



## Broadening Inclusion in Peace Processes and Political Transitions

Presentation of research results  
Chiapas, November 2014



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3. Models of inclusion
4. Results of research
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  - Overall effect of inclusion on outcomes
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5. More information

## 1. Why inclusion matters?

- Exclusion is the main reason for conflicts
  - Different forms and types of exclusion
    - Active and passive exclusion (A. Sen)
    - Political, economic, social exclusion of actors, issues, geographical regions, languages, culture...
- ⇒ Inclusion is
- not just an add on to peace processes but a fundamental consideration for process design
  - History of inclusion in mediation overly focused on women (1325) and civil society
  - Less attention to other actors (hardliners, armed groups, political parties, minorities, ...) and issues

## 2. Project Rationale and Methodology

- Builds on previous research by Thania Paffenholz
  - Role of different actors in peace processes 1992-2000
  - Civil society peacebuilding project 2005-2010
  - Inclusion Arab Spring 2010-2013
- Broader Participation Project (2011-2014)
  - Inclusion models developed 2011, 2013
  - Case study research framework in 2013
  - 40 Case studies (2013/2014) with comparative in-depth case study approach
    - Case study selection, data collection, quality control, external review, advisory board, data assessment and analysis
- Focus on political negotiations + implementation
  - Peace agreements and/or Constitution-making

### 3. Inclusion Models

- 1. Direct representation at the negotiation table**
  - Inclusion within negotiation delegations
  - Enlarging the number of negotiation delegations
  - National Dialogue (peacemaking, constitution making, reforms)
- 2. Observer status:** Selected groups or public via media
- 3. Consultations:** official/ unofficial; elite/broader/public
- 4. Inclusive commissions**
  - Post-agreement commissions
  - Commissions preparing/conducting peace process
  - Permanent bodies
- 5. High-level problem solving workshops** (Track 1.5)
- 6. Public decision-making** (i.e. referendum)
- 7. Mass action**

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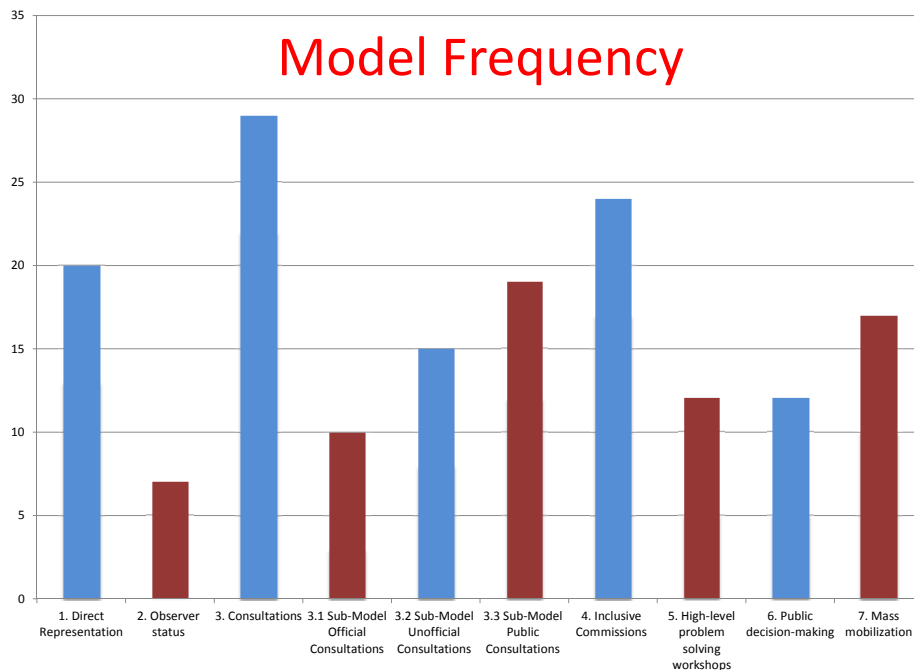
### Snapshot of Research Framework for Case Study Analysis

