions and tracked the impacts of those interventions. This book is based on the experiences of humanitarians, development workers, peacebuilders, advocates and many more, from all over the world and from all types of organizations.

In 1993, a group of donor agencies, UN organizations, bilateral organizations, and international and local NGOs began working together in a collaborative learning project on how assistance interacts with conflict. The systematic exploration of this issue had never been attempted before, though we knew that many people had, over many years, been thinking about how to provide assistance in conflict. We wanted to gather the prior and ongoing experience in order to help everyone working in conflict zones.

Collectively and with a lot of hard work, we succeeded. We not only learned about how assistance interacts with conflict, both to exacerbate and mitigate it, we developed a framework to help people providing assistance think through the issues so they could take more control of their impacts. This framework and the original lessons were detailed in Mary B. Anderson's book *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—OrWar* (Lynne Rienner, 1999).

Twenty years later, the lessons learned through the collaborative learning effort are widespread, appearing in policy documents and manuals of practice across the spectrum of organizations involved in assistance and other forms of intervention. The techniques have grown beyond the fields of assistance and are used from the macro-level of national and regional analysis to the micro-level of understanding of family dynamics. They are used not just by humanitarians and development workers, but by peacebuilders, advocates, corporations, militaries, governments, and, most important of all, communities. Anyone with a stake in the process of providing resources or engaging with others on a project of mutual benefit can can use Do No Harm.

The ideas have moved well beyond the limited horizons we set out toward back in 1993 when the Local Capacities for Peace Project began. This book tries to map as many of the routes as it can.

The structure of this book

This book is about how to put the principle of "do no harm" into practice. This book contains the lessons learned from the Do No Harm Project over the past twenty years. These lessons are largely techniques that allow us to work in complex environments with confidence and effectiveness.

As mentioned above, this book is meant to be used. Each pair of pages, front and back, is a single concept or complementary concepts. A few concepts take up more (Distribution Effects covers four pages). Take this book apart and use the concept you need when you need it. The book is organized into ten sections.

Section I discusses what Do No Harm means as a principle, a project, and a practice. It also deals with the two most common misconceptions and misunderstandings. **Section II** outlines the six lessons learned by the Do No Harm Project and lays the groundwork for the rest of the book.

Sections III through VIII detail the techniques of Do No Harm, by which practitioners analyze their contexts and their interventions, and make good decisions. Section III is about context analysis through Dividers and Connectors Analysis. Section IV is about analyzing interventions through Critical Detail Mapping. Sections V and VI are about impact analysis and how Actions and Behaviors have Consequences. These sections show the patterns of impact. Section V shows ABCs: Resource Transfers and Section VI shows the ABCs: Messages through the RAFT. Section VII shows how the two Frameworks have been built out of the six lessons and guides you through their use. Section VIII is about developing Options and supporting Opportunities.

Section IX provides a very brief history of the Do No Harm Project, as well as an equally brief overview of the collaborative learning methodology used to learn these lessons. **Section X** is a concluding parable about using what we know.

From experience to principle to practice

People are, in general, quite adept at predicting the behavior of others in the immediate moment and the short-term. This is part of our heritage as extraordinarily social beings. People also, in general, try to avoid harming their neighbors, their friends, their families. At the personal level, the costs of harm are quite clear.

This book is about scaling this inborn insight to larger groups of people, across longer timeframes, and in compassion towards people who are not our immediate neighbors or acquaintances.

To do no harm requires a willingness to observe closely, to think, and to plan ahead. It also requires flexibility and adaptability in the face of constant change. It requires an ability to understand and participate in real, grounded relationships based in sympathy and fellow feeling. Finally, it requires accountability in ourselves toward our impact on the present and the future. To do no harm is to aim toward significant, positive, lasting change.

Section I

Principle, Project, and Practice

The Principle

The Project

The Practice

Two modes of effective Do No Harm Practice

The Principle

The "Do No Harm" principle, first put down by a Hippocratic writer 2400 years ago, has a long history as a basis and guide for ethical behavior in several traditions.

The wellbeing of the people we are trying to help must be the focus of our efforts to help them.

In other words, the cure must not be worse than the disease and the intervention must not destroy (or harm) that which it is meant to help.

Wellbeing is not some brief thing, existing only in the moment we offer assistance. It is not a photograph of a school or a rebuilt house or a successful surgery or of feeding a child. The principle of "do no harm" demands that we consider their wellbeing apart from *and beyond* our intervention.

Misunderstanding the principle of "do no harm"

Two misunderstandings of the "do no harm" principle have caused harm. These confusions are not to be taken lightly.

First, some believe the principle focuses solely on the potential harm and negative impacts of an intervention. They believe the principle is unconcerned with how to improve a situation or with positive impacts. This is completely mistaken.

The principle of do no harm is a holistic perspective that is equally focused on both harm and benefit. The concept of "harm" in the phrase has no meaning without an effort to provide benefit. The warning of the words "do no harm" reminds us to think before rushing to do good, not to stop us from considering the good altogether.

People and organizations who claim to be using do no harm as a principle in this way miss the important and crucial positive factors that exist. This ignorance leads to interventions that disable and destroy local capacities. This too is harm of the worst sort.

Second, some have claimed the principle "do no harm" justifies their avoidance of action. They have concluded that if there is the slightest possibility that they may do harm, then they should do nothing at all. Again, this is completely mistaken. We do not avoid harm by failing to act. Doing nothing when people are in need is clearly to do harm.

The principle "do no harm" first appeared in *Epidemics*, (Book I, Chapter 2), one of the earlier works in the Hippocratic corpus. The writings are as much about how to be a physician in the moral, social, and behavioral sense as they are about techniques of treating disease. Those early authors recognized that the how mattered as much as, if not more, than what they did.

The Project

The Do No Harm Project began in 1993 with a question¹.

How may assistance be provided in conflict settings in ways that, rather than feeding into and exacerbating the conflict, help local people disengage from the violence that surrounds them and begin to develop alternative systems for addressing the problems that underlie the conflict?

In other words, how do we make sure that the wellbeing of the people we are trying to help is the focus of our efforts to help them? How do we do no harm, as the principle demands of us? Over the past twenty years, we have answered that question in ways that went far beyond what we imagined at the outset. We know how.

A number of international and local NGOs, UN, and Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies collaborated to learn more about how assistance that is given in conflict settings interacts with the conflicts. The collaboration was based on gathering and comparing the field experience of many different programs in many different contexts. Through this, we were able to identify some common and very clear patterns that hold across complex circumstances showing how interventions and conflict interact.

These lessons and patterns apply to all interventions and can be used by any of those who "intervene": humanitarian, development, peacebuilding, advocacy, diplomatic, military, government, international, and, most important of all, local.

Misunderstanding the project of Do No Harm

The Do No Harm Project has been misunderstood in precisely the same two ways as the Principle has been. It is clear that from the earliest lessons and the earliest publications, Do No Harm has emphasized attention to the positive and that lack of action causes harm.

Every context has Connectors and not only Dividers. Yet thoughtless interventions often undermine and destroy these Connectors. Do No Harm has always been explicit about the need to be aware of Connectors and to support them.

Do No Harm has also been used to justify inaction, in blatant disregard of the lessons of the Project. Inaction is not less harmful than action—though *thoughtless* action may in fact be more destructive.

Do No Harm has learned how to intervene thoughtfully. The rest of this book details how.

¹ The history of the project and its methodology are in Section IX.

The Practice

How do you put a principle into practice? A principle is a guide to decision making. The practice of Do No Harm is ultimately about decision making in complex environments.

What do you need to know to make good decisions? You need to know the context—you need an accurate-enough map of reality. You need to have a model of change—you need to know how change happens. You need to know what you can do—you need to understand your own power and constraints.

Do No Harm is four simple techniques

- ▶ Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA) reduces the amount of information about the context to a manageable level, while maintaining a focus on the most important factors
- ▶ The ABCs consists of **two** related techniques. Resource Transfers and Messages through the RAFT model how behavior changes context along those factors, again filtering information into a useable flow
- Critical Detail Mapping (CDM) makes project details, criteria, and rationale explicit so that necessary shifts are quick and precise

These four techniques provide us with specific outcomes.

DCA gives us a model of the context against which to test our understanding. Today's model is good enough inasmuch as it helps us to rapidly see change. Today's model is good enough inasmuch as we review it and revise it constantly based on the changes we observe.

The two techniques of the ABCs give us a model of human interaction that explains the changes we see in Dividers and Connectors. They also give us an understanding of how to effect change ourselves through our informed actions.

CDM highlights the decision points of an intervention.

Putting these techniques together provides us with the ability to observe and act in a rapidly changing context in near real time. We see the important factors, we know why they are changing, we know what we can do and where.

Change in a context is inevitable and decisions must be made both in planning an intervention and in response to the social dynamics. Responses must fit reality or they can make a situation worse. Navigating demanding and attention grabbing events is difficult. Do No Harm techniques make it easier.

Two modes of effective Do No Harm Practice

There are two distinct modes of Do No Harm practice that have both proven highly effective. Do No Harm can be used *adaptively* to respond to changes in a context and it can be used *predictively* to anticipate changes in a context.

Adaptive Do No Harm

The adaptive user of Do No Harm adapts to a dynamic context as it changes based on constant updating of a Dividers and Connectors Analysis.

Adaptive use of Do No Harm looks at the ways the social dynamics in a context are changing by paying close and sustained attention to Dividers and Connectors. It then evaluates the effect an intervention is having in order to shift the intervention to have more positive and fewer negative impacts.

The adaptive use, seeing changes occurring in the context, aims to use the intervention to control change. It examines an intervention through Critical Detail Mapping, and then uses the patterns of the ABCs to change the intervention in order to have a conscious impact on the social dynamics.

Adaptive use is by far the more common of the two and can be considered the standard way effective practitioners use Do No Harm.

Predictive Do No Harm

The predictive user of Do No Harm looks ahead and predicts outcomes of actions and behaviors by thorough knowledge of the ABCs and their patterns.

Predictive use looks at the social dynamics in a context through Dividers and Connectors, maps out potential interventions using Critical Detail Mapping, and uses the patterns of the ABCs to predict how a particular intervention will have an impact on the Dividers and Connectors.

The people who use Do No Harm predictively often use it to build scenarios, so that when circumstances change (and they always do), they have several options already mapped out. They can shift as the context shifts because they have anticipated the changes in the situation.

Adaptation and Prediction

Neither method is to be preferred; both provide excellent results in complex contexts. Because they are different, however, they lead to differing tactics in implementation. Teams should be explicit as to which mode they are using.

Section II

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm

I: Interventions become part of the context

II: Contexts are characterized by Dividers and Connectors

III: Interventions interact with Dividers and Connectors, either making them worse or making them better

IV: Actions and Behaviors have Consequences (ABCs)

V:The details of interventions matter

VI:There are always Options

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm

Simple rules lead to complex behavior. Complex rules lead to stupid behavior.

Do No Harm's lessons are simple. Their implications are vast. These six lessons, learned by the Do No Harm Project, form the basis for our understanding of how interventions have impacts. They outline the factors that together afford a coherent understanding of a context and the interaction of an intervention with that context.

The Six Lessons:

- 1. Whenever an intervention of any sort enters a context it becomes part of the context.
- 2. All contexts are characterized by Dividers and Connectors.
- 3. All interventions interact with both, either making them worse or making them better.
- 4. Actions and Behaviors have Consequences, which create impacts.
- 5. The details of interventions matter.
- 6. There are always Options.

The following pages explain each lesson in depth.

Do No Harm built these lessons in two Frameworks as a way to make them practical and useable by everybody. The Frameworks each offer a slightly different process for going through these lessons in ways that have been found useful.

Do No Harm does not, and cannot, make things simpler. Rather, Do No Harm helps us to understand more clearly the complexity of the conflict environments where we work. It helps us see how decisions we make affect intergroup relationships and to anticipate the likely interactions of assistance with a context. It helps us think of different ways of doing things to have better effects.

In the learning process of Do No Harm, it became clear that many people have an intuitive understanding of these lessons. They make good decisions without the formal process of Do No Harm.

At one impressive organization, I suggested that they did not need formal training in Do No Harm as they seemed to already understand and live the principle. One of the senior staff said, "Formal Do No Harm training advanced us by three years in our understanding of how to do our work. That is why Do No Harm is important to us."

Key Publications about Do No Harm

Do No Harm: How Aid Supports Peace—Or War Mary B. Anderson (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

Options for Aid in Conflict ed. Mary B. Anderson (CDA, 2001)

Getting it Right: Making Corporate-Community Relations Work Mary B. Anderson and Luc Zandvliet (Greenleaf Publishing, 2009)

Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid Mary B. Anderson, Dayna Brown, and Isabella Jean (CDA, 2012)

Opting Out of War: Strategies to Prevent Violent Conflict Mary B. Anderson and Marshall Wallace (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013)

Do No Harm Trainers' Manual Marshall Wallace and Nicole Goddard (CDA, 2014)

Do No Harm Guidance Notes²

Do No Harm and Peacebuilding: Five Lessons (2009)

Using Dividers and Connectors (2010)

Gender and Do No Harm (2010)

Peacebuilding and Do No Harm (2011)

Evaluation and Do No Harm (2012)

Do No Harm and Risk (2012)

Developing Options (2012)

Human Rights and Do No Harm (2013)

² The Guidance Notes are available at www.cdacollaborative.org.

Lesson 1: Interventions become part of the context

Whenever an intervention of any sort enters a context it becomes part of the context

One colleague calls this "Heisenberg's Lesson" after the physicist's famous rule of quantum mechanics that the observer is part of the experiment. That an observer is also a part of the context, shaping it and in turn being shaped, is a truth now widely accepted across professions and endeavors. How much more impact do we have if we are not mere observers but also active participants in a context we enter?

An intervention is intended to have an impact. This is the point. We want to create change. As a result, we cannot claim separation from the context.

Lesson 1 tells us two things. The first is that we do create change. This is a hopeful sign! Of course, we also create ripples of change that we did not intend.

The second is that if we intervene, we need to think hard about our impacts.

If we are trying to have an impact on a context, then it follows that we should try to have the impact that we intend. We want to make sure we are having the intended positive impact. Further, because we are creating change, we need to pay attention to the other impacts we are having apart from our intentions. But, we cannot understand any of our impacts if we do not know some precise things about the context. We need, therefore, to do a context analysis.

A context may be complex. We cannot ever know everything. So the question is "what exactly do we need to know in order to do good work?" This is the subject of the second lesson of Do No Harm.

There is no such thing as neutrality

What do I mean by this outrageous statement?

No intervention is seen as neutral by people in the context.

Interveners may strive to follow a principle of neutrality (and often they should). Nonetheless, local people in a context do not experience our actions and behaviors as having neutral impacts. Their experience is that our words about neutrality do not match their observations about the impacts.

The principle of impartiality, by contrast, is often readily understood and accepted.

This is a caution about the language we use to describe our interventions and our principles. As Section VI on Messages makes clear, how we behave matters much more than the words we use. When there is a disconnect between words and actions, when we say one thing but appear to act in another, we lose trust and respect because we are not showing trust and respect.

Lesson 2: Contexts are characterized by Dividers and Connectors

All contexts are characterized by both Dividers and Connectors

All contexts are characterized by two driving forces of social dynamics (sometimes referred to by users as "realities"): Dividers and Connectors.

- → There are issues, factors, and elements in societies which *divide* people from each other and serve as *sources of tension*.
- → There are also **always** issues, factors, and elements which *connect* people and can serve as *local capacities for peace*.

Outside interventions will always interact with both Dividers and Connectors. Components of an intervention can have a *negative* impact, exacerbating and worsening dividers or undermining or delegitimizing connectors. An intervention can likewise have a *positive* impact, strengthening connectors or serving to reduce dividers.

Understanding what divides people is critical to understanding how interventions can feed into and support these forces or lessen them.

Understanding what connects people despite conflict is critical to understanding how interventions reinforce and support, or undermine, those factors that can mitigate conflict or constitute positive forces for harmony in society.

Dividers tend to be more obvious than Connectors in contexts of conflict. Dividers are usually flashier, drawing more attention, especially the attention of outsiders. Connectors often go unnoticed for three reasons. First, where there is violence, the danger of the violence focuses attention on itself so other factors simply are not recognized or acknowledged. Second, where people are involved in connecting activities in situations of violence, they often fear exposure because it may cause them to become targets of those who would reinforce Dividers. Finally, Connectors remain hidden because so many of them look just like "normal" life, which is exactly what they are. Normal life is full of subtle connectors and local capacities for peace that maintain functional harmony among neighbors.

Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA)

DCA is a context analysis technique that focuses attention on the key factors that, experience shows, we need to understand in order to think about the impacts on social dynamics of any intervention. Organizing our experience into categories offers the opportunity for greater depth of understanding. People who use Do No Harm have seen that organizing a broad context into these two categories provides significant understanding and insight. (See Section III.)

Lesson 3: Interventions interact with Dividers and Connectors

All interventions interact with both Dividers and Connectors, either making them worse or making them better

This is the inescapable fact of intervention. As we become part of a context, we have an effect on factors in that context. Do No Harm has found that in practice this means interventions have impacts on both Dividers and Connectors. This happens no matter what. However, we have control over whether our interactions are negative or positive. We also can change what we are doing if impacts are negative in order to change the path of the impact to be positive.

Negative Impacts

The principle of "do no harm" warns us to pay special attention to the negative impacts of interventions when we are attempting to do good.

There are two types of negative impact. First, interventions can make Dividers worse, raising tensions or increasing the likelihood of conflict. Second, an intervention can reduce Connectors, interfering with or blocking the ability of people to mitigate conflict. Reducing the scope of normal life and the space where it takes place is another way to decrease Connectors.

Positive Impacts

Because Connectors are often overlooked, Do No Harm tells us to pay special attention to the positive impacts of interventions. Dividers can be reduced by addressing the tensions they create or preventing them from breaking into conflict. Connectors can be supported, providing space, time, and resources for people to work on their own conflicts and normal life can be assisted.

We have seen that people in a conflict situation tend to reduce the scope of their lives, shrinking and narrowing their routines to areas where safety is more, if not completely, assured. This is not normal life and it reduces Connectors.

We all share the desire for a life free from considerations of conflict. Wondering how and if we or our children will make it safely through the day is a desperate way to live. The desire to get back to a life of functional harmony is a driving force in the lives of many people in conflict. Looking for what people have retained of normalcy is a clue for interveners about the Connectors their efforts could reinforce and help strengthen.

Lesson 4: Actions and Behaviors have Consequences

Actions and Behaviors are the mechanisms whereby interventions have Consequences, or impacts

Interventions, by their nature, bring in two types of things.

Resources as a result of the Action of intervention

They always bring in resources. The "action" of a intervention is applying resources into a context. Resources are generally considered the chief method and mechanism for creating change. While they are important, they are just one of the two mechanisms.

Messages sent by Behavior

Interventions also always bring in people, who demonstrate their values through their "behavior". People send messages through their conduct and by the way they behave with others. These messages are the other key method and mechanism for creating impact on social dynamics.

We send more messages through our behavior than we do with our words. Our conduct reflects our mindset. Our mindsets can be dividing mindsets or connecting mindsets. Each is characterized by a set of patterns that affect those around us.

When we are operating from a dividing mindset, we tend to see the world in a certain way; change is a zero-sum game and we cannot trust others. We communicate this attitude, this message, to the people with whom we interact. They pick up this attitude and reflect it back at us. Further, they take the mindset into their own interactions with others in their environment and, through this, make Dividers worse.

By contrast, a connecting mindset is based in trust, trustworthiness, and transparency. It presents a welcome open counter to the closed mindset of conflict. We can send positive messages through our behaviors and these can in turn affect the ways people interact both with us and with others around them.

Do No Harm mapped these two mechanisms and found common patterns that repeat in all contexts. We can identify them, see them in action, and track the ways they have an impact on the context. Identifying and making use of these patterns is how we control our impacts.

The ABCs

All interventions involve both Actions and Behaviors that interact with one another. All interventions are made up of Resource Transfers and Messages, which create impacts. (See Sections V and VI.)

Lesson 5: The details of interventions matter

Your choices matter

The details are where impacts come from, not the whole. An intervention is a series of choices before it becomes actions and activities. People make these choices and people can change them. People make decisions about what to do and how to do it.

Choices are the details of our work, our projects, and our programs. We decide who to work with, where, and when. We decide who our staff will be, what criteria we will use to hire them, and how they will do their work. We decide on our partners and how we will select them. We decide how we will interact, both formally and informally, with local authorities and their structures. We decide what the actual resources will be that we introduce into a situation and how many, how often, and to whom. We decide how we will do all of these things, and more.

By analyzing the details of an intervention—our choices—we can determine how Actions and Behaviors have impacts on the context.

Remember that choices constrain actions, limiting the way we perceive the situation, and limiting our responses.

At the same time, it is crucial to remember that we set these limits! They are not imposed on us by the situation or by facts outside of us or by other people. Every choice can be remade in order to change the impact we are having.

Critical Detail Mapping (CDM)

The tool for examining the details is Critical Detail Mapping. Not every detail matters everywhere. Do No Harm has found that some are critical in any situation. CDM provides a way to map intervention criteria that highlights the most significant. (See Section IV)

CDM also calls attention to which constraints actually have an impact on an intervention and are important to understand and chart.

Lesson 6:There are always Options

You can always do better

Options grow out of understanding our Actions and Behaviors.

- → Generating options is done better by teams.
- → We can make new decisions. Nothing is irrevocable.

There has never been a perfect project and there never will be. We can always do what we are doing right now even better. We can always make new decisions, better decisions.

There are always options.

When we identify a problem, we have the responsibility to find options. If we see that we are doing harm, either reinforcing Dividers or undermining Connectors, then we must change what we are doing so that we do not cause that harm.

Do No Harm does not allow us to shrug and claim powerlessness while people suffer. We can and must change.

When we identify local capacity, we have the responsibility to support it. Ultimately, people are responsible for their own lives in their context. We need to respect that and assist people to reach their own goals.

Do No Harm shows us the way.

The patterns of the ABCs (see Sections V and VI) are the key. When we identify a change in a situation, we can identify the pattern of our Actions and Behaviors that affect that change. We can then use that understanding of the pattern to make the necessary changes in our own actions and behaviors, to result in a better program that is more responsive to and supportive of the wellbeing of the people with whom we are working.

Change is always possible, and we can lead it. Options are the lifeblood of Do No Harm and of all good work.

Adaptability is one of the key underpinnings of Doing No Harm. People who study and practice Do No Harm are adaptable. They have a larger store of options because they have already thought about them and weighed their impacts. They have assessed the context, they know the critical details of their own activities and behaviors, and they consistently pay attention to the patterns in the social dynamics around them.

Sections III - VIII

Do No Harm Techniques

Four Do No Harm Techniques What is a Technique?

Section III: Using Dividers and Connectors

Section IV: Using Critical Detail Mapping

Section V: Using the ABCs: Resource Transfers

Section VI: Using the ABCs: Messages through the RAFT

Section VII: The Do No Harm Frameworks

Section VIII: Options & Opportunities

Four Do No Harm Techniques

Context + Intervention = Impact

We cannot know our impact without also understanding both the context and the intervention (often a program or project). We need to understand all three components.

Do No Harm consists of four techniques that can be structured in two Frameworks. The techniques provide skills for understanding the relationship of an intervention to the context in which it is attempting to have an impact and guide change.

The main tools of Do No Harm are two frameworks, the Relationship Framework and the Action Framework. These place the Six Lessons together into a practical format that people can use. The two Frameworks each serve a different purpose and grew out of different experiences, though they cover the same information. The Frameworks will be detailed in Section VII.

The Frameworks are built out of four specific techniques that complement and work together.

- → Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA)
- → Critical Detail Mapping (CDM)
- → ABCs: Resource Transfers
- → ABCs: Messages through the RAFT

The techniques help us to gather the information we need to make good decisions in complex situations. Each of them separately offers considerable insight into an aspect of the context or the intervention. Together, they provide the best way to understand what we need to understand to avoid doing harm and to support local capacities for peace.

The sections that follow will begin with discussions of the concepts involved in the techniques. Following each set of concepts will be an explanation of the technique and how to use it.

The context analysis of Do No Harm is Dividers and Connectors Analysis.

The intervention analysis is Critical Detail Mapping.

The impact analysis is done through two similar techniques, ABCs: Resource Transfers and ABCs: Messages through the RAFT.

What is a Technique?

A technique is a simple method or procedure for applying a specific skill. A hammer might seem like a simple tool, yet most of us do not really know how to use one. Watch a master carpenter knock in a nail with two or three powerful, well-aimed blows, while an apprentice struggles to knock in a nail with six or eight—and an amateur misses the nail as many times as he or she strikes it. There is a technique to using a hammer correctly and well.

In the case of a mental technique, it is a skill for transforming observations into information and information into knowledge. Techniques are the product of experience. As people struggle to master new knowledge and skills, they pass down the methods that work best.

Building blocks

Techniques are the building blocks of competence in any field. When we can perform the techniques of a field quickly and with a high degree of skill, then we are on our way to mastering that field. What skills do you need to be competent in your field?

Learning

Any skill or field can be broken down into a series of techniques, each valuable on its own, that add up to something greater. When we break down a skill into its various techniques, we can learn the skill more quickly and competently because we focus on the important pieces one at a time.

When we try to grasp a mental tool or framework all at once and miss or ignore the building blocks and shortchange the techniques, we are as inept as the novice with a hammer. Either we never use the tool to its full potential or we discard it altogether as "useless".

Practice

We get better at any technique through practice. The four techniques of Do No Harm are separate skills to be practiced and mastered. Each one does a specific thing.

Tools

Mental frameworks and tools, like the Do No Harm Frameworks, are several techniques working together to produce a greater understanding. Learn to apply each technique. Then bring them together to build actionable knowledge that is greater than the sum of the parts.

Everything worth doing requires more than one technique. In order to be good at what we do, we need to know more than just the one, or else we become like a person who only knows how to use a hammer, but not a saw or a wrench: every problem looks a nail.

Section III

Using Dividers and Connectors

Dividers and Connectors as Categories

Understanding Dividers and Connectors

Using Dividers and Connectors

Common Misunderstandings about Dividers and Connectors

How to do a Dividers/Connectors Analysis

Key Questions to unlock Dividers and Connectors

Checklist for Dividers/Connectors Analysis

Why Dividers and Connectors Work So Well

Do No Harm SAVES: Categories for Disaggregating a Context

Other Categories for Disaggregating a Context

A Way to Track Dividers and Connectors

How to Prioritize Dividers and Connectors

Dividers and Connectors as Categories

Organizing our experience into categories offers the opportunity for greater depth of understanding. Users of Do No Harm have learned that organizing a broad context into as few as two categories makes a significant difference in understanding and insight.

Using the two basic categories of Dividers and Connectors provide us with a depth of understanding of the contexts where we work and of the impacts of our work on those contexts. By continually analyzing a situation according to the issues and factors that divide individuals and groups from each other and the issues and factors that connect individuals and groups makes a significant difference in our understanding, insight, and, ultimately, our effectiveness. Attention to the two factors gives us a comprehensive and practical map of a context.

