

CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE AND MIXED MIGRATION FLOWS OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN EAST AND THE HORN OF AFRICA



INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN DISPLACEMENT AND MIXED MIGRATION

At the end of 2019 there were almost 79.5 million displaced people around the world, of whom 45.7 million are internally displaced and 26 million are refugees. **40% of those displaced, nearly 32 million were children.**

What are mixed migration flows?

Mixed migration flows comprise both displacement (forced or otherwise) and migration (both regular and irregular).

Typically, these movements follow fluid migratory paths and involve tens of thousands of people annually. The proportion of children in mixed and complex flows has risen significantly in recent years, with some regions seeing exceptionally rapid increases.

These numbers do not account for adults and children who do not appear on official records, who have been compelled or have chosen to move from their home and have joined migration flows to urban centres within their country or into neighbouring countries and onwards irregularly. The group of irregular and undocumented migrants is relatively small compared with the 272 million migrants officially living outside their country of birth but they represent the most vulnerable and at risk.

Children and youth represent a significant share of mixed flows but their number is uncertain – like the overall number of people migrating irregularly each year. Among them are children registered as refugees who choose to undertake secondary movement, from

camps to cities or across borders into further countries of transit and destination.

CONFLICT-RELATED DISPLACEMENT IN THE EAST AND HORN OF AFRICA REGION

In 2019, sub-Saharan Africa recorded around 8.1 million new displacements associated with conflict and disasters – more than any other region, and accounting for 24.1% of all new displacements worldwide. **Approximately 19.2 million people were living in internal displacement in sub-Saharan Africa as a result of conflict and disasters, with a majority of them being children.**

In the Horn of Africa, sub-regional and intra-state conflict continues to drive people from home towards safer environments. In this region, this can mean moving to and through regions affected by conflict (e.g. movement out of Somalia through Sudan towards Libya).

Conflicts in this region have had complex, cross-border impacts, and children are often the worst affected. Such conflicts also have multigenerational impacts, often leading to a continuous state of displacement for children and their families. This limits



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access to services such as education or health. It has also exposed children to risks of abuse and exploitation, including recruitment into armed forces and child marriage.

A JOURNEY BESET WITH RISKS

The irregular, cross-border nature of mixed migration in the East and Horn of Africa makes for a perilous journey for children and young people.

- On their journey, migrants have to navigate harsh physical environments, cross heavily secured borders and traverse territories of oppressive regimes not dissimilar to the hostile circumstances they were seeking to escape in the first place.
- Because irregular migration is criminalised in several countries in the region, children and youth on the move are often exposed to criminal gangs, militias, smugglers and corrupt officials seeking to take advantage of their precarious legal status, which makes them vulnerable to predatory behaviour by the different people they interact with.
- Those facilitating irregular migration may see asylum-seekers and migrants as a source of income and even easy prey for financial or sexual exploitation, kidnapping and torture. Because migrants often have no legal status in countries of transit and destination, violations and crimes against them go unreported and unpunished.

As part of its commitment to the most marginalised and at-risk children, *Save the Children International has intensified its programming with children and youth on the move, including those at risk of undertaking unsafe migration.*

METHODOLOGY: CONFLICT ANALYSIS OF EAST AND THE HORN OF AFRICA

Conflict analysis is the deliberate study of the causes, actors and dynamics of conflict, and its impact on (in this case) children and youth on the move. This analysis of regional, sub-regional, national and sub-national conflict aims to inform programming to be more responsive to the political, social and economic context in which displacement and migration occur. In this way, programming can capitalise on opportunities for social cohesion and the potential to reduce violence to ensure stronger protections and build resilience for child and young migrants.¹

Primary data collection for this study was conducted in Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan. The study also covered Eritrea, Somalia and South Sudan through secondary data collection.

For the primary data collection, key informant interviews were carried out in the three countries of focus with government departments, UN agencies, international and local non-governmental organisations, civil society, the media and

independent experts. These interviews included questions on the nature of conflict in the area, the role conflict had played in causing displacement in the first place, state–citizen relations and dynamics between local communities and migrants.