Context	Models	Assessing models in 40 case studies	Assessing outcomes and level of influence	Supporting/hindering factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• History</li> <li>• State-society relations</li> <li>• Political, economic and social context</li> <li>• Military</li> <li>• Women in society</li> <li>• Role of media</li> <li>• Conflicts + causes</li> <li>• Peace/Transition process</li> <li>• Actors (national, regional, international)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Direct representation at the table                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Within delegations</li> <li>• Enlarging the number of delegations</li> <li>• National Dialogues</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Observer status</li> <li>3. Consultations</li> <li>4. Inclusive commissions                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Post-agreement</li> <li>• Pre- or during negotiations</li> <li>• Permanent bodies</li> </ul> </li> <li>5. High-level problem-solving workshops</li> <li>6. Public decision-making</li> <li>7. Mass action</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Model occurrence</li> <li>• Duration</li> <li>• Included actors</li> <li>• Rationale</li> <li>• Procedures, including decision-making</li> <li>• Selection</li> <li>• Transfer</li> <li>• Initiation</li> <li>• Mediators' role</li> <li>• Role of other actors</li> <li>• Degree of political support</li> <li>• Funding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Start of Negotiations</li> <li>• Negotiation Agenda</li> <li>• Negotiation Outcome                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace Agreement</li> <li>• Constitution</li> <li>• Political Reforms</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Implementation</li> <li>• Non-recurrence of violence</li> <li>• Other?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Context related</li> <li>Process design related</li> <li>Other?</li> </ul>

## Case Studies

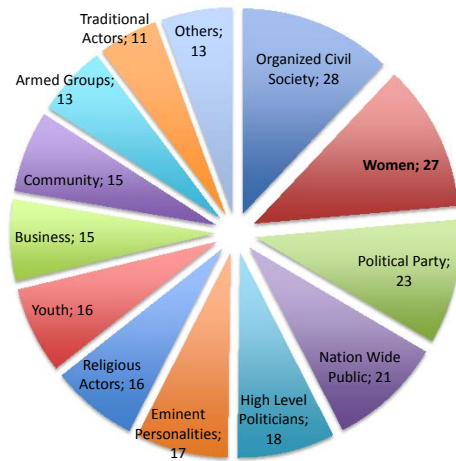
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|--|--|
| 1. Aceh Peace Negotiation 1999-2003                            | 22. Northern Mali peace negotiation 1990-1996                                    |
| 2. Afghanistan Negotiations and Political Transition 2001-2005 | 23. Mexico Chiapas uprising and peace process 1994-1997                          |
| 3. Benin political transition 1990-2011                        | 24. Moldova-Transnistria negotiations 1992-2005                                  |
| 4. Burundi peace negotiations and impl.1996-2013               | 25. Nepal Peace Agreement and CM 2005-2012                                       |
| 5. Colombia Peace Negotiations 1998-2002                       | 26. Northern Ireland Good Friday. 2001-2013                                      |
| 6. Cyprus Negotiations 1999-2004                               | 27. PNG Bougainville Peace Negotiations 1997-2005                                |
| 7. Darfur Peace Negotiations 2009-2013                         | 28. Rwanda Arusha Peace Accords 1992-1993  |
| 8. DR Congo Inter-Congolese Dialogue 1999-2003                 | 29. Solomon Islands Townsville Peace Agreement and Constitution Making 2000-2014 |
| 9. Egypt Political Transition 2011-2013                        | 30. Somalia National Peace Conference 1992-1994                                  |
| 10. El Salvador Peace Neg. and Impl. 1990-1994                 | 31. Somalia National Peace Conference 2001-2005                                  |
| 11. Eritrea Constitution Making 1993-1997                      | 32. Somalia Djibouti process 1999-2001   |
| 12. Fiji Political Transition/Constitution making 2006-2013    | 33. Somaliland Post-independence violence negotiations 1991-1994                 |
| 13. Georgia-Abkhazia UN Negotiations 1997-2007                 | 34. South Africa Political Transition 1990 - 1997                                |
| 14. Guatemala peace process 1989-1999                          | 35. Sri Lanka Ceasefire, Peace Negotiation and Elections 2000-2004               |
| 15. Israel-Palestine Geneva Initiative 2003-2013               | 36. Tajikistan peace negotiations and impl.1993-2000                             |
| 16. Israel-Palestine Oslo I 1991-1995                          | 37. Togo political transition 1990-2006  |
| 17. Kenya Post-election violence 2008-2013                     | 38. Turkey Armenia protocols 2008-2011   |
| 18. Kyrgyzstan political reforms 2013 – present                | 39. Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process 2009-2014                                      |
| 19. Liberia Peace Agreement and Implementation 2003-2011       | 40. Yemen Transition National Dialogue 2011-2014                                 |
| 20. Macedonia Ohrid FA Peace Process 2001-2013                 |  |
| 21. Mali Political Transition 1990-1992                        |  |