Dividers are . . .

Dividers are those things or factors that increase tensions between people or groups and may lead to destructive competition.

Connectors are . . .

Connectors are those things or factors that reduce tensions between people or groups and lead to and undergird constructive collaboration. We also use the phrase "local capacities for peace".

The two concepts can be elaborated, but users of Do No Harm say that these definitions work well enough to start applying our attention to social dynamics of the situations around us. This is the necessary first step toward applying the other lessons of Do No Harm.

Caution

Any single factor cannot be both a Divider and a Connector.

People will sometimes identify something—such as the environment or land or business—as both a Divider and a Connector. But this kind of identification does not help guide program design or implementation. In order to be able to predict how an intervention is going to worsen or lessen conflict, it is necessary to be specific.

The question to ask is: What aspects of this divide people? What aspects connect people's interests?

Once you understand exactly which things are the dividing ones and how, and which are the connecting ones and how, then you have the information you need to develop an intervention that does not reinforce the dividers and that does strengthen and buttress the connectors.

Context and Conflict Analysis

Some people suggest that a clear distinction needs to be made between "context" and "conflict" analyses. Is this so?

A conflict analysis is one type of context analysis for a specific topic, just as an economic analysis or a political analysis is. All of these analyses (and others) use different tools in order to arrive at a specific analysis. None of these sectoral analyses covers every topic.

It is true that a context analysis can seem overwhelmingly broad. After all, everything can go into a context analysis. How do you know what is important or not? Many of the available tools in use today for context analysis attempt to be all-inclusive and, as such, they are ill-suited for generating a practical understanding. The tools themselves are too broad. This is because they do not differentiate what is important for the purposes of a given intervention.

This is why all analysis tools should have clear and well-defined categories that get at what is important for the specific analysis of impacts on that context. A *conflict* analysis tool, therefore, should focus on what is important to know about the conflict so that the analyst (or the analyst's organization) can have an impact on the *conflict*. By the same token, a *context* analysis should focus on what is important to know about the context in order to have impacts on it.

Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA) is a context analysis tool, not a conflict analysis tool. In the broad collaborative learning of the early Do No Harm Project, experience consistently showed that understanding the two factors—what issues divide people and how people's interests and goals are connected—provides a comprehensive, but practical, map of a context on which interventions have impacts. Social dynamics exist in all contexts where people interact.

Limiting DCA to conflict situations or limiting the factors to be considered (i.e. treating DCA as a conflict analysis tool) binds it unnecessarily. Indeed, DCA often reveals elements of a context that are not about conflict per se, but do contribute to the tensions or connections people feel.

The results of a DCA can be refined, if necessary, by adding subsequent categories or filters. Using a conflict analysis to overlay the Dividers and Connectors can be a useful way to understand key driving factors of a conflict.

In one workshop with local staff from a few organizations, after doing a really good DCA of the local context, I told the group what a good job of analysis they had done. One participant responded, "I thought analysis was hard. I thought you had to go to school to learn how to do analysis. Dividers and Connectors is easy!"

Understanding Dividers and Connectors

- → Dividers are things we want to stop. Connectors are things we want to support.
- → People are not Dividers or Connectors. The things people do with and to one another are Dividers and Connectors. Dividers and Connectors are the things people talk about and think about and the way they act with each other.
- → Not everything that is wrong in a community is a Divider. We have a tendency to consider things that make us feel bad as Dividers. Do different people or groups feels differently about those things? Are they causing tensions between individuals or groups?
- → Some Connectors can be the negative things in a community that people agree need to change. When people work together to overcome bad things, they are using the bad thing as a Connector.
- → Look out for weak Connectors. We often perceive weak Connectors as Dividers. Ask yourself is there something I want to stop or reduce? If you don't want to stop something, but want to start or support something, then you have a weak Connector.
- ➡ We put the things we see into categories, but often ignore those we do not observe. Every context also has implicit factors, those things everyone "knows" or the things that make up "normal", everyday life. Stay especially alert to the "normal" things that connect.
- → Dividers and Connectors change over time. Use them to pay attention to changes in social dynamics.
- ➡ Dividers and Connectors exist in all contexts, even those that are not explicitly in conflict.
- ➡ Dividers and Connectors Analysis is effective precisely because it has just two categories. Do not overcomplicate.

Choosing your tactics

There is a tendency for our tactics to follow certain lines depending on how we have categorized something. There is an inherent implication for our options depending on whether we think something is a Divider or a Connector.

Are you trying to stop something? Or are you trying to support or build something? (If everybody is trying to stop the same thing, then the effort to stop it may well prove to be a Connector!)

Using Dividers and Connectors

- → Track Dividers and Connectors over time. They change. They get better or worse. You must track this! Update your understanding of the context regularly.
- Teams do analysis better than individuals do. Always check your understanding.
- ➡ Who is divided? Who gains from conflict? Cui bono?
- **→** Which Dividers are *dangerous*? Which ones will lead to violence?
- **→** Which Connectors can *you support?*
- → New Connectors cannot be built or created by outsiders. People will make their own decisions about how and where they want to be connected.
- ➡ Don't rely on "hope lines". Don't hope that a new activity will turn out to be a Connector. Be aware of the already existing Connectors and support them.
- → A specific Divider cannot be addressed simply by developing a "connector" to counter it. What are you trying to stop? Figure out a way to stop it.
- → Don't be romantic about Connectors. Don't overestimate people's desire to be connected. Be honest. If, for example, working together does not increase people's sense of connectedness, then working together isn't a Connector.
- → All mixed institutions are not Connectors. If they are segregated inside, the people involved in them may be experiencing constant and rising tensions.
- ➡ Before imagining other, new things you can do, look at what you are doing now. Fix the things you are already doing in order to ensure positive, not negative, impacts. Then look for other opportunities.
- **➡** Be specific! This is important. *What are people doing?*

If you think something is a divider, ask: *how* does it divide people? Why is it important? What is it about that factor that divides people?

Similarly, connectors and local capacities for peace should be questioned in the same way. They should not be over generalized.

Common Misunderstandings about Dividers and Connectors

Assumptions about Dividers

How does a Divider divide people? Don't assume!

"Religion", for example, is often named as a divider simply because there are two different groups in a region (e.g. Christians and Muslims). Yet religion itself is often not the source of tension. How is the religion, its concepts and scripture and values, being used *by people?*

Assumptions about Connectors

How does a Connector connect people? Don't romanticize!

"Women" or "women's groups" are often identified as connectors, as are "economic interests" or "infrastructure". While in some contexts women reach across conflict lines, in others women insist on revenge for their loved ones' suffering. Infrastructure or natural resources (such as a river) may connect people physically, but may be being used in ways that create tension. A marketplace may encourage people to meet, but they can just as easily be segregated.

"Our organization is a Connector/Divider"

Do not include yourself in your Dividers/Connectors Analysis. It makes it extraordinarily difficult for you to see where you are having an impact on other Dividers and Connectors.

Most people when considering themselves automatically put themselves and their organization into the Connector category. Once they do this, it makes it impossible to see the organization's impacts honestly.

Critical Detail Mapping is where you get to discuss your own interventions.

"We can create Connectors to bring people together"

Do No Harm has seen many attempts to create new Connectors in post-conflict situations. This usually takes the form of joint economic interaction between groups formerly in conflict. This assumes that economic incentives are enough to overcome Dividers. Unfortunately, this does not prove to be the case when the activities are brand new, having no historical basis. These new initiatives do not work to reduce tensions or inspire greater connection.

When funding and outside attention lapse, these activities often collapse.

"That person or group is a Divider/Connector"

By identifying a person as a Divider or Connector, it becomes difficult to respond to that person's behavior. We know that warriors become peacemakers, guerrillas become farmers, politicians become environmentalists. Peace occurs because people change their behavior. If we label people, we interpret their behavior through that label and we may miss changes that signal opportunity.

"But Nelson Mandela is a Connector"

Nelson Mandela became a symbol and as a *symbol* he was used as a Connector to promote peace. Nelson Mandela the person did in fact become quite adept at using his symbolic presence. However, as a *person*, he was not a Connector.

"Hamas is both a Divider and a Connector"

No, Hamas does things, some of which are Dividers and some of which are Connectors. Indeed, it is especially difficult working in such a situation where an organization like Hamas creates an agenda which contains both Dividers and Connectors, so that by supporting some Connectors, one appears to be supporting the full agenda. The challenge in working in a situation where an organization like Hamas (or the Israeli Defense Forces) is also operating is how to do our work in such a way that, first, we avoid supporting the Dividers and, second, we support Connectors in that environment without also supporting or being seen to support Hamas' agenda.

This is not easy!

Weak Connectors are not Dividers

In Myanmar, a group of development workers realized that the Village Development Committee and the teachers at the local school did not get along with one another. They quickly classified this as a Divider.

The tactical implications were clear, but difficult to implement. How could they help reduce this Divider? What exactly would they be reducing or stopping?

They reframed the problem instead as a weak Connector. They then understood they had an opportunity to build something. When they brought this understanding to the VDC, the parents in the VDC immediately agreed to rethink their relationship with the teachers and to repair it. The local NGO agreed to find ways to support the relationship building process.

In this way a Connector was *seen*, then supported and increased.

How to do a Dividers/Connectors Analysis

With a team:

Step I: Brainstorm to create lists of Dividers and Connectors

Use the Key Questions or other appropriate questions. Use one or more of these options.

- **→** Plenary
 - o Everybody shares ideas together and the ideas are collected on a flip chart
- → Buzz Groups
 - o In groups of two or three, write down ideas
 - o Come together in plenary and capture ideas on flip chart for discussion
- **→** Individual
 - o Write down the three (or five) most important Dividers (or Connectors)
 - o Create a headline (or title) for each
 - o Write one sentence why it is important
 - Come up with an indicator for telling if the Divider (or Connector) is getting Better or Worse

Note:You can use additional categories to help the brainstorming process. Ask yourself if you have considered each category and the potential Dividers and Connectors in each of them. Ask the team if there are other categories that should be used to capture experience and jog memories.

These are three common sets of categories used by Do No Harm practitioners³.

PESTLE	Geography
Political	Village
Economic	District
Social	Province
Technological	Nation
Legal	Region
Environmental	
	Political Economic Social Technological Legal

³ The SAVES categories were developed by Do No Harm practitioners. See further description below. I am not sure where PESTLE was developed. It appears most often in my experience in US government department analyses (though by no means in all). Some Do No Harm users appreciate it for providing types of Structures and Institutions.

Step II: Discuss

Are these the right Dividers (and Connectors)? How do you know these are Dividers? Be specific. How would you know if these changed? How would you know if they got Better or Worse? Figuring out *how* you know when change takes place is a way to develop indicators.

Use the discussion to avoid making assumptions.

Step III: Prioritize

Which are the most important or dangerous Dividers? Which are the most important or strongest, or best potential Connectors?

Allow local staff to take the lead here.

Step IV: Options and Opportunities

How can these Dividers (or Connectors) be affected? What can your team or organization do to have a positive impact?

What are you currently doing that is having a negative impact? Why is that negative impact happening? What can you change to affect the impact?

Can your Options and Opportunities be linked to the indicators you developed in Step II? How will you monitor changes?

If your changes do not have the effect you anticipate, do you have a back-up Option? Do you have a process for learning why a change has not had the impact you expect?

Teams always have differences in opinion

When the analysis of a context is done, we always find that there are different opinions among a team. While this can lead to conflict in the group, this difference is inevitable. People have been exposed to different pieces of information and at different times. People have different assumptions about the information they have gathered. Often there are pieces of information that are missing. Teams just haven't had the time to collect them!

These different opinions should not be a stumbling block, but rather seen as an opportunity to gather new pieces of information from the other participants. This process should also highlight where there is inadequate information and offer some ideas about what needs to be learned.

Key Questions to unlock Dividers and Connectors

- 1. What factors in this situation divide people or create social fragmentation?
- 2. What factors in this situation connect people or support social cohesion?
- 3. What are the current threats to peace and stability?
- 4. What are the current supports to peace and stability?
- 5. What are the most dangerous factors in this situation in terms of violence or conflict? How dangerous is this specific Divider?
- 6. What are the strongest factors in this situation preventing or mitigating violence or conflict? How strong is this Connector?
- 7. What could cause tension to rise in this situation?
- 8. What could cause tension to decrease or lessen in this situation?
- 9. What factors in this situation make people feel helpless?
- 10. What factors in this situation make people feel like they have options or a sense of efficacy?
- 11. What brings people together in this situation?
- 12. Where do people meet? What do people do together?
- 13. What identities do people use to separate themselves into smaller and smaller groups?
- 14. What identities do people have that bring them together in larger and larger groups?
- 15. What do people in this situation compete over?
- 16. Where in this situation do people collaborate and cooperate?
- 17. Does this Connector have potential?
- 18. What does normal life look like?

Always ask questions 1 and 2. Use questions 5 and 6 to consider, evaluate, and prioritize your answers.

Checklist for Dividers/Connectors Analysis

- 1. Did you do the analysis with a team?
- 2. Who are the actors?
- 3. How likely is open conflict?
- 4. Did you find at least one Divider/Connector for each category in SAVES (or whichever set of categories you've used)? Why not?
- 5. Did you prioritize which Dividers were most dangerous?
- 6. Did you prioritize the Connectors your team will work with?
- 7. Did you allow the local staff to lead the prioritization part of the discussion? Why not?
- 8. Did you determine Options for the issues you raised? Why not?
- 9. Do your Options build on the categories from the RAFT? Why not?
- 10. Do your Options build on the categories from the Resource Transfers? Why not?

Red Flags

Options

- 11. Did you find very few or even no Connectors? Stop. Try again.
- 12. Did you label your own organization or one of its activities a Connector? Stop. Try again.
- 13. Do your Options require that you create a new Connector? Stop. Try again.
- 14. Did you label an individual person as a Divider or as a Connector? Go deeper.

The Future

- 15. Did you set a date or time for your next Dividers/Connectors Analysis? Why not?
- 16. Did you create a list outlining how you will know if Dividers or Connectors change? Why not?

Why Dividers and Connectors Work So Well

Why does Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA) work so well for analyzing social dynamics?

They are simple, easy to remember and observe, quick to use, and they have real, practical descriptive power. They are also categories that we can use as guides for decision making and action. There are three characteristics of Dividers and Connectors as categories that make this possible.

They are grounded in everyday experience

Everybody has encountered Dividers and Connectors in their lives. The concepts capture a central understanding within all of our relationships. We can be moving toward people, groups, identities, and improving and increasing our interaction with them. Or we can be moving away from and reducing interaction with people, groups, and identities. We feel heightened tension and stress when we cannot escape.

Dividers and Connectors fit our lived experience. The concepts resonate with us.

They are not too many categories

Having just two categories is another part of the power of Dividers and Connectors Analysis. Fewer categories increase speed, foster conversation, and enforce a useful level of specificity.

Speed. Two categories allow for very rapid orientation, which is vital in complex contexts, where we need to be making and testing decisions quickly.

Fewer categories let people process lots of information in short periods of time. Users of DCA do not need to spend a lot of time figuring out how to categorize an observation; they spend more time acting and testing their observations. By thinking quickly, they adapt to imperfect analysis—which all analysis is, no matter how deep—and refine it as they interact with the environment.

Conversation and getting to Specifics. Fewer categories facilitate conversation and constructive argument. Information is shared rapidly when everybody agrees on—and can remember—the basic categories. Where disagreements about interpretation arise, arguments are constrained, and fewer categories encourage people to be specific. Instead of asking, "where should we put this observation?", users ask a different type of question altogether:

- → What is it about this factor that makes me think it is a divider?
- ➡ What is it about this factor that makes you think it is a connector?

- → How do I suggest that we address this factor, taking into consideration that I think it falls on the divider side for these reasons?
- **➡** What tactics or interventions do I propose and why?

This kind of specificity can easily be lost when the number of categories expands. With too many categories, people are less inclined to pursue the assumptions in their own thought or those of their colleagues. Categories then stop aiding understanding and begin to hinder it because they allow us to believe we know things by simply assigning names to them.

They encourage and facilitate Judgement

Judgement is the process of assigning value.

Dividers and Connectors Analysis explicitly uses value-laden categories. Dividers and Connectors engage users' innate capacity for judgement at the very moment of categorization. We begin the process by assigning value to the factors we observe. This encourages prioritization and suggests possible tactics *in the moment*. This capacity to engage and use judgement to increase speed cannot be underestimated.

Typical categories for context analysis often try to exclude judgement at first. They usually attempt to comprehensibly envelop human behavior by categorizing everything into spheres of life, such as "politics, economics, social, environmental" and so on. Doing this requires a step prior to judgement as the categories are intentionally value-free. It is only after slotting behaviors into these types of categories that we can go back and do the cognitive work of judgement. There can be benefits to this approach in some settings, but in complex and dynamic environments, this extra step not only takes valuable time, it does not assist decision making.

By contrast, when people generate lists of factors that divide or connect people they are already doing significant cognitive work judging the state and nature of the relationships they are observing.

- → How dangerous is this?
- → Is this a thing I want to support or is it something I want to stop?

As we apply our judgement over and over, we get better and more discerning. We train our judgment in what is important as we use it. the faster we can do this, the more often we can do it, and the more improvement in our judgement we gain.

Do No Harm SAVES: Categories for Disaggregating a Context

The SAVES set of categories was developed by Do No Harm users because other sets were not as functional for their purposes. People use the following categories for three reasons:

- ➡ They encourage brainstorming. If you consider these categories and what people are doing, you will not leave out something important
- → They help to organize information and to identify relationships
- → They force disaggregation—if something fits in more than one, you can unpack it

Structures and Institutions

How do people organize themselves for action? How do communities organize service provision? What are the structures that people belong to and that organize their activities?

Militias and militaries. Police departments and legal systems. Energy and water supplies.

Attitudes and Actions

How do people treat one another? How do people talk about and to one another? What acts of violence or kindness do people exhibit?

Reconciliation and forgiveness. Grenades and gunfire. Discrimination and insults. Racism or tolerance.

Values and Interests

How do people think of themselves as good people? How do people make use of resources in order to meet their needs?

Is land common or private? Is religion welcoming or aggressive?

Experiences

Do people interpret history selectively or broadly? How do they interpret recent events or their own experiences? How do people interpret the cultures of others around them?

Symbols and Occasions

How do people demonstrate which groups they belong to?

Flags and fireworks. Icons and idols. Colors and costumes. Holidays and holy days.

Other Categories for Disaggregating a Context

Geographical Area

One of the most common way practitioners disaggregate contexts by geography is to "stack" levels of context from smaller areas to larger. For example: Village, District, Province, Nation, Region. By doing this, we can see how factors that are important at one level have significant impact at others, or may turn out to have no relevance or impact at another. Do not assume that issues at smaller levels do not have an impact on larger ones! Small incidents can and do escalate and spill "upward" into major conflicts.

Internal and External Factors

People have many and varied contacts throughout and beyond the regions where they live and work. They always have a perspective on the larger international situation as they perceive it affects them. These contacts and perspectives can alter their perception of local circumstances. People act and react to their local situations in ways that are shaped by and continue to shape the larger regional situation. External factors may or may not be as important to the situation as local factors, but they are among the factors we can consider.

Broad or Narrow Factors

Some factors directly affect large groups of people or all the groups in an area. Others only directly affect a small sub-set of people or just a few groups within an area. By being attentive to how broad or narrow factors are, we might see things others have missed. Some issues may seem to affect only a very narrow group of people and might be easily dismissed, but they may in fact be the chief drivers of conflict.

An agency helping refugees to return in Afghanistan found that the fighting in one district was driven by a dispute between two families over a divorce. As they brought people back, members of those families were pressured to choose sides and join the fight.

These categories do not replace SAVES. Use any and all of the categories in any combination as long as they work to help you describe your context. Do not overcomplicate this, however!

Structures & Institutions

Originally, the first of the SAVES categories was called "Systems & Institutions". Over the years, however, the word "systems" has become weighed down with other meanings and can confuse people encountering SAVES for the first time. The word "structures" now better captures what was originally meant: there are organized groups within every society that contribute to tension through their actions and behaviors or that contribute to local capacities for peace and the mitigation of tension.

A Way to Track Dividers and Connectors

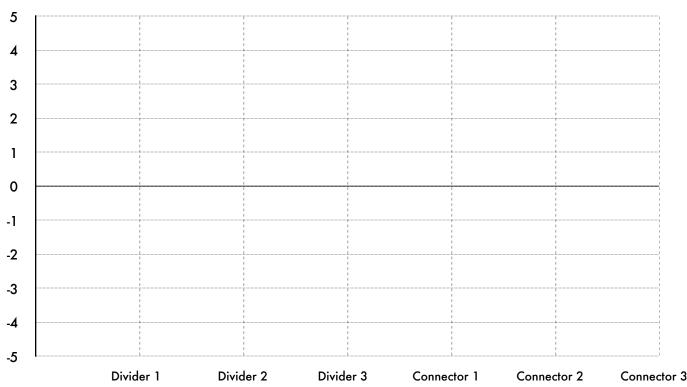
To work with Dividers and Connectors, we need to know which demand our highest attention and which may be less important. Among the best questions we can ask to determine this are "how dangerous is this Divider?" or "how strong is this Connector?"

Many people find that putting a number to the importance of a factor helps them to place it in relation to the others vying for their attention. With your team, rank Dividers and Connectors by importance on a scale from "Very Dangerous" or "Very Strong" (+5) to "Noticeable" (0) down to "Invisible/Nonexistent" (-5).

Dividers and Connectors at 0 are factors that we clearly notice are having an effect. They require some attention toward options. Always ask, "what can we do?" A Divider at 4 or 5 is very dangerous and we expect violence. At the other end of the scale, a weak Connector at -4 might be feeding conflict as well. A Connector at 3 or 4 might not need any of our help—but we want to be aware of it because it might help us! A Divider at -4 would likely not require much attention—but we might still want to re-evaluate it every month to see if it remains safe.

This provides a snapshot in time of how we perceive the importance of the Dividers and Connectors we are tracking. By doing this at regular intervals, we can see how these factors change over time.

Dividers and Connectors Rating Chart



How to Prioritize Dividers and Connectors

I asked an experienced and brilliant development worker and Do No Harm practitioner how he prioritized Dividers and Connectors.

"For Connectors, the most important are those I can work on every day. I spend every day trying to strengthen some of the Connectors.

"For Dividers, I work on what will get my family killed in the next three months."

Dividers and Connectors are not determined or evaluated in the same way.

Dividers and Connectors are not opposites

Dividers point or lead directly toward conflict or violence. Connectors point or lead directly toward cooperation or conflict mitigation. These are very different types of human interaction. We need to use different mechanisms and thinking to determine the relative importance of Dividers in contrast to Connectors.

Dividers are Dangerous

One way into thinking about Dividers is to ask "who will be hurt if this gets worse?"

One reason local practitioners tend to do better Dividers and Connectors Analysis than outsiders is because they have a very direct connection to those who will be harmed by increased tension and conflict. If you can, attempt to personalize the Dividers. Who do you know who will be harmed?

Connectors are Everyday

Connectors can be harder to see or to rank than Dividers because they often appear as "normal" or "quotidian" or "boring". Think about them in two ways. First, ask yourself, "how strong is this Connector? does it need my help?" Some Connectors are actively supported by the community either through intentional reinforcement or by long customary behavior.

Second, ask yourself, "what can I do today to strengthen this Connector?" There is always a way to support, encourage, and engage with other people. Strengthening Connectors is fundamentally about strengthening relationships.

Of course you should also be thinking about the long-term and how to strengthen a Connector over the next six months or a year. You may need to lay groundwork now to reach a later goal. But you will find that efforts to strengthen a Connector in the future always begin with efforts to strengthen a Connector today.

Section IV

Using Critical Detail Mapping

Using Critical Detail Mapping

Two Methods of Critical Detail Mapping

Using the Six Critical Details

Critical Detail Mapping with the Six Critical Details

Critical Detail: Targeting – Who receives the benefits?

Critical Detail: Staffing – Who is hired?

Critical Detail: Partnering – Who do we work with and through?

Critical Detail: Working with local authorities

Critical Detail: Resources – What do we provide?

Critical Detail: How to intervene

Critical Detail Mapping with the Seven Elements of Circumstance

The Constraints Box

Using Critical Detail Mapping

Context + Intervention = Impact

We cannot figure out impact without knowing something about *both* the context and the intervention. If we don't know what the context is, we cannot understand, track, or measure our impacts on it. If we do not understand our intervention (our program or project), we cannot understand, track, or measure *how* we are having an impact.

What do you need to know about interventions in order to identify their impact? The key elements of any intervention are its details. Critical Detail Mapping highlights those details that we need to focus on in order to identify, understand, and control our impacts.

Any intervention, no matter what kind, embodies a series of decisions answering a fundamental set of questions. Why have we chosen this activity with these resources in this place with these people? How did we select these people, these resources, and these staff? Who made these decisions and how?

Every organization has a planning process that outlines how such decisions are to be made. However, these processes often leave the reasons behind the choices unspoken or implicit. Because each of these choices potentially has an impact on the social dynamics, it is necessary to make these decisions explicit and transparent.

Criteria Matter

The criteria for deciding the details of any intervention matter enormously. How we make our decisions has a huge impact on the outcomes of projects and programs. Experience shows that interveners often make these decisions too quickly and without enough thought.

We use criteria in all program choices. Too often, these criteria are implicit and not formalized. Making the criteria explicit is central to effective Do No Harm programming. It is from these details, as they are put into action and as they relate to the context, that impacts either do harm or promote positive outcomes for people.

Caution

Very often the chief decision-making criterion is speed. We want to get this project or program underway as quickly as possible. We want to meet donor requirements of spending down our budget on time.

This leads to lack of attention on all the other details. We ignore great opportunities for the easy path.

Critical Detail Mapping helps you see where you need to put your attention. Slow down. Even just a little.

What do we do when we are having Negative Impacts?

Programs or projects that are having a negative impact *do not need to be stopped*. Do No Harm has found that stopping an intervention also leads to harm.

It is important to remember that it is never a whole project or program that is having a negative impact. A project may itself be doing the good it set out to do, while at the same time some piece of the decision-making is feeding into and worsening the conflict.

Interventions can be adapted. But we can only adapt them if we understand which details need to be changed. We have criteria for who our recipients are, for who are partners are, for who our staff are. These vary from organization to organization and mandate to mandate.

Two ways to map critical details

- **➡** Six Critical Details
- → The Seven Elements of Circumstance

And mapping constraints

→ The Constraints Box

Do No Harm is an exercise in prediction and in tracking impacts.

Knowing the context and outlining the details of programming that will interact with that context (specifically with Dividers and Connectors) allows users of Do No Harm to predict how these details of their programming will affect Dividers and Connectors. This allows users to track the actual impacts on Dividers and Connectors so that they may build on their successes in reducing dividers and strengthening connectors. Tracking also enables users to change their programming details when they discover that they worsen Dividers or weaken Connectors.

Why "Critical Detail Mapping"?

