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# Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue Processes and National Dialogues: Experiences from countries in transition

Conference report

Otto Turtonen & Joel Linnainmäki



## Executive summary

### Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue Processes and National Dialogues: Experiences from countries in transition

The Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue processes and National Dialogues was held in Helsinki at the House of the Estates 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> November 2015. The conference was a continuation to the conference held in April 2014 which aim was to serve a framework for all external actors in National Dialogue processes and establish support for national and local initiatives. The Second Conference provided a space for joint reflection and in-depth discussion between practitioners, stakeholders and experts involved in or working with formal or non-formal dialogue processes in different contexts. Organized by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland together with a NGO consortium consisting of Finn Church Aid, Crisis Management Initiative, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission and Common Space Initiative/ UNDP, the conference consisted of 18 sessions and workshops, and was attended by 220 professionals and practitioners of the field of mediation and peacebuilding. It was opened by the Secretary of State Peter Stenlund. This year's conference focused especially on the experiences from Myanmar, Yemen, Somalia and Tunisia. The following is a brief summary of the report from the Second Conference and some of the main findings from the sessions and workshops.

The discussions were framed by the open definitions of the concepts of National Dialogue, non-formal dialogue processes and inside mediation. National Dialogue and non-formal dialogue processes are understood as tools in a national process of change. While mediation is a tool applicable in reaching agreements at critical stages in the process of change and in advancing dialogue, National Dialogue has a specific role in rebuilding the social contract between society and government following times of extreme crisis. National Dialogues are formal extra-constitutional mechanisms to address specific issues and root causes of the conflict when constitutional mechanisms have failed. The goal of National Dialogues and support dialogues is to create space for diverse interests to influence the transitional negotiations. The conference concentrated on both National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes as an essential part of the change process. As expressed during the 2014 National Dialogue conference, "dialogue should never stop" – in whatever form the specific phase of the process requires. Due to this fact, all dialogue tracks, 1, 1.5, 2 and 3, were included in conference discussions.

The workshops were preceded by introductory sessions about the cases in question, Myanmar, Yemen, Somalia and Tunisia. The discussions revolved around challenges and opportunities connected to the National Dialogue initiatives. One of the most important finding from the discussions includes the stressed importance of inclusivity in National Dialogues, which was common for all cases. It was brought out as one of the decisive factors contributing to the progresses made in the cases of Yemen, Somalia and Tunisia, building trust between antagonistic parties and giving the parties the opportunity to address their differences through dialogue.

The introductory sessions were followed by eight workshops the following day: *Reconciliation as part of a National Dialogue process, Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process, Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue, Building capacity for self- mediation, deadlock-breaking, consensus-building and people's participatory processes into the change*

*mechanisms, Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators in National Dialogues Processes, National Dialogues as Change, Dialogue and Reconciliation Instruments: A Discussion on the UN's guidance framework for National Dialogues, Support structures for officially mandated National Dialogue Processes and Shared Knowledge Creation.* The aim of the workshops was to analyse challenging change processes in the midst of respective mediation and peacebuilding efforts. Some of the most important findings are presented below.

The workshop on Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process stressed that radical groups' involvement should not be seen as an end in itself but their inclusion can lead to transforming radical agendas into more political ones that can be a crucial part of national dialogue processes. Inclusiveness means that all relevant actors participate in the process, not just the advocates of peace but also potential spoilers. One challenge brought up in regards to this was the negative connotation attached to "radical" which can lead to further, violent, radicalization. If you assume someone is already a radical before being radicalized, this may also lead to that. Radicalization is a process, and it is important to understand the drivers and root causes behind radicalization: repeated public humiliation, horizontal inequality and destruction of the sense of belonging, and the potential role of religion. Practical challenges were brought up as well, for example how to engage in dialogue with armed groups given circumstances of international policies and sanctions.

The workshop on Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue asserted that the process needs to move from the normative to implementation. Despite a normative framework being in place, which includes Security Council resolution 1325 and the fact that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has made the inclusion of women in peace processes one of his major priorities, little has been implemented. The workshops' key recommendation was to forgo gender specific labels, panels or working groups whenever possible and pursue the right of effective participation. Inclusion needs to be used both as a method and an end. At the grassroots level, identify and support men and women who can champion the message of inclusion.

In the Building capacity for self-mediation, deadlock-breaking, consensus-building and people's participatory processes into the change mechanisms workshop five National Dialogue initiatives were discussed and analyzed. It was found that they all complemented the formal peace processes by, amongst other things, providing support and deadlock-breaking mechanisms when formal dialogues halt, and by ensuring inclusion of all stake-holders.

The workshop on Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators discussed faith-oriented insider mediators: actors for whom values and practices of tradition and faith serve as the inspiration, motivation, guidance and methodology for their local peace mediation efforts. The participants of the discussion noted the valuable role these actors can have in national dialogues, through their ability to factor in contextual and cultural dimensions like religion and tradition. This potential should be utilized to a higher extent, and recommendations resulting from the workshop included that more research and understanding about the roles and needs of religious and traditional peacemakers in given context is needed to ensure better support and inclusive engagement of these actors.



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## Introduction

The Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue processes and National Dialogues was held in Helsinki at the House of the Estates 16th-18th November 2015. The conference was organized by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland together with a NGO consortium consisting of Finn Church Aid, Crisis Management Initiative, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission and Common Space Initiative/UNDP. Overall the conference consisted of 18 sessions and workshops over three days with 220 professionals and practitioners of the field of mediation and peacebuilding coming together in an exchange of thoughts and experiences.