## Model Frequency



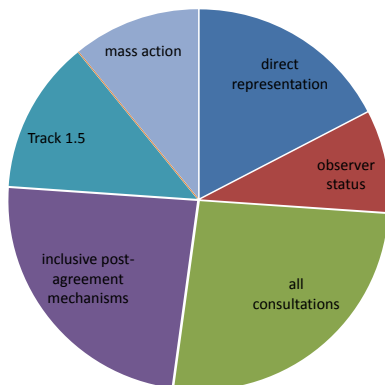
## Who is included?

- Main included actors
- Main excluded actors
  - political parties
  - armed groups

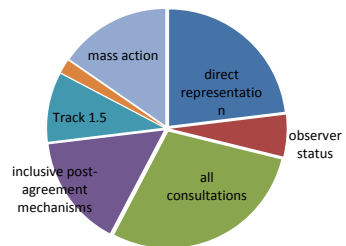


## Included actors by model

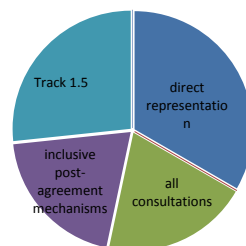
**Women n= 46**



**Organized civil society n=52**

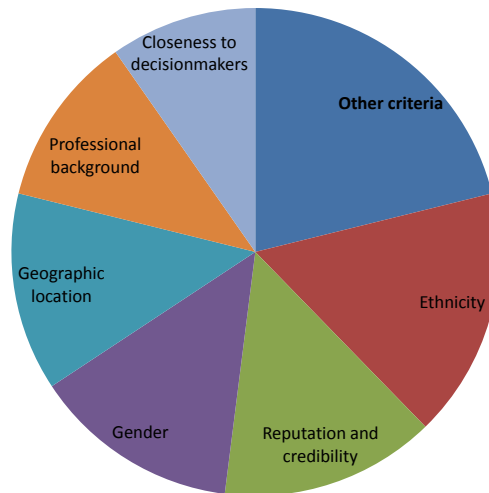


**Armed groups (earier excluded from track 1) n=18**



## Selection

- Selection Procedures
  - Invitation (e.g. Colombia, Yemen)
  - Nomination (e.g. Afghanistan, Kurdish)
  - Election (e.g. S. Africa, Guatemala)
  - Advertisement of positions
  - Open participation (e.g. Kenya)
- Selection Criteria