Over the years, the Do No Harm Project found that the part of the Do No Harm analysis that got the least attention was what we used to call "Program Analysis". People simply did not take it seriously and did not apply much rigor to it. As a result, people often had quite interesting Dividers and Connectors Analyses, but they could not see how their programs were having an impact on the context because they had not looked at their programs in sufficient detail. To do this, they needed to disaggregate their program into its details and analyze how each detail interacted with the context.

Lesson Five is that the details matter. How could we get people to take the importance of these details more seriously? We decided to try changing the language. We have found that people appear to take Critical Detail Mapping seriously because it sounds like an important effort. (It is!)

Two Methods of Critical Detail Mapping

Every context is different. This should mean that every intervention is different as well. In order to understand the impact our intervention has, we need to know the specific details of our intervention. Almost always, if we unpack the criteria that we use to make these decisions, we will understand and be able to anticipate the impact of the intervention on social dynamics.

Remember that criteria are created by humans. All of the details of an intervention are choices made by people. We can make different choices and change the impacts of our interventions.

There are two methods of Critical Detail Mapping, asking slightly different questions in slightly different ways. Both are effective.

Six Critical Details

Years of Do No Harm practice have shown that some details matter more than others. So the first approach to CDM that follows emphasizes six critical details.

- → Targeting (how do we select recipients?)
- → What resources we bring (how do we decide what resources to bring?)
- → Staffing (how do we hire new staff?)
- → Partnering (how do we decide who to partner with?)
- → Working with Authorities (how do we interact with local authorities?)
- → How (how do we design and implement interventions?)

Do No Harm users identified these six areas as where poor decisions were most likely to reduce the effectiveness of their work and worsen social dynamics. By contrast, paying attention to these details makes it much easier to find ways to help improve social dynamics.

Always pay close attention to the criteria used to make these decisions. It is not enough to just label who people are. Make the criteria explicit, and then discuss the implications of it.

The Six Critical Details method tends to highlight red flags and potential problem/solution areas quicker than the Seven Elements method (see below), but also offers less immediate depth.

Seven Elements of Circumstance

These classic questions are classic for a reason. They are excellent for unpacking the details of any situation.

Using these seven questions in an iterative fashion, it is possible to map out an entire intervention and all the decisions that went into planning it.

- → Why? (do we do this program?)
- → Where? (do we do this program?)
- → What? (do we do here; what do we provide?)
- → When? (and for how long do we do this?)
- ➡ With whom? (who are our "recipients" and how did we choose them or them us?)
- **⇒** By whom? (who are our staff?)
- → How? (and how do we "deliver" our program, what are our behaviors as we work?)

These have been used by Do No Harm users from the early days as the way into a program or an intervention.

One important use has been in planning. The 7 Elements can be used to build a list of criteria that is explicit from the beginning. This has proven useful as people are able to go back to the list to determine why decisions were made. Adapting and changing an intervention is easier if the decisions and their rationale have been mapped.

The Constraints Box

There are also constraints on any intervention. These come from outside the space under the control of implementers. The constraints can be mapped as well to determine where they influence an intervention. In some cases, the constraints are quite severe in their influence, while in others, they may not have much effect on implementation at all.

- **→** Mandate
- ➡ Fundraising and Donors
- ➡ Headquarters Organization

Using the Six Critical Details

What do we need to know about our intervention in order to understand the impacts we are having? What do we need to know in order to shape the impacts we want to have?

As users of Do No Harm examined their interventions to understand their impacts, they identified six areas where criteria and decisions are crucial. While there are other potential decision points in an intervention, these six areas were the ones where the most mistakes, those causing Dividers to worsen or those undermining Connectors, were made. They deserve special attention.

It should be noted that these six areas have also been the most useful in learning how to correct imbalances and support Connectors.

Criteria Around the Six Critical Details

The criteria used shape the way we make decisions. Our criteria are often shaped by long experience and reflect hard-earned wisdom. An intervention should not simply abandon its criteria. It should, however, be explicit and transparent about them.

Both our staff and the communities with whom we work want to understand the criteria we use to make decisions. Simply saying "that's the way we've always done it" is not enough. Nor is saying, "Headquarters told us to do it this way" or "We're using criteria the donor gave us". Interrogate the criteria, no matter where they came from.

The next page provides a basic set of questions in two iterations for the Six Critical Details.

Red Flags

The following six sections highlight one of the Six Critical Details in more depth.

Each Critical Detail section ends with a list of questions and issues. Offset with triangles, these questions and issues are red flags. A "yes" answer to a question should alert the user to review the Dividers and Connectors in light of the answer. The intervention has made a potentially hazardous choice. But you cannot know how serious without re-examining the context.

The issues identified in the lists should prompt review as well, no matter the answer, to determine what the impact of decisions around them have been.

It is also possible to use these questions to anticipate where problems may arise. How can an intervention be planned and designed so that the red flags are avoided?

Critical Detail Mapping with the Six Critical Details

Interrogating the Critical Details

- → *Targeting*. Who are the recipients? How did we select them? Why?
- **→** *What*. What are the *specific* resources we are bringing in? Why?
- → *Staffing*. Who are our staff? How did we hire them? Why? Why did we hire these specific people? Why?
- → *Partnering*. Who are our partners? How did we select them? Why? Why did we choose to partner with these specific organizations? Why?
- → Working with Authorities. How are we interacting and engaging with local authorities? Why?
- → *How.* How are we doing the work? Why?

Taking the "why?" question seriously pushes us to a greater understanding of the assumptions underlying the way we work. Ask "why?" more than once about each answer to get to the root of why we have made a decision.

Interrogating the Critical Details for who is excluded

We have limited resources and cannot do everything with everybody. How have we made the decisions to exclude some people or resources or modes of work? On the second pass through these six categories, ask who is excluded.

- → Targeting. Who is excluded from being a recipient? Why?
- → What. What resources are we not bringing in (that could accomplish the same goals)?
 Why?
- → *Staffing*. Who was not hired? Why?
- → *Partnering*. Which organizations did we not partner with? Why?
- → Working with Authorities. Are there local authorities we are not engaged with? Why?
- → *How*. What ways of doing the work have we chosen to not do (that could accomplish the same goals)? Why?

Can you explain the reason for a decision to someone who asks?

Critical Detail: Targeting – Who receives the benefits?

Who receives the benefits of an intervention?

When an intervention targets a subgroup in a community, this can feed into and worsen the Dividers between that group and others. When this occurs, interveners appear to be biased, and people are more likely to attempt to manipulate the intervention.

How were the recipients chosen?

This question is often asked by communities. Organizations do not communicate this well to the people with whom they work, in part, because they seldom make their criteria explicit even to themselves. When this is not clear, communities become suspicious. Jealousy, resentment, misunderstanding, and tension can be raised.

What are the criteria that shape this decision?

Criteria channel interventions toward some groups and away from others. This is sometimes intentional, but not always. There are lots of assumptions built into the criteria organizations use that need to be unpacked so that the implications can be understood.

One key challenge in targeting is when the recipients all share an identity. Do recipients share:

- Ethnic identity
- Religious identity
- Profession (e.g. farmers)
- ▶ Geographic origin (are they all from the same place?)
- ▶ Definition as needy in ways that exclude other needy (poorest of the poor, most damaged housing, etc.).

Other challenges to consider:

- ▶ Do they share an identity with the organization's staff?
- ▶ Were recipients picked by the local governing authorities?
- ▶ Were they selected in order to ensure the success of the program?

Critical Detail: Resources – What do we provide?

The decisions about what resources to provide are usually focused on recipients' needs.

However, these decisions also can have important effects on the broader economy. Decisions about resources involve both *tangible goods* (such as food, shelter, blankets, credit, etc.) and *intangible services* (such as health care, training, etc.). Decisions about what to provide affect social dynamics directly and indirectly.

Direct effects occur when assistance goods are stolen or diverted for support of the war effort. They also occur when the inputs provided, coupled with decisions about beneficiaries, reinforce and worsen divisions between those who receive assistance and those who do not.

Indirect effects occur when incomes that are gained or lost as a result of international assistance (through levies, wages, price changes, and profits) overlap with and reinforce intergroup divisions or increase incentives for continuing conflict. They also occur when the resources undermine incentives for civilian economic activities.

- ▶ Is one group better off because of the resource?
- Can the resource be stolen?
- Does the resource have a military application?
- ▶ Does the amount meet needs accurately or is there a surplus/shortfall of it? Both surplus and shortfall can affect competition for resources and spur theft.
- Is the resource oriented toward individual recipients, family recipients, or collective recipients? Collective resources are often more able to focus on Connectors than individual or family ones. Individual or family resources can create jealousy when criteria exclude others⁴.
- Is the delivery timely or does it experience delays? Delays hurt people's ability to plan and can increase tension.

⁴ See "Distribution Effects" in Section V on Resources and "Fairness" in Section VI on Messages.

Critical Detail: Staffing – Who is hired?

Who is hired to work for an organization?

Employment provides an important source of income. In contexts of scarcity, jobs are a vital lifeline for families in terms both of money and access to resources, and in providing meaning and purpose. Who is hired, for what positions, and how much they are paid relative to others are all potential flashpoints that can worsen Dividers. Handled with care and sensitivity, and with a close attention to the context, these decisions can foster intergroup linkages and strengthen Connectors.

How were staff chosen?

What is the pool of potential applicants? Where were jobs advertised? Who responded? Are staff hired through word of mouth?

What are the criteria that shape these decisions?

What criteria does an organization have for staffing its positions? How do these criteria reflect or interact with patterns of local history and education? Who can even be considered for the jobs and who is immediately excluded? Who never even applies for the jobs?

These questions also apply to international staff. When criteria for international staff are narrowly focused on the technical or educational aspects of their history, an organization cannot be certain they are getting someone with the vitals skills of building relationships.

What decisions do staff make?

Staff is affected by the context. Understanding the decisions our staff is making and how they may be affected by the context is necessary for good and compassionate management. Who is applying the criteria for targeting? Who is applying the criteria for working with partners? Who is being asked to work with local authorities?

- ▶ Does the whole staff (or a large part of it) share the same identity?
- Does the staff all come from the same geographic area?
- Were the staff hired by word of mouth?
- Were the staff selected by authorities?
- Were they hired based on technical or educational criteria in a place where those are or have been restricted?

Critical Detail: Partnering – Who do we work with and through?

Who is selected as partner organizations?

Partnering with local organizations needs to be conducted thoughtfully as it can feed into and worsen intergroup tensions. Because partnering channels resources, it affects employment, salaries, and control over resources.

When partner organizations are affiliated with, or perceived to be affiliated with a subgroup in an area, their access to and control of resources can worsen tensions. Partner organizations who operate in ways that bridge groups can support Connectors.

How were the partners chosen?

Are they from the same group as our staff (or the decision maker on our staff)? Were they selected based on education or skills that have historically belonged to specific groups?

What are the criteria that shape this decision?

What criteria does an organization have for picking partners? How do these criteria reflect or interact with patterns of local history and education?

What decisions do partners make?

Partners are affected by the context as much, if not more than staff are. Are partners applying the criteria for targeting? How are partners working with local authorities?

- Do partners share the same identity as staff?
- ▶ Do partners have ties to political or military interests?
- Are the partners based in an area where just one subgroup lives? They may be asked to work in other areas. Will this be an issue?
- Were they hired based on technical or educational criteria in a place where those are or have been restricted? Restrictions can be legal, historical, traditional, etc. They may not be obvious at first glance.
- ▶ Were the partners found by word of mouth?
- Were the partners selected by authorities?

Critical Detail: Working with local authorities

What is the relationship between interventions and power?

All interventions must consider the local governing authorities and how to work with them. It is a constant challenge that must be navigated in all interventions. It is not possible to avoid this interaction, so it is crucial to take it seriously.

Resources represent power or sources of power. When resources enter a context, they become a part of the local power structure.

Local governing authorities understand local power, how to get it, shape it, and use it. They will always attempt to make use of resources entering their area to bolster their power. This does not mean they will steal or divert resources, though those are possibilities. They will find ways to interact with the resources and the providers of resources that give them some access to the power that resources represent.

Often the authorities—whether civilian or military—are part of a conflict. Their interactions with interventions are shaped by their desire for power and military/strategic advantage. They can exert their control through suppression and violence (or the threat of violence). They might exploit the labor and wealth of communities for their personal power.

The legitimacy of their claim to authority over the communities under their control can be questionable.

An intervention can reinforce the illegitimate power of a governing authority. How does this happen?

Local authorities can misuse resources by:

- Stealing, taxing, or diverting an intervention's goods for use in their pursuit of war or power
- Determining where and when an intervention's resources can be delivered, thereby affecting population movements and concentrations
- Using interactions with international personnel to convey their "message" to the world thus gaining sympathy, resources and broader legitimacy
- ▶ Interacting with interveners to create the appearance of serving the interests of local people without actually doing so

Critical Detail: How to intervene

At the heart of the issue of interventions is the question of "how" resources are provided. It is in the details of "how" the resources of an intervention are provided that interventions have their most significant impacts.

Specifically related to all the potential impacts listed above are issues of:

- How to decide the recipients through targeting
- ▶ How to hire staff
- How to choose partners
- ▶ How to interact with and work with local authorities
- ▶ How to decide what resources to distribute and how much
- ▶ How to time and sequence distribution and where
- ▶ How interagency coordination affects intervention impacts
- ▶ How the role of a donor or donors affects and constrains intervention impacts
- ▶ How the role of a headquarters affects and constrains intervention impacts
- and so on

The "how" is not just the "modality" of the intervention and the way we do our work, though that too should be part of this analysis. We should absolutely be aware of why we decide to engage in a context in a particular way. We should also be aware of how we engage with respect to the people with whom we interact.⁵

For example, even if an agency distributes much-needed and wanted goods in a completely unbiased way, if they decided their approach without clear inclusion of local ideas or if they make deliveries rudely and peremptorily, the "how" of their approach will negate the lasting benefits of the deliveries.

People care how they are included, how they are respected, how they are informed, in short, how they are treated.

⁵ Section VI on Messages covers the importance of "how".

Critical Detail Mapping with the Seven Elements of Circumstance

Do No Harm can capture the decision making process of an intervention through seven basic questions. It is not enough, when analyzing an intervention, to ask these questions once. It is necessary to ask them again and again, until the whole structure of the intervention has been made explicit and clear.⁶

Why?

- What are the needs we perceive that lead us to plan an intervention in the first place?
- Do people in the community agree with us that the need we perceive is a real need?
- What do we hope to change through our intervention? What do we hope to stop through our intervention?
- Why us? What is the value our organization brings to addressing this situation in this place? Are we the right people?

Where?

- Why did we choose this location? What criteria did we use?
 - o "Why these villages and not those?"
 - o "Why this province and not that one?"
 - O "Why on this side of the front lines and not that one? Why not both?"
- Whom did we leave out and why?
- What other locations are involved in our work? Will these locations have an impact? Why did we choose these and not others?
 - ${\tt o}$ "Why did we rent these buildings? From who?"
 - o "Why do we drive this route?"
 - o "Why do we buy these resources here, from this person?"

When?

- Why have we chosen this time to bring in our intervention? What is it about the current situation that makes *now* the right time for our intervention?
 - o Is the situation post-conflict, pre-conflict, or is the conflict still "hot"?
 - **o** Why us, now?
- How long is our project going to last?
 - O How will we know when our project is finished? What criteria need to be met for us to know that we are done? Have we communicated this to the community?

⁶ See also the "5 Whys" technique, developed by Sakichi Toyoda. CDM and 5 Whys can be used together very effectively.

- O What will have changed and how will we know?
- O Do we have an exit strategy?
- O Do we have an evacuation strategy? What criteria do we use to trigger it? Has this been communicated to the community?

What?

- The specific content of the resources can have an impact on the context.
 - O Are we bringing in food, shelter, money, training, experts, vehicles, radios, tools, etc?
 - o Be specific: what kind of food? What kind of shelter?
 - O Be even broader: how many types of vehicle? how many types of pipe fitting or lumber?
- What types of resources are appropriate to this circumstance?
- Where did we source the resources from?

With Whom?

- How did we choose the recipients? What was the criteria for choosing some people over others?
- Who did we leave out and why?
- Who else benefits from our presence?
 - o Landlords? Drivers? Stevedores? Farmers? Hotels?

By Whom?

- Who are our staff? Are they local or expatriate? How were they selected? What were the criteria for hiring these people and are these criteria different in different places?
 - o Is there an educational or skill component to our criteria? Who has access to the necessary education or skill training?
- Who do the criteria leave out and why?

How?

- What is the mechanism of the delivery of the intervention?
 - o Food-for-work or cash? Is training through lectures by outsiders or through participatory methods? Advisory or active or advocacy?
- How exactly do we do our work?
- How exactly do we act?

Mapping with the Constraints Box

Planners or implementers do not have complete control over the critical details of their intervention. There are constraints under which they operate that can guide or, in some cases, determine the details. These are represented in the Relationship Framework by the "constraints box" in the intervention column (See Section VII: The Do No Harm Frameworks).

In general, an over-emphasis on the quantity, quality, or timing of resources or overspecification of the identity of the recipients reduces the scope and capacity of implementing staff to respond to the context effectively.

There are three elements of constraint.

Mandate

Organizational mandates focus activities and provide direction. They can also hamper effective intervention. When a mandate is overly specific about the types of people or groups that can be served, and these groups overlap with local conflicts, the organization will provide resources in ways that increase tension.

Fundraising and Donors

The way organizations raise funds can matter to how interventions are planned, staffed, and implemented.

What are the sources of funding? How will local perceptions of these funders affect the perception of the organization?

How were funds raised? What did the fundraising campaign promise? What requirements has the donor imposed? Are funds earmarked for specific activities? Are funds earmarked based on political criteria, such as refugees?

Headquarters

The way organizations are structured internally can affect the way they plan and implement.

What functions of the organization take place at HQ and which in the field? Does the HQ do planning? What influence does the field have on HQ decision making?

What requirements do the implementers have with regard to the HQ? How much contact and what kind is there between HQ and field?

Using the Constraints Box

While you are doing a critical detail map, check the details to determine if any of them are influenced or directed by entities in the constraints box. Where the details are constrained, are there negative impacts or likely to be negative impacts? When there are negative impacts based in a constraint, are there options for shifting or educating the constraint?

This is a moment when many interveners throw up their hands and say, "I can't change. My donor/HQ/mandate makes me do it!" This reaction is an example of Powerlessness. The person crying out has given away his or her efficacy and creativity, two things no interveners should ever be without.

The best method for changing something that appears to be constrained is conversation. Do No Harm offers a very good way to structure a conversation with a desk officer or a donor. The reason Do No Harm is effective is because it offers real evidence of the relationships between decision making and the social dynamics in a context.

Once upon a time, at a Do No Harm Consultation, a field worker raised a problem he was having and some possible solutions. "But," he concluded, "my headquarters will not allow me to change my implementation."

As chance would have it, the desk officer from HQ was also at the Consultation. He looked up, startled, at his colleague and said, "You never asked! Of course you can change."

A few hours later, the same desk officer was describing in great detail how he wished he could alter some pieces of a big program so that it would have a more significant impact. "But," he concluded, "my donor will not allow me to change the program."

As chance would have it, the desk officer from the donor was sitting at the end of the table. She said, wryly and with a twinkle in her eye, "You never asked. Your detailed analysis has convinced me. Of course you can change."

Always ask. But come prepared.

Sometimes too much is made of the Constraint Box. Because of the prominence it is given with its "traditional" placement at the top of the center column of the Relationship Framework (see Section VII), some people have assumed it is crucial and must be examined in great detail. In truth, while these constraints are real and Do No Harm users are constantly encountering them, the elements in the Constraints Box are lesser details. They are not often where the big mistakes or issues in implementation occur.

That said, there are examples of donor or headquarter instruction where the field staff knew there would be trouble, but were ordered to comply. What are the Messages sent by such behavior in an organization? (See Section VI)

Section V & VI

Using the ABCs

Impact Analysis

Understanding and Using Patterns

62

Impact Analysis

Actions and Behaviors have Consequences. Consequences are impacts.

Actions are *what* we do and Behaviors are *how* we do what we do.

What we do includes what we bring (resources), who we hire, where we live, where we work, for how long, with whom and so on. These are factors identified through the program analysis of Critical Detail Mapping.

Behaviors are *how* we do all of the things we do. How do we bring in goods or services, how do we hire and work with our local partners and staff, how do we live in whatever community we choose and how do we choose to live there, how do we work on a daily basis, and so on. Most important of all is how we treat people.

Any intervention involves both Actions and Behaviors.

The results of Actions and Behaviors are impacts. Impacts on social dynamics are more important than mere physical impacts. We understand social dynamics through attention to changes in the context using Dividers and Connectors Analysis. We understand impacts through tracking the patterns of Action and Behavior. There are two ways that interventions have an impact.

Interventions have an impact through Resource Transfers, and interventions have an impact through the Messages sent by behavior.

A Note on calling these ABCs

Originally, Do No Harm called the mechanisms through which interventions had impacts the Resource Transfers and the Implicit Ethical Messages. From the very beginning, people complained about the use of the word "implicit". Trainers found it hard to explain, practitioners found it hard to work with, and communities often did not think the messages were in any way "implicit".

We asked for suggestions. In 2010, a few people in different parts of the world brought their own solutions to us. They had hit upon using "ABCs" to describe the whole set of intervention mechanisms. They had slightly different words they used in different contexts, but together we arrived at the expression "Actions and Behaviors have Consequences".

The ABCs incorporate the Resources and Messages of the past Do No Harm Framework but the ABCs enlarge our understanding by making explicit the fact that both actions and behaviors communicate messages.

Also, in English, referring to the "ABCs" is a metaphor for learning the basic building blocks. The ABCs of Do No Harm are basic building blocks for understanding social dynamics.

Understanding and Using Patterns

In the next two Sections of this Guide, we look at patterns of impacts of interventions. These patterns are ones that users of Do No Harm find repeated in multiple contexts and, because they are commonly seen across contexts, users have come up with categories for identifying them.

These patterns are significant because they explain how the Actions and Behaviors of interveners affect Dividers and Connectors.

There are two types of patterns. There are five patterns of Resource Transfers and four patterns of Messages sent by behavior. The following Sections examine these patterns and their details, including some thoughts on using them.

The patterns emerged from the experience of humanitarian and development workers all over the world and have been confirmed by people of many other professions operating in other contexts. While the patterns identified here may not exhaust the possibilities of human interaction, they have been identified over and over as among the most important ways of understanding how people interact with one another. They work.

Recognizing a common pattern is important because it gives you something to hold onto and work with. A pattern provides understanding. It can be tested against experience and often can be changed by simple acts. Chaos—or, rather, the perception of chaos—by contrast, is incomprehensible and our efforts at impact will be hit or miss, with no rhyme or reason.

Although the next Section looks specifically at Resource Transfers and the following Section at the Messages sent by Behaviors, it is important to note that they are inevitably and inextricably linked. Behaviors of people providing resources are inseparable from the resources themselves. Actions, the facts on the ground of what is delivered, are themselves Behaviors. The ABCs formulation makes clear that both Actions and Behaviors convey messages.

Do No Harm users say that when they see something changing in a Divider or a Connector (for good or for harm), they can look at the patterns identified in the next two Sections of this Guide, and these patterns help them see immediately how they can change their Actions and/or their Behaviors to ensure that the consequence of these are positive (reducing Dividers or Supporting Connectors) rather than negative (worsening Dividers or undermining Connectors).

Effective users of Do No Harm use their recognition of the patterns to change, improve, and heighten their impacts.

Section V

Using the ABCs: Resource Transfers

Resource Transfers: Five Patterns

Distribution Effects

Legitimization Effects

Market Effects

Substitution Effects

Theft

Using Resource Transfers

Resource Transfers are Relationships

Resource Transfers: Five Patterns

Interventions bring, or transfer, resources into a context. These can be money, food, medicine, personnel, vehicles, jobs, buildings, teachers, training, etc. Resources are the programmatic tools we use to attempt to make change.

Resources always have impacts. This is their point. Organizations do not bring resources into a context to avoid impact.

Organizations often track the impacts of their resource transfers only on people's physical conditions or wellbeing. But it is impossible to transfer resources into any context without, at the same time, affecting the social dynamics. Understanding and shaping these social impacts is critical for improving the effectiveness of any intervention. This is the point of Do No Harm.

There are five common patterns of Resource Transfers.

- **→** Distribution Effects
- **→** Legitimization Effects
- **→** Market Effects
- **→** Substitution Effects
- **→** Theft

All five of these will take place in any intervention. They are not necessarily dangerous. Indeed, often some of these effects are intended.

For example, an intervention may intend to have Market Effects: we want to change the wages, prices, and profits of certain types of work so as to support better livelihoods. However, even intended changes can exacerbate Dividers or reduce Connectors.

Early developers of Do No Harm identified the five patterns of how resources have an impact on social dynamics. The five categories of resource transfer have not changed since the early days of Do No Harm. It has not proven necessary to alter or add to them. At the same time, as experienced Do No Harm practitioners will see below, they have been explored and expanded as users have worked intensely with them.

Through use, users have found that two of these impact areas, Distribution Effects and Legitimization Effects, occur far more often in ways that have direct impacts on Dividers and Connectors than the others.

Five Patterns of Resource Transfers

Distribution Effects

A Distribution Effect occurs when people perceive that an organization has a bias in favor for or against a specific group through the way they distribute resources.

Legitimization Effects

A Legitimization Effect occurs where an organization is perceived to be using its resources to support a political or governing authority.

Market Effects

Market Effects are the result of changes in the local incentive structures and patterns of opportunity caused by the introduction of new resources. The new resources noticeably affect incomes, wages, profits, and prices so that people's perception of economic winners and losers changes.

Substitution Effects

A Substitution Effect occurs when an organization takes over for local capacity, reducing or replacing local efforts.

Theft

Theft occurs when people simply take resources from an organization.

Distribution Effects

A Distribution Effect occurs when people perceive that an organization has a bias in favor for or against a specific group through the way they distribute resources.

The criteria interveners use to select recipients of assistance or to hire their staff or identify their partners often match with local identity groups. If the choices about whom to help, whom to hire or with whom to partner favor one group over others, and thus provide important resources for survival to this group, the assistance becomes contested and can be a source of tension and conflict.

Why do negative Distribution Effects happen?

Negative Distribution Effects are often the result of organizations and their staff simply missing the fact that they are focused on one group to the exclusion of others. Often organizations are unaware of the range of groups that exist in the area where they are working! This can be the result of relying on inappropriate criteria without thinking about their implications in the context.

They assume that because they have policies about being equitable, their systems will ensure fairness and that because their intentions are good, people in the community will respect and trust them. Instead, they fail to examine and understand the social dynamics of the context.

A proper Dividers/Connectors Analysis is vital in order to avoid Distribution Effects.

The five following sections each describe a common type of distribution effect, with some examples. The examples are not exhaustive of the type, but rather illustrative of a pattern we have seen repeated in many places.

Distribution Effects in post-conflict settings

In post-conflict settings, everybody has needs, often quite severe ones. At the same time, a losing side will almost always have more needs than a winning one. The losers have generally suffered more destruction of houses and infrastructure, more killings, and more displacement.

