



# The Who, Why, and How of Inclusive Peace Negotiations

**TEPAV**

**20 November 2015**

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# Why inclusion?

- Exclusion in a broad sense is one of the main reasons why groups resort to collective action
  - (Gurr, 2015; Acemoğlu ve Robinson 2013; Amartya Sen)
- Agreements fail/not sustained when they are not owned in a broad manner
  - Inclusion of civil society and opposition parties make agreements more sustainable (Nilsson, 2012)
  - 83 peace agreements, 28 had CS participation, 22 had opposition parties participation
- Remedy: inclusion and local ownership as norms
- UN Guidance on Effective Mediation

# Objectives

- Better understand how inclusion works empirically (context and process of inclusion missing, politics and culture of inclusion interacting with norms)
- Impact of inclusion on the quality and sustainability of peace and transition agreements (taken for granted in the UN Guidance)
- Focus on when, how, under what conditions

# Some clarification on terms...

- Inclusion: taking part in an inclusion model as opposed to a normative value applicable to certain actors only (all relevant actors that participated next to the main representatives in negotiations)
- Quality: how well the causes and effects of conflicts are addressed in the agreement
- Sustainability: how well the provisions addressing these quality factors are implemented
  - To what extent violence is reduced

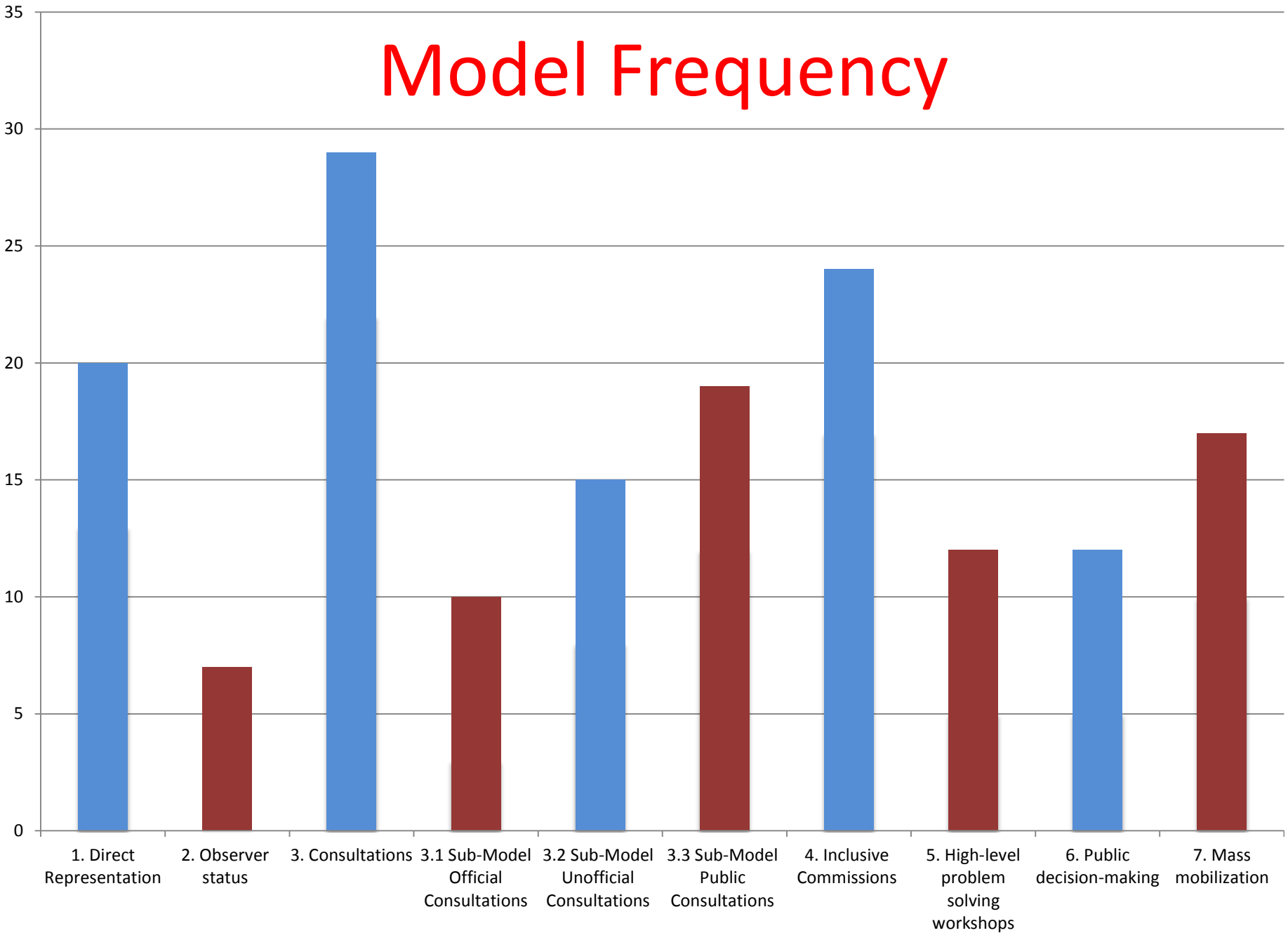
# Broader Participation Research Framework + Key Results