The report in question is an overall summary of the conference attempting to bring together the main points of conversation from each session and workshop, as well as the conference documentation including the concept note, final agenda and the list of attendees. The summaries of the workshops and country sessions wouldn't have been possible without the help of rapporteurs assigned to cover each session, and the conference secretariat would like to extend its gratitude to all of them including the authors of the background papers for sessions (Note: background papers are available on request).

The following is a session by session report with two approaches applied depending on the session. For the plenary sessions the main points are organized by presentation attributing the comments to the participants. For the country sessions as well as the parallel workshops the conversation is described mostly on the level of main ideas without specific attribution. A uniform

style throughout the report has been attempted, but the authors have also allowed the rapporteurs' differing styles to prevail in the session descriptions. If a speaker has indicated his comments made from an individual standpoint outside affiliation, this has been explicitly indicated.



## Welcoming and Opening Session

Monday, 16 November 2015 (08.45-09.15; 09.15-10.30)

In his opening remarks **Peter Stenlund**, Secretary of State, noted the privilege Finland has of providing the forum for international experts of the field of mediation and peacebuilding. One of Finland's objectives is to enhance the normative basis of mediation. Stenlund raised the importance of understanding modern conflicts thoroughly, especially when current crisis showcase regional and international dimensions, although the conflict itself might appear as an intra-state conflict. A concrete example of this is the refugee crisis in Europe at the moment.. “Traditional diplomacy is facing new challenges” stated Stenlund, while adding that “mediation is much more than the traditional high-level third party mediation”. To add new levels to the traditional mediation practice, Stenlund highlighted civil society actors as “in many societies credible players” often well equipped to bring conflict parties together. Stenlund reminded that domestic and internal actors are “in most cases the best experts to understand the dynamics and reasons for conflicts in their own country”. At the same time these processes “demand support from the international community” and global mediation and preventive diplomacy efforts should be enhanced and given focus to, as pointed out by recent UN reviews as well. In addition to pooling resources of actors from different levels, Stenlund also raised the key issue of inclusivity and co-ownership concerning gender and different generations: “Participation of women is crucial to achieve this inclusiveness. We need to actively involve women in mediation and dialogue processes at all stages in accordance with UN Resolution 1325 and following resolutions. Stenlund reminded that “It is also important to get different generations involved; youth and elderly people have to be carefully listened to and get engaged in this endeavor as well”. Reminding the participants of the importance of continuous dialogue in and out of conflict, Stenlund also pointed towards remembering the ultimate goal of peace: “it is important to remember that dialogue is not a goal itself, but rather a mean to reaching the goal”.

**Pekka Haavisto**, Special Representative of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland on Mediation with special focus on Africa, opened the first session of the conference by reminding all participants of the unfortunate topicality of the conference after the attacks in Beirut and Paris. Haavisto raised the question of limits in Dialogue processes and if they exist: “Where are the limits and how could we engage each and everyone in the peace processes”.

In his speech, **Shaykh Abdallah Bin Bayyah**, President of the Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies, pointed that no society is completely free of conflicts or disputes. The type and scale of conflicts differ, but these should still all be treated with equal attention, as for

those having to deal with the situation the conflict is most often of “momentous importance”. Shaykh Bin Bayyah stated in the light of the recent terror attacks that religions too often end up as victims of terrorism. Extremism in the Muslim community can be affected by training and transmitting the primary narrative of Islam of peace and prosperity, and this is a mission of the Shaykh’s organization. “However, we should not generalize or accuse specific religions, but concentrate on the individual acts as they are, criminal acts of terror” cleared Shaykh during the session and added that the main goal is to transform the mentality of the people by correcting misunderstood concepts in Muslim societies globally. Shaykh Bin Bayyah also stated the importance and the role of women and youth in societies as a force to bring peace to the society. Regarding the conference, Shaykh highlighted the importance of exchanging experiences as well as the need to learn to use the energy of the civil society even better to promote a culture of peace and dialogue in societies and prevent extreme ideologies from forming. “Peace is the first right, it should come before anything else” pointed Shaykh Bin Bayyah as the starting point for any process.

**Thania Paffenholz**, Director of Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, started by framing the main issue for resolving any conflict: “Peace is the answer and the slight problem is how to get there”. Paffenholz stated effectiveness as the key aspect in National Dialogue processes instead of only concentrating on direct outcomes. This is in connection to the quality of engagement of individuals in these processes, and not only the need to have every actor taking part, even though often believed to be the case. “There is no correlation between more actors, more peace. What counts is the quality of engagement” mentioned Paffenholz countering the often used truth of having everyone at the table. Representation is still crucial, but what is needed more in addition to having the key persons aboard from the elite, is to have the process design and the surrounding conditions for the Dialogue in place including for example the acknowledgment regional players and securing the environment for the process.

Paffenholz also brought out a challenge with crises today regarding the solutions offered by outsiders: “In the international community we have a tendency to apply the same menus we always have, even if the context is different”. Using the situations in Ukraine, Colombia and Syria as examples, Paffenholz emphasized the need to always understand context enough, before applying more general lessons. Touching the subject of dialogue with extremists, Paffenholz referred to evidence-based studies that the belief of being able to change extreme attitudes is often wrong. However, “there can be behavior change without attitude change”. Criticism is also needed in with whom dialogue is had, so that discussion doesn’t only reach the “converted”, but also the groups hard to reach, who are not initially looking for dialogue. Paffenholz ended on an uplifting note of encouraging the participants to “challenge everything and always be creative” despite the constant challenges present in the field.