Among the key agendas in post-conflict settings is returning the displaced to their homes. Where homes have been destroyed, assistance is often provided to rebuild them. Rebuilding projects provide jobs in construction, often accompanied by training to provide skills that can be used in the long-term. Where family members have been killed, psycho-social

services are offered to the survivors. When breadwinners from a family have been killed, families receive direct assistance and sometimes preference for new jobs.

The focus of assistance on the "people who suffered most," (i.e. the losers) feeds a perception by the winners that the international community does not care about them. It can seem that the international community is taking sides, re-strengthening the losers, and perhaps reigniting the conflict. This kind of perceived bias feeds rumors about international assistance and its agenda, decreasing security for everybody.

Do No Harm users who recognize this kind of pattern have found ways to work with trusted groups—trusted by all sides in a post-war setting—to decide how to allocate post-war support. Often these groups clearly recognize that losers have greater needs than winners, and they distribute or recommend distributing the bulk of the assistance to those who need it most. But because they represent the interests of both winners and losers, they can communicate their decisions on the basis of fairness and this fairness is trusted by both sides.

Distribution Effects in resource management

Resources that are used in common, such as water, forest, or pasture, are always challenges to manage. When more than one group wants to access a resource this can lead to conflict.

When working with communities to manage natural resources through new infrastructure, access points, technology, organization, etc, the benefits tend to be provided to specific people because of some criteria. These criteria can be economic or social, geographical, political, identity-based, or technical. All of these tend to be gathered within identity groups.

For example, water, in the form of wells, boreholes, sandtraps, irrigation canals and the like, is often a source of tension. When a new well is dug in a location where a single identity group is more likely to reap the benefit, other identity groups in the area will become angry. Dividers are heightened. Further, those who are left out become suspicious of the motivations of the group who dug the well for the "other" group.

Do No Harm users have found ways to help groups who are contending over water resources to come together around the shared resource. Most people recognize their mutual interdependence on water resources and, when local allocation systems that are trusted can be tapped, groups can become better connected through working together to share a scarce resource.

Distribution Effects based on the easy route

Some people are easier to reach than others. This can be based on geography, language, cultural affinity, transportation networks, education, and so on.

For example, farmers who live clustered together are easier to work with than nomads. They are sedentary, often living within walking distance of their fields. Because they live predictable lives based on seasonal work, they are relatively easy to bring together for meetings or other intervention activities. The agglomerations of structures make providing services like education or health care easier. Nomads, by contrast, move around and are harder to reach.

In addition, there are literally thousands of sophisticated techniques for improving agricultural production that can be offered to support farmers that can have immediate, tangible benefits.

Unfortunately, in many places, the different needs of farmers and nomadic groups for the land and for water act as dividers of the two groups. When interveners seem to favor one group over the other (even, for example, introducing new farming techniques which require additional water resources), these divisions can be exacerbated.

Do No Harm users have found ways to go beyond the easy to reach and to engage those often left outside the benefits into more comprehensive, connecting processes.

Distribution Effects based on social or economic criteria

The use of social or economic criteria ("poorest of the poor", "the landless", "subsistence farmers", etc.) can trap organizations into working with a limited set of people. Where these groups largely or completely overlap an identity group, an organization focused on providing resources to just one will feed into tensions.

Organizations often choose these criteria because they want to make an explicit political statement about solidarity. Where a group covered by such criteria is also linked to a political party or agenda, the organization will be perceived as also supporting that agenda. In this way the Distribution Effect is linked with a Legitimization Effect (see below).

Do No Harm users are creative in their use of criteria. They find ways to support their organization's mandate while maintaining a broad understanding of who they can and will work with.

Distribution Effects in post-disaster settings

While similar to post-conflict settings in that everybody has needs, there is not the same concern about "winners" and "losers". Instead, the concern is that those defined as "most affected" by the disaster might come from a specific group. There are two implications that have been borne out by experience.

The first is the possibility of raising resentment against a population that is already the target of structural violence. It is generally understood that those most affected by disasters tend to be poorer. In many places, poverty tracks along identity groups. When organizations focus on a marginalized identity group in a situation where there are needs broadly across the society, they can increase tension directed toward that group.

The second comes from the fact that organizations tend to use criteria that is disaster focused to target their resources. Yet, those directly affected by the disaster may not be the only groups with significant need. When a disaster strikes a conflict-affected area, resources tend to be transferred away from the conflict, toward disaster-related criteria. When groups with grievances and severe needs suddenly experience diminished resources and see their issue decline in importance, this raises tensions.

Do No Harm users have found ways to use their criteria so as to open up the number of people with whom they can work, rather than shrinking it.

Using Distribution Effects

You need to know what the groups are. You need to examine your criteria for potential bias.

When you understand which groups exist and their relationships with one another, then you can look for Connectors between them. What mutual interests or interdependencies do people have? Where are people already working together? Developing programs around existing Connectors can be a powerful way to use positive Distribution Effects to mitigate conflict.

At the same time, understanding and paying attention to the Dividers that exist allows you to see when you are inadvertently increasing them. It is even possible to anticipate which Dividers are likely the most dangerous. You can build that understanding into your efforts to avoid negative Distribution Effects.

It is not always possible to get the Distribution Effects right from the beginning of an intervention. However, by paying attention to the Dividers and Connectors, and by continuing to pay attention to the social dynamics, you will be able to shift your programs or activities before they cause lasting damage. This requires an open and creative mind, something that Do No Harm encourages and facilitates.

Each of the illustrations above involves direct benefits to one group over others in terms of the physical resources offered and each demonstrates the importance of the messages sent by the choices made in terms of distribution. The Actions, i.e. who gains benefits, convey messages of favoritism and exclusion; or of respect and fairness. The choices made about how to provide assistance and to whom—the Behaviors—also convey both types of messages.

Legitimization Effects

A Legitimization Effect occurs when an organization is perceived to be using its resources to support a political or governing authority.

Resources represent power. Governing authorities and contesting groups will *always* attempt to make use of whatever resources are available. In some cases, they will attempt to appropriate them completely. In others, they will see them as supplementing their own budgets or efforts. In still others, the authority will take credit for intervention resources to shore up their power.

Authorities attempt to use new resources introduced into their areas by interveners to support their authority and increase their power. In other words, whatever resources are being brought into an area will be seen by authorities as legitimate for them to use. This is not a matter of ethics or humanitarian law. It is a fact of power.

Governing authorities that attempt to co-opt resources are not necessarily immoral or bad. Pay attention to the context and how the governing authority is trying to influence the way resources are used.

Resources can also be provided in ways that limit their co-optation and/or that support Connectors through the Legitimization Effect. Where there are individuals or formal or informal institutions that represent the collective interests of different groups, resources can flow to them and thereby reinforce and strengthen an existing Connector.

Legitimizing a bad actor

By allowing their resources to be co-opted by a governing authority who uses them for nefarious ends, organizations can contribute to conflict.

▶ Does the organization give resources directly to the governing authority or its representatives? Does the organization allow governing authorities to participate in distribution of resources or in decisions about location or timing?

These are not inherently bad, but these are simple ways to begin thinking about the legitimization of bad actors. You must know the context!

De-legitimizing a good actor

By not working with a governing authority, organizations can miss opportunities to help strengthen local capacities.

Is the organization avoiding a governing authority? Why or why not?

De-legitimizing a bad actor

By using their resources to clearly differentiate the organization from the governing authority, an organization can avoid being co-opted. In some cases, this differentiation can demonstrate how ineffective or illegitimate the governing authority is.

▶ How does the organization differentiate itself from governing authorities? Is this clear to the community?

Legitimizing a good actor

By explicitly supporting a governing authority's initiatives through their own activities, organizations can maintain their independence while also helping to build local capacity.

▶ Do existing activities link with the agendas of governing authorities?

Why do negative Legitimization Effects happen?

The first reason is that interveners are not as smart as they think they are. They often do not understand the social dynamics of a community and make assumptions about local power and who wields it. They also make assumptions about how they themselves are perceived.

The second reason is that interveners often underestimate how sophisticated and intelligent local governing authorities are. Put plainly, a stupid warlord is a dead warlord. Local governing authorities have the advantage of not only living in the context, but of having developed ways of *leading* it. They know how to get things done. The one thing they are not is stupid.

These two reasons can add up to a naïveté on the part of interveners who assume they cannot be manipulated or co-opted. Be aware of the possibility of manipulation and prepare strategies to avoid co-optation. It is even possible to use this fact of power to help you.

Using Legitimization Effects

Who are the governing authorities and local power brokers? Learn what their interests and incentives are. Use the Relationship Framework (Section VII). Place the governing authority in the middle column; consider them as providing an intervention in the context. Do a Critical Detail Map of their role. How does their role affect Dividers and Connectors? This should provide an idea of what their interests are and where there are opportunities to use resources to support them or where you need options to avoid being co-opted.

Sometimes it is possible to work with bad leaders on good projects. This can support their learning and their efforts to get better at their jobs. Pay attention to this possible motivation!

Market Effects

Market Effects are the result of changes in the local incentive structures and patterns of opportunity caused by the introduction of new resources. The new resources noticeably affect incomes, wages, profits, and prices so that people's perception of economic winners and losers changes.

Market Effects, like distributional effects, are ways that new resources give some people and groups advantages over others. It is clear that any pattern of effects that favor some individuals and/or groups over others can increase tensions between those that gain and those that do not gain—or those who lose.

Incomes

Interventions can flood areas and local markets with cheap or free substitutes that compete directly with local products. A glut of supply causes prices to fall and the incomes of those who relied on selling that good will fall as well.

Damaging local incomes is the opposite of what development intends to do. People thrown out of work will find alternatives. In some contexts, these alternatives can be violent or criminal. Generally, people prefer to avoid these alternatives. In addition, opportunities to leave violent or criminal jobs are often sought by those who feel pushed into them.

Wages

Interventions where local people are hired for jobs affect the wage structure of local communities. Such effects can increase jealousies at the personal level and, when one group has a greater representation among those who get paid than other groups, this pattern increases tensions and feeds Dividers among groups.

There can also be competition among organizations for what are seen as "qualified" staff. This can drive the wages for certain jobs up, creating incentives that can draw people out of other important sectors in order to secure higher paying jobs.

Profits

Interventions that source goods and services locally provide profits to local people. However, if the profits tend to accrue to members of one group over others, this can cause tensions to rise.

When profits flow to politically connected people, this can be perceived as corruption on the part of the organization involved.

Prices

Interventions that require local goods and/or services can drive the prices of these up, placing them out of the reach of locals who are used to relying on them, or changing incentives around those items.

When prices for necessary goods such as housing or food rise, tensions rise as well. At the same time, when some people are seen to be doing quite well—landlords, for example, who rent to outsiders—this can increase resentment and Dividers across groups.

Why do negative Market Effects happen?

Negative Market Effects are the result of changes in the local systems that allow or encourage particular groups to rapidly gain economic advantages. Organizations bringing in resources are often unaware of the local economic patterns, including the types of goods available and who provides them. The organization might inadvertently compete with locals or even completely upend a market. They are also often unaware of the ties of power and patronage among the providers of goods and services that they may want to make use of. They do not know who they are being seen to support and what that means within the local context.

Where some local people and groups are better positioned to take advantage of a new situation due to historical advantages, this can lead to problems between groups. A particular group may quickly acquire a monopoly of some sort (most of the management jobs, the majority of construction contracts, etc.). These advantages can be languages, types of education or schooling, ownership of vehicles or land, and so on.

Using Market Effects

You need to know what your resources are and how they overlap with local resources. You should be aware of local power dynamics and how they link to economic interests. Review your criteria for hiring staff and working with partners.

Your Critical Detail Mapping will have helped you identify the resources that you are introducing into a context. Review these especially in light of all the economic Dividers and Connectors you have identified.

As noted above, interventions intend to improve wages and incomes. The patterns of Market Effects can increase welfare and, by doing so, decrease tensions. When interveners prompt broadly inclusive Market Effects that spill across groups and engage people in economically interdependent activities, this can reinforce Connectors. Can incentives be found that encourage wider economic opportunities?

Substitution Effects

A Substitution Effect occurs when an organization takes over for local capacity and reduces or replaces local efforts.

In situations of conflict there are two additional potential negative aspects of the Substitution Effect. First, the Substitution can free up local resources for other, nefarious purposes. Second, the Substitution can delegitimize existing and potential authority structures.

The patterns of Substitution Effects are a special challenge. We warn against them all the time, preferring local solutions and local governance, but we remain well aware that some things can be accomplished by outsiders that cannot be done or done as well by locals. At the same time, ultimately, local people are responsible.

Supporting local capacities in relation to those things that interveners can offer is one of the most difficult balancing acts faced by outside interveners.

Substitution Effects free up resources to pursue conflict

Governing authorities in conflict situations often see the resources of interveners as supplementary to their own. They also understand the value systems of the NGOs and how to manipulate them.

An authority does not need to appropriate resources directly to make good use of them. If an authority simply drops responsibility for a service (often bit by bit, over time), they know that NGOs will pick it up and continue to provide the service. A government may then claim that they are fulfilling their responsibility by engaging with NGOs to provide for its citizenry.

In a context of conflict, this frees up resources that can be put into security or fighting forces. In extreme cases, the resources freed up have been used to pursue violence against the people now unsupported by their own government.

Substitution Effects result in authorities' loss of capacity

When systems that should be supported by a local governing authority are pushed onto NGOs or usurped by them, the governing authorities may well forget that they once had responsibility for that system or they may lose the competence they had (even if weak) to perform the function.

When governing authorities lose sight of services that the people expect them to oversee, then the authority loses some legitimacy. Over time, the authority can become sufficiently delegitimized that people will no longer respect it or comply with its regulations or requests.

Substitution and legitimacy

When a government reduces its connection with its citizens by giving up more and more services to other entities, its legitimacy erodes bit by bit. Ultimately, this can lead to acts of resistance, and, in some cases, violence. Delegitimizing government undermines Connectors and may increase Dividers.

When governing authorities push responsibility for services onto NGOs, the ultimate effects of this should be discussed openly. NGOs should not willingly take away power from an authority without a plan to give it back someday.

Why do negative Substitution Effects happen?

Negative Substitution Effects occur when organizations rush blindly to fill needs, assuming local structures and capacities are incapable or non-existent. In moments of crisis, local capacities may not be able to meet all needs, but they should not be replaced wholesale.

Local systems may go unnoticed by outsiders who have little local experience or make assumptions based on other places. When local systems are not noticed, they can be replaced: local capacities are lost, along with local resilience, and the outside organizations may never notice the damage they have done.

Using Substitution Effects

You need to know what people expect the governing authority to be responsible for. You need to know who normally does what you do.

We know that local systems can be stretched to the breaking point by conflicts or emergencies. The purpose of many interventions is to provide the assistance that helps communities get through these periods. Can the assistance be provided so that local capacity grows stronger?

When a government assumes increasing responsibility for meeting civilian peace-time needs of all its citizens, it gains in legitimacy and thereby contributes to security and builds Connectors. Find the good actors in government and help them get better at their jobs. Open up conversations with government officials at all levels about roles and responsibilities and be willing to lend a hand for a time.

Find the local organizations that are doing the hard work on the ground. Do not overstrain the one good local NGO you find, but look for others and opportunities to help them expand their abilities.

Leave something beautiful behind when you go.

Theft

Theft occurs when people simply take resources from an organization.

Theft is a problem for all organizations big and small. In contexts of conflict, theft takes on even larger ramifications as stolen resources can be and often are used to support violent groups.

Even outside of conflict, theft is damaging to the sense of security of communities and undermines trust which, in turn, undermines effectiveness. Increases in crime, even if non-violent, make people feel less secure. When people feel less secure, their tension rises and there is negative pressure on Dividers. Decreases in crime make people feel more secure, even if violence is unchanged. When people feel more secure, there is often positive pressure on Connectors.

The good news about theft is that we can prevent it.

During the Do No Harm Project, people observed that thieves require the presence of four things to successfully steal.

- → Knowledge
- **→** Value
- **→** Opportunity
- **→** Impunity

If all four are present, thieves can steal with relative ease. If they lack even one, that makes it much more difficult for them. If all four are lacking, thieves cannot steal successfully.

Can we take one or more of these away from thieves? The evidence is clear that we can.

A development agency building a water system found that the sockets for the pipes were being stolen, delaying the project again and again. They asked why. They learned that a pipe socket of a certain size is perfect for homemade explosives. Local fighters were stealing the sockets to build "socket-bombs". The agency was supplying valuable and lethal war material to fighters!

The agency changed the size of the pipes they were using so that the sockets were no longer right for socket-bombs. The fighters stopped stealing and the project was able to proceed. The agency had changed the "value" that the sockets held.

Why does Theft happen?

Theft happens because people imagine that they have to live with it, that it is just the way of the world.

Theft happens because organizations task specific people with the job of preventing it rather than requiring that security be part of everyone's job.

Theft happens when organizations disregard the community either through outright disrespect or through tacit indifference.

Theft happens when organizations do not steward their resources. It happens when there is too much and organizations grow lax. It happens when there is too little and the local value of the resource soars.

Using Theft

You need to know about the Value of your resources. You need to know what Opportunities thieves have to steal and fence your resources. You need to know the local systems around justice and Impunity. You need to know how the thieves acquire their Knowledge. Actually, you can work on just one with good results.

You do not have to suffer theft. At the very least you can reduce it. You can save resources and make people feel more secure.

Unleash your creativity with your colleagues. Come up with crazy and outlandish ideas, then figure out how to implement them. Take responsibility for security and own it.

Some people think that it is impossible to stop theft at military checkpoints. However, one aid worker in Afghanistan found a way that worked for him. This driver was assigned to deliver food to an area where, before he could reach it, he had to pass through a checkpoint where most drivers had some portion of their load stolen. So, he loaded up his truck with soap and drove up to the checkpoint. The soldiers demanded some of his goods. He said "of course" and showed them it was soap, rather than food.

"What does this mean?" demanded the soldiers? "Why are you transporting soap?" The driver shrugged and laughed and responded that he only did what he was told—he did not understand this aid agency and its "crazy expats" either, but if it told him to deliver soap, then that is what he would do. The soldiers and the driver all laughed together and they let the driver through. The next day, the driver again filled his truck with soap and drove to the same checkpoint. Again, the soldiers inspected his goods and, laughing with him over the absurdity of delivering so much soap, let him through. On the third day, the driver loaded his truck with food except for the visible row of goods which, again, he loaded with soap.

The soldiers glanced briefly at his load, they all had a good laugh together, and he drove on.

Thieves Need Four Things

Knowledge

Thieves need to know they can steal. Map the critical details of the knowledge they need.

They need to know what there is to steal. They need to know where it is. They need to know when it is available. They need to know who is guarding it and who is competing for it. They need to know who will take it off their hands.

Value

Items must be sufficiently valuable for thieves to want to steal them and to risk capture.

Map your resources. What items have high value in the specific context? Where is the demand for those items?

Opportunity

Thieves need the time and the space to get to the items they steal and to move them somewhere else.

Map your time and space. When are your resources most vulnerable to theft? Where are they stored? What route do they travel as they are transported? How can people get access to them? When are they unattended or lightly guarded?

Money can be grabbed and moved quickly, but a safe is heavier and harder to move. A car is easy to drive away, but a car with no petrol will not drive.

Impunity

Thieves do not want to get caught. They want to enjoy their booty or the profits from it. Thieves seldom steal recklessly. They want to be sure to get away.

If all a thief needs is a gun and an insouciant, threatening air to intimidate resource holders into thinking they have no options, then thieves will abound. If they can see that they are not feared and that they will be held accountable, the number of potential thieves drops.

What is the nature of law enforcement in any given context? (In conflict areas, it is often quite weak, of course.) Will the community protect the thieves or be furious with them? Is there a border they can cross, or a fortress where they can hide?

These four elements are present in all situations of theft. We can eliminate one or more if we think through the situation and map our critical details.

Adaptability

Where there are items of value, there will be people who want to steal them.

Using our knowledge of the four things thieves need, we can reduce theft. But no matter what tactics we use to stop theft today, thieves will eventually figure out how to get around them. Thieves are adaptable. They will keep looking for opportunities and seeking knowledge.

In order to prevent them from learning how to steal from us again, we must always stay one step ahead. We need to keep thinking about the four things and to constantly use them to our advantage rather than letting the thieves steal the initiative from us, along with our resources.

Kidnapping is Theft

Kidnapping is no different from other sorts of theft except that it involves people. The item of value that kidnappers attempt to steal is life. Kidnapping is done primarily for profit rather than directly for ideology because it is often extraordinarily lucrative.

Current insurgencies and terrorist groups use kidnapping as one of their key ways of raising capital. Kidnappings directly support the capacity of fighters to fight. Every kidnapping contributes to conflict. There may be one victim of an abduction, but there will be many more victims of the ongoing violence supported by abductions. This makes it very important to prevent kidnapping.

Kidnappers can be defeated in the same way any thief can. Obscure and mislead them about their knowledge. Deny them any opportunity. Shrink the value. Hold them accountable.

The *value* of the "resource" is high and, in contexts of conflict or chaos, *impunity* for kidnapping outsiders is often low. These two are difficult to change when it comes to kidnapping, though not impossible.

A foreign aid worker was kidnapped by a local warlord and held for a ransom.

The local NGOs with whom the foreigner worked stepped in. They promised the warlord that they would pay the ransom out of the funds they had received for development. This, they said, was their duty as hosts who had failed to protect their foreign guest. In order to make sure this message of agreement to pay the ransom reached the warlord, they spread the message throughout the communities in the area—the communities where the funds would otherwise have been spent. The community leaders went to the warlord and forced him to return the aid worker without a ransom.

The local NGOs turned the tables by changing the value of the kidnapped aid worker and they changed the equation around *impunity*.

Using Resource Transfers

The five categories of resource transfers show the patterns by which resources, which are always linked to the activities of interveners, affect Dividers and Connectors. That is, these five patterns provide a tool for Do No Harm users to see how their Actions, embodied in resources, are having impacts (consequences).

You can see that the formulation—Actions and Behaviors have Consequences—expands the original understanding of what it is about resources that matter. It is three aspects that matter: 1) the actual inputs; 2) the background decision-making about these inputs; and 3) the way the inputs are handled.

Do No Harm users can use the tool of these five categories to predict beforehand how their resources will affect Dividers and Connectors. This knowledge helps them choose Actions that will reinforce Connectors and weaken Dividers.

Once an intervention is underway, the tool of the five categories is useful for Do No Harm users as they identify and trace their impacts and make appropriate changes to ensure greater effectiveness.

Distribution Effects

Find ways to be inclusive in your distribution.

Legitimization Effects

Find ways to support good actors and to disassociate yourself from bad actors. Or find ways to help bad actors become good ones.

Market Effects

Find ways to open up economic opportunities that are broadly inclusive.

Substitution Effects

Find ways to involve local governing authorities and local organizations.

Theft

Find ways to stop thieves at their four points.

Resource Transfers are Relationships

Interveners do what they do for good reasons—to do good! But we can easily fall into the belief that having the right reasons and good intentions means that we are automatically doing good.

Good relationships are better than good intentions

The transfer of resources is ultimately about the relationships that must be developed in order to do the work. Once we are in a situation, with the people we hope to work with or have an effect on, we establish relationships and we set up expectations. The patterns of the Resource Transfers are largely framed around the results of moving stuff from one place to another. In this process, we are engaging with, talking to, working with all manner of people. Resource Transfers are more than simply the stuff of an intervention, they are an *interaction*.

When people interact, they engage in a web of expectation, obligation, and responsibility. Which means that our *behavior* matters. Behavior links the Resource Transfers to the other half of the ABCs: the RAFT⁷.

All societies have "rules" about interactions, whether they are the marketplace ones of selling and buying, or the interpersonal giving of gifts, or even what can be safely and appropriately taken from the environment. These social rules are not always codified in law, but their violation always elicits emotional responses.

Local perceptions matter

Resource Transfers are linked to the RAFT through the social rules of the community where the intervention takes place. The local expectation is, not unreasonably, that interveners will play by the local rules. Did the interaction make people feel good or bad? Do they feel treated with respect or not? Do they *feel* their community is better off than it was before the intervention?

By not being aware of the specific interactions in which we are engaged, we forget to play by the rules. Then interveners wonder why the people with whom they're working treat them with suspicion and annoyance.

The mismatch of interactions, leads to the breakdown of relationships. Whereas, if we are engaged in the right ways with each other, even if there are disputes, we can reinforce relationships.

⁷ The RAFT (Respect, Accountability, Fairness, Transparency) is discussed in Section VI.

Section VI

Using the ABCs: Messages through the RAFT

Using the RAFT: Behavior and Messages

Three Spheres of Behavior

Respect

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Disrespect

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Respect

Accountability

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on lack of Accountability

Positive Patterns of Behavior based on Accountability

Fairness

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Unfairness

Positive Patterns of Behavior based on Fairness

Transparency

How to be Transparent

Using the RAFT

Implicit Ethical Messages and the RAFT

Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—Or War, introduced the term "implicit ethical messages" to describe how actions are louder than words. Over the years, many colleagues expressed discomfort with the word "implicit", finding that it was difficult to explain and did not add to the understanding of the concept when they conveyed it to others.

Based on this feedback over many years, from many people, Do No Harm dropped the "implicit ethical" from Messages.

Do No Harm moved to the language of the RAFT when describing the messages because we also heard that few people felt confident in remembering the seven IEMs identified in Do No Harm. The RAFT involves fewer terms and is a fine acronym in English to aid memory.

The RAFT comes from Getting it Right: Making Corporate-Community Relations Work, where the terms are used to examine social factors that are affected by corporate behavior. The categories are broader than the original Do No Harm categories and presented in positive language. This allows for a better entry point as people feel supported by the words, not beaten down. The old Do No Harm categories also fit very neatly under the RAFT.

Using the RAFT: Behavior and Messages

If actions speak louder than words, then behaviors must shout!

Our words about who we are and what we represent, when we offer them, are often heard by others as aspirations or provisional—or as lies and hypocrisy. Our behaviors toward others, the ways we engage with others in relationships, are the true conveyers of our values.

People in the places where we intervene are not empty vessels of needs to be filled up. They are not potholes in the road to be repaired. The resources we bring, no matter how valuable and vital, do not bring development or create safety. What people want more than things is to engage with other people in relationships through which, together, they devise strategies to bring significant, positive, lasting change. This is why our behaviors as we intervene are more important than any resources we provide.

Activities are what we do, behaviors show who we are. We can do a good activity—such as providing schools—but if we do it badly, without engaging with people, understanding their priorities, showing respect for their ideas and systems, the activity will not have the intended impact. Good activities can be completely negated by bad behaviors.

Patterns of Behavior and Mindsets

Human behavior, while complex, is not in fact infinite. Behaviors, especially in relationships, follow characteristic patterns. While specifics may vary from context to context and culture to culture, certain common patterns are observable. Some behavior patterns are negative and either increase Dividers or undermine Connectors. Other patterns of behavior are positive and either decrease Dividers or support Connectors.