The study conducted 23 focus group discussions (FGDs) in Addis Ababa, Cairo and Khartoum and an additional FGD in the transit town of Metema, Ethiopia. FGDs were held in child-friendly spaces and followed a ‘do no harm’ approach. They comprised child and young migrants, female and male, from Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, and internal migrants and returnees in Ethiopia. Respondents were asked about their experiences of conflict, violence, hostility and detention, on the road and in the city in which they were residing. Given the scope and focus on qualitative data, this research is not representative, but aims to produce insight into the experiences of migrant children who participated.

The research also used primary data collected through the Mixed Migration Centre’s Mechanism for Monitoring Mixed Migration Initiative.² This made it possible to develop bespoke data analysis to suit the targeted reference group and the countries under analysis in this study. The use of this data gave access to information on an additional 607 respondents, most of whom were young migrants and asylum-seekers from Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Puntland, Somalia, Somaliland, South Sudan and Sudan.

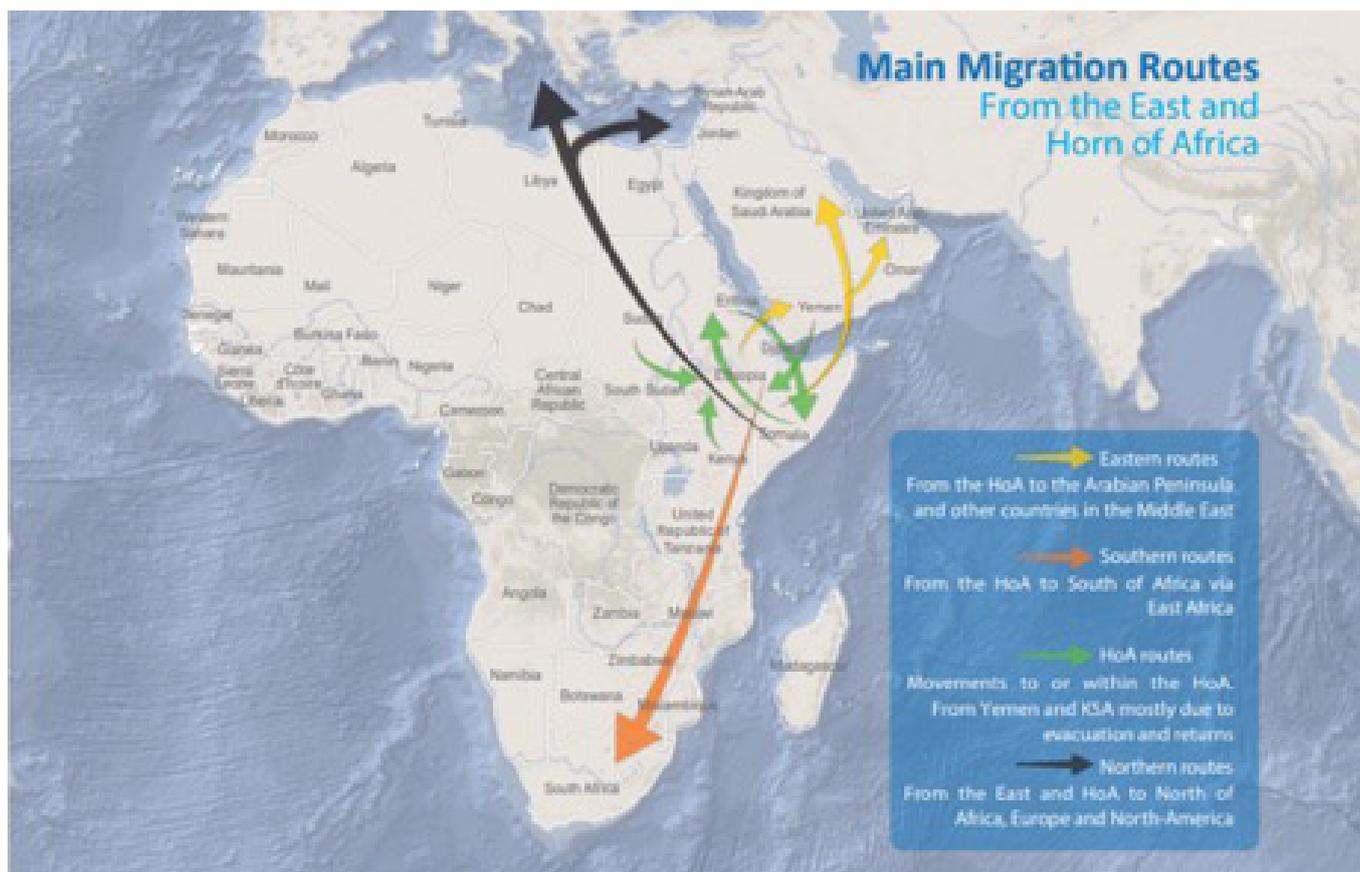
The study encountered a number of limitations:

- The time available to carry out the research, as well as a validation process involving numerous stakeholders, was limited.
- Some FGDs were carried out in languages other than the national language. This meant the research had to rely to a certain degree on local researchers and on (time-consuming) transcriptions.
- Given the need to interview child and young migrants from a range of backgrounds, FGDs were composed of female and male participants. This may have put restrictions on the potential to discuss sensitive topics such as (sexual) violence.
- Some targeted research participants were hesitant to take part in the study.
- Some topics were sensitive, and this represented a major barrier to both the quality and the scope of data collection. Engaging children and young adults who are potentially illegal in the country, in particular unaccompanied minors, also presented significant difficulties.
- Given the particular sensitivity involved, only four FGDs with children were conducted in Sudan. This inevitably affected the Sudan analysis.

¹ For the purposes of this research, conflict is understood broadly, and does not need to mean a formally recognised state of war. Conflict entails the resort to psychological or physical force to resolve a disagreement, and thus can also include domestic and community violence as a root cause and driver of migration.

² <http://www.mixedmigration.org/4mi/>

CONTEXT: A MACRO CONFLICT ANALYSIS OF THE REGION



IOM (2019) *Displacement Tracking Matrix, Programming in the East and Horn of Africa 2019*

Conflict has undermined development and stability in the Horn of Africa for several decades. The Horn continues to be Africa's most volatile region, in part because of the interwoven nature of geopolitics, conflict and displacement. Conflict has caused, and is exacerbated by, cycles of humanitarian crisis and economic hardship. Environmental fragility, livelihood collapse, governance issues and population pressures have all contributed to forced displacement and migration. Conflict and lack of livelihood opportunities remain the lead drivers of forced displacement, and a major factor in decision-making around voluntary migration in the region.

From time to time, neighbours pursue their interests via foreign insurgencies or rebel groups. This can destabilise the region or even, as history shows, lead to the creation of entire new nations, like Eritrea, South Sudan and, potentially, Somaliland.

Children are often the worst affected, through early conscription, targeted recruitment in multiple capacities (often for use in active hostilities), attacks on civilians and the mass movement of families. Conflict inflicts suffering and damage on children in different ways to those that adults experience, because they are physically weaker and more vulnerable, and also because their physical, mental, emotional and psychological development is so dependent on their childhood experiences.³ Conflicts in this region often lead to protracted violence, constrained potential for peace-building and reconciliation and therefore a continuous state of displacement for children and their families.

Egypt's relationship with neighbouring Sudan includes a low-level military dispute over border demarcation. Further afield, Ethiopia's Great Ethiopia Renaissance Dam project could affect Egypt's economy, especially riparian agriculture that relies on the Nile.⁴ The AU is currently leading a negotiation process between Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan.

Meanwhile, the increase in the numbers travelling in mixed migratory movements from these same neighbouring countries is a political and humanitarian challenge for Egypt. In recent years, to deal with these flows, Egypt has put an emphasis on prosecuting and enacting more severe sentences for traffickers. Efforts to curb trafficking often strengthen overall border management, which has adverse effects on migrants in mixed migration flows by curbing irregular movement using smugglers. Growing numbers of irregular migrants attempting to pass through Egypt on to Libya and Europe have led Egypt to cooperate with the EU on border management. Since the tightening of smuggling and trafficking laws in 2016, there has been an almost complete stop to Mediterranean departures from Egypt for Europe.

³ Kirolos, M., Anning, C., Knag Fylkesnes, G. and Denselow, J. (2018) *The War on Children: Time to End Grave Violations Against Children in Conflict*. London: SCI.

⁴ ICG (2019) 'Calming the Choppy Nile Dam Talks'. Geneva: ICG.