| Context  | Models   | Assessing models in 40 case studies  | Assessing impact during phases and level of influence (7 L scale)  | 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/gender 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>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>Observer status</li> <li>Consultations</li> <li>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>High-level problem-solving workshops</li> <li>Public decision-making</li> <li>Mass action</li> </ol> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Model frequency</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> | <p><b>Phases/categories</b></p> <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> </ul> <p><b>Correlation analyses</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strong influence of included actors correlates strongly with agreements reached and implemented (95% confidence level)</li> <li>No correlation with non-recurrence of violence</li> </ul> | <p>Context related</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Elite support/resistance</li> <li>Influence of military</li> <li>Regional + int. actors</li> <li>Dual initiation of incl.</li> <li>Public support</li> <li>Preparedness of included actors</li> </ul> |
|  |  |  |  | <p>Process design related</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Inclusive or exclusive inclusion</li> <li>Selection</li> <li>Decision making</li> <li>Transfer mechanisms</li> <li>Role of mediator</li> <li>Public buy-in</li> </ul>                          |

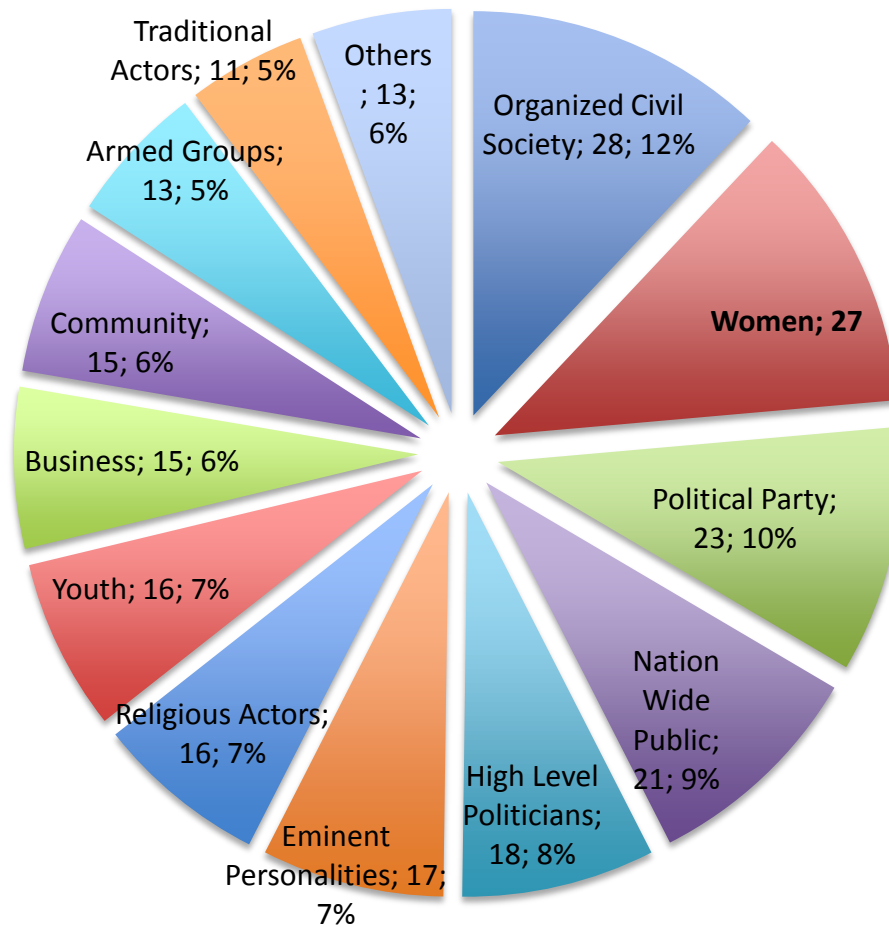
# Case Studies

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

# Model Frequency



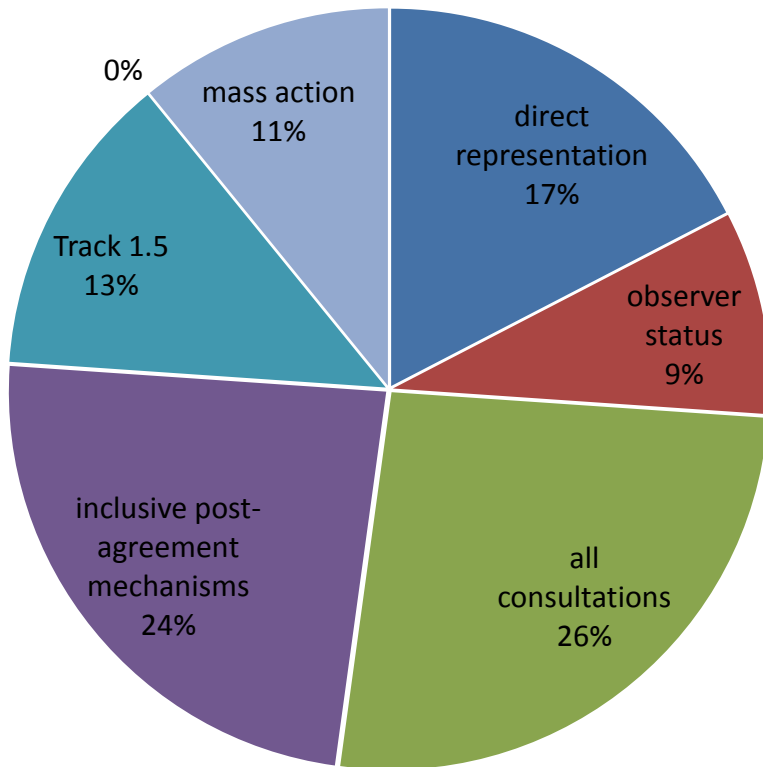
# Who is included?