Do No Harm users note that by observing these patterns in ourselves and in others, we can recognize how to shape and control them. They note that we who intervene have responsibility over how we, as individuals, interact with others. We have responsibility for how our interactions have impacts on Dividers and Connectors.

Some Do No Harm users talk about the mindsets that influence and shape our behaviors in ways that, in turn, influence and shape our impacts on any context. They call these the "dividing mindset" and the "connecting mindset".

The dividing mindset looks for and emphasizes difference and dominance. In one of Mary Anderson's memorable phrases, it "reinforces the modes and moods of warfare". It is based on a sense that the world requires winners and losers, so that hostile competition and aggression are essential for bringing about the changes they want. Fighters and people who incite conflict carry these attitudes and express these behaviors.

This mindset often becomes the "default" mindset for people who intervene in conflict contexts. Because they observe hostility around them, many interveners come to expect meanness and aggression without consciously recognizing that they have slipped into this mindset. When we as interveners internalize a dividing mindset, we convey it in our behaviors to those around us.

The connecting mindset looks for and emphasizes collaboration, equality, and responsibility. As the lessons on Connectors show us, even in violent conflicts, individuals collaborate and care for each other; some systems and beliefs connect people rather than divide them. When interveners operate out of a connecting mindset, they exhibit positive patterns of behavior. Their behaviors present messages that run counter to conflict narratives and messages. This can help others remain free from—or be more willing to resist—the dividing mindset.

Every person who intervenes in any context may choose which mindset to embody. The choice is the basis for effective, positive impacts or ineffective and negative impacts. It is an essential choice.

The RAFT: Respect, Accountability, Fairness, and Transparency

Do No Harm users have come up with another new tool for reminding ourselves, and for conveying to others, the importance of the connecting mindset. The four characteristics of connecting mindsets are Respect, Accountability, Fairness, and Transparency. Build a strong and sturdy RAFT and you will sail smoothly through your interactions with others. If you have a rickety, leaky RAFT, you will sink.

The RAFT and organizations

The RAFT applies not just to individual behavior. It applies to organizational behavior as well. Policies blindly followed, rules that appear capricious or mean, or the simple lack of time and attention afforded to people can all wreck the RAFT for organizations.

In the four sections below, Respect, Accountability, Fairness, and Transparency are discussed with examples of behaviors that undermine or support the RAFT. Many of these negative examples are based on the categories of the original Do No Harm "implicit ethical messages" and will be recognized by those who have used Do No Harm in the past.

Three Spheres of Behavior

The RAFT applies in three spheres from the individual to the organizational.

Conduct

Conduct is the personal behavior of individuals. Small actions, reflective of the RAFT patterns, may make a major difference for good or for ill.

Intervener actions or expressed attitudes can reinforce the modes and moods of warfare (the dividing mindset) or the modes and moods of normal life (the connecting mindset).

Policy

Policy is the organizational documentation that influences, directs, and constrains conduct.

An over-emphasis at the policy-level on the *quantity*, *quality* or *timing* of resource deliveries can obscure, distort, and undervalue an intervention's actual impacts, limiting the ability of field-based staff to make better decisions and arrangements.

Over-specification of the *identities* of recipients through policies or operational arrangements limit the ability of field staff to avoid reinforcing inter-group divisions.

An over-simplification of a conflict in *funding decisions and fund-raising* can cheapen suffering and criminality. Maintaining clarity about authentic innocent suffering and genuine war crimes and interpreting these to the broader world is a responsibility of donors and agencies that intervene in conflict areas.

Publicity

Publicity is the organization's presentation of itself and its work to the world.

Using publicity pictures or stories that emphasize victimization can reinforce the demonization of one side in a conflict. This can reinforce the dividing mindset rather than helping the public, or an agency's own staff, find an even-handed way to respond to those on all sides. As well, reinforcing the sense that there are "good" and "bad" sides in conflict can support the motivations of people to excuse their own (or their "own side's") behavior and to push for "victory" at whatever cost rather than peace.

Using pictures or stories that emphasize hopelessness can reinforce people's sense of powerlessness. It sends the message that nothing changes, unless outsiders provide resources, organization, tools, and attention.

The RAFT

Negative Patterns of Behavior	RAFT	Positive Patterns of Behavior
Hostile Competition Supplies	Respect	Cooperation and Collaboration Trust
SuspicionAnger, Aggression, BelligerenceIndifference		TrustCalmSensitivity (to local concerns)
PowerlessnessImpunitySecurity, Arms & Power	Accountability	Positive ActionResponsibilityRule of Law or Nonviolence
Different Value for Different LivesIgnoring Rules	Fairness	Recognition of ValueFollowing Rules
 Closed Decision making process unknown Hide information Lack of transparency contributes to all above behaviors 	Transparency	 Open Decision making process known Share information Transparency contributes to all above behaviors

Three Spheres of Behavior

Conduct

Conduct is the personal behavior of individuals.

Policy

Policy is the organizational documentation that influences, directs, and constrains conduct.

Publicity

Publicity is the organization's presentation of itself and its work to the world.

Respect

Respect is positive social attention.

Respect is fundamental for successful human interaction and the connecting mindset. All of our work proceeds more effectively and successfully when we work with respect. The other three characteristics of the RAFT detailed below—Accountability, Fairness, and Transparency—all come back to Respect.

Offering Respect requires a conscious decision and deliberate action. It is expressed both overtly and tacitly. Interveners often say, "I respect everyone," but people with whom we work know that it is not words, but behaviors that show true respect. Small acts, such as listening without being distracted or hurried, or simple courtesies such as standing up when a person enters a room, convey respect.

The dividing mindset insists that respect must be shown to me, first, before I will provide it. Respect then becomes a hierarchical thing, bound up with status, with those below needing to provide it to those above them, but those above do not need to grant respect downward.

The dividing mindset also engages in active disrespect.

Disrespect is felt as humiliation. Humiliation is the violent or aggressive assertion of hierarchy. It is putting someone in their place, a place well below the humiliator. The person asserting the humiliation exerts this type of authority on those who cannot, or who the humiliator believes cannot, respond.

Humiliation is not easily dismissed. The person humiliated eventually needs to discharge the emotion, especially if the humiliation is regular and ongoing. Much violence, both that directed outwardly onto others and that directed inward onto ourselves, is a direct product of humiliation.

Respect is reciprocal. You must give it to get it, especially in places where you are an outsider. It is never wrong to take the first step toward respect, no matter your position. Showing respect is the only way to ever make respect mutual. The connecting mindset offers respect freely to all.

In one organization in Uganda, the President every day walks around the area where they work. He stops to talk with people, both inside and outside the organization, and to listen to them discuss their lives. Practically, this allows him to be very clear about the organization's priorities because he has learned what they should be from the people. Respectfully, it demonstrates to people just how much he cares about them and the work he does.

Patterns of Respect

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Disrespect

Disrespect through hostile Competition

Believing only in zero-sum interactions, we send messages of domination and dehumanization.

Disrespect through Suspicion

Sending messages of distrust, we show our fear and hostility.

Disrespect through Aggression, Anger, and Belligerence

Sending messages of force and fear, we hope to compel either compliance or silence.

Disrespect through Indifference

Not caring, we deny their experience and their humanity.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Respect

Collaboration and cooperation as expressions of respect

Working together, we can achieve great things.

Trust as an expression of respect

Open doors send messages of willingness to listen.

Calm and respect

Sending messages of calm, we show ourselves unafraid and professional.

Listening as an expression of respect

Sitting and listening, we show that we care.

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Disrespect

Disrespect through hostile competition

Hostile competition breeds disrespect. Believing that a situation can only have zero-sum results, where for one side to gain the other must lose, negates others' ideas and opinions. It conveys a message that there is only one "right" way and other ways have no right to exist. This type of competition fosters expressions of disdain and contempt for others. People and organizations caught up in this pattern see no grounds for compromise or collaboration.

Fighters and those inciting conflict engage in displays of negative competition, dehumanizing their opponents. Intervening agencies and individuals mirror this attitude when they badmouth one another. When we do this, we send the message that we do not respect people with whom we do not agree. We contribute to the dividing mindset that we do not need to work with those with whom we do not agree. That working with them is impossible.

The difference in attitude between most athletes who play for a professional sports team and the most rabid fans of that team can be stark. Athletes enjoy competition against great players and teams and often express that pleasure with accolades for others. Fanatics, by contrast, belittle athletes on opposing teams, engage in hostility toward other fans, and denigrate whole geographical regions. They, it seems, get little pleasure out of the athletics on display, enjoying instead the hot social antipathy expressed toward the "other".

When we use the word "competition" in Do No Harm, we are aware of the potential for healthy competition, such as that often displayed between sports teams or in commerce. Just as with the word "conflict", the concept of competition itself is not negative, but it can be carried by people into a dark place of active disrespect and disregard.

Disrespect through Suspicion

A lack of trust is experienced by people as disrespect. It inhibits relationship building. Suspicion leads to fear and to avoidance.

Suspicion is also self-fulfilling. A lack of trust quickly becomes reciprocal, with events interpreted as evidence to justify and support that lack. Because people do not trust one another, they cannot communicate without further antagonizing one another.

Fighters and those inciting conflict use suspicion to create fear and to claim the authority to protect and defend some people against others. When intervening agencies succumb to suspicion and fear, they reinforce the messages fighters are sending that there is something to fear. Further, an organization loses the trust of local people when it does not trust them.

The dividing mindset perceives that much of the world is untrustworthy and deceitful. It assumes that everyone is out only for themselves and that they will pursue their ends by whatever means, including and especially dishonest ones. A person caught up in the dividing mindset often perceives that kind behavior will be exploited and that others will see us as foolish and naïve.

The result is that the suspicious person acts in all those ways they expect others to act.

The barbed wire that mounts the walls of so many compounds is a not so subtle message to neighbors that "we do not trust you". In some places at some times, such barbed wire may well be appropriate, but it has become a default, unthinking design element in all too many places.

Disrespect through Aggression, Anger, and Belligerence

Aggression, anger, and belligerence send messages of force and fear.

They express the tensions that people feel and increase tensions in others. Fighters and those inciting conflict use aggression to build up their own energy and to bully others to join them, or at least not resist. When we engage in aggression and express anger belligerently we are doing the same: we hope to compel either compliance or silence.

Interestingly, aggression, anger, and belligerence also express fear. But the targets of these expressions are seldom those things of which we are afraid. Instead, we too often express aggression toward people close to us and unlikely to retaliate. Fear (and its expressions through aggression, anger, and belligerence) is a basis for suspicion and hence for disrespect, both within an organization and with those with whom they work.

This is one of the dark sides of power. This attitude is almost always displayed downward in a hierarchy. The aggression is meant to be threatening. It comes with the assumption that there is no cost to this behavior for the more powerful person. The target is meant to feel humiliated, being violently pushed into a place of lower status. Clearly this is counter to respect.

It is ok to feel fear and to be scared. It is not ok to take those feelings out on others.

The dividing mindset perceives that much of the world is threatening and responds by attacking. The best defense, it is assumed, is a good offense. We have to get them before they get us. Carrying this attitude, we proceed to attack everything that impinges on us. We begin to define all setbacks or challenges as attacks on us that must be responded to with aggression.

In some organizations, senior managers interact with their staff with aggression, yelling or humiliating them in other ways. In some cases, this grows out of the fear the managers feel from working in dangerous places. While the fear is understandable, the result is that they push their fear out onto others in unacceptable ways.

This behavior is a sign that the manager ought to go home.

Disrespect through Indifference

Indifference and lack of attention send a message of not caring.

Avoiding indifference requires an active effort to pay attention and to express caring. It is not enough to say that you care, you have to show it on an individual level. Interveners of course assert that they do care, and they believe that their presence as interveners is enough to show people that they care. This is not showing caring on the necessary individual level, however.

People under stress often do not take enough care with their relationships with other people. They assume that others understand the same urgency that they do. Some office cultures even give positive feedback for being so busy that people do not appear to have time for anything so soft as human interaction. At the same time, those who show they do not have time for others are jealous of and extravagant in their free time, claiming a need to "blow off steam".

The appearance of indifference can also be a result of fear. Being too nervous to open up to others. Masking the tension under overwork and over drinking. Narrowing the circle of interaction and believing this is where safety and security come from.

Indifference shows up in simple, everyday interactions. Not looking up from a computer screen when someone is talking to you. Not greeting people or making eye contact. Looking at your watch during a meeting with a community. Checking your phone while interacting with someone. These tell people that you are not listening to them.

It appears in an attitude of dissatisfaction with the current location. Always complaining about the traffic or the weather. Always talking about disliking the elements of the job. Never being happy to be there. Only ever talking to or spending free time with other expatriates. These tell people that you do not like where you are, that you do not like the place where they live and work, that you do not like them. They wonder why you stay.

Indifference also appears in the disregard of the local mores. Assuming they can disregard inconvenient rules, protected by their position or organization. Driving too fast. Loud parties in residential neighborhoods. Public drunkenness in general, but especially where

alcohol is forbidden. Never learning much about the local culture. These tell people that you hold them in contempt.

The dividing mindset does not care about people from other groups. It ignores their concerns and disregards their grievances. It simply does not accord them their humanity. It thinks only of its own needs and pleasures. It is contemptuous of others.

A manager went to a community meeting to listen to people's grievances. He kept looking at his watch. Later, when he pointed out to people that he had attended a meeting and listened to them, community members pointed out that he did not respect them because he clearly did not want to be there. They cited his looking at his watch as evidence.

Organizations and Disrespect

All of these attitudes of disrespect can be displayed by organizations in their policies and procedures as well, not just individuals.

Organizations often agree to divide areas up among themselves to provide more "efficiency". When these divisions also map onto existing political or identity group or conflict lines, the organizations can be seen to be taking a side. This often looks to people as though the organizations are participating in the political competition.

Organizational operating principles can emphasize competition in some areas. Efforts to secure funding are often explicitly described as competitive. This attitude can seep out into other areas of an organization, such as around efforts to secure "good press", and into relationships with communities.

Some organizations mandate that international and local staff interact in certain ways. In some cases, there are clear physical barriers. Local staff on the ground floor and international staff on the floor above. Drivers not allowed to pass a certain point in a compound.

Organizational policies on security can be perceived as disrespect. In some situations, international staff of organizations have been prevented from interacting with local people altogether! This shows indifference and leads to backlash.

All of these demonstrate the dividing mindset.

Finally, though this is seldom mandated by an organization's policies or procedures, responding aggressively and belligerently to challenges by communities, colleagues, donors, or the press also emphasizes the dividing mindset.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Respect

Collaboration and cooperation as expressions of respect

Emphasizing that we can work together and demonstrating that it is possible sends a powerful connecting message. When others are emphasizing that groups cannot work together, we can show how wrong they are.

Collaboration and cooperation express fundamental respect. I see the value of your ideas and approaches. I can learn from these and work with you and them. Together, we can be effective. These are the messages of respect from collaboration.

We can send the message of working together in so many ways. A single organization can hire staff from many groups and bring them to work together. People or organizations can work across lines of conflict or tension, demonstrating that it is possible to trust the "other" and by doing so, also building trust.

Caution

The options for working collaboratively are extensive, but we must remain attentive to the specific context to make sure we are using one that is appropriate. Some forms of collaboration will increase tension if used in the wrong contexts.

Trust as an expression of respect

Trusting sends a message of openness that counters messages of fear.

How do you engage with strangers when you are not afraid of them? Agencies can invite people into their office. Interveners can shop in local markets and strike up conversations. Agencies can hire local people to do important and complex jobs; they can unstring the barbed wire (where appropriate). The context shapes the way trust is expressed. Local ways can be learned and incorporated.

Calm and respect

Calm in the face of anxiety or provocation is among the most powerful peaceful messages we can send. Being able to approach complex and possibly dangerous situations with a level head helps others manage their own anxieties and often keeps tempers damped down.

Stress is first a choice and then becomes a habit. In a context of conflict, keeping calm can provide safety and give you options. To be calm is to trust that others can respond as well. This signals respect.

Many organizations consistently provide incentives for appearing stressed out. We simultaneously get credit from colleagues and peers for being very, very busy. One result of this is that we are able to lower expectations for our job performance. After all, if we are that busy, no one can expect us to perform up to our peak capability. We certainly cannot take the time to think about what we are doing before it needs to get done!

This mindset is a trap. We owe it to the people and communities we are working with to perform at as high a level as we are capable. We can only perform at a high level if we take the time to do so, which requires much more stopping and thinking. Go slow to go fast!

Listening and respect

The key to showing respect is the ability to listen with interest and attention. Even more respectful is to respond to what you hear in ways that show that you took seriously the ideas and priorities of others. This is, clearly, the core expression of respect.

Organizations and Respect

When organizations emphasize listening and trust, they demonstrate respect. By showing a willingness to pay real attention to the concerns of people, they can reject the dividing mindset.

Organizations can build programs that truly collaborate. By bringing people together in meaningful ways, based on an understanding of the true (not assumed) Connectors, an organization can help people to build on their own desires for a normal life.

When an organization shows that it can operate effectively without a dividing mindset, it encourages others to move toward a connecting mindset as well.

Using Respect

Start with listening. Sit still with people for an hour, asking questions and learning from them. Show a genuine interest.

How will you use what you have learned? Who can you work with to put a new activity into practice? How will you engage more people to at least think?

Caution

All of these words, like "listening" and "collaboration", can become buzzwords. People and organizations use the words and claim that they are important. But all too often, the words do not translate into action. What are you doing?

Accountability

Accountability is NOT the same as being held accountable. Being held accountable comes from outside of us and is usually out of our hands. Accountability is what we have control over. It is something we do and something we offer of ourselves to those around us.

Accountability means that when we make mistakes, we want to know it and to fix them. This requires a willingness and the capacity to learn from the mistakes.

Acknowledging that mistakes will happen is not hopelessness. It is in fact the opposite. It demonstrates that we are willing to face reality and to work within our constraints with all the power we have. Accountability reflects the fact that we do not fool ourselves into believing our plans are accurate maps of our behaviors. Accountability is essential to learning. It also demonstrates respect!

Communities recognize accountability at a glance. They know who is willing to talk about mistakes or challenging timeframes, and to make changes in their implementation. Most people say that they do not see much accountability in the international community of interveners.

Do No Harm users use their tools to anticipate the types of things that could go wrong in their plans and to incorporate learning from mistakes into their solutions. Many say that they have found it is possible to use a mistake to speed up achievement of the goals of a project or a program because a mistake may increase knowledge about the context in ways that enable better work. However, this is only possible if we have the capacity to learn rapidly and iteratively, especially with regard to our impacts on Dividers and Connectors.

Do No Harm users, for many reasons, have a bias toward action. They have seen how much power and control they have, even in the most complex and challenging of situations. They have seen that they can still make good decisions, emphasizing the connecting mindset, no matter what is going on around them. And they have gotten good results.

They also know how dangerous inaction can be. They have seen the harm that results when people avoid acting or are trapped by analysis paralysis.

The sense of being able to act is also a form of accountability.

Patterns of Accountability

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on lack of Accountability

Powerlessness and lack of Accountability

By giving away our power, we become unable to create change.

Impunity and lack of Accountability

By misusing resources, we send messages of abusive authority.

Security, Arms and Power and lack of Accountability

By giving up responsibility for security we send messages of fear.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Accountability

Positive Action and Accountability

By constantly striving toward progress, every day, we send messages of hope.

Responsibility and Accountability

Through good stewardship, we demonstrate leadership.

Rule of Law and Accountability

By supporting legitimate security, we send calming messages of normalcy.

Negative Patterns of Behavior based in lack of Accountability

Powerlessness and lack of Accountability

Choosing to not exert our considerable power and pushing responsibility for effort outward and away from ourselves sends a message of sloth, irresponsibility, and non-accountability.

Setbacks are never pleasant. It is easier to avoid accountability and let someone else deal with the problem. Sometimes we do not have, or do not exert, the energy to figure out why things went wrong and what would be a possible solution. Often, if we do try to do so, we do so in isolation rather than by listening to the people with whom we work. We try to run from mistakes, rather than to engage with others to learn more through them.

We frequently hear interveners say:

- "I can't do anything about that."
- "That's the donor's/my HQ's/the fighters' fault."
- "My impact is so small, I can't be responsible for anything."

Fighters and those inciting conflict want us to believe we are powerless. They would like nothing more than that we acquiesce to the environment they create.

Often, local people also push responsibility away. They, too, say they feel powerless and expect change to happen, if it happens, as a result of someone else's actions. If interveners claim powerlessness, we are reinforcing the sense that local people are also powerless.

We claim to be "change agents". Accountability requires that we accept our own claim and truly assess and take responsibility for the impacts we have, positive *and* negative, and the intended impacts that we fail to achieve.

Impunity and lack of Accountability

Intervening agencies raise funds and secure resources to support their programs to help communities. When they or their staff are seen to use resources for their own purposes, such as for a weekend away or taking a bag of rice for a relative, this sends a message about power and authority (and disrespect!).

The ability to allocate resources can become a question of "what can I get away with?". Impunity means that those who control resources and the access to them can, if they wish, use them for themselves. Some are tempted to believe that having responsibility for resources also gives the right to use them. This is the very opposite of accountability.

Fighters and those inciting conflict want impunity for two things. First, they want to use resources for their own gain and pleasure. Second, they want to get away with everything they do during conflict. When interveners mirror this sense that conflict "excuses" their actions, they reinforce the conflict and convey messages of impunity and disrespect.

Security, Arms and Power, and lack of Accountability

Security is fundamentally an area of intervener accountability. We need to protect our staff and the recipients of assistance from violence and from theft. Yet, paradoxically, many of the approaches interveners take to ensure security can actually lead to increases in both. This reality is linked to the experience that mistrust breeds mistrust and disrespect. When an agency lives behind barbed wire and armed guards, it signals communities that there are things of value "inside" the protected zone and that they "know" people will try to take them.

In addition, the responsibility for security is often handed over to others.

When organizations turn their security over to armed guards, they send messages about the power and authority of those with weapons. They reinforce the conflict mindset that those with weapons have power—and that they are allowed to use the power to take what they want or to use resources for themselves.

An organization in Iraq chose to not have armed guards outside. Instead, they hired an older man from the neighborhood to sit beside the door, out on the street. All day, he engaged with passersby, talking and drinking tea. This office of this organization was never threatened.

Organizations and lack of Accountability

The first mistake that makes all the others worse is not talking about mistakes. We don't think we should air our dirty laundry in public. We want to preserve our dignity—or our funding. Talking about mistakes will distract people from all the good we do. We believe we can take care of the mistakes internally. We can learn from them and do better next time.

This is not accountable behavior. Nor is it learning behavior.

Do No Harm learned through people's mistakes and their willingness to share them. The Project provided a collaborative and safe space for people to discuss their organizational failures and mistakes so that everybody could learn together.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Accountability

Positive Action and Accountability

No matter the situation, we have the power to act. Finding ways to act that are positive, doable, and lead to progress all demonstrate that we will do the job to the best of our ability. We can show we are holding ourselves accountable when we act.

At a planning meeting, a government official in Afghanistan told a room of his subordinates about a project he ran when he was younger. He told them a story of mistake after mistake that he had committed. But, as he told them, after each mistake, he learned and he developed solutions. On that project he never stopped making mistakes. And he never stopped learning and adapting to mitigate the mistakes.

He ended the story by asking his team, "Now, what are we going to do?"

Responsibility and Accountability

Stewardship is the notion that the resources we are responsible for do not belong to us, so we treat them with special care. A steward acts with openness and shares information about the resources, affording others the ability to plan with those resources in mind.

We work with communities to find the best possible way to distribute goods or services. Acting responsibly, we welcome audits and evaluations because we can show, and perhaps teach, what we have learned.

We must ensure that the resources we steward are used for the most significant, positive, lasting change.

Rule of Law and Accountability

Security can be hard to come by in some contexts. Yet there are usually local officials or governing authorities who claim that they are responsible for providing security. They can be supported in some cases and, in others, reminded of their duty.

In addition, working within the framework of local laws and regulations, as well as working with local authorities, sends powerful, positive messages about legitimacy and authority. In many cases, the local governing authority wants to be able to provide security and services. Showing respect for that desire can show others that effective governance is possible.

Organizations and Accountability

Organizations can emphasize the stewardship of resources both internally, and in their discourse with the rest of the world. They can come up with ways to measure this realistically, and not measures that look and sound like propaganda.

Organizations can emphasize problem solving in the face of complex crises, not abandoning people to the chaos. We can choose to remain in situations that others have left because we are working closely with people on real solutions.

Organizations can work with local authorities to promote the rule of law. They can support good actors in their initiatives. They can avoid contributing to corruption. Combine this with work weeding out theft along the impunity axis, finding and supporting the local structures of prevention and justice.

Using Accountability

Start with a mistake. Start with something that went wrong. Start with an apology.

"A mistake is only a failure if you fail to learn from it."

Every morning, have a colleague ask you, "what mistake did you make yesterday?" Discuss it, come up with some ways to do better, commit to reporting back the next morning. Then do the same for your colleague.

Discuss with the community what you will do to make a mistake turn out better. Request suggestions from the community. Then commit to doing the work necessary.

Maintain an attitude of problem solving and creativity. Figure out how to make progress relentlessly. Even when things are not going well, find the one thing you can do that day to push things forward. Document and track these things that you are doing—better, document and track what your colleagues are doing and then share these things weekly. Push the envelope and push forward.

Never stop learning.

Fairness

Fairness is treating people as equal and doing so in ways that, within that culture, are seen by everyone to be "fair." Fairness is an interesting challenge when working in different cultures in that local understandings of fairness differ. Every society has clear notions of what is fair and unfair. Every society has rules and norms that everyone understands as fair (and unfair). But, from society to society, these notions can and do vary.

For example, in some places, people feel that assistance should be directed toward single, elderly people as a priority because of their vulnerability. In other societies, people feel that "fairness" requires that families with multiple mouths to feed should be given priority. Either of these can be "right". The question is which is seen by people in this location at this time to be the "fair" way to distribute resources.

Fairness does not require equality in distribution. Within societies, people expect and accept differences. It is possible to recognize the value of people without putting them in competition with others. Essentially, people feel it is fair when those who "deserve" things get them, and those who "do not deserve" them do not get them. When interveners follow the rules, this shows that we care for and respect the effort of cooperation and collaboration that went into the rules.

Fighters and those inciting conflict intend to differentiate between "us" and "them". They want different groups to be treated differently. They both define and treat groups in such a way. They reward loyalty to their cause and penalize others.

As a behavior, fairness comes from an attitude of respect for local priorities and an eagerness to learn from people—from many people at many levels—what the rules of the game are for them, in that context. Interveners who are acting from fairness want to know how options of resource provision will affect various members of society. They want to know who will benefit more than others and how this will be seen by those who do not benefit so much. An intervention should find the way that is seen by all to be fair.

To be seen to be unfair is to heighten intergroup tensions and reinforce Dividers. To be seen to be fair is to build on Connectors.