In April 2018, **Ethiopia** set upon fast-paced reform designed to open up democratic space while mending relations with Eritrea and Somalia. However, with more than 80 nationalities and ethnic groups, the country continues to deal with old state border disputes. Internal conflicts led to the world's largest internally displaced population in 2019,⁵ and there is continued irregular migration of Ethiopians, either out through Sudan or east through Djibouti to the Middle East. Ethiopia is also the second largest refugee hosting country in the region, mainly refugees from Eritrea, South Sudan and Somalia.

Eritrea continues with mandatory army conscription for young men, despite the UN lifting sanctions and Ethiopia promoting peace with its neighbour. Eritreans are fleeing their country in greater numbers owing to a sense of hopelessness, despite the cessation of hostilities with Ethiopia.⁶ The children and youth who are present among those who leave often continue to experience severe forms of violence and exploitation.

Most countries in Europe offer refugee status to most Eritreans who make it to Europe. But to get there, they must cross Africa, facing multiple risks of violations, sometimes fatal. Nevertheless, while harsh penalties are imposed on those caught fleeing Eritrea, the state relies economically on remittances from its diaspora.

Somalia's political economy, fuelled by competing local, regional and international interests, is a driver of persistent conflict. From 1991, two decades of civil war fractured society and destroyed all institutions. Almost three decades later, these are, slowly and falteringly, rebuilding. However, law and order breakdown means violence is a commonplace occurrence.

The mostly pastoralist society relies heavily on a kinship system that provides security through clan-aligned militias. This governance model creates numerous challenges for Somalis, especially women and children, and reduces livelihood opportunity, limits economic growth and fuels migration among young men.

Islamic terrorist group Al Shabaab controls several regions of the centre and south of the country. Al Shabaab is now considered a regional threat, having carried numerous attacks in Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda. The war is also driving the displacement and migration of children; an estimated more than a million Somalis now live in other countries.⁷

The end of the 40-year civil war in Sudan brought hope to a new generation with the birth of **South Sudan** in 2011, but three years later the new nation imploded in what has become Africa's largest refugee crisis. The most recent peace deal, signed in September 2018, is unstable. South Sudan's conflict has splintered into a series of local struggles linked to the broad contestation for government control and natural resource revenue.

The six-year civil war has brutalised the population, especially its children. Well over 2.2 million South Sudanese are taking

refuge in Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Another 2.1 million are displaced within South Sudan itself.⁸ Approximately 320,000 people were newly displaced as a result of conflict in 2018 alone.⁹

Sudan has experienced more than five decades of interrupted development as a result of political crisis and conflict. At present, there remain 2.7 million forcibly displaced Sudanese. In the early 2000s, the persecution of non-Arab Sudanese in Darfur led to a massive, unresolved refugee and internal displacement crisis. Sudanese, mostly Darfuris, were among the top arrivals in Italy between 2015 and 2017.¹⁰

Many of these are children who were born and grew up in a context of war. Having witnessed violence all their life, and with few prospects for a better future, they often aim only to 'escape' the harsh reality in which they live.



The problem in Darfur has made people leave the country. Escape. My goal was to feel secure and leave a reality filled with killings.
Sudanese FGD participant, Cairo, 14–18 years

Sudan is making efforts to move to a more inclusive democracy-style model but divided agendas competing for supremacy could derail these. Meanwhile, Sudan's struggling economy is the key factor in the complex situation. Numerous armed non-state actors operate within and across the borders, and South Sudan's gaining of independence in July 2011 encouraged South Kordofan and Blue Nile states also to push for independence, which resulted in a decade-long insurgency.

Again, it is children who have suffered the most in Sudan's numerous local insurgencies, through recruitment to non-state armed groups, as victims of the violence or through missing out on basic services.

5 According to IDMC, approximately 2.9 million people were newly displaced in 2018 alone, from conflict in violence.

6 Phone interview with Meron Estefanos, 2 October 2019

7 <https://www.cdc.gov/immigrantrefugeehealth/profiles/somali/populationMovements.html>

8 UNHCR (2019) 'South Sudan Refugee Crisis'. Geneva: UNHCR.

9 IDMC (2019) Global Report on Displacement 2019. Geneva: IDMC.

10 Jaspars, S and Buchanan-Smith, M. (2018) 'Darfuri Migration to Europe: From Displacement to Despair'. London: HPG, Research and Evidence Facility and ODI.