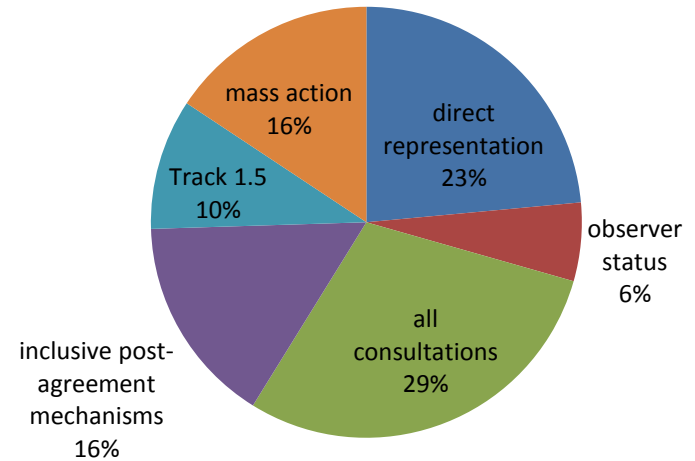


# Included actors by model

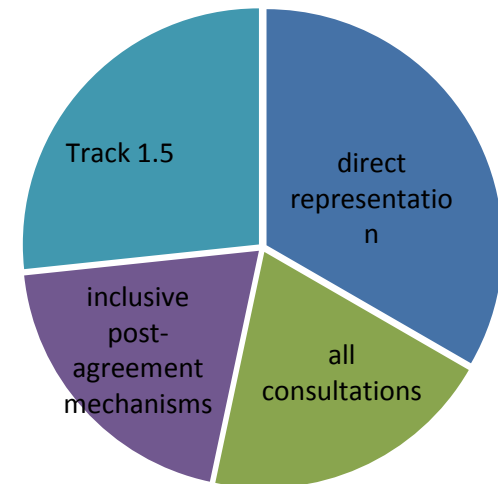
**Women n= 46**



**Organized civil society n=51**



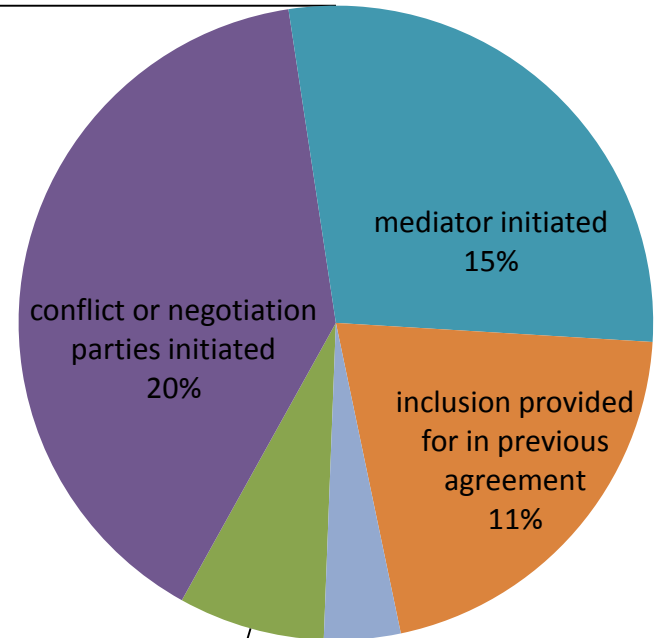
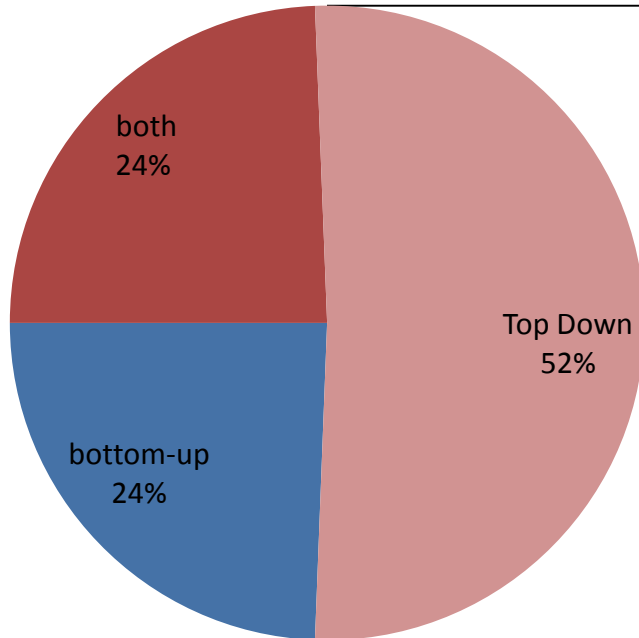
**Armed groups (earlier excluded from track 1) n=18**



# Peace process in Turkey

- Akil insanlar (public consultations/Model 3.3)
- Ekopolitik (Model 5 high level PSWs)
- TEPAV anayasa platformu (public consult. Model 3.3)
- Anayasa uzlaşma komisyonu (Model 4 inclusive commission)
- Mass movements e.g. Barış Anneleri, Barış için Kadın Girişimi (Model 7)