Fairness, Justice, and playing by the Rules

Sometimes it is the case that the rules and the rules for changing the rules are so egregious that we cannot work within them. When a society is structured to reinforce systems of disadvantage and advantage, resistance may be important. Yet even when resisting such "rules," following the RAFT works. Showing respect to our opponents is a fundamental tenet of respect, as is operating with accountability, emphasizing fairness, and using transparency to demonstrate the justice of our position.

Patterns of Fairness

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Unfairness

Unfairness through demonstrating Different Value for Different Lives

Showing that we think one group is superior to another, we humiliate people.

Unfairness through Ignoring the Rules

Through discounting the rules, we send messages of contempt for communal processes.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Fairness

Fairness through Recognizing Value

By recognizing worth, we send messages of respect and delight.

Fairness through Following the Rules

By following rules, we send messages of respect for communal processes.

Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Unfairness

Unfairness through demonstrating Different Value for Different Lives

The dividing mindset thinks some people are worth more than others. This attitude is emphasized constantly through preferential treatment of some group or groups over others. The social rules, as well as laws, can also be designed to discriminate against groups and emphasize their lack of worth.

Interveners can slip into this aspect of the dividing mindset due to laziness, fear, or organizational policies. Combined with the Distribution Effect, interventions and interveners can be perceived as demonstrating preferential treatment to the group receiving benefits from the intervention.

An organization held a Do No Harm training just out of town. At night, the local staff was dropped off at a bus station to get home, while the international staff were driven directly to their homes. (Needless to say, the next day's session was quite intense. There was a lot of learning done that day!)

Unfairness through Ignoring the Rules

Every society has rules, which are, in general, communal and agreed upon. When we discount them, we show contempt for the community and their processes.

The dividing mindset sees rules as arbitrary and binding only on others. The powerful do not have to obey them. When in a position to enforce them, the dividing mindset is inconsistent and plays favorites.

Organizations and Unfairness

Organization policies and procedures can emphasize that the organization itself feels that some people are worth more than others. Security and evacuation policies show differences between local and expatriate staff. In some cases, evacuation policies make no mention of local staff at all, assuming they can survive.

Organizations can treat the distribution of scarce resources too casually for people in communities. Rather than have enough to go around, organizations sometimes just distribute goods until they are gone, leaving some people without (and often having stood in line for hours to come away with nothing).

An organization in Iraq went to a neighborhood of one city to distribute goods. They were surprised by how many people showed up. They became frightened. They just threw the goods off the trucks and fled.

Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Fairness

Fairness through Recognizing Value

When we demonstrate that we value people, we have an opportunity to show how much we care through collaboration. We can show that we believe in someone's or some groups humanity. We can offer attention to their rituals and their rules.

We humanize even those with whom we disagree, taking them seriously and listening, yet also expressing ourselves.

Fairness through Following the Rules

When we follow the rules and it is clear that we are doing so, we reinforce the connecting mindset. Most rules are not arbitrary. They were created for a reason—often a very good reason, locally. When we disregard rules, we are seen as scofflaws. This perception leads people to expect the worst from us.

Following the rules is a way of showing respect. Discussing rules we do not agree with also shows respect.

Organizations and Fairness

Organizations can emphasize the rules by being very clear about theirs. This goes beyond stating what the rules are. They need to discuss why the rules are what they are in order to avoid seeming arbitrary. They also need to be open to further conversation when communities either do not understand or object.

Organizational policies and procedures can emphasize the value of people and groups. Avoiding egregious Distribution Effects is one way. Developing clear and fair policies for staff that respect their common humanity is another.

Using Fairness

Ask yourself how a six-year-old would see the situation. Better yet, ask a six-year-old. Children are very attuned to notions of fairness and often vocal about violations of the norms they expect. Adults stop vocalizing their discontent as much, but do not stop feeling outrage.

Put yourself in their shoes.

Transparency

By now, it is obvious why openness—transparency—is the fourth element of the RAFT. To be open and above-board about what we do and why and how we do it is to demonstrate respect. We can provide sufficient information to communities that they can see whether we are accountable to our principles and our claims or not. We can demonstrate that we care about fairness and want to be open about how our actions and behaviors have impacts on different groups of people.

An unwillingness to be transparent also sends the message that we think others are unimportant. Acting as though others are unimportant makes them angry and suspicious. Hidden decision making processes, whether intentional or not, send a message of disregard. When no input or feedback is allowed, people have no reason to trust decisions. They cannot expect that conversations behind closed doors (perhaps unannounced and to which they are not invited) will be made with their wellbeing in mind. Because their potential insights and contributions are unrequested, they do not expect that much attention will be paid to their concerns. Lack of transparency indicates that we do not think "you" are important, that we do not respect you enough to include you and your ideas and judgments in our systems.

Fighters and those inciting conflict work in secret with only the "trusted" in-group. They do not want their strategy sessions or their plotting to be open to all. Their plans must be secret, and when they emerge, people should follow them because the fighters know best.

When people are included in decision-making, or even when they understand how and why decisions are made, they do not need to be concerned that their voices will be ignored. Transparency allows people to find leverage points to inject themselves into decision making where they feel their interests are at stake.

Transparency reinforces a sense of connectedness. Secrecy reinforces a sense of division.

An organization made transparency their core organizational value. They made everything they did public through multiple channels. They articulated their goals publicly. They announced their activities well in advance, inviting both feedback and participation. They met specifically with people who said they opposed the goals in order to discuss common ground (they looked for Connectors with people who opposed them!). They made their notes of every meeting, both internally and with local authorities, public to show who they had met with, what agreements had been made (or not made), and simply what the organization was doing at all times.

The organization soon found themselves trusted by everybody, even their opponents. They were asked to mediate between other groups. They also had great success very quickly, because the community understood exactly what they trying to accomplish and why. The community took ownership of the goals and celebrated their own success. The organization was happy to fade into the background.

How to be Transparent⁸

Make sure the method of information sharing actually reaches people. Do not make assumptions about access!	Shared?	With Whom?	How?
Selection Criteria			
Project Goals			
Project Timeframes			
Funding Allocation			

Selection Criteria. The issue most frequently raised by people in recipient societies is their lack of information about why some individuals or groups are selected for assistance and others—often in the same community or nearby—are not.

Project Goals. Many people note that they do not know the activities or objectives of the agencies or the intended impacts of the programs being implemented there. They also say that when recipient communities do not have information, they cannot support assistance activities.

Project Timeframes. People feel strongly that they should have more information about the final stages of any assistance effort and the plans for departure by an agency that has worked in their community. They say that when they are not informed about the timing or conditions of a project's ending, they feel abandoned and unprepared. Information would enable them to plan ahead and handle the departure with less disruption to their lives.

Funding Allocation. People very much want to know more about the resources. They want to know how much money is involved, where it goes and what is accomplished with it. Without clear information about funding, people often suspect corruption and diversion. When people's expectations exceed what they see as results, questions about the use of funds become even more urgent.

⁸ Concepts and text from Time to Listen by Anderson, Brown, and Jean (CDA, 2012).

Using the RAFT

"We are what we repeatedly do. Excellence, then, is not an act, but a habit." - Durant9

The RAFT is the fourth technique of using Do No Harm, and it is perhaps the most difficult because it requires us to reflect on and recognize how others perceive us. We want to be liked, trusted, and respected. It can be uncomfortable to find out that we are not. It is even more painful when we realize that we are responsible for how others perceive us. Our behaviors matter to our relationships in our work. Positive behaviors enable positive relationships which are essential for lasting, positive impacts.

Interveners should ask themselves and their colleagues what is their dominant mindset. Is it a dividing mindset or a connecting mindset? Do we expect the worst and act with mistrust and in secret? Or do we open our processes to others, respecting the ideas and priorities they have, and believing that if we work transparently together, we can be fair? Do we hold ourselves accountable at all points for our demonstrated respect for others and our impacts on their societies?

The RAFT is a matter of habit. It is not only about double-checking a list of factors (though this is not a bad way to begin learning and internalizing the RAFT), it is about continually observing our own behaviors, listening to how they are perceived, and changing if and when necessary.

We should ask ourselves whether our habits are characteristic of a dividing mindset or a connecting mindset. All of us have both in us, but one tends to be in the ascendant. The RAFT helps us recognize the difference, and identify the specific areas where we need to work to strengthen our connecting mindset every day and the connecting mindset of those around us. Keep watch on yourself and invite your colleagues to watch as well. Do the same for them.

Generating Options

The RAFT is a powerful tool for generating program options.

When we identify that a Divider is strengthening or a Connector is weakening, we can use the RAFT to identify the patterns of behavior that are contributing to the negative impact. Options developed to correct the negative impact should first address that pattern of behavior that lies behind it.

⁹ This quote is often misattributed to Aristotle. It appears, in fact, as a description of Aristotle's perspective in Nicomachean Ethics in Durant's The Story of Philosophy.

For example, if you identify that surrounding hostilities are currently increasing tensions within your staff and the community, find some way to emphasize collaboration and cooperation in order to reinstate an area of normalcy. "Normality" and cooperation can be reassuring and counteract external tension. Or, if you realize your decision making process has been closed, open it up and make a show of opening it up with all appropriate apologies and invitations to participate. Show that new decisions reflect others' ideas.

This kind of immediate switch in behaviors works because the positive and negative patterns of behavior are incompatible. When you change competition into collaboration, the competition disappears. Looking for and finding value in others makes unfairness impossible to ignore. It may still take time and effort to make changes, but identifying what needs to be done is clear.

This may sound too easy, but it is the strength of Do No Harm and the use of the RAFT. The techniques of the RAFT have been tested all over the world and been found to work.

Codes of Conduct

Some organizations have discussed incorporating the RAFT into their Codes of Conduct. Obviously, this is a good idea and would, experience shows, improve the organizations' impacts on the ground. Any Code of Conduct should adhere to the RAFT.

"Keep your thoughts positive because your thoughts become your words. Keep your words positive because your words become your behavior. Keep your behavior positive because your behavior becomes your habits. Keep your habits positive because your habits become your values. Keep your values positive because your values become your destiny." - Gandhi

Gandhi makes clear the linkages we have been discussing in the RAFT. His is a magnificent formula for living. However, *pace* Gandhi, our words do not automatically become our behavior. Interveners too often express the "right" words but behave in ways that belie the values of these words. The old proverb "actions speak louder than words" is a better guide for interventions. Our actions and our behaviors are "heard" more clearly than our actual words.

But the third and fourth sentences of Gandhi's formula are found to be true by Do No Harm users. Our behaviors do develop into habits and those habits do show the world our values.

In Do No Harm, when we use the word Messages, we are describing how we demonstrate our true values through our actions.

Section VII

Using the Do No Harm Frameworks

The Do No Harm Frameworks

What is a Framework?

The Relationship Framework

The Action Framework

Using the Do No Harm Frameworks

A Seven Step Approach to Using the Relationship Framework

When to use the Relationship Framework

Using the Action Framework

When to use the Action Framework

The Do No Harm Frameworks

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm are built into two Frameworks to provide practical guidance on how to make use of the lessons in planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating interventions. These models both capture the same set of relationships and similar information, though because they are laid out differently, each Framework emphasizes different concepts. They can be, and are, used in complementary fashion.

- **➡** Relationship Framework
- **→** Action Framework

What is the Relationship Framework?

The initial framework that emerged from the Project in 1999 showed the relationship of an intervention to a context. It captured the full set of the Six Lessons in an easy to explain diagram. Its explanatory power, simplifying a set of complex dynamics and making them understandable and useable, also makes the Relationship Framework an excellent training tool.

What is the Action Framework?

The Action Framework was developed in 2009 to more closely map how people were using Do No Harm in the field. It models the thought process of Do No Harm users who are being confronted by a dynamic and changing situation and who are iterating rapidly, coming up with and testing new ideas.

Why two Frameworks?

Simply, the Relationship Framework did not adequately capture the working experience of many Do No Harm users. They were using the concepts, but not in the way the Relationship Framework laid out. Do No Harm needs to reflect the actual use of its many practitioners and the two Frameworks do so honestly and accurately.

What are they good for?

The Relationship Framework is good for establishing a common understanding of a context in a team or organization, and that team's place within the context.

The Action Framework is good for real-time checking of the changes to social dynamics introduced by an intervention.

What is a Framework?

A framework is a tool for organizing information. A good framework has six characteristics.

It has a specific use

A framework should help organize information around one topic or question. Frameworks should not be general tools.

It helps to identify the necessary information and it filters out the unnecessary information

What is the minimum that you need to know to make a good decision? A framework should supply this easily and without interference. Most information is unnecessary to the immediate task. Therefore, a framework should not be organizing it! A framework should not waste your time with irrelevant information.

It is simple to use

A simple framework speeds up analysis. The faster we can grasp a situation and how it is changing, the faster we can act and react. Simple frameworks give us speed and learning. It is also the case that complex frameworks simply are not used by very many people.

It provides useable insight

A framework is only as good as its insights. The relationships a framework helps you to identify should be ones on which users can have an effect. If a framework only ever helps you see what you and everybody else already knows, then you do not really need that framework.

It encourages and rewards deeper learning

A simple framework can provide opportunities for deeper levels of understanding. While the most basic Dividers and Connectors Analysis provides a wealth of useful and useable information, Do No Harm has several additional pieces that can be explored to gain greater and greater understanding of a context.

It encourages more effective communication

A framework should organize information so that the relationships are clear. This facilitates ease and rapidity of communication. A good framework can also introduce a common language and those who share it can understand each other and a situation even more rapidly.

The Relationship Framework

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm identified the information necessary and factors to consider in order to understand how an intervention affects a context. The Do No Harm Relationship Framework visually shows the elements and their relationships.

The arrows in the Relationship Framework show the flow of effects from the intervention into the context.

Building the Relationship Framework from the Six Lessons

1. Whenever an intervention enters a context it becomes part of the context.

The intervention is placed in the middle, under the context, representing that it is now part of the context.

2. All contexts are characterized by Dividers and Connectors.

The context already has Dividers and Connectors. The intervention is between them.

3. All interventions interact with both, either making them worse or making them better.

The arrows flow from the intervention to Dividers and Connectors because the intervention is having an impact on both. That impact can be negative—Dividers get worse by increasing; Connectors get worse by decreasing. That impact can be positive—Dividers get better by decreasing; Connectors get better by increasing.

4. Actions and Behaviors have Consequences, which create impacts.

The flow from the Intervention to Dividers and Connectors is the ABCs. Resources and Messages flow from the intervention into the context. These affect Dividers and Connectors, making them either worse or better.

5. The details of interventions matter.

Conceptually, within the Framework, this lesson applies earlier as it is integral to understanding the Intervention.

6. There are always Options.

Where we see impacts from the intervention, we develop Options to counter the negative ones. We can also attempt to support the positive ones further.

Redesign 1		Options	
→ ← ☆	Systems & Institutions Attitudes & Actions Values & Interests Experiences Symbols & Occasions	Dividers	
Resource Transfers Messages through RAFT Constraints Box Mandate Fundraising & Donors Headquarters	Targeting? What resources? Staffing? Partnering? Local Authority? How?	Intervention	Context
← →	Systems & Institutions Attitudes & Actions Values & Interests Experiences Symbols & Occasions	Connectors	
Redesign		Options	

The Action Framework

The Action Framework identifies the context as dynamic. It shows how the context is constantly affected by the actions and behaviors of people and organizations in that context.

Where did the Action Framework come from?

People in the field were having trouble using the Relationship Framework, citing their lack of time to go through the process rigorously. However, it was clear that many of those same people claiming they were not using Do No Harm, were actually using the concepts in creative and exciting ways. What were they doing? The Action Framework was developed from their experience of putting the concepts into practice in a rapid and iterative fashion, but with less structure than the Relationship Framework requires.

Building the Action Framework

The Action Framework is mean to be iterative. People using this model go through it again and again, sometimes daily, but never letting more than a week pass. The loop configuration encourages constant re-evaluation of the context and our work within it. People using this Framework make tweaks and changes to their work constantly because they can check the outcomes in real time.

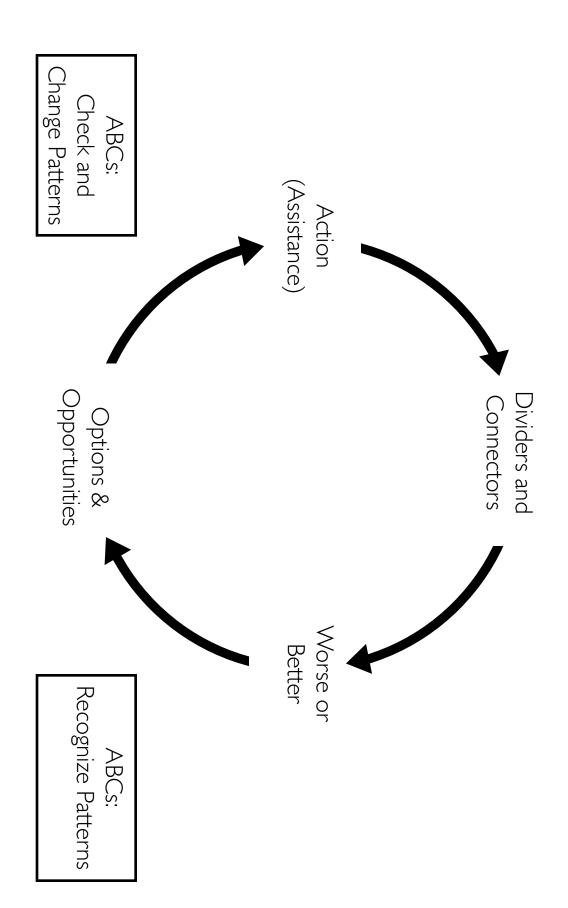
Much of the action in this Framework takes place as we move around the circle. The arrows are not just guiding our eyes from point to point. They are the point!

We observe impacts as changes in the Dividers and Connectors. Do they get worse or better? Some of the changes we observe are the impacts of an intervention. Tracking the changes in Dividers and Connectors over time allows us to see which ones we are responsible for. We are, after all, trying to have an impact.

Why did the Dividers and Connectors change? We recognize patterns of impacts through the ABCs. We then consider our Options and Opportunities, making use of Critical Detail Mapping. We use the observed ABCs to focus on the right critical details.

We check our work to make sure we developed an Option or Opportunity based on observed ABCs. Then we implement the planning or redesign.

This will have an impact on Dividers and Connectors. We observe to see what changes occur in Dividers and Connectors. And around and around we go!



Using the Do No Harm Frameworks

The Do No Harm Frameworks have been used in all phases of an intervention, from planning through implementation to evaluation. The following brief sections outline four rough processes for using the Do No Harm Frameworks. Every organization will incorporate these processes differently and in accordance with their existing processes and culture.

Planning

The Frameworks provide a structure for planning and anticipating impacts.

Using an organization's regular planning process, a Critical Detail Map can be rapidly compiled. Use the CDM to identify the criteria being used for decision making. Do the criteria specify certain groups in the context who will be affected by the intervention?

The planning should be being done with regard to a context analysis. Dividers and Connectors Analysis should be included as one of the tools for this analysis (many Do No Harm users find Dividers and Connectors to be sufficient). Even when DCA has not been included in planning, it can be used to highlight areas of concern. Additional questions can be drawn up to ask the analysts so that everybody's understanding of the context can be deepened.

The CDM can then be checked against the context, with special attention to the Dividers and Connectors between the groups in the context.

Using this basic process, suitably adapted to an organization's own process, the Frameworks can help organizations anticipate the impacts of their interventions.

Implementation & Monitoring

While implementing, the Frameworks can be used to keep a record of changes in the social dynamics. In this case monitoring for social dynamics does not have to be a separate process from the day to day work. Monitoring should be part of implementation for everybody, not a separate activity.

Begin with a list of team-generated Dividers and Connectors. Commit to tracking their changes over time. Check with everybody on the team every week. Also track how you know that the Dividers and Connectors have changed. Ask, "has there been a change in this Divider or Connector? How do you know?" This conversation does not have to be exhaustive or exhausting. It does have to be regular.

It is not necessary to develop indicators in advance! The process of reflecting on *how you know* a change has taken place will focus your attention on the natural indicators of the process. Predetermined indicators have a tendency to narrow our focus to them and away from wider, often more relevant, observations of the context.

Using observed changes in Dividers and Connectors, reflect on the patterns of impact through the ABCs. What patterns do you observe? What is causing those patterns to be highlighted? Is it you?

Cross-check your Critical Detail Map with the ABCs. Do you see places where your work may be supporting or undermining a pattern?

When you observe that your intervention is causing changes in social dynamics, then think about redesign.

Redesign

The Frameworks allow rapid redesign by highlighting the crucial changes in context.

If implementers (and monitors) have been keeping track of the changes in Dividers and Connectors and which patterns of ABCs have been observed, then redesign can be conducted fairly simply.

A Critical Detail Map may need to be done, or updated if one already exists. Focus on the critical details that are having the largest impact. What kind of changes can be made to have a positive effect on the patterns of ABCs?

Evaluation

Evaluators often find themselves in situations where there is little or no information about the context from the beginning of an intervention. This makes tracing the impacts over time more challenging, but not impossible.

Using the Frameworks, an evaluator can often quite quickly develop an understanding of the context and the current, ongoing impacts on it. A Dividers and Connectors Analysis will show the context as it is. Continuing through the Frameworks with Critical Detail Mapping and the ABCs should allow the evaluator to see where impacts are ongoing. This is extraordinarily valuable information, even without a baseline from the past.

An evaluator can often reconstruct the past context from current impacts, but it is easier and more respectful to talk to people.

A Seven Step Approach to Using the Relationship Framework

Step 1: Opening up the Context

Step one involves identifying which conflicts are dangerous in terms of their destructiveness or violence (including structural violence and psychological or organizational destructiveness). Every society and community has groups with different interests and identities that contend with other groups. What is the scope of the Do No Harm analysis? What are the groups?

Step 2: Analyzing Dividers and Tensions

When the significant schisms or challenges in a community have been identified, the next step is to examine what exactly divides the groups.

Using the SAVES categories, examine the interactions and relationships between the groups. How are they divided? What do they do with and to each other that demonstrates division? What causes tension between these groups?

Step 3: Analyzing Connectors and Local Capacities for Peace

Now examine what connects these groups. Connectors always exist, though they may be weak or even currently suppressed. Even in conflict-prone, active conflict, and post-conflict situations Connectors continue to exist.

Using the SAVES categories, examine the interactions and relationships between the groups. How are they connected? What do they do with and to each other that demonstrates connection? What decreases tension between these groups?

Where are people attempting to live normally? The effort to bring normalcy into complex and challenging environments points to places where people are trying to build for the future.

Also look for those people and structures that emphasize peace and collaboration. These offer an opening for supporting people in rebuilding non-war relationships.

Step 4: Critical Detail Mapping

Review all aspects of the intervention, using Critical Detail Mapping. Identify the criteria used to make decisions. Identify the groups involved in and with our intervention. Be thorough.

Step 5: Using the ABCs, Analyze the Intervention's Impact on Dividers and Connectors

Check each element of the critical details against each Divider and Connector.

Who gains from our intervention? Who loses from our intervention? Who did we overlook in our intervention? Do these groups overlap with the divisions we identified as potentially or actually destructive? Are we supporting military activities or civilian structures?

Are we missing or ignoring opportunities to reinforce Connectors? Are we inadvertently undermining or weakening them?

What Resources are we bringing into the context? What impact are our Resource Transfers having? Which groups gain advantages or lose them based on our Resources? How do other groups feel about the gains or losses?

What Messages are we sending through the way in which we work? What impact are we having through our Messages? Which groups feel supported and respected by our Messages? Which groups feel neglected and disrespected by our Messages? How do other groups feel about the Messages of support or neglect we are sending?

Step 6: Generate Options

If we are having negative impacts, then we must think about how to shift a critical detail or details so that we can stop the negative. We should have identified the Resource Transfers and/or Messages involved. Using that knowledge, we can transform the Resource Transfer and/or Message into one that has a positive impact (or at least not a negative one).

Negative impacts are not just increasing Dividers. Decreasing or weakening Connectors must be avoided.

If we are having positive impacts, we must also note those. How can we make them even more effective and stronger?

Step 7: Test the Options and Redesign the Intervention

Take our Options back through the Framework. How will that Option have an impact on *both* Dividers and Connectors?

Just because an Option might decrease a Divider, it does not mean it will not also decrease a Connector. Just because an Option might support a Connector, does not mean it will not also support a Divider.

Test our Options. Adapt to the changing social dynamics. Improve our interventions.

When to use the Relationship Framework

The Relationship Framework has real power when it helps guide a conversation among people. Not only does it show relationships in a context, in its use it helps foster relationships in a team as well.

Use it for team building by arriving at a common understanding of the context and the intervention's role within it. Build a common language.

Use it for explaining the interaction of an intervention on a context. It is a very good training tool for this purpose.

The Relationship Framework is an excellent planning tool and an excellent evaluation tool. Teams can use the Relationship Framework to keep a record of the changes in the context and how they thought through the impacts of their intervention. This makes the learning they underwent accessible to others and makes evaluation significantly easier.

Put it up on the wall as a poster. Either use it to start conversations, or use the poster as a real-time monitoring tool out where everybody in your office can see it.

The Relationship Framework is a descriptive tool

The Framework is NOT prescriptive. It does not tell you what to do. It is a descriptive tool that:

- 1) identifies the categories of information that have been found through experience to be important for understanding how interventions affect contexts and conflict
- 2) organizes these categories in a visual way that highlights actual and potential relationships
- 3) helps us predict the impacts of different programming decisions.

What follows are some of the challenges in using the Relationship Framework drawn from the experience of Do No Harm users. This list is not intended to discourage a particular use of this Framework! Indeed, many people do not find the challenges significant or limiting.

However, some people have had challenges with using the Framework and it has proven useful to make the experience of that explicit. This helps others having similar experiences to not get frustrated, and be left feeling as though they do not understand something.

Most of the experience of the challenges exaggerates the *structure* of the Framework over the use of the concepts. For use in analysis, the concepts are key, not the way they have been fitted together.

Challenges in using the Relationship Framework

Many people have said the columns feel like boxes on a form which need to be filled out (and many people do not think in boxes). Some people use it this way, happily. Others have designed different ways to capture the information and to work with the relationships. They use the Framework as a guide, not as a form.

It is the case that the Framework includes many bits and pieces seemingly competing for attention. One common challenge is that because of positioning in the columns, certain elements are emphasized visually (such as where the Constraints Box has traditionally been placed at the top of the Intervention column; for this reason, the Relationship Framework is presented in this book with the Constraints Box at the bottom of the Intervention column). This has led to misunderstandings about what is crucial and what is optional. Some people feel as though everything seems equally important, and it is difficult for them to discriminate the crucial from those that simply provide greater insight.

To be explicit about the crucial, if you are going to use just one Do No Harm technique, use Dividers and Connectors. Every other insight follows a careful and explicit examination of the social dynamics.

Without training or explanation, the visual Framework provides no sense of how an analysis will flow when the Framework is used. Some have said they neither know where to start nor where to finish. One solution is to number the steps of the analysis. The danger in that, however, is that people get locked into following the steps laid down for them. The actual process through the concepts can start anywhere!