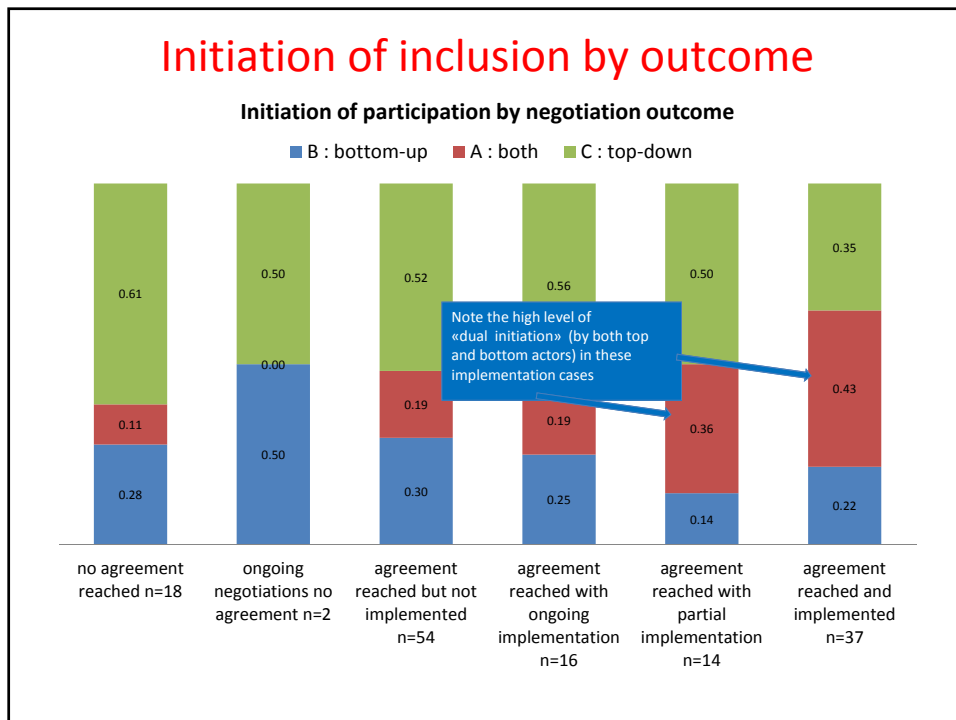
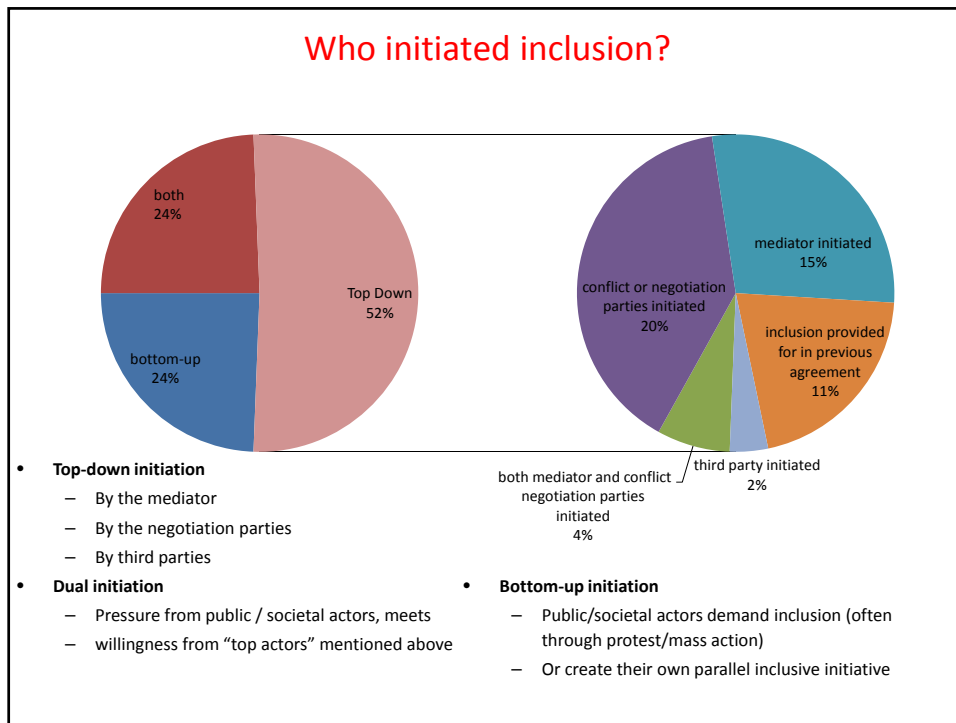