FINDINGS: CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE ON THE JOURNEY AND AT DESTINATION

On the journey

Smugglers and criminal gangs

Smugglers are deeply entrenched in migrants' social networks and local communities. Such is the demand for their services that 92% of migrants who had used them said that they themselves or friends and relatives had voluntarily made the initial contact.

High demand may explain why those who have contact with smuggled migrants act as they do – unconcerned about damaging their own 'business model' and fearless of punishment. Smugglers frequently cause their 'clients' increased hardship, making the journey much longer than expected and extracting considerably more money for their services than originally quoted.

Smugglers normally operate in loose association. There are leaders operating out of cities but smugglers can also be found in camps and at border-crossing areas and can reach rural areas and small towns. Journeys are often a series of 'legs'; generally, once migrants are handed over after a crossing, they come under the charge of a smuggler of another nationality.

The mother of our neighbour travelled out with smuggling. She couldn't tolerate the difficulty of the road and the desert between Egypt and Sudan and died by the road. The smugglers buried her in a brutal way and moved on as if nothing happened. They give you, take you, from one to another smuggler. They take large amounts of money. Syrian FGD participant, Cairo, 19–25 years

The range of violations reported by migrants in migrant transit locations include robbery, deception, sexual assault, physical assault, disappearances (sometimes trafficking), holding against their will, extortion, detention and death – normally through negligence resulting in vehicle accidents and dehydration or starvation but sometimes also through murder. Other migrants report being used for forced labour by their smugglers.¹¹

Sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls

Women and girls on the road are especially vulnerable to violence of all kinds, particularly sexual violence. Many young women and girls from this region, interviewed in Europe, also reported having experienced domestic or sexual violence before they left home, which had contributed to their decision to migrate in the first place.¹²

As we entered Sudan, the Sudan traffickers put some people – mainly young women, children – on buses and they took them to unknown areas, and raped them with a group. I heard about one of the trafficked girls who was raped by local gangs and traffickers – she ended up with fistula and is also an HIV patient now. FGD participant, Metema

The particular vulnerability of Eritreans

No ethnic group is immune to violence when travelling along East African routes but in the past decade Eritreans, more so than other African nationalities, have faced great risk of robbery, sexual violence, kidnapping and death.¹³ As some of Africa's poorest, Eritreans are most exposed because they frequently travel in large numbers and are predominately Christians moving through Islamic countries. They also have the longest distance to travel, regularly stopping to replenish funds through work or to wait for family to send more money.

State officials

State officials, especially frontline duty bearers, are often the main gatekeepers for migrant children's access to rights and services, and are key allies, especially when well capacitated on issues facing child migrants and backed by strong systems. Sadly, the risks facing most migrants on the move come from their proximity not only to their smugglers but also to some officials they encounter en route.

International efforts to address irregular migration and reduce the vulnerabilities of child migrants will be fruitless unless practitioners recognise that officials' position of power can be abused, creating a symbiotic relationship between smugglers and some border guards, prison guards, security personnel, coast patrols, police, military and immigration officials.

Criminal and corrupt practices happen in clear contravention to government procedure and legislation. Certain state officials are able to profit from migrants transiting their jurisdiction. They may also be directly implicated in acts of robbery, rape and other sexual assault, kidnapping and, on occasion, summary killings. Some abuse results from a lack of capacity, with officials not recognising child migrants as distinct rights-holders, leading to 'extortionate detention', holding or imprisoning migrants against their will and with no due process.¹⁴ Release is secured after an unofficial payment or bribe or sex act.

¹¹ UNICEF (2019) *No Mother Wants her Child to Migrate, Vulnerability of Children on the Move in the Horn of Africa*. New York: UNICEF.

¹² Longobardi, C., Prino, L.E. and Veronesi, T.G. (2017) 'Abuses, Resilience, Behavioural Problems and Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms Among Unaccompanied Migrant Minors: An Italian Cross-Sectional Exploratory Study'. *Psychiatria i Psychologia Kliniczna* 17(2): 87–92.

¹³ Malakooti, A. (2017) *Eastern Migration Routes Analytical Overview Study*. Geneva: IOM.