Some people have said that the Framework implies that the only set of impacts on a context come from the intervention. This puts an awful weight on people for bad things happening, as it implies all bad things are their fault. Obviously, changes in social dynamics are occurring all the time based on many factors. Tracing our impact is possible, but it becomes harder if we feel the weight of the world on our shoulders when we attempt to do so.

The Framework does not provide a sense of iteration. The image, and therefore the relationships, seem linear and so an analysis seems static and two-dimensional.

For most people it is too structured for the fluidity and dynamism of field experience and very few people use it outside of a classroom or office setting. This is one reason for the development of the Action Framework.

Using the Action Framework

The Action Framework represents a rapid and iterative model of the Do No Harm thought process. It can be broken down into six steps. Some people are formal with this model, documenting their thought process and decision making, while others are more intuitive, not documenting, but nonetheless arriving at good decisions.

Step 1: Dividers/Connectors

Start with a Dividers and Connectors Analysis in order to define the initial context.

What divides people in this context? What connects them? You can use the SAVES categories here, but being comprehensive here is not the goal. Rather, we are looking for the most significant (i.e. most dangerous or most calming) Dividers and Connectors.

Prioritize the Dividers and Connectors. Develop a list of about four to six of each. Commit to tracking them.

Step 2:Worse or Better

Ask if the Dividers and/or Connectors are getting better or worse?

This question introduces both a sense of time and of change into the analysis process. People cannot feel confident taking the next step—looking at Options & Opportunities—unless they have sense of how Dividers/Connectors change over time in the context.

Ask how they are getting worse or better?

Step 3: Patterns of Impact

Before getting to Options & Opportunities, examine how the Dividers and Connectors are getting worse or better. Look for patterns. You will see the ABCs at work.

Step 4: Options & Opportunities

People develop new ways of doing their work based on their understanding of the Dividers/Connectors and their changes. Use the ABCs that you have already identified to develop the Options or Opportunities.

Use Critical Detail Mapping to clarify your understanding of your intervention. Use the critical details in concert with the ABCs to develop viable and effective Options and Opportunities.

People use the word "options" to discuss what they need to develop when they encounter problems (things getting worse). They use the word "opportunities" when they see things getting better and want to promote these trends.

Step 5: Patterns of Impact

Before implementing new Options or Opportunities, check your redesign against the ABCs you identified in *Step 3* as the patterns of change in the Dividers and Connectors. If your new Option is not explicitly making use of the identified ABCs, then *it will not have the expected impact* on the Dividers and/or Connectors.

Step 6: Action

Make actual changes to an intervention (implement the options and opportunities).

Changing the intervention tends to be the last point in any given cycle. But it is, of course, also the beginning of a new cycle.

Iterate

Impacts from the redesigned intervention on the Dividers/Connectors show up as changes in the context, represented by Dividers and Connectors. These will become apparent as you go through the cycle again and again.

Rapid Learning

If you go through this cycle thoughtfully, using the ABCs, and do not see the expected changes there are just two points for review. This makes the review process extraordinarily simple and quick.

First, you might not have the right items on your lists of Dividers and Connectors. Review your lists for significance.

Second, you might have identified the wrong pattern of ABC. Review the pattern or patterns you identified for relevance to the changes in Dividers and Connectors.

Do not expect huge change in short time periods. Set your metrics lower.

Do expect noticeable change, however. Your efforts to work with the context should be noticeable quite rapidly.

When to use the Action Framework

The Action Framework shines when put into a dynamic context. Sometimes speed is important, and sometimes the ability to update your understanding constantly and with confidence is crucial. Use it every day, at least once.

The Action Framework supplements the Relationship Framework. Use the Relationship Framework to build a common understanding, then use the Action Framework to do daily or weekly updates. When the team gathers for a quarterly or six month review, having used the Action Framework means the review will be much better informed and go more quickly.

Use it to brainstorm. When you notice the social dynamics have changed, what can you do? Use the Action Framework with teams in brief meetings, daily or weekly, to update your understanding of the context and to spur creativity in your responses. The Action Framework is an excellent monitoring tool. It encourages adaptation.

Put it up on the wall as a poster. Use it to start conversations and to remind people to go all the way through the cycle.

The Action Framework is a descriptive tool

The Framework is NOT prescriptive. It does not tell you what to do. It is a descriptive tool that:

- identifies the categories of information that have been found through experience to be important for understanding how interventions affect contexts and conflict
- 2) organizes these categories in a visual way that highlights actual and potential relationships
- 3) helps us predict the impacts of different programming decisions.

What follows are some of the challenges in using the Action Framework drawn from the experience of Do No Harm. This list is not intended to discourage a particular use of this Framework! Indeed, many people do not find the challenges significant or limiting.

However, some people have had challenges with using the Framework and it has proven useful to make the experience of that explicit. This helps others having similar experiences to not get frustrated, and be left feeling as though they do not understand something.

Most of the experience of the challenges exaggerates the *structure* of the Framework over the use of the concepts. For use in analysis, the concepts are key, not the way they have been fitted together.

Challenges in using the Action Framework

The structure of the Action Framework appears to emphasize action over understanding. The arrows feel to some people as though they emphasize speed, rather than thought. This is a real danger, but only if people do not stop to use the techniques.

The visual de-emphasis of certain elements, such as the ABCs, can lead to misunderstandings about what is crucial. The whole diagram of the Action Framework is important, including the ABCs.

When the Action Framework was designed¹⁰, people saw the ABCs interacting with all four elements of the loop. Indeed, the arrows themselves can be thought of as Resources and Messages propelling impact around the circle. However, when we tried to operationalize a version of the Framework with this understanding, it was too confusing. We asked practitioners where in the process they *actually* use the ABCs. The result is the current diagram.

The Action Framework appears to leave out Critical Detail Mapping altogether. The Framework has an implicit assumption that CDM takes place in the Options & Opportunities phase.

Many people worry that the Action Framework does not allow the same depth of understanding as quickly as the Relationship Framework. This is true, but we have also noted that the depth of understanding among users increases the more users make use of either Framework (or both!). Because people using the Action Framework tend to use it much more frequently than users of the Relationship Framework, they arrive at a similar depth of understanding quite quickly. Frequently their understanding of a situation surpasses that of those exclusively using the Relationship Framework.

It is the case that the first time through the Relationship Framework offers more depth of understanding than the first couple of times through the Action Framework. It is also the case that a really thorough use of the Relationship Framework can achieve a huge depth of understanding that would be difficult to arrive at very quickly for those solely using the Action Framework.

This is why using both Frameworks is so powerful. The Relationship Framework can provide initial depth, while the Action Framework can provide constant monitoring and updating. A subsequent return to the Relationship Framework informed by the updates will reveal additional depth. Using both together also avoids the fact that the Action Framework is too unstructured for certain uses. Many people do not think in circles!

¹⁰ The design process took place across several Feedback Workshops in 2009.

Section VIII

Options & Opportunities

Options & Opportunities

Using the Patterns of the ABCs

How to develop Options and support Opportunities

When things don't go your way

Options & Opportunities

The techniques and frameworks of Do No Harm are not simply about understanding a context more completely. They demand action. We do not intervene to avoid impact. We intervene precisely in order to create change. As contexts are ever-changing and the social dynamics are fluid, we need to be able to respond to change.

We facilitate change by developing Options and supporting Opportunities, and then implementing them.

Options and Opportunities are where the building blocks of the techniques and the frameworks join and work together. While the techniques can be used on their own to inform understanding of the context, they achieve real power when used together in the Frameworks to help us identify how we can have an intentional impact on a context.

How to develop Options and support Opportunities

Use the patterns of the ABCs. The ABCs are remarkably clear and observable.

Changes in Dividers and Connectors can be mapped by using the patterns of the ABCs. As we ask ourselves how we know a Divider or Connector has changed, our attention to the patterns of the ABCs provides us with insight about the situation that we can use to mitigate violence and tension and/or to support local capacities.

Paying attention to the patterns can show us where things are going wrong or provide guidance about what needs to change. Paying attention to the patterns can show us how things are going right and offer clues about where we can assist people.

Noting the patterns at work is not enough. Mere attention is not the same as changing or working with them. The hard work of creativity comes when tying to figure out how to affect or use the patterns.

Options & Opportunities

The original language of Do No Harm simply used "options" for any sort of intentional, analysis-driven change to an intervention. However, users were not fully comfortable with the implications of the word, feeling that it limited them and tended to place the focus on the negative side. They said that "options" was what they developed when faced with negative consequences. They struggled to make sense of how to support the positive and to explain the necessity of doing so to others. The word "options" got in the way of these explanations.

They began using the word "opportunities" when they identified positive change they wanted to support.

Using the Patterns of the ABCs

Countering Dividers

Dividers are driven by negative patterns of behavior due to Messages—the negative side of the RAFT—and by negative patterns of Resource Transfers. Where you identify these negative patterns, use the corresponding opposite positive patterns.

Supporting Connectors

Connectors are supported by positive patterns of behavior due to Messages and positive patterns of Resource Transfers. Don't miss Opportunities! Make sure you *see* the existing Connectors. Support them and, if you can, *drive* them.

Don't "Create" Connectors

As an outsider, do not try to create Connectors. Use Connectors that exist; you will not be able to create significant ones that do not already exist. New Connectors proposed by outsiders do not take root (no history) or are not significant (no long-term commitment).

Reviewing Options

New options are not inherently good just because they are new. Options are only conflict-accountable if they address the patterns we have identified. If they do not address the patterns, they will not mitigate negative impacts or support positive ones. *This is really important!*

Two challenges in using the Patterns

While saying "use the patterns" sounds simple, few people seem truly comfortable making use of them.

Too simplistic. Many people feel that by using the patterns, they will miss something important in the context and they will wind up worse off than they were before. Nothing could be further from the truth. Using the patterns is *precisely* what allows projects and programs to improve in directly observable ways.

Too time-consuming. Others feel they have to run through every single pattern every single time they observe a change on Dividers or Connectors. They worry that little will be gained from the time spent. In all disciplines, the inexperienced need more time than the experienced. However, as people grow more experienced in their use of the patterns, and they have seen how their work is improved, they find they move through the list much more quickly until the identification of the patterns becomes intuitive.

How to develop Options and support Opportunities

With a team:

Step I: Decide what you are trying to change

Having done a Dividers and Connectors Analysis, you know that some of them are changing.

Step II: Use the patterns of the ABCs to note why Dividers and Connectors are changing

Using the patterns of the ABCs, ask why the Dividers and Connectors are changing in the ways you have identified.

Step III: Brainstorm Options and Opportunities

Having identified the patterns at work, use the patterns to guide your creativity.

- **→** Plenary
 - Everybody shares ideas and the ideas are collected on a flip chart
- → Buzz Groups
 - o In groups of two or three, write down ideas
 - o Come together in plenary and capture ideas on flip chart for discussion
- → Individual
 - Write down the two or three most significant changing Dividers (or Connectors)
 - o Write one sentence about each pattern you observe
 - o Come up with at least one idea for altering or supporting the pattern

Step IV: Discuss

Are these the right patterns? Be specific. How do you know? Figuring out *how* you know when change takes place is a way to develop indicators.

Step V: Review your Options and Opportunities

Are your Options and Opportunities linked to the patterns you identified? If not, go back and try again.

If your changes do not have the effect you anticipate, do you have a back-up Option? Do you have a process for learning why a change has not had the impact you expect?

Prioritizing Options and Opportunities

There are three main considerations for prioritizing options.

- ▶ The patterns. People always come up with great ways to make the intervention better. These ideas are valuable, but when faced by conflict or the potential for violence, the focus of the options must be on the conflict. If an option does not address the identified patterns, then put it aside for now.
- Time. Options that take less time to implement are generally better. Results will be observed more quickly and will give you opportunities to iterate. Take note of those that might take more time and keep them on hold if you need them. You can work on both short time-frame options and long time-frame ones at the same time.
- ▶ Resources. Can you actually implement the options you have generated?

Do not lose or discard the options you generate but don't use immediately! You might want to return to them—sometimes sooner than you might wish.

Teamwork

Work with your team. The more people you involve, the more options you will have from more perspectives, and the more likely you will find the right option for your context. No idea is too wacky (especially when thinking about responding to Theft). Use Critical Detail Mapping to flesh out good or interesting ideas.

Teamwork also helps you prioritize, especially if local staff are involved in the discussion. Local staff can often readily identify which options would work and which would not in a specific context.

Key Questions for Options & Opportunities

- ▶ What are the incentives for people in this area to participate in violence or conflict? What counter incentives can we provide? Are we currently providing incentives for violence or conflict?
- ▶ Who is not engaged in or involved in the violence? Can they be supported?
- ▶ Where are there locations, either geographical or social, that seem violence free? Can we grow them or build similar areas elsewhere?
- Which patterns are the most significant at this moment in this context? What we can do to affect them? How do we turn the observed patterns to our advantage?

When things don't go your way

Some options are in fact bad options. They won't or don't provide the results you want or expect. This is not a crisis. It is an opportunity for testing and learning *faster*.

When you encounter ongoing or worsening problems, the first thing to do is to revisit your analysis of the patterns. You can always change what you are doing, but only if you have a solid idea of the change you want.

- Did you identify a pattern?
- Is your Option targeting that pattern?
- Did you identify the right pattern?
- ▶ What other patterns could be causing the change in Dividers and/or Connectors?

If, after reviewing the patterns you see that your organization is not responsible for the worsening problems, revisit your context analysis. What else is changing in the context that might be having an impact?

- Review your list of Dividers and Connectors.
- ▶ Are you missing a key Divider or Connector?
- Are any of your most significant Dividers and Connectors *not* changing? A static Divider or Connector is not providing feedback on social dynamics. Think about replacing it in order to improve your sense of the fluidity of the social dynamics.

Even if you didn't cause the problem, you can often find creative ways to respond to it!

Money is a bad option

Money is not an effective counter to conflict or violence. If giving money is your option for reducing violence or maintaining lack of violence, go back and try again. The evidence is that money incentivizes toward violence, not away from it. Why?

Money seems to be bound up with respect and fairness. Those who do not receive it perceive they are being treated differently and as though they matter less (Different Value for Different Lives). Money for "nothing" (no apparent goods or services) also looks like Ignoring the Rules. Money almost always spurs Competition among people or groups of people. This often leads to Suspicion, Anger, and Fear.

Money brought into a conflict zone creates an incentive to maintain low-level violence or conflict so as to maintain the flow of money. If low-level violence is not enough to maintain the flow, then expect some major flare-ups until the money resumes.

Shared language and explaining Options

When you develop an option, you want to implement it. There is often a decision-maker to whom you have to explain it (immediate supervisor, the country office, the headquarters, or even the donor). There is also team of implementers with whom you need to work. In order to have productive conversations, you need to be prepared. Use Do No Harm to provide a shared language to discuss impacts on social dynamics.

Prepare all the people with whom you need to work on any decision, both decision-makers and implementers. From the beginning of your interaction with them, discuss the context with them through Dividers and Connectors and the patterns of ABCs you have identified. Make sure they understand how you (and your team!) see the situation. Offer some thoughts on the sorts of changes that might occur and what your responses might be.

Make this conversation a regular feature of your relationship with all of these people.

Prepare yourself. Use the Relationship Framework to organize your information so that you can tell a clear and concise narrative about the context and the ongoing impacts.

Talking to decision-makers

Having prepared the decision maker or makers and gotten them accustomed to Do No Harm language, you can quickly bring them up to speed on your thought-process. Discuss whatever changes you suggest as opportunities that are based on the ongoing learning in which you and your team are engaged. Have this conversation as soon as you can after developing a new Option.

Talking to implementers

Make sure they are familiar with Do No Harm and the sorts of insights it will provide. It is best if they are the ones generating the insights!

Also make sure they understand that changes in implementation are a positive thing that reflects learning on their part. Changes are not a negative thing that reflects failure or leads to punishment. We change our implementation because we are constantly learning about how to do our work better. We learn when we observe the social dynamics through Dividers and Connectors and when we are attentive to our role within the overall context.

The most important thing to remember is that a choice can be undone or altered—especially if everyone is prepared. Even if the "wrong" option is selected, if something is missed, you and your team can catch it with a thorough and ongoing analysis, and you can find an option that works better.

Section IX

History and Methodology

A Brief History of the Do No Harm Project Collaborative Learning Methodology

A Brief History of the Do No Harm Project

Where did Do No Harm Come From?

It came from you and thousands like you. Thousands of people who saw that their efforts were not having the impact they wanted to have. They struggled to find solutions and often they succeeded. Do No Harm is the record of their—of your—success.

The Do No Harm Project began in 1993 to explore the relationship between humanitarian and development assistance because so many people in the field and at headquarters and among the donors saw negative impacts day after day. The Project began because they said that the work could not go on this way. There must be a better way.

Over the past twenty years, the Do No Harm Project has documented the relationship between interventions and conflict. Beyond that however, we have documented the efforts by thousands of people to shift a negative set of patterns to a positive set. The first phases of the Project learned how assistance had negative impacts and began the exploration of what we could do. For the past twelve years, as more and more people have taken up these concepts and worked with these techniques, the Project has explored what works.

Over 100,000 humanitarian and development workers at all levels and across the world have been trained in Do No Harm techniques. We have lost track of all the threads of this work because it is too vast and people are making it their own.

The Do No Harm Project has had the privilege of visiting with thousands of creative and thoughtful people. We have learned these lessons from them. We will continue to learn them from you.

Local Capacities for Peace and Do No Harm

Do No Harm began in 1993 as the Local Capacities for Peace Project (LCPP). Many, many colleagues in humanitarian and development work saw assistance being used to support local populations in their efforts to escape conflict and to build their own peace. At the same time, they also saw assistance being co-opted, misappropriated, and misused. Conflicts were being made worse by the presence of assistance.

They wondered how best to support the positive efforts while avoiding the negative impacts. The learning project, therefore, was twofold. How does assistance exacerbate conflict? And how does assistance mitigate conflict?

At an early workshop of the LCPP a physician participant said, "This project is like 'do no harm' for aid workers". The phrase resonated. It became the title of the first booklet of early

findings and questions that emerged from the case study phase, *Do No Harm: Local Capacities* for *Peace*¹¹, written by Mary Anderson. "Do No Harm" stuck precisely because that doctor was right: we were plumbing the do no harm principle for practical lessons about how to put it into practice.

Mary used the title again for the 1999 book, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—Or War*¹². This book gathered the lessons from the feedback phase of the project, introduced the first Do No Harm framework, and propelled the project into the implementation phase, where the Framework would be used and tested.

The third major publication of the LCPP came out in 2001, *Options for Aid in Conflict*¹³, gathering the lessons from the implementation phase, where organizations had been rigorously and continuously applying the Do No Harm Framework.

The LCPP was renamed the Do No Harm Project in 2001, due to colleagues in several countries telling us that they could not be involved in a project that had the word "peace" in its name. They had been calling the project "Do No Harm" for years already. The Project merely formalized it at that point. Also published in 2001 was a training manual for Do No Harm that was based on the lessons from the implementation phase and *Options*.

The Do No Harm Project carried on working directly with organizations to transfer the lessons, help them think about their work, and make using Do No Harm a reality. We worked with hundreds of organizations and thousands of practitioners in over one hundred countries. Everywhere I go, I find people who know the concepts and have done something amazing with them.

Beginning in 2006, the Do No Harm Project began a formal process of visiting colleagues and organizations who had been involved in Do No Harm to learn what, if any, difference Do No Harm had made in their work. A second set of case studies was conducted, followed by feedback.

This book, From Principle to Practice: A User's Guide to Do No Harm, collects the twenty years of learning into one place.

¹¹ This booklet from 1996 is entirely superseded by the 1999 book. It was not a book of lessons and should in no circumstances be used as an example of what the LCPP found. It was a book of *findings* from the case study phase that needed to be further tested through the collaborative learning methodology before being confirmed and made practical, or denied and discarded. This booklet is called the "red and black book" by self-described "DNHers" to differentiate it from the 1999 book.

¹² Called the "blue book".

¹³ Called "The Options Manual".

Collaborative Learning Methodology

"No one is as smart as all of us."

The collaborative learning methodology for Do No Harm has been developed through experience since the 1980s. We have found that when large numbers of thoughtful people think about a problem in a structured way, they develop insights that have practical application in solving the problem.

In this methodology, there are three phases for learning lessons and a fourth phase for spreading the lessons through trainings, briefings, articles and books, and so on.

Three Phases of Collaborative Learning

Case Studies: Field Visits and Group Analysis

The first step is to visit many places to gather actual experience. People in the field are confronting problems in their day-to-day work. The case studies capture those confrontations, the difficulties people face and the solutions they have developed.

Consultations are held to read and analyze the case studies. The participants come from many different areas of the world. Patterns begin to emerge from the case studies in these sessions.

Fifteen to twenty case studies are written based on field visits. Two or three Consultations are held. This process generally takes two to three years.

Feedback Workshops

The patterns that come from the case study process are brought back to the field through a series of workshops. Participants are invited from all agencies working in the place where the workshop is held. New insights are gathered as the patterns are tested against the experience of the people in the room. The patterns are either confirmed and strengthened, or challenged and discarded or reworked.

At some point in the process, a set of the patterns becomes established as a body of practical knowledge and the workshops begin to look at ways to address the patterns through developing a set of concepts and/or a tool that can be applied through action in the field.

Fifteen to twenty feedback workshops are held over one to two years. A secondary reason for Feedback Workshops is that they offer a platform for spreading the findings while the process is ongoing. This phase can begin before all Case Studies have been completed and generally takes between one and two years.

Implementation and Use

The tool and concepts are taken to field sites where people use them.

Consultations are held that bring people working with the concepts together to share experiences and to refine the concepts. The tool is adapted to the conditions of actual use. This generally takes between two and three years.

All three phases are necessary. Case studies alone are just stories. The effort to tell the story as it appeared to those involved is hard enough without attempting to force an analysis on them as they are written. Cases can be, and often are, colored by the framing presented to the writers. This is why the feedback sessions are so crucial. The feedback tests the findings from the case studies (not the case studies themselves). Bringing so much additional experience to bear on specific issues pushes those issues. They are either real for some people or they are not. The implementation is where the rubber meets the road. If real lessons have been learned, then they should be applicable to the work people do.

The "Fourth" Phase: Spread

Once lessons have been learned, they need to be conveyed and taught. Training programs, books, articles, speeches, and so on can be developed to get the message out and to help people use the lessons.

Once the lessons are being used, the whole cycle of collaborative learning can begin again to learn more about the lessons and their ultimate effectiveness.

Do No Harm has gone through the full cycle twice.

Further Reading

"The Learning Process of the Local Capacities for Peace Project", by Marshall Wallace, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 12, Nos. 3 & 4, August 2002.

Section X

Concluding Parable

The Parable of the Fish's Eye¹⁴

A king held an archery contest to determine the best archer in all the land. When three archers remained, the best of all in the kingdom, the king offered one final test. A wooden fish was hung on a pole, far out in the field. Whoever struck the fish closest to the head would be the winner.

The three archers lined up, aimed up into the sky, and loosed their arrows.

The king called each archer close to ask about their shot. The third place archer came forward.

"What were you aiming at?" asked the King.

"I was aiming at the fish, your Majesty" said the archer.

The second archer approached. "What were you aiming at?" asked the King.

"If it please your Majesty, I was aiming for the fish's head."

The winner approached. "What were you aiming at?" asked the King.

"Your Majesty, I was aiming at the fish's eye."

"To do *no* harm is impossible. There is always some harm."

Perhaps.

But I can tell you this: not one of the people who has ever said that to me over the years had tried the techniques in this book.

I will tell you one more thing: everybody who has tried these techniques has seen significant, positive, lasting change in their work and in their lives.

What are you aiming at?

¹⁴ I first heard this story from a math teacher when I was a teenager. I have since heard several variations of it. This one is in my words. I have never learned the origin of this story, though it is very similar to one from the *Mahabharata* where Arjuna and his brothers are asked to aim at a fish's eye though they are only allowed to look at its reflection. It also bears a resemblance to the archery contest in the Robin Hood legend.

About the Author

Marshall Wallace was Director of the Do No Harm Project from 2001 through 2013. He joined the Local Capacities for Peace Project at the Collaborative for Development Action in 1997 as the Project Coordinator. In 2001, Mary Anderson stepped down as the project director and named Marshall as her successor. He renamed the project "the Do No Harm Project" based on requests from colleagues working on the concepts.

Over that time, he contributed several papers, articles, and manuals to understanding Do No Harm, as well as training several thousand people to use the Do No Harm Frameworks and techniques.

He is the author with Mary Anderson of *Opting Out of War: Strategies to Prevent Violent Conflict* (Lynne Rienner, 2013).

Appendices

The Appendices are charts and handouts based on the concepts throughout the book.