## Plenary Session: Conclusions on ND1 Seminar and Conceptual Discussion: What makes National Dialogue? Where do we need Non-Formal Dialogues?

Monday, 16 November 2015 (11:00-12:30)

**Anne Sipiläinen**, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Security Policy, chaired the session and opened by emphasizing the unfortunate timeliness of the conference after the recent attacks in Beirut and Paris. Sipiläinen reminded all participants of the previous year's conference, the first of its kind in Helsinki. The stocktaking from last year was to serve a framework for all external actors in National Dialogue processes and establish support for national and local initiatives. Regarding this year's conference, Sipiläinen emphasized the goal of creating space for non-formal dialogues with non-state actors and groups not willing to engage in dialogue processes.

**Hannes Siebert**, Senior Adviser, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, Director, Peace Appeal Foundation, started by reflecting on Yemen and South Africa from the past year, and how long conflicts always require a long time to also heal and thus change cannot be expected quickly. "The instruments of change are vulnerable, just as the conflict is" Siebert mentioned and added "The instruments are a reflection of the nature of the conflict and culture of the political context". Siebert also raised the importance of implementation of what is agreed in Dialogue processes, with Tunisia being a current example, where implementation is proceeding. National Dialogues are not only the dialogues of the elite, but carry throughout the society through the communities and regions. The challenge here according to Siebert is to combine a successful Dialogue to the vast amount of participants in order to establish proper representation. Siebert reflected also on varying levels of dialogue happening through different tracks and especially how important it is to bring these tracks together under inspection, as they can often complement each other.

**Roxaneh Bazergan**, Team Leader of Mediation Support Unit and Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Political Affairs, drew attention firstly to the "people-centric" approach offered by National Dialogue processes and the positive overall effect of this. Bazergan raised the difficult nature of creating guidance for peace processes, especially with the distinctions and concepts between National Dialogue, mediation, and negotiation easily blurred. "What makes a National Dialogue specific or appropriate for a particular context or setting?" questioned Bazergan. Referring to the situation in Syria currently, Bazergan pointed to the value of National Dialogue bringing out a promise of a national solution by the people. International community is certainly part of larger solutions in conflicts, but dialogue processes can offer inclusion for the people ensuring their role.

Mentioning the specific nature of these processes Bazergan stressed that "National Dialogues are used to fix a legitimacy deficit in a peace process and to be more inclusive and bring it

back to the people”. Regarding inclusivity, that is also taken into account in mediation and most other processes, National Dialogues can offer ownership of both the process as well as the outcome. Mediation processes can sometimes forget the ownership from the actual process with a heavy focus on the outcome. National Dialogues can also offer different dynamics to a process. Compared to mediation that is “more adversarial with different sides of the table”, dialogue process can be considered more of an exchange of perspectives with different concepts presented - “changing the way power relations is seen is what we look for in a National Dialogue” Bazergan stated. Regarding informal dialogues, Bazergan raised their value especially as confidence-building methods and possible entry points to larger processes. Informal dialogues can also keep lower level channels open locally in a conflict that is not yet positioned or ready for formal dialogue.

**Antti Pentikäinen**, Convener, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, summarized the debate from previous year’s conference and the initial basis for the National Dialogue gathering by claiming that the focus had been on “fixing a dialogue machine that doesn’t function anymore and cannot enter the terrains of current conflicts”. Pentikäinen saw the value of the conference in bringing together actors in mediation outside the usual state level presence, as this offers a more varied opportunity for new ideas. Pentikäinen also commented on the recent terror attacks and cautioned about the rise of fear in Europe, as this doesn’t usually create positive outcomes. This fear could be avoided with better inclusion of religious and local communities. “Isolation is not the key for Europe” stressed Pentikäinen with the prevention of a cycle of violence now the focus needed in Europe. Regarding National Dialogue processes in fragile situations Pentikäinen highlighted The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers working with UN MSU mandate and Libya as a case in point on how grassroots action is needed in communicating to tribes at risk of marginalisation that “the dialogue avenue is still open”. Pentikäinen concluded with the wider thought applicable globally that “deepest desires of human beings have to be valued and these are deeply rooted in all the religions”, and finding this value base will give us the key to actually help people.

**Michael Miller**, Deputy Head of Division for Conflict Prevention, Peacebuilding and Mediation Instruments, EEAS, brought the European Union perspective to the panel. “National Dialogues are important mechanisms to ensure inclusiveness, transparency and broad participation during political transitions and peace processes, where the EU is a third party” underlined Miller. Noting also the developments of UN mediation capacity, Miller highlighted the mainstreaming of mediation activities through the EU institutions. For the EU to decide on its support, National Dialogue processes and mediation efforts need to respect a certain criteria including enabling participants to agreements they themselves find satisfactory and are willing to implement; linking up National Dialogues effectively to other transitional processes to ensure outcomes are taken into account in all decision making forums; adequately taking account of the root causes of conflict and the context at hand; National Dialogues have to be part of a multitrack approach and have to promote inclusion as well as effectively bring women to the table. These criteria form a basis for successful Dialogue processes.

Miller also touched upon the forms of support the EU can offer to National Dialogue processes - these can appear depending on the need for example in the form of political statements of support, promotion of dialogue with third countries in specific fields and leveraging Dialogue processes with the political and financial weight the EU brings. Miller underlined that EU can offer predictability and long term assistance due to its size as an actor, allowing national authorities to plan ahead. Miller stressed also the general responsibility applicable to all actors to help in a conflict sensitive and politically credible manner. Concerning informal mediation,



Miller stated that no division between formal and informal is needed. These tracks can benefit from each other and bringing them together also allows actors to work on both levels. For a successful outcome, both tracks are needed concluded Miller.