¹⁴ Frouws, B. and Brenner, Y. (2019) 'A Persistent Reality: The Role of Corruption in Mixed Migration'. Geneva: Mixed Migration Centre.

Conflict and violence in the city

The violence may not end when migrants reach a city where they reside for a while, and where the journey ends or is suspended. The many hardships and risks on the road can be compounded by the stress and uncertainty of arrival in an unfamiliar urban environment, where new threats are encountered. Addis Ababa, Cairo and Khartoum are all cities of transit and destination for children and young people taking part in mixed migration flows.

Participants in the FGDs all described violence, hostility from locals and discrimination in the workplace and in school. The October 2019 snapshot of the Mixed Migration Centre in East Africa found that ‘capital cities and other urban hubs are most often cited as areas where incidents take place’ and that ‘respondents travelling north from the region towards North Africa and Europe were more likely to report having witnessed or experienced an incident’.

Addis Ababa

Eritrean and Somali migrants in Addis Ababa tend to fit in without too much difficulty, as there are significant communities of Somali and Tigrayan Ethiopians (as well as migrant communities) in the city. However, lack of opportunity (schooling and employment) is an important excluding experience. Dependence on remittances, frustration and boredom contribute to negative outcomes. Incomes for those who can work are measurably lower than for those in the comparable host community. FGDs also cited instances of petty crime; one Eritrean said they were sometimes abused or spat on by host community members.

Khartoum

The labour market in Khartoum remains informal, with harsh conditions, poor pay and regular exploitation. Hazardous working conditions, physical and sexual abuse and limited access to education and health services mean children are highly vulnerable to traffickers or abuse. Meanwhile, the hidden nature of irregular migration makes programming difficult, as migrant communities may resist engaging agencies they deem to be untrustworthy or to be working for a hostile government.

Cairo

Cairo offers numerous services to cater for children on the move – but migrants have to shift their coping mechanisms to manage the numerous challenges brought on by living in a mega-city, including unemployment, discrimination and violent crime. New arrivals mostly rely on community or kinship networks to navigate what can be a hostile environment.

Women and girls in Cairo, particularly those from sub-Saharan Africa, face rising sexual violence. Often, young girls or women work as domestic staff, exposed to a high risk of sexual violence and wage exploitation. Boys, often sent to work rather than attend school, face similar challenges in construction and menial work such as hawking at traffic lights.

Undocumented children who do not have paperwork to demonstrate they are seeking asylum or already have refugee status risk detention. However, generally, levels of tolerance are high and irregular migrants are not actively pursued. When refugees are detained, it is usually not as a result of targeting them, but rather due to participation in protests or unlawful gatherings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Anti-violence programming for children and youth

Children continue to make up an important part of mixed migration flows, and among them are many unaccompanied children and young people. These young migrants are especially vulnerable to violence and abuse, particularly girls, and this violence significantly undermines their capacity to be self-reliant.

To this extent, **protection against violence along the route must be one core approach**. Although activities to provide protection from conflict and violence occupy the more humanitarian end of the spectrum, and there are legitimate pressures for donors and organisations to focus attention on longer-term development interventions, it would be a false economy to miss out the hard work of addressing violence against migrants; violence, or the threat of it, will jeopardise efforts to build resilience.

For this reason, **prevention approaches are as important as response**. Activities and interventions aimed at outcomes such as education and livelihoods can often lead to conflict resolution and trust-building, if targeting and implementation are undertaken carefully. An area-based approach is advised, one which recognises host community needs in line with refugee needs.

Build young people’s resilience to recover from the psychological and physical implications of violence, and to learn how to protect themselves and others.

- Responses should be context-specific. In Egypt and Ethiopia, support integration of any response into child health services and national systems (e.g. through drop-in centres, mobile teams along the route and more established child-safe spaces in cities of residence). In Sudan, a more community-based approach may be needed.
- Responses should also be gender-sensitive, as the needs of male and female children and young people are different. Identification and referral for victims of violence experienced before or on the journey should focus on sexual and gender-based violence as experienced by all children but especially women and girls.
- Consistent with the route-based approach, focus on hard-to-reach and unregulated places such as border crossings. They should include strong cross-border case management, to build on (or bring a child lens to complement) existing

programmes such as Better Migration Management's activities and planned programmes such as the UN Children's Fund Children on the Move programme.