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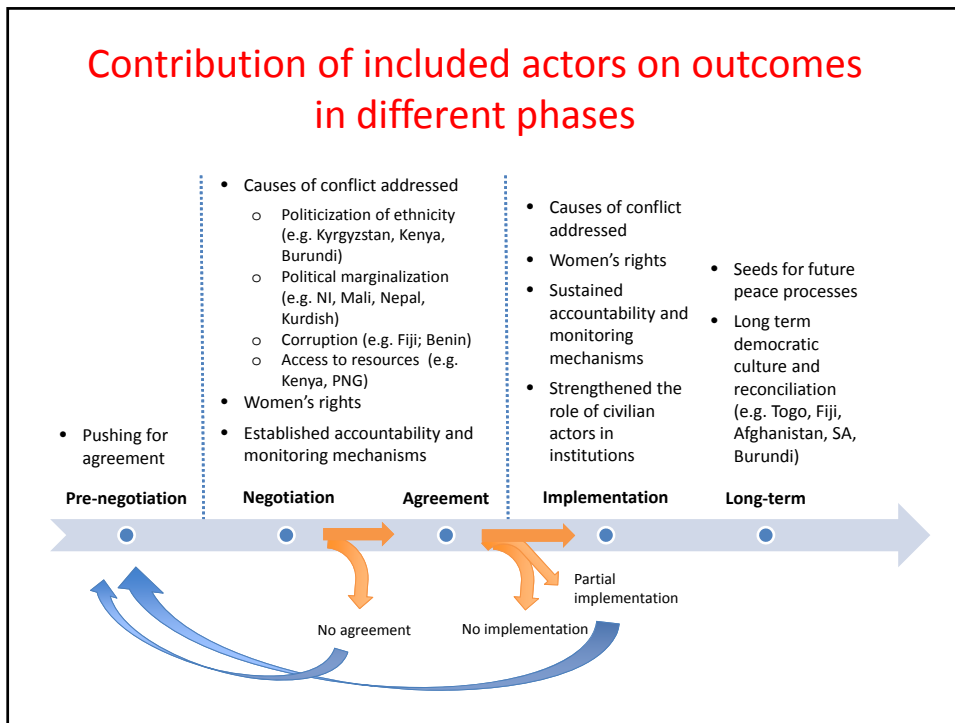
## Rationale of inclusion by actor

- Conflict/negotiation parties (**top-down initiation**)
  - Legitimacy (Afghanistan, Egypt, Kurdish)
  - Public buy-in (Colombia, Kurdish case)
  - Buy-in of major constituencies (Somaliland)
  - Regional constellation (Guatemala Esquipulas, PNG)
  - International pressure (Macedonia, Benin, Afghanistan, Eritrea)
  - Hardliner inclusion (NI, Bougainville, El Salvador)
- Mediators (**top-down initiation**)
  - Momentum for negotiations (Darfur, Kyrgyzstan, NI, Kenya Tajikistan, Burundi, Kenya)
  - New perspectives + testing ideas (Macedonia, Georgia/Ab., Tajikistan, Moldova)
  - Knowledge about past experiences (Afghanistan)
- Public/ societal actor (**bottom-up initiation**)
  - Shift in power/regime change (Egypt, Benin, Yemen, Mali, Togo, Mexico)
  - Address causes of conflict -> Sustainable solutions (Kenya, Egypt)
  - Push for signing or ratifying of agreement (women in Liberia, NI, Mexico..)