## Parallel Sessions 1: Country Session A. Myanmar

Monday, 16 November 015, (13.30-15.30)

The Myanmar session was chaired by Sao **Harn Yawngwe**, Executive Director of the Euro-Burma Office. The rapporteur was Dr. **Timo Stewart**, Project Manager at the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

The session included the following speakers:

- **Myo Yan Naung Thein**, Director of BAYDA Institute and Secretary, Central Committee for Research and Strategy Studies, National League for Democracy
- **Thuzar Thant**, Coordinator of state-based Common Spaces and dialogue forums, EBO

Myanmar has been in a state of civil war for the past 67 years. The conflict, which is still going on today, has its roots in the contradictions between different ethnic groups. After the military regime nominally transformed into a civilian regime in 2011, the new government showed willingness to begin a peace process.

After 2011 there have been numerous bilateral ceasefire agreements between different ethnic armed groups. For the past few years there have also been on-going negotiations for a country-wide ceasefire between ethnic armed groups and the government. An agreement was reached in October 2015, but only some of the ethnic armed groups agreed to sign it. The agreement included a mandate for a National Dialogue, which would aim to fix the constitution through a wide inclusive process. The constitutional process would aim to remove the root causes of the conflict.

Ethnic minorities do not rely on the parliament as the sole reformer of the constitution, as they have difficulties getting their voices heard. Further the 2008 constitution leaves 25% of the parliamentary seats to the army. With this portion the army can practically halt any attempts to reform the constitution. This is why it is important to include the army in all reform processes through a National Dialogue.

Latest parliamentary elections, which were held few weeks ago, ended in a massive victory for the main opposition party National League for Democracy (NLD). The party has an interest in changing the constitution, but it is faced with the same difficulties with the veto-power of the army. NLD would also want to continue the peace process, where until now they have been more on the sidelines. The process has been between the government (the army) and

the ethnic armed groups. Currently NLD is pondering its options regarding the peace process. A majority of people belonging to ethnic minorities voted for the NLD. Ethnic minorities hope that NLD will take their needs into consideration and the NLD has pronounced their willingness to do this.

In practice there are on-going negotiations on the possible framework for a National Dialogue based on the countrywide ceasefire agreement. The situation is still open. Finland has supported the peace process since 2012 through Euro-Burma Office and The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

As part of the support projects for the peace process there have also been trainings for the NLD, reports on the peace process and attempts to include NLD in the process. The participation of NLD's **U Myo Yan Naung Thein** in the National Dialogue Conference in Helsinki is one signal of their interest to the National Dialogue and their appreciation of Finland's support.



## Parallel Sessions 1: Country Session B. Somalia

Monday, 16 November 2015, (13.30-15.30)

The Somalia session was co-chaired by **Mahdi Abdile**, Research Fellow at the European Institute for Peace and **Jama Egal**, Programme Manager at Finn Church Aid Somalia Office. The rapporteur was **Ali Ibrahim**, Programme Manager at Finn Church Aid Somalia Office.

The session included the following speakers:

- **Osman Mohamed Ali**, Constitution and Reconciliation Minister, Galmudug State
- **Mohammed Abdinur**, Senior Special Advisor to the ISWA President
- **Farah Mohamud Egal**, Advisor to president, Galmudug State

### The post-transition period

Somalia is on the path of transformation from a failed to a fragile state, but this process could be easily reversed. Although there have been some positive developments in Somalia over the last year or so, the country remains in a highly frail condition.

### Challenges

The post-transitional arena in Somalia has encountered many ambiguities which have exposed the fundamental challenges that the country is facing at the moment.

Public expectations are still high, but the challenges facing Somalia are numerous. The consequences of over twenty years' of civil conflict and statelessness within Somalia and beyond its borders –including extreme poverty, piracy, terrorist activities, a dire humanitarian situation, a war economy, institutional collapse –need to be tackled.

Key transitional tasks are still to be implemented (reconciliation, justice, human rights, security, dealing with corruption) and the Provisional Constitution is incomplete, leaving open the role of the Federal Institutions and their interaction with the regional entities and clan structures. Efforts to stabilize the areas recovered from Al-Shabaab and to extend the reach of the center to the regions to set up a Federal system are also challenging.

One of the obvious challenges is the constant politics based and resource based conflict: conflict among both political and security groups is based on political control and influence of the regions and clan conflicts are primarily based on competition over resources such as land tenure, grazing rights, water, farmlands, livestock, and the distribution of humanitarian aid, or are motivated by revenge killings

Clan disputes are ripe over the land issues, such as strategic farming areas, especially between those viewed as minority clans or marginalized groups, and this has become a persistent communal conflict that is propelling and accelerating the unceasing socio-political and security vulnerability in Somalia.

### **Federalism for Somalia: its challenges and opportunities**

Deliberation over Somalia's future is framed by the terms 'federalism' and 'constitutionality'. However, neither term has been consistently defined. This inconsistency allows competing political elites to make technical and morally framed cases in favor of their own agendas.

### **The main objectives behind the establishment of the federal states were**

- To bring together the local communities in the recovered areas: elders, religious leaders, women, youth, Diaspora, the business community and Civil Society Organizations, to deliberate on modalities for the formation of governance structures.
- To take stock of post 1991 events and brainstorm on the way forward in the post transition era.
- To achieve sustainable peace and security in the liberated areas it is paramount to have a sustained common approach for forming administrations in these areas, that leads to putting in place administrative governing structure based on federal decentralization and democratic local governance, that are capable of actively responding to the political will and of the priority concerns of the populations of South central regions of Somalia
- To ensure that the historical aspiration of the south central population and their long standing dream of creating a local federal state for those community living in south central regions.
- To end the long running conflicts in Somalia, especially in conflict prone regions where there are resource-rich areas, through proper ways of peaceful negotiations and

reconciliations mechanisms.