# Who initiated inclusion?



- **Top-down initiation**

- By the mediator
- By the negotiation parties
- By third parties

- **Dual initiation**

- Pressure from public / societal actors, meets
- willingness from “top actors” mentioned above

both mediator and conflict negotiation parties initiated 4%

third party initiated 2%

- **Bottom-up initiation**

- Public/societal actors demand inclusion (often through protest/mass action)
- Or create their own parallel inclusive initiative

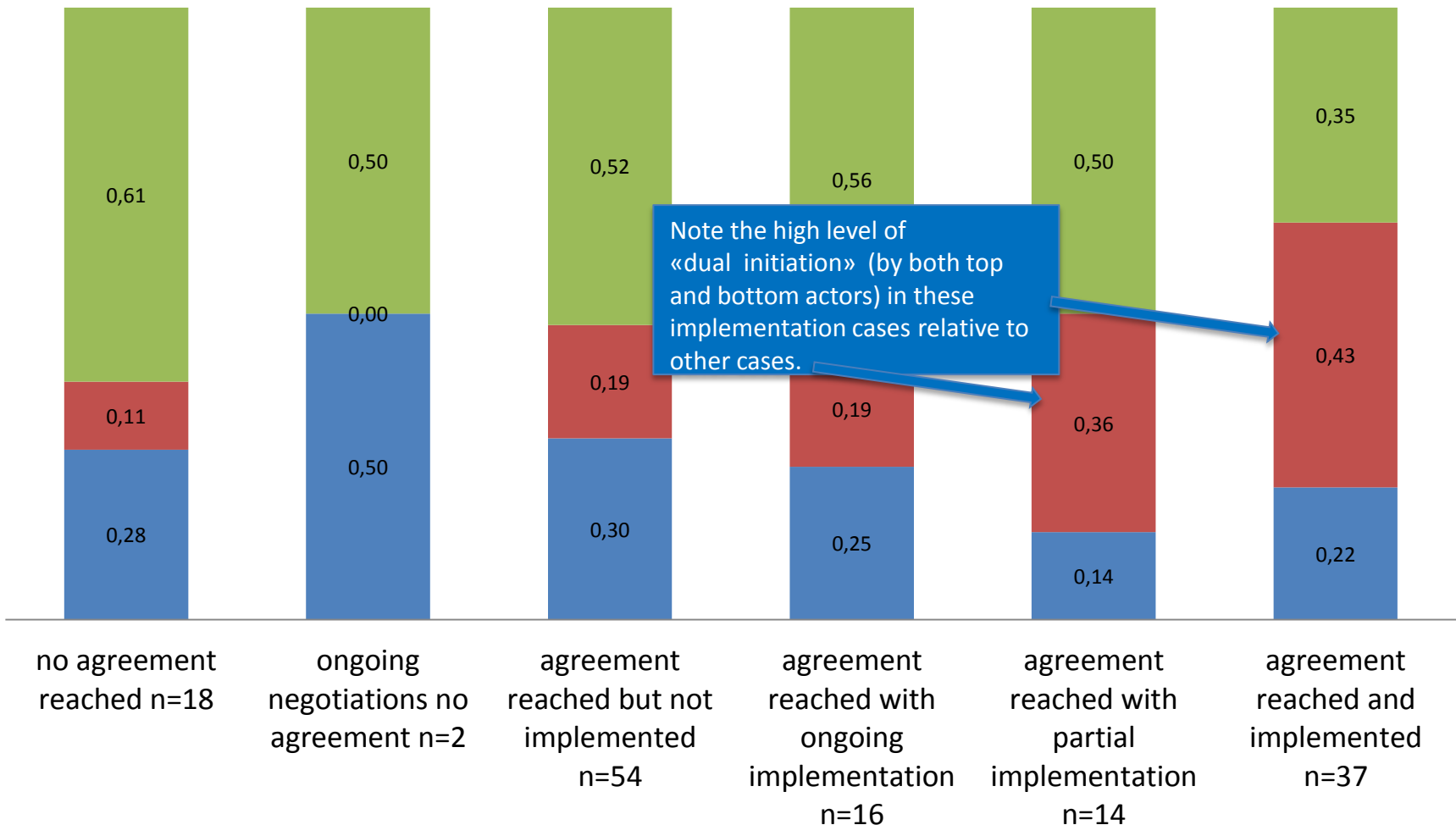
# Rationale of inclusion

- Conflict/negotiation parties (**top-down initiation**)
  - Legitimacy (Afghanistan, Egypt, Kurdish)
  - Public buy-in (Colombia, Kurdish case)
  - Buy-in of major constituencies including hardliners (N.Ireland, El Salvador, Somaliland)
  - Regional pressure (Guatemala, PNG, Fiji)
  - International pressure (Macedonia, Benin, Afghanistan, Eritrea)
- Mediators (**top-down initiation**)
  - Momentum for negotiations (Darfur, Kyrgyzstan, NI, Kenya Tajikistan, Burundi)
  - 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..)