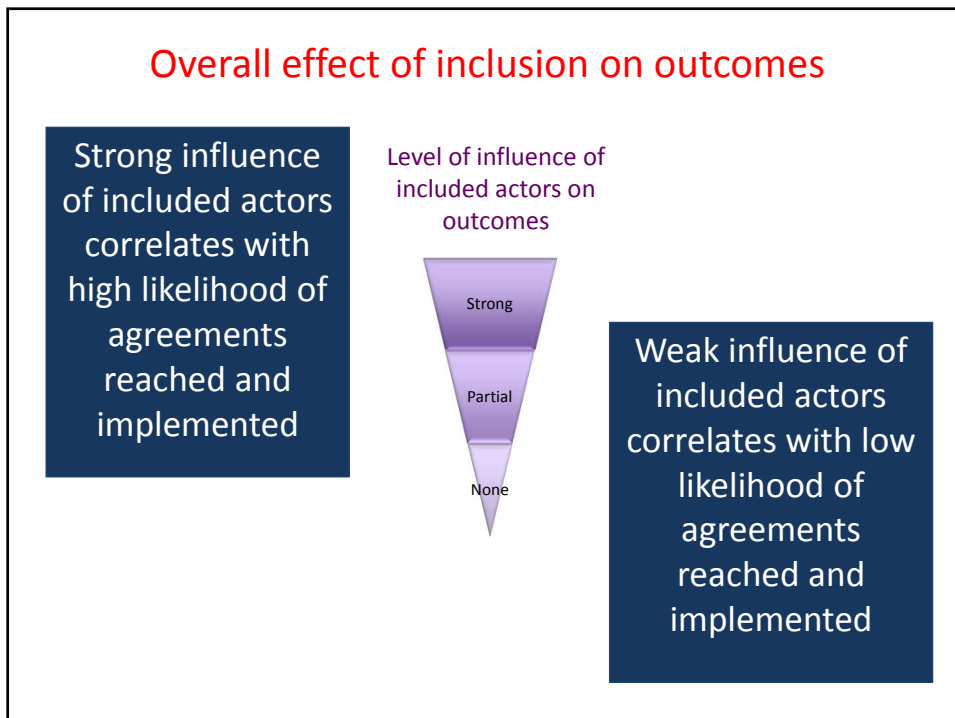
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## Contribution of included actors on outcomes in different phases



## Overall effect of inclusion on outcomes





Supporting/Hindering factors for a  
effective or ineffective inclusion  
related to  
process design and context

### Process Design

- Success cases had combined strategies, models and power considerations
- Inclusive or exclusive inclusion
  - Veto powers, hardliners, excluded groups, perpetrators, ex-fighters
- Decision making
  - Sidelineing included actors by power holders
  - Rarely binding decisions
- Support structures (Capacity building, resource centres, drafting support)
- Public buy-in: Venue, Timing, Funding
- Role of mediator
- Selection criteria and procedures, transfer strategies

## Transfer strategies

Insider strategies	Outsider strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inclusion in official negotiation delegations</li> <li>• Handing over of reports, non-papers to negotiators or mediators (non-binding/binding)</li> <li>• Direct exchange with mediators, advisors, negotiators (form/informal)</li> <li>• Mediators participate in consultations or PSWs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public reports or declarations</li> <li>• Media outreach:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public statements</li> <li>• Press releases</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Visible peace messages</li> <li>• Mailbox deliveries</li> <li>• Lobbying for international community attention</li> </ul>
- No transfer in a few cases	- No outreach in a number of cases

## Context Factors

- Power politics: Support and resistance
- Causes addressed
- Regional actors
- International actors and geopolitical context
- Public support
- Preparedness of included actors (education, training, civil society)
- Influence of military
- Culture of inclusion

## Women's participation results

- Positive influence on the quality of agreements  
(e.g. Mexico, Kenya, Burundi, Somalia)
- Women's participation started informally -> organized external pressure -> formal inclusion (e.g. Somaliland, PNG, Somalia)
- Women who are divided tend to unite during a peace process
- Women movements can have a strong impact in conservative societies challenging deeply rooted social norms
- Empowerment by external actors worked (e.g. women support centres during negotiations, drafting support, capacity building, lobbying)
- Caveat
  - Those women issues addressed are often the easier ones not challenging power relations
  - Implementation of women issues weak

## More information

- Broader Participation in Peace Negotiations
  - [Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue "Mediation Practice Series"](#)
  - [Negotiation Journal article](#)
  - [African Union Handbook](#)
- Civil society and Peacebuilding
  - [CCDP Working Paper 4](#)
  - [Book](#)