- The homogenous culture can be used as a vehicle to convey positive messages
- Minorities and marginalized tribes must be given roles to play and participate in state building process

### **State building process and establishment of interim regional state**

- Interim Jubba Administration
- Interim South West Administration -case study
- Interim Galmudug Administration -case study
- Emerging Hiran/Middle Shabelle state formation process

### **Challenges**

- Insecurity: Al-Shabaab is the eminent threat to the security and stability in the whole SC regions
- Issues of clan conundrum
- Lack of understanding of federalism and support from the local communities

### **Efforts of dialogue and mediation**

Through dialogue residual issues are addressed in an inclusive and conciliatory manner;

- Community cohesion strengthened and public confidence in peacebuilding and state building process increased.
- Platform created for various social groups to meet, discuss, debate and deliberate on the peacebuilding and state building process and identify ways in which they can contribute.
- Space provided for civic actors to share their views with political leaders.
- Promoting discussion and dialogue among social groups, including women, youth, the business community, and intellectuals, on the statebuilding and peacebuilding process.
- Role of civil society enhanced through participation in public discussions.

### **Lessons learnt**

- Inclusivity
- Building consensus
- Participation and cohesion



## Parallel Sessions 2: Country Session A. Tunisia

Monday, 16 November 2015, (16.00-18.00)

The Tunisia session was chaired by **Mr. Adib Nehme**, Deputy Chair and Senior Facilitator of the Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Senior Regional Expert and Adviser at UN-ESCWA for MENA region as well as **Mehrezia Alabidi**, former Deputy Speaker of the Transitional Parliament. The rapporteur was **Maya Outayek**, Shared Knowledge Coordinator and Librarian at the Common Space Initiative/UNDP.

The session included the following speakers:

- Mohamed Mselmi, Assistant Secretary-General, Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT)
- Radwan Masmoudi, Head of the Centre for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Tunis
- **Amine Ghali**, Director, Kawakibi

### Key Events Leading to the Formation of the National Dialogue Quartet in Tunisia

On the 14th of January 2011, and following Zein El Abedin Ben Ali's departure from the country, daily street protests continued demanding the resignation of the post-Ali government and the adoption of a new constitution.

After the first elections in October 2011 that led to the formation of Constitutional Assembly, the tension in the country kept on the rise, driven by several factors:

- The drafting process of the constitution that proved to be difficult, the one-year deadline passing without much progress;
- The rising fear of the distribution of power and the misrepresentation of the constitution.
- Identity conflict: Secularism vs. Shari'a.
- The rise of radical Islam with increasing militant activities.
- The assassination of Shukri Bel Eid, the left wing political leader, and of Muhammad Brahimi, MP and opposition politician.

After the assassination of Bel Eid and Brahimi, street protests were organized demanding the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly, creating a growing polarization between two groups: one demanding the Assembly to resign and the second considering these demands as a coup-d'état against the legal government. The two sides were deadlocked over the drafting of a new constitution.

In October 2013, given the critical situation, the Tunisian General Labour Union (UGTT) took the first step in forming an alliance of civil societies by approaching the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts, and two other groups; The Tunisian Human Rights League and the Tunisian Order of Lawyers who later joined to form what is known as the “National Dialogue Quartet”

### **The Quartet's Plan of Action**

The Quartet’s four members drafted a roadmap to allow negotiations to commence; it consisted of four major points:

- Keeping the Constitution Assembly;
- The resignation of the government to be replaced by “technocrats”;
- Speed the drafting and adoption of the constitution in such a way as to preserve national unity;

After weeks of negotiations, the Quartet succeeded in getting political parties to agree on the roadmap except for the Congress for the Republic political party that stood aside.

The strategy of the Quartet consisted in conducting bilateral dialogues with each of the political parties, making them agree on one element of the roadmap at a time before moving to the second element, thereby making all political parties agree and approve all four points of the proposed roadmap before moving to implementation.

The work started off on three levels:

- The drafting and ratification of the constitution, for which a special mechanism has been implemented by the committee to guide the discussion inside the Parliament based on consensus.
- The election of a new parliament organized and supervised by an independent committee with a clear timetable.
- The selection of a non –partisan head of government, which has been the main challenging issue, and has been concluded by resorting to voting that led to electing Mehdi Jom’a as Prime Minister in December 2013.

### **The Dialogue Success Elements and Main Challenges**

Participants in the session converged on a list of factors/elements that contributed to the success of the Quartet’s roadmap and action plan; these are as follows:

- *Inclusiveness of the dialogue:* the National Dialogue Quartet did not exclude political parties who constituted a vital element in the decision-making process. In addition, key players, with their high social and political influence, were also included. All contributed to the dialogue’s success.