# Initiation of inclusion by outcome

## Initiation of participation by negotiation outcome

■ B : bottom-up ■ A : both ■ C : top-down

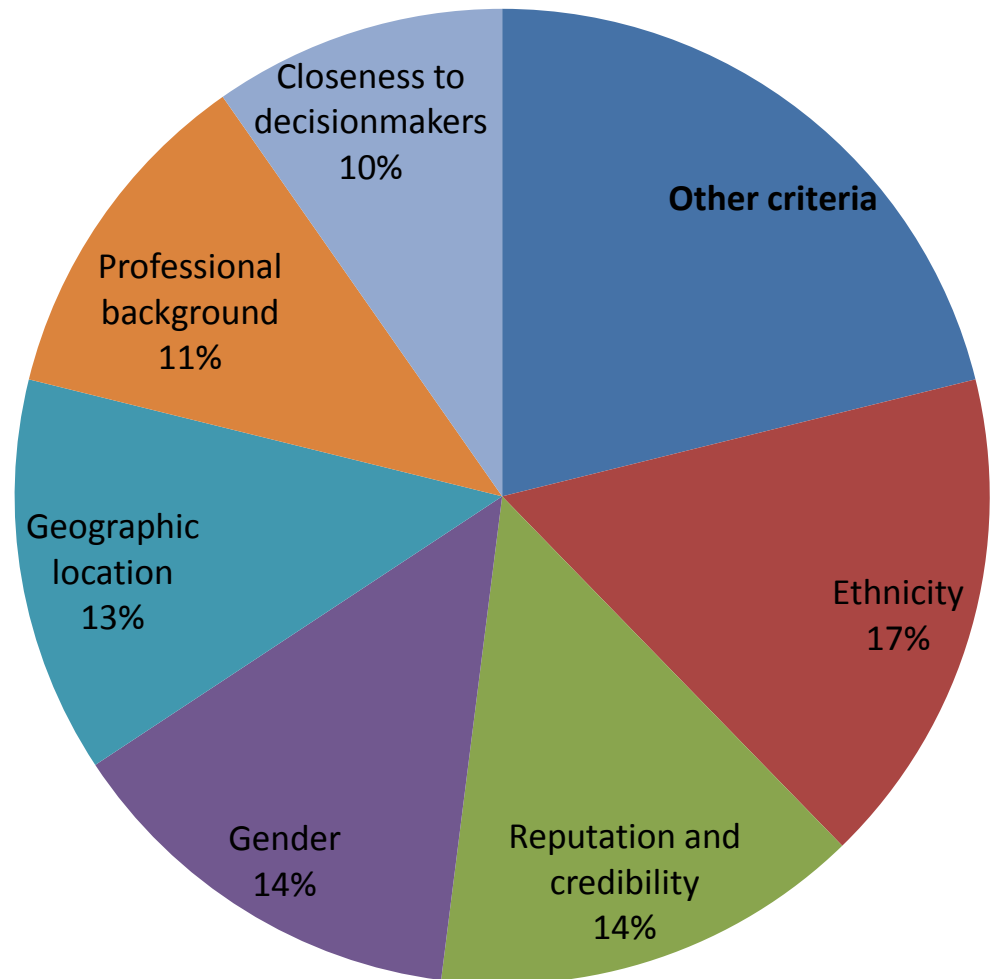


# Selection

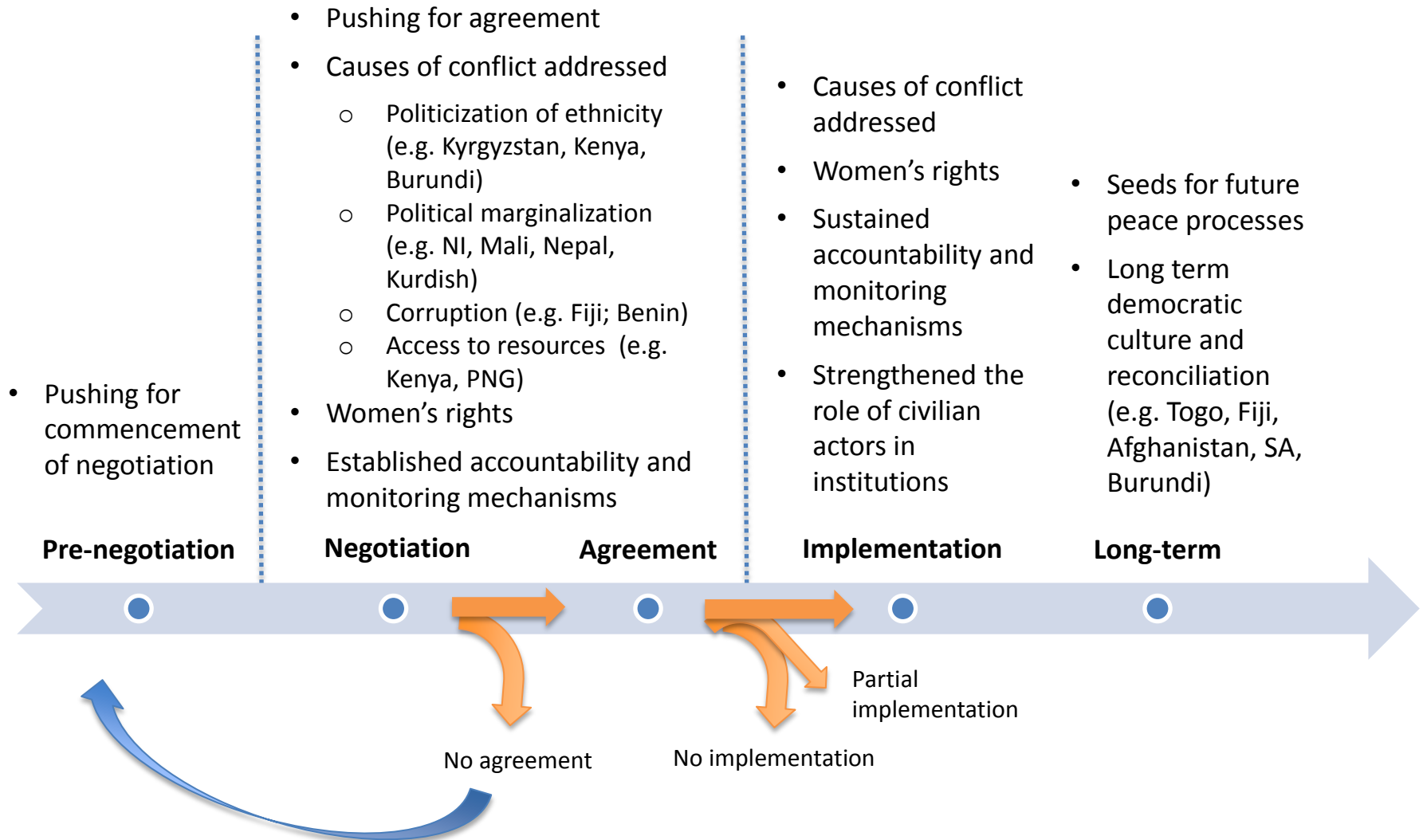
- Selection Procedures

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

- Selection Criteria



# Contribution of included actors on outcomes in different conflict phases



# Quality of inclusion matters

- Inclusion of more actors does not automatically lead to increased quality and sustainability in agreements!!
  - No significant correlation between number of models and quality/sustainability
  - Significant correlation exists between quality of inclusion and quality and sustainability of agreements
  - Quality of inclusion= visible participation, push for agreement
- Inclusion correlates highly with sustained agreements when included actors are able to influence:
  - The quality of agreements
  - Implementation on those issues
  - Push for starting negotiations or signing agreements



# Ctd...

- This does not make agreements easier to reach though, neither does inclusion hinder reaching an agreement

# Women inclusion

- Women mostly included in consultations and inclusive post-agreement commissions
  - They are granted observer status or direct participation in less # of cases (e.g. Liberia, Burundi, Somaliland)
  - Involvement of women's groups was strongly correlated with successful negotiation and implementation outcomes
  - Was much harder to achieve because requires massive lobbying
  - Most consistent achievement: push for commencement or finalization of negotiations when momentum was flagging