Build social cohesion, life skills and inter-communal relations in urban centres.

- Activities must target migrants and migrant groups with the least likelihood of acquiring independent self-reliance, for example non-Muslims living in Muslim societies; non-Arabic speakers (in Egypt and Sudan); young women and girls; and, in Cairo, sub-Saharan Africans generally.
- Ensure the participation of vulnerable and/or poor host community members in opportunities or activities. Connecting with these groups is critical to improve service delivery to children on the move, in particular unaccompanied minors. Building trust is crucial, and takes an investment of time and energy.
- Migrant communities in cities are central to children and young people in irregular or mixed migration flows because they support, promote and facilitate the process. Community groups are at the frontline of these population flows and know best what their people need on a daily basis. Create pathways in migrant groups and build on these to develop simple short-term solutions like financial assistance for accommodation and health care procedures, as well as longer-term durable solutions.

Put in place livelihood schemes that also engage host communities.

- Livelihood interventions should be designed to provide the greatest opportunity for interaction and trust-building between local urban communities and migrant populations. Including community leaders, youth and women in this process is critical.
- Livelihood activities and capacity-building should prioritise the participation of women and girls, in order to provide them with alternatives to taking work where they are at risk of sexual violence.

Focus on education as a key tool of self-reliance and peace-building

- Support access of migrant children to complete regular primary and secondary education, and address discrimination and violence/conflict in schools. Education is a motivating factor for parents moving to a new location, so positive learning environments in formal and informal settings can shape decision-making for families on the move.
- Take part in dialogue and advocacy upstream with national governments to ensure children who are non-nationals, even those without refugee status or asylum-seeker documentation, are able to access national systems.

Understanding the macro-level conflict environment

No programming will be able to address many of the conflict-based root causes of migration. However, any efforts undertaken must be situated in a firm understanding of the impacts of conflict on decisions to move, or on forced displacement; and on what young people experience on the road.

- Participate in collective dialogue and advocacy with national and regional entities on conflict management, mitigation, peace processes and impacts on children on the move.
- Take part in regional efforts to support peace settlements and collective advocacy to prevent/punish child rights violations in areas of internal displacement and border areas.
- Advocate for dialogue on lifting restrictions on intra-regional movement within countries, to remove some of the greatest threats to young migrants.
- Complement existing efforts to prevent detention of children, deportation and corruption among officials, as well as to punish violence by smugglers and other groups.
- Support government entities in the main transit countries Egypt and Sudan on the best interests of the child when handling cases of undocumented child migrants and in cases of child trafficking.
- Work with border officials and armed forces on child-sensitive identification procedures and sensitise the military to recognise and respond to protection risks.
- Ensure activities and approaches are country- and context-specific but acknowledge the strong need for a route-based approach, to enable coherent and coordinated support and assistance to children moving along the route.

Minimising programme contribution to violence or conflict

When implementing such projects, international organisations risk that their actions will disturb the interests of perpetrators of violence (traffickers, smugglers, criminals), that they will expose those who are already vulnerable to sanction, that they will create rivalries, tension or resentment by providing support (perceived or actual) to one group more than to another.

- Develop a detailed and comprehensive matrix of institutional, programmatic and contextual risks at the point of design, and update it on a regular basis.
- Include the voices of those who will co-exist with beneficiaries as well as beneficiaries themselves; and the voices of children, in particular young women and girls.
- Ensure individual and institutional staff capacity in conflict sensitivity, so that awareness of the potential risks to and from the project endures throughout its life.
- Foster a collegial and supportive environment where staff can raise any challenges, gaps and failings without fear of criticism or retribution.
- Ensure sustained cross-country dialogue and inter-office engagement to maintain momentum for a route-based approach to programming.
- Include conflict-sensitive indicators and measurements to contribute to an iterative approach that reflects the challenges of working in conflict-prone environments and with vulnerable populations on the move.
- Ensure the donor's engagement with the project is also rooted in a clear understanding of the conflict context, and the need for the project to be conflict-sensitive.



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This study was led by **Ravenstone Consult** and edited by **Ruth Griffiths**.



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