- *Time factor:* all the needed time has been allocated to draft a constitution that is reflective, inclusive and accepted by all Tunisians. It took two years to come up with the new constitution that was designed to insure a good representation and not to serve only the majority. The constitution of Majority/minority rule was not accepted, it was accepted only when it became based on consensus
- *Neutrality of the Quartet:* The dialogue mediators did not have any personal agendas or any interests in running for the elections.
- *Smooth transition:* the Quartet focused on establishing several transition commissions that worked on many laws, paving the way for a good transition. Transitional justice helped society to deal with the past and find a way out of the crisis without recourse to violence.
- *Civil society engagement:* Civil society has been involved from the beginning, and played a key role in politics. This fact triggered an active engagement by the private sector and civil society.
- *Broad and inclusive consultation process:* Consultations were held in Tunis not only with the elite, but were carried out in the farthest reaches of the country -- in both urban and rural areas, with all groups. The General Assembly conference has been followed by more than 25 workshops and all-levels dialogues involving all Tunisians with open debates. This gave ownership to all, turning the National Dialogue into a national effort that all Tunisians wanted to succeed.
- *The context factor and experiences of neighbouring countries:* avoiding the Egyptian and the Libyan experience was desirable for all actors in Tunisia. The army in Tunisia has avoided all direct and indirect interference in politics.

Some participants drew the attention to some challenges that faced, and are still facing, Tunisia:

- *The low level of youth participation:* despite Tunisia's social and political achievements, the Tunisian youth expressed little confidence in the country's political and public institutions. Voter turnout among this group was weak during Tunisia's presidential elections. Young Tunisians are more concerned about the high unemployment level and the low economic opportunities in their country.
- *The Transition period is yet to be over:* Although the Tunisian national dialogue was not a failure, it was not a full success, adding that Tunisia is still in the transition phase where many challenges arise at different levels: economic, political, social and security.

### **Major Questions Raised by the Session's Attendees**

All attendees' questions can be categorized under the following titles:

*Causes behind Tunisia exporting the highest number of ISIS fighters to Syria:*

- The high level of unemployment among the Tunisian Youth;
- The lack of Dialogue inside the family;

- The lack of interaction between the diverse cultures and religions.

#### *Tunisia's Economic Situation and the issue of disparity*

Before the Tunisian uprising, the country was facing two difficulties: dictatorship and corruption. The dictatorship issue has been solved, unlike the issue of corruption.

Bin Ali left the country with a big debt that the Labour Union is trying to negotiate with the World Bank.

Work is now concentrated on resolving two main challenges: Youth unemployment with the aim of preventing them from joining extremist groups, and taxation system reform.

#### *Role of the Military*

The Tunisian army is small; it has always remained away from politics.

The Army and the security services have not expressed any desire to seize power to establish stability and oppress the protests, as in the case of Egypt and Libya. They helped nonetheless in the removal of Ben Ali from power and in protecting the transition.

It is the choice of modern state that kept the army out of the conflict.

#### *Secular vs. Religious: the Civil State vs. the Pan Arab Islamic State*

This issue constitutes the main challenge that is facing Tunisia and the whole Arab world. These two 'powers' are equal in strength; neither one can exclude the other and succeed alone in building a democracy. It is thus crucial to hold a dialogue and try to find a common ground and vision between both.

The key success factor in Tunisia at this level is that the focus was made mainly on the constitution and on the issue of being a plural democracy or not, rather than on being secular or religious.

### **Final Notes**

Participants closed the session on the following notes:

- *"In Tunisia there is no need to compromise, we are working on living together".*
- *"Tunisia cannot make it alone, we need our neighbouring countries to join (enjoy) the democracy that is based on: citizenship, rule of law, and sovereignty of people".*
- *"This nobel prize is not for the Quartet alone, it is intended to the entire Tunisian people".*





## Parallel Sessions 2: Country Session B. Yemen

Monday, 16 November 2015, (16.00-18.00)

The Yemen session was chaired by **Maruan El Krekshi**, the Head of Crisis Management Initiatives Programme in North Africa and the Sahel region. The rapporteur was **Emmi Hänninen**, Project Manager at the Crisis Management Initiative.

The session included the following speakers:

- Dr **Elham Manea**, Associate Professor, University of Zurich
- Dr **Susanne Dahlgren**, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore
- **Afrah Azzoubah**, Deputy Secretary-General of the National Dialogue Secretariat
- **Adam Baron**, Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies and European Council on Foreign Relations

The Yemeni national dialogue was long referred to as a success case that could serve as a positive model for other transition contexts. The outbreak of widespread violence in March 2015 brought this narrative into question. Although the political transition did not manage to keep violence at bay in the long term, neither the national dialogue nor the political transition should be deemed a failure without a proper analysis of the reasons that led to the collapse of the political process.

In order to effectively capitalize on the lessons learned from the Yemeni case in other settings, a nuanced understanding of the strengths and shortcomings of the dialogue process is essential. *When judging the success of an individual change process, it is important to differentiate between the failure of a dialogue process and that of a broader political transition, as well as to assess how appropriate national dialogue is as a conflict management mechanism at a specific point in time.*

The National Dialogue Conference (NDC), convened in March 2013–January 2014, was a key component in the Yemeni transition and played a critical role in preventing the escalation of the political crisis into widespread violence. It served to broaden political participation beyond the actors involved in negotiating the transition agreement, enabled antagonistic groups to build confidence amid deep tensions, as well as provided Yemenis from a variety of social and political groups a unique opportunity to engage in dialogue on pertinent national issues.

For Yemenis, the experience demonstrated that, despite deep divisions and tensions, they were able to sit together and address their differences through dialogue. The national dialogue also created a sense of hope and empowerment, the traces of which can still be felt.

As in all dialogue processes, there were some inherent problems in the design and implementation of the Yemeni NDC. The main shortcomings of the Yemeni political transition

include a failure to sufficiently address **the structural sources of instability** as well as to ensure **the commitment of the old elites** to the change process.