- => consulted high, decision-making power low**

# Women's participation learning points

- Positive influence on the quality of agreements (Mexico, Kenya, Burundi)
- Women's participation started informally -> organized external pressure -> formal inclusion (Somaliland; PNG; Somalia)
- Women who are divided tend to unite during a peace process to fight for space
- Women movements have a strong impact in conservative societies, they give momentum to peace processes while acting on deeply rooted social norms (Yemen)
- Empowerment by external actors worked (DRC)

# Supporting/Hindering factors for high or low quality inclusion

Process design  
Contextual factors

# Process Design

- Inclusive or exclusive inclusion
  - Veto powers, hardliners, excluded groups, perpetrators, ex-fighters
  - Included actors need to be relevant and representatives
- **Decision making procedures are essential to success**
  - Sidelining included actors by power holders
  - Rarely binding decisions
- Support structures (Capacity building, resource centres, drafting support)
- Role of mediator: flexibility, strategic behavior, creativity
- Selection criteria and procedures
- Transfer strategies

# Transfer strategies

## Insider strategies

- Inclusion in official negotiation delegations
- Handing over of reports, non-papers to negotiators or mediators (non-binding/binding)
- Direct exchange with mediators, advisors, negotiators (form/informal)
- Mediators participate in consultations or PSWs
- Lobbying

- No transfer in a few cases

## Outsider strategies

- Public reports or declarations
- Media outreach:
  - Public statements
  - Press releases
- Visible peace messages
- Mailbox deliveries