The Six Lessons of Do No Harm

Two Do No Harm Frameworks

The Relationship Framework

The Action Framework

Dividers and Connectors Rating Chart

Key Questions for Unlocking Dividers and Connectors

Interrogating the Six Critical Details

Checklist for Red Flags in Critical Detail Mapping

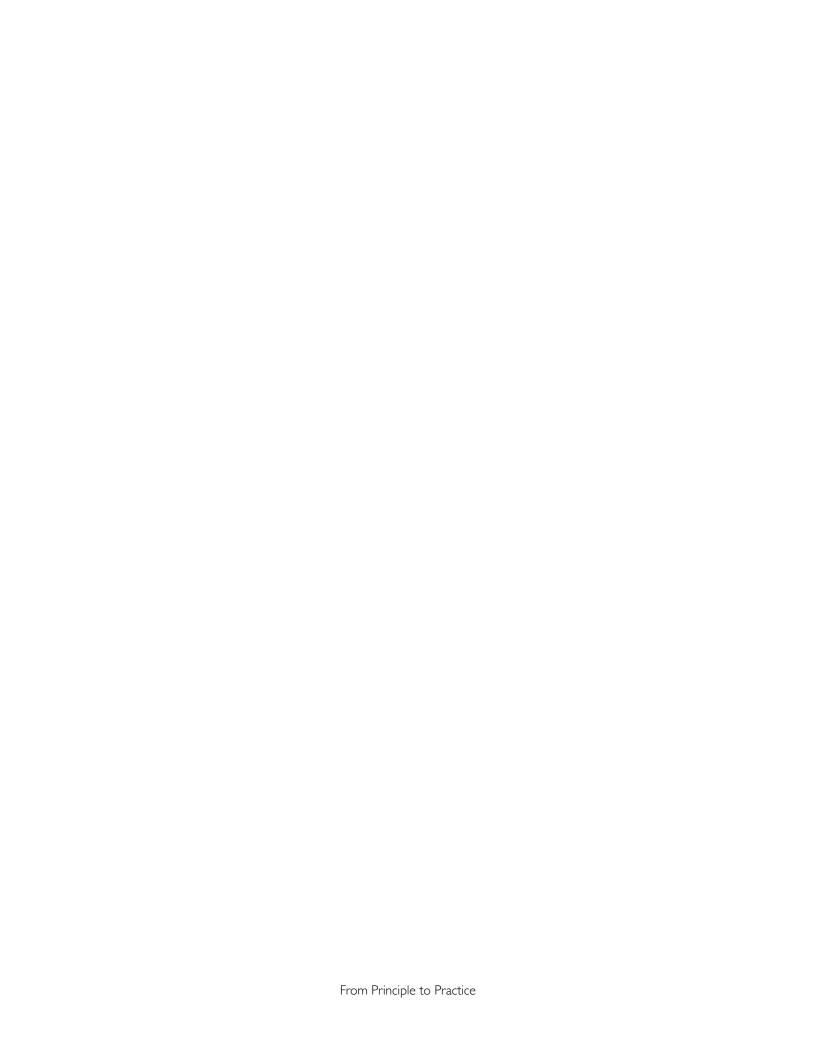
Actions and Behaviors have Consequences

The RAFT Chart

Five Patterns of Resource Transfers

Patterns of Behavior and Mindsets

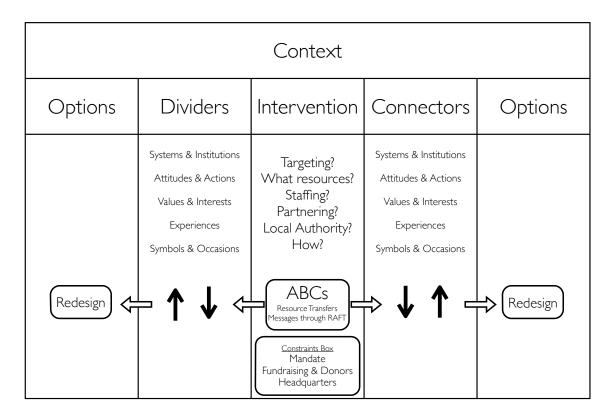
How to be Transparent



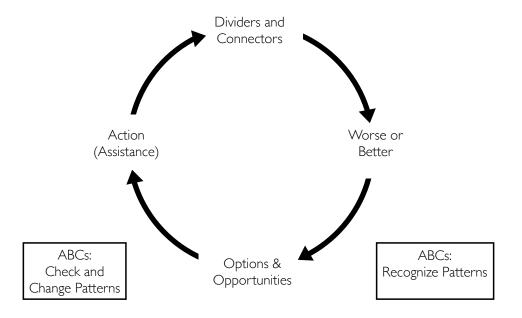
Six Lessons from the Do No Harm Project

- 1. Whenever an intervention of any sort enters a context it becomes part of the context.
 - a. No intervention is seen as neutral by people in the context.
- 2. All contexts are characterized by **Dividers** and **Connectors**.
 - a. We can analyze a context in terms of Dividers and Connectors.
 - b. This analysis is done better by teams.
 - c. This analysis needs to be iterative, being done on a regular schedule.
- 3. All interventions interact with both, either making them worse or making them better.
- 4. Actions and Behaviors have Consequences, which create impacts.
 - a. Interventions, by their nature, bring in two things.
 - b. **Resources** as a result of the Action of intervention. They always bring in resources. The "action" of a intervention is applying resources into a context. What do organizations do? They transfer resources.
 - c. **Messages** sent by Behavior. They also always bring in people, who demonstrate their values through their "behavior". People send messages through their conduct and by the way they behave with others. The details of interventions matter.
 - d. The combination of Actions and Behaviors leads to Consequences (things get worse or better).
- 5. The details of interventions matter.
 - a. The details are where the impacts come from, not the whole.
 - b. An intervention is a series of choices before it becomes actions and activities. People make these choices and people can change them.
 - c. We can analyze an intervention for the **Critical Details**.
- 6. There are always **Options**.
 - a. Options grow out of paying attention to and understanding our Actions and Behaviors.

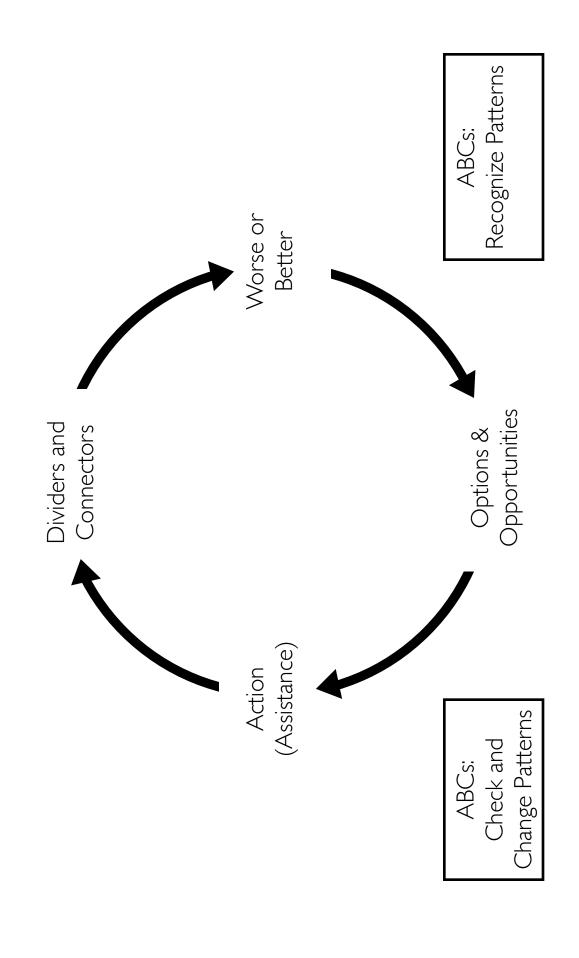
These Six Lessons form the basis of two Frameworks for analyzing, understanding, and predicting the impacts of interventions.

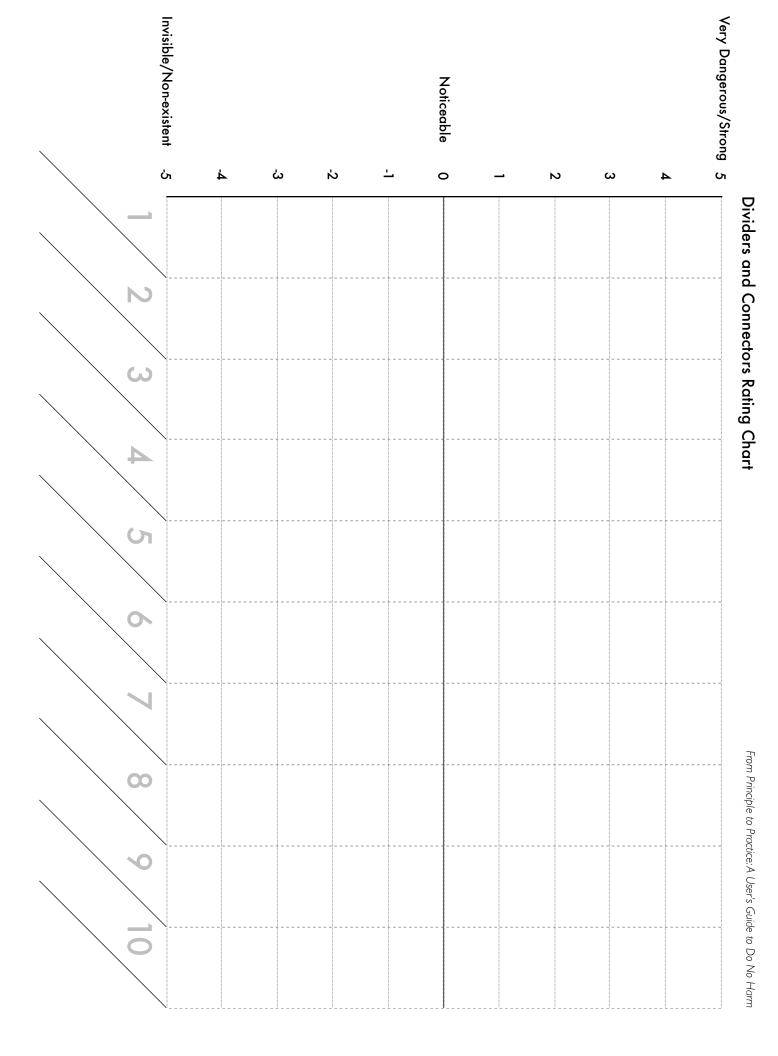


Action Framework



Redesign 1		Options	
→ ← ☆	Systems & Institutions Attitudes & Actions Values & Interests Experiences Symbols & Occasions	Dividers	
Resource Transfers Messages through RAFT Constraints Box Mandate Fundraising & Donors Headquarters	Targeting? What resources? Staffing? Partnering? Local Authority? How?	Intervention	Context
← →	Systems & Institutions Attitudes & Actions Values & Interests Experiences Symbols & Occasions	Connectors	
Redesign		Options	





Key Questions to unlock Dividers and Connectors

- 1. What factors in this situation divide people or create social fragmentation?
- 2. What factors in this situation connect people or support social cohesion?
- 3. What are the current threats to peace and stability?
- 4. What are the current supports to peace and stability?
- 5. What are the most dangerous factors in this situation in terms of violence or conflict? How dangerous is this specific Divider?
- 6. What are the strongest factors in this situation preventing or mitigating violence or conflict? How strong is this Connector?
- 7. What could cause tension to rise in this situation?
- 8. What could cause tension to decrease or lessen in this situation?
- 9. What factors in this situation make people feel helpless?
- 10. What factors in this situation make people feel like they have options or a sense of efficacy?
- 11. What brings people together in this situation?
- 12. Where do people meet? What do people do together?
- 13. What identities do people use to separate themselves into smaller and smaller groups?
- 14. What identities do people have that bring them together in larger and larger groups?
- 15. What do people in this situation compete over?
- 16. Where in this situation do people collaborate and cooperate?
- 17. Does this Connector have potential?
- 18. What does normal life look like?

Always ask questions 1 and 2. Use questions 5 and 6 to consider, evaluate, and prioritize your answers.

Interrogating the Six Critical Details

	Interrogating the Critical Details	Interrogating the Critical Details for who is excluded
Targeting	Who are the recipients? How did we select them?	Who is excluded from being a recipient?
	Why?	Why?
Resources	What are the specific resources we are bringing in? Why?	What resources are we not bringing in (that could accomplish the same goals)? Why?
Staffing	Who are our staff? How did we hire them? Why? Why did we hire these specific people? Why?	Who was not hired? Why?
Partnering	Who are our partners? How did we select them? Why? Why did we choose to partner with these specific organizations? Why?	Which organizations did we not partner with? Why?
Working with Authorities	How are we interacting and engaging with local authorities? Why?	Are there local authorities we are not engaged with? \\Vhy?
How to intervene	How are we doing the work? What choices have we made? Why?	What ways of doing the work have we chosen to not do (that could accomplish the same goals)? Why?

Can you explain the reason for a decision to someone who asks?

Checklist for Red Flags in Critical Detail Mapping

Partnering Staffing Resources **Targeting**

is when the recipients all share One key challenge in targeting an identity.

- ▶ Ethnic identity
- Religious identity
- ▶ Profession (e.g. farmers) All from the same
 - geographic area
- (poorest of the poor, most ▶ Defined as needy in ways that exclude other needy damaged housing, etc.).

Other challenges to consider:

- with the organization's staff? ▶ Do they share an identity
- Were recipients picked by the local governing authorities?
- Were they selected in order to ensure the success of the

because of the resource? ▶ Is one group better off

- ► Can the resource be stolen?
- Does the resource have a military application?
- a surplus/shortfall of it? Both needs accurately or is there resources and spur theft. surplus and shortfall can Does the amount meet affect competition for
- toward individual recipients, often more able to focus on or family ones. Individual or family resources can create Connectors than individual Collective resources are ▶ Is the resource oriented jealousy when criteria collective recipients? family recipients, or exclude others.
- Delays hurt people's ability does it experience delays? to plan and can increase ▶ Is the delivery timely or tension.

How were staff chosen?

- ▶ Does the whole staff (or a large part of it) share the same identity?
- ▶ Does the staff all come from the same geographic area?

political or military interests?

▶ Do partners have ties to

▶ Are the partners based in

an area where just one

- Were the staff hired by word of mouth?
- Were the staff selected by authorities?

areas. Will this be an issue?

asked to work in other

Were they hired based on

 Were they hired based on criteria in a place where technical or educational those are or have been restricted? What decisions do staff make? What pressures are they under?

authorities, the community, the organization and its leadership, (Pressure can come from local environment, their own a donor, etc)

Working with Authorities

Local Authorities can misuse resources by: ▶ Do partners share the same identity as staff? How were partners chosen?

- ▶ Stealing, taxing, or diverting an intervention's goods for use in their pursuit of war or power
- thereby affecting population resources can be delivered, ▶ Determining where and when an intervention's movements and concentrations subgroup lives? They may be
- international personnel to convey their "message" to sympathy, resources and the world thus gaining ▶ Using interactions with broader legitimacy be legal, historical, traditional,

restricted? Restrictions can

criteria in a place where technical or educational

those are or have been

serving the interests of local to create the appearance of ▶ Interacting with interveners people without actually doing so

▼ Were the partners found by

word of mouth?

obvious at first glance. etc.They may not be

Were the partners selected

by authorities?

What decisions do partners make? What pressures are they under?

Five Patterns of Resource Transfers

Substitution Effects local efforts. Theft occurs when people simply take resources from an organization.
Market Effects are the result of changes in the local incentive structures and patterns of opportunity caused by the introduction of new resources. The new resources noticeably affect incomes, wages, profits, and prices so that people's perception of economic winners and losers changes. A Substitution Effect occurs when an experiencient takes over for local capacity reducing or realization.
A Legitimization Effects political or governing authority. A Legitimization is perceived to be using its resources to support a
A Distribution Effect occurs when people perceive that an organization has a bias in favor for or against a specific group through the way they distribute resources.

Four Patterns of Messages through Behavior

Transparency	rairness	7		Accountability	Respect
Openness about what we do, why we do it, and how we do it.	Acknowledging and working with cultural norms.	Treating people as equal and equally deserving.	Demonstrated eagerness to learn.	Willingness to acknowledge, take responsibility for, and to fix mistakes.	Positive social attention
Being closed about what we do, why we do it, and how we do it.	Ignoring cultural norms.	Treating people unequally.	Incapacity to learn.	Unwillingness to acknowledge, take responsibility for, and to fix mistakes.	Humiliation:Violently (physically, verbally, or emotionally) putting a person or group "in their place"—below the humiliator.

The RAFT

Negative Patterns of Behavior	RAFT	Positive Patterns of Behavior
Hostile Competition		Cooperation and Collaboration
Suspicion		• Trust
Anger, Aggression, Belligerence	Respect	• Calm
Indifference		Listening (and sensitivity to local concerns)
• Powerlessness		Positive Action
Impunity	Accountability	Responsibility
Security, Arms & Power		Rule of Law (or Nonviolence)
Different Value for Different Lives	F	Recognition of Value
Ignoring Rules	Fairness	Following Rules
• Closed		• Open
Decision making process		Decision making process known
unknown	Transparency	Share information
Hide information	in anopai circy	
Lack of transparency contributes to		Transparency contributes to all
all above behaviors		above behaviors

Three Spheres of Behavior

Conduct

Conduct is the personal behavior of individuals.

Policy

Policy is the organizational documentation that influences, directs, and constrains conduct.

Publicity

Publicity is the organization's presentation of itself and its work to the world.

Five Patterns of Resource Transfers

Distribution Effects	A Distribution Effect occurs when people perceive that an organization has a bias in favor for or against a specific group through the way they distribute resources.	
Distribution Effects in post- conflict settings	In post-conflict settings, everybody has needs, often quite severe ones. At the same time, a losing side will almost always have more needs than a winning one.	
Distribution Effects in resource management	Resources that are used in common, such as water, forest, or pasture, are always challenges to manage. When more than one group wants to access a resource this can lead to conflict.	
Distribution Effects based on the easy route	Some people are easier to reach than others. This can be based on geography, language, cultural affinity, transportation networks, education, and so on.	
Distribution Effects based on social or economic criteria	The use of social or economic criteria ("poorest of the poor", "the landless", "subsistence farmers", etc.) can trap organizations into working with a limited set of people.	
Distribution Effects in post- disaster settings	While similar to post-conflict settings in that everybody has needs, the concern here is that those defined as "most affected" by the disaster might come from a specific group.	
Legitimization Effects	A Legitimization Effect occurs where an organization is perceived to be using its resources to support a political or governing authority.	
Legitimizing a bad actor	By allowing their resources to be co-opted by a governing authority who uses them for nefarious ends, organizations can contribute to conflict.	
De-legitimizing a good actor	By not working with a governing authority, organizations can miss opportunities to help strengthen local capacities.	
De-legitimizing a bad actor	By using their resources to clearly differentiate the organization from the governing authority, an organization can avoid being co-opted.	
Legitimizing a good actor	By explicitly supporting a governing authority's initiatives through their own activities, organizations can maintain their independence while also helping to build local capacity.	
Market Effects	Market Effects are the result of changes in the local incentive structures and patterns of opportunity caused by the introduction of new resources. The new resources noticeably affect incomes, wages, profits, and prices so that people's perception of economic winners and losers changes.	
Market Effects on Incomes	Interventions can flood areas and local markets with cheap or free substitutes that compete directly with local products and the incomes of those who relied on selling that good will fall.	
Market Effects on Wages	Hiring local people affects the wage structure of local communities. Such effects can increase jealousies at the personal level and, when one group has a greater representation among those who get paid than other groups, this pattern increases tensions.	
Market Effects on Profits	Sourcing goods and services locally provide profits to local people. However, if the profits tend to accrue to members of one group over others, this can cause tensions to rise. When profits flow to politically connected people, this can be perceived as corruption.	
Market Effects on Prices	Interventions that require local goods and/or services can drive the prices of these up, placing them out of the reach of locals, or changing incentives around those items.	
Substitution Effects	A Substitution Effect occurs when an organization takes over for local capacity, reducing or replacing local efforts.	
Substitution Effects free up resources to pursue conflict	Governing authorities in conflict situations often see the resources of interveners as supplementary to their own. They also understand how to manipulate intervener values.	
Substitution Effects result in authorities' loss of capacity	When systems that should be supported by a local governing authority are pushed onto NGOs or usurped by them, the governing authorities may well forget that they once had responsibility for that system or they may lose the competence they had.	
Substitution and legitimacy	When a government reduces its connection with its citizens by giving up more and more services to other entities, its legitimacy erodes bit by bit. Delegitimizing government undermines Connectors and may increase Dividers.	
Theft	Theft occurs when people simply take resources from an organization.	

Patterns of Behavior and Mindsets

Patterns of Respect	Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Disrespect	Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Respect
	Disrespect through hostile Competition	Collaboration and cooperation as expressions of respect
	Believing only in zero-sum interactions, we send messages of domination and dehumanization.	Working together, we can achieve great things.
	Disrespect through Suspicion	Trust as an expression of respect
	Sending messages of distrust, we show our fear and hostility.	Open doors send messages of willingness to listen.
	Disrespect through Aggression, Anger, and Belligerence	Calm and respect
	Sending messages of force and fear, we hope to compel either compliance or silence.	Sending messages of calm, we show ourselves unafraid and professional.
	Disrespect through Indifference	Listening as an expression of respect
	Not caning, we deny their experience and their humanity.	Sitting and listening, we show that we care.
Patterns of Accountability	Negative Pattems of Behavior based on lack of Accountability	Positive Pattems of Behavior based in Accountability
	Powerlessness and lack of Accountability	Positive Action and Accountability
	By giving away our power, we become unable to create change.	By constantly striving toward progress, every day, we send messages of hope.
	Impunity and lack of Accountability	Responsibility and Accountability
	By misusing resources, we send messages of abusive authority.	Through good stewardship, we demonstrate leadership.
	Security, Arms and Power and lack of Accountability	Rule of Law and Accountability
	By giving up responsibility for security we send messages of fear.	By supporting legitimate security, we send calming messages of normalcy.
Patterns of Fairness	Negative Patterns of Behavior based on Unfairness	Positive Patterns of Behavior based in Fairness
	Unfairness through demonstrating Different Value for Different Lives	Fairness through Recognizing Value
	Showing that we think one group is superior to another, we humiliate people.	By recognizing worth, we send messages of respect and delight.
	Unfairness through Ignoring the Rules	Fairness through Following the Rules
	Through discounting the rules, we send messages of contempt for communal processes.	By following rules, we send messages of respect for communal processes.

How to be Transparent

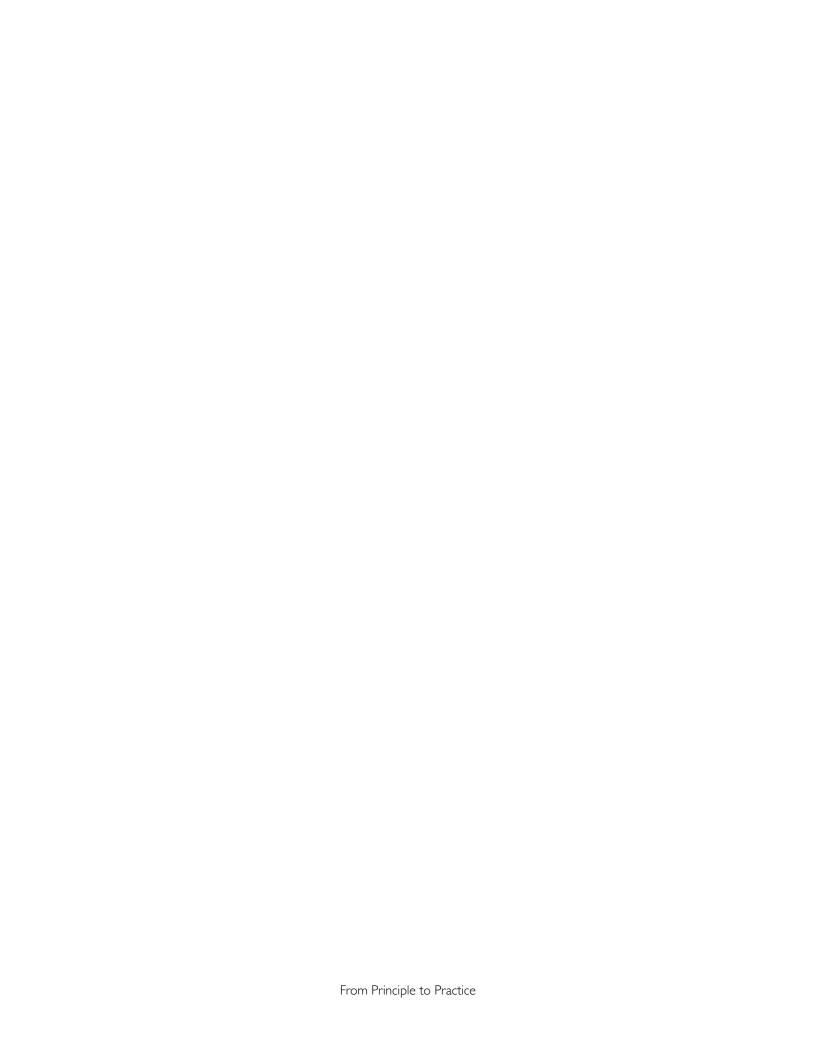
Make sure the method of information sharing actually reaches people. Do not make assumptions about access!	Shared?	With Who?	How?
Selection Criteria			
Project Goals			
Project Timeframes			
Funding Allocation			

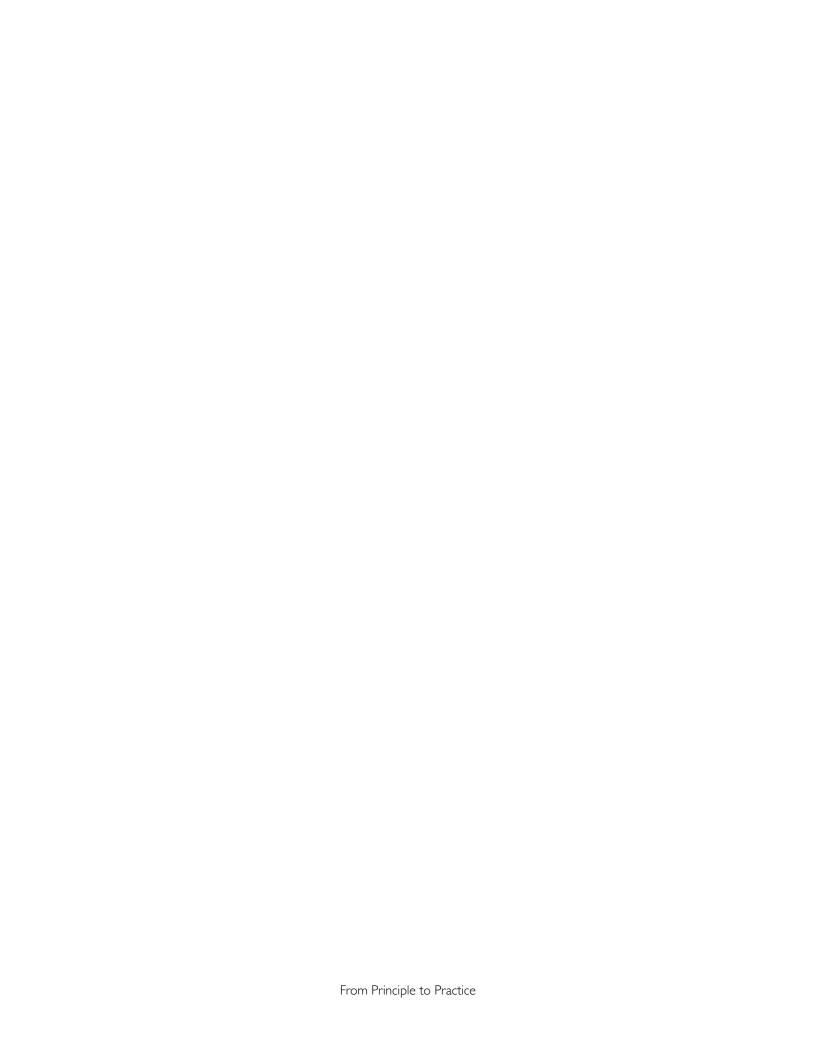
Selection Criteria. The issue most frequently raised by people in recipient societies is their lack of information about why some individuals or groups are selected for assistance and others—often in the same community or nearby—are not.

Project Goals. Many people note that they do not know the activities or objectives of the agencies or the intended impacts of the programs being implemented there. They also say that when recipient communities do not have information, they cannot support assistance activities.

Project Timeframes. People feel strongly that they should have more information about the final stages of any assistance effort and the plans for departure by an agency that has worked in their community. They say that when they are not informed about the timing or conditions of a project's ending, they feel abandoned and unprepared. Information would enable them to plan ahead and handle the departure with less disruption to their lives.

Funding Allocation. People very much want to know more about aid resources. They want to know how much money is involved, where it goes and what is accomplished with it. Without clear information about funding, people often suspect corruption and diversion. When people's expectations exceed what they see as results, questions about the use of funds become even more urgent.





From Principle to Practice A User's Guide to Do No Harm

www.principletopractice.org