The choice to keep the political order largely intact in the political transition was motivated by a fear of a total state collapse and its potentially negative repercussions beyond Yemen's borders among regional and international actors. As an example of the difficulty of striking a balance between promoting change and maintaining stability is the immunity from prosecution granted for long-term president Ali Abdullah Saleh and his allies in exchange for his withdrawal from power.

While Saleh formally stepped down from presidency as stipulated by the transition agreement, he was able to continue influencing the political transition through his networks in the main state institutions. This is seen as a key underlying factor for the emergence of the current conflict. *For the structural issues to be sustainably addressed, a profound understanding of the domestic power structures needs to inform the design and implementation of political transition processes.*

Some choices made during the political transition **undermined the legitimacy of the national dialogue process and its outputs among the broader population**. A large share of the delegates were selected from among Sana'a-based members of different stakeholder groups, limiting the input from governorates. Given that many of the transition issues, most notably the issues of Saada and southern Yemen, were intimately linked to centre-periphery tensions, broader outreach beyond the capital would have been essential to develop sustainable solutions to the key national questions. There was also a widespread perception of the leaders of the national dialogue process as being more accountable to international actors than Yemeni stakeholders. The national dialogue was seen by some as being orchestrated by external players rather than driven by the Yemeni people. For many, the decision on the number of federal regions, made outside the national dialogue framework, epitomized the lack of accountability. What also contributed to a sense of alienation among the broader population was the lack of visible measures to address the dire economic situation and security vacuum affecting day-to-day lives of the majority of the population during the dialogue. *In order to foster a sense of ownership and strengthen the legitimacy of dialogue processes among the broader population, it is essential to accompany political transitions with reforms in economic and social spheres.*

There were also challenges in **ensuring buy-in particularly from political components that had been previously marginalised from the political system**. The majority of the southern movement factions rejected participation in a process that they saw as biased against them and did not perceived delegates nominated to represent the southern movement as their legitimate representatives. Also the Houthis were hesitant in their commitment to the dialogue process. This can be partly attributed to the lack of implementation of the confidence-building measures suggested by the preparatory committee ahead of the national dialogue. Also the lack of progress on transitional justice has added to a sense of alienation from the political system particularly among the southern population. Failure to narrow the north-south divide, both during the former regime and the political transition, has led to a situation where the majority of southerners do not see a future for a unified Yemen.

The widespread narrative of the Yemeni national dialogue as a success story may have prevented actors involved in the dialogue process from critically assessing the realities and addressing the problems identified during the dialogue in time. In the future, actors need to be attentive to the grievances voiced during the process and address them as part of the process when feasible.

Regional dynamics have had a significant influence on the developments during the transitional period and beyond. *International actors need to ensure the political process serves the interests of the local people and is steered by them*, instead of any external players. In addition to the commitment of domestic actors, a successful transition process requires a conducive regional environment.



## Parallel Workshop A. Reconciliation as a part of a National Dialogue

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (09.00-12.30)

The workshop was co-chaired by **Shirley Moulder**, Member of the Board of Peace Appeal Foundation as well as the Founding Trustee of the Southern African Trust and Rev. **Rolf Steffansson**, Director of the department for international cooperation for the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The rapporteur was **Jeff Seul**, Chairman of the Peace Appeal Foundation.

The workshop included the following speakers and commentators:

- Prof. **Barney Pityana**, President of Convocation, University of Capetown
- **Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj**, Senior Coordinator, Syrian Initiative
- **Ashin Panna**, Buddhist Teacher, Myanmar
- Sao **Harn Yawngwe**, Executive Director, Euro-Burma Office

### **How do we create an environment that ensures reconciliation is a fundamental building block of National Dialogue processes?**

We have to be clear about what type of reconciliation we are talking about. "Structural" and "relational" reconciliation are almost natural outcomes of a well-designed National Dialogue process. Structural reconciliation happens when new political and legal structures that make previously unequal relationships more equal are agreed upon and implemented.

Relational reconciliation happens when dialogue processes help replace negative perceptions of the other with more positive perceptions and replace distrust with increased trust, layer by layer.

But many of us in the conflict resolution and peacebuilding community imagine something "deeper" when we talk about reconciliation -- something that requires a hard look at painful,

ugly truths, encourages admissions of wrongdoing and sincere apologies, and invites forgiveness in response – it is a raw and difficult process.

The conventional wisdom is that reconciliation in this deeper sense, which some call socio-emotional reconciliation, cannot occur until after dialogue and negotiations creating new political structures have concluded. These people argue that this deeper form of reconciliation can only occur after there is a measure of trust among the parties -- the sort of trust that can develop through successful political dialogue.

They also argue that truth-telling can expose people to prosecutions and other forms of retributive justice later, and that it is risky to speak honestly about one's past actions until one clearly understands the potential legal consequences of doing so. When people are ready and willing to start this process it has to be held in a safe space – a sacred space as we hold the souls of those who have suffered and those who have to face the horror of what they have done.

Despite these and other risks and challenges, socio-emotional reconciliation work can perhaps at least begin as part of a National Dialogue process. This may happen if parties make early symbolic confessions to one another, through dignity promoting work, through traditional and religious reconciliation processes, and through emerging contributions from counseling and trauma therapy, like Internal Family Systems work.

But we should not idealize the possibilities for deep reconciliation as part of National Dialogues. Ideally, there should be both "bottom up" reconciliation work and "top down" work; very inclusive reconciliation work, and all this work should be broadly inclusive.

This sort of process holds the greatest potential at least to achieve sufficient relational and structural reconciliation through a National Dialogue process.