- Lobbying for international community attention

- No outreach in a number of cases

# Context Factors

- Power politics: Support and resistance from elites
- Regional actors support/resistance
- International actors support/resistance
- Public support
- Preparedness of included actors (education, training, civil society)
- Influence of military/fear of losing control
- Culture of inclusion

# Concluding remarks

- Broader inclusion per se is not sufficient to achieve positive outcomes
- Only “quality inclusion” strongly correlates with positive outcomes
- Attention needs to be on achieving quality inclusion, not on the quantity
- Norms of inclusion, politics of inclusion, and culture of inclusion need to be aligned



# How to revive the peace process?

- From an inclusivity and local ownership perspective what is necessary?
  - Including young people
  - Impartial monitoring commission
  - Accountability of the process
  - Inclusive commissions for:
    - Road map and technical planning
    - Monitoring
    - Human rights issues
    - Constitution making and peace process integration
      - TEPAV example

# Food for thought for the exercise...

- What is the right design in the negotiation architecture and which models create the preconditions for impact?
- Who are the relevant actors in this context that can affect change?
- Are the adequate procedures of inclusion (decisionmaking rules, selection, transfer strategies) in place?
- Is the support structure there?
- Mediation team ready?
- What is the public support/elite support like? What can be done to generate support?
- Strategies to deal with influential regional and international actors?



Thanks!