Although religious actors are important it is equally important not to assume that they are automatically the most appropriate to do this work of deep healing. Those who are involved can only play that role if there is trust and integrity. It also needs to be recognized that it is not religious institutions that do the work. It is individuals who have the trust, integrity and a sense of their own spirituality; however they wish to describe it that do the work.

### **What instruments must be put in place that enable healing and reconciliation to continue once change has happened?**

Once again, the usual activities within a well-designed, inclusive National Dialogue process help achieve structural and relational reconciliation.

With respect to socio-emotional reconciliation, exploring the possibilities for achieving early symbolic concessions (such as apologies), dignity work, group religious ritual, and Internal Family Systems work are examples of activities that could occur within or alongside National Dialogue work. Religious institutions can support this work through big gestures that show people what is possible. In the South African situation the apology from the Dutch Reformed Church acknowledging their role in supporting the Apartheid regime with a pseudo-theology was very important.

The work with children who have so often lost their primary caretaker will take longer and needs to be supported long after settlements are signed and sealed. We need to get to the place

when we recognize that the work of children is to play and learn and not to live in a world of fear and insecurity. The reality is however, that work with children is a very long term process.

### **How do we ensure that women are recognized as critical stakeholders during a ND process?**

Two answers: Firstly, we must advocate that women be included in the processes and this may mean challenging traditional structures that will try and oppose this. We must build their participation into the processes. The most vulnerable voices need to be amplified, so that their concerns can be heard and taken into account.

Secondly, we must recognize that women's peacebuilding contributions are not limited to participation in political dialogues. We must recognize how and why a female victim reaching out to a female victim on the other side of the conflict, or similar, grass roots efforts, is an important contribution to larger reconciliation efforts. Nor however, is it limited to projects like sewing and cooking that reinforce the perception that that is what women should be doing – what too often is the only intervention that is offered.

Finally – when change happens international institutions rush and trip over themselves to support the government. However this help also involves appointing consultants of their own, reducing the amount of direct support to a country. Worse still is too often they do not taken into account the fragile networks of survival that have helped people survive the dark times and they brashly rush in destroying those networks; CSO's are left without support and the deep work that has taken place is undermined and mechanism that have helped people hang on to hope are destroyed. So, be willing to listen, respect what people have done and honour it. The elites will be there – but so will the people.



## **Parallel Workshop B. Report on Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process**

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (09.00-12.30)

The workshop was chaired by **Antti Pentikäinen**, Convener of the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers. The rapporteur was **Edla Puoskari**, Liaison Officer for the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- **Eliza Urwin**, Senior Program Officer, Afghanistan, United States Institute of Peace

- **Chetan Kumar**, Senior Conflict Prevention Advisor, Governance and Peacebuilding Cluster, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP
- **Abdullahi Abdi Farah**, mediator and human activity
- **Penza Giancarlo**, International Relationship Office, Comunita' Di Sant'Egidio
- **Tamrat Samuel**, former Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Liberia (2013–2015) and in Nepal (2007-2008)

### **Why involve radical groups in a Change Process?**

The workshop looked into radical group's role and inclusion as part of a change process. It was stressed that their involvement should not be seen as an end in itself but their inclusion can lead to transforming radical agendas into more political ones that can be a crucial part of national dialogue processes. Involvement should not be about education, but about increasing the political options and non-violent means to pursue radical groups' transformative agendas, as well as about sustaining the democratic structures and enhancing non-violent means to pursue goals.

The reality often is that if we aim at having long lasting solutions, inclusiveness should not only mean inclusion of those who are "good actors" only – women and civil society – but also the more controversial ones. It is also about how we respond to radicalization – if it is in the militaristic way, rather than trying to engage, do we respond in a way that emphasizes/ increases the fear.

It is important to understand the drivers and root causes behind radicalization: repeated public humiliation, horizontal inequality and destruction of the sense of belonging (potential role of religion).

### **Challenges in involving radical groups**

One challenge in involving radical groups is the definition of radical groups and a need for targeted responses. There are different forms of radicalization, from positive radicalization, to those with a goal to destroy. Labelling individuals or groups as radicals can also lead to further, violent, radicalization.

There are also a number of practical questions and challenges. Often we ask the question of should we talk to armed groups or not – but at the same time we hardly ever ask, do they want to talk with us and why should they talk? International policies and sanctions do not always help in creating possibilities for dialogue.

Other practical challenges include the identification of quality contacts who have legitimacy among their groups, the possibilities for engagement in spite of sanctions and finding middle men who are willing to act in spite of the security threats.

There also the dangers of repeating the same mistakes as after 9/11: highly securitized responses. Counter-terrorism funding has not functioned. Often there is a lack of innovation and repetition of same models or mistakes.

Timing of the engagement: at an early stage when such movements are developing it is difficult to engage but trust needs to be built early on. Importance of preventative action.

## **Recommendations on addressing challenges**

### *Key areas for developing more capacity and knowledge*

- Development of counter narratives both in social and mass media.
- Understanding what are the tipping points from alienation to radicalization and violent means.
- Identification of reliable early warning factors.
- Right kind of and context specific training.

### *Recommendations for international technical advisers and facilitators regarding process design*

- Engage in informal talks and long term engagement to gain trust.
- Be authentic and transparent in your engagement and clear about the common objective. Engagement does not mean that you agree, but engagement is only authentic and true, if it is also critical.
- Engage with religious and traditional actors and women: helpful in establishing trust and providing ways to deradicalize.
- Be realistic: no guarantee of results in the negotiations. Often you hear only one side of the challenge.
- Map and apply the lessons learned after the 9/11.

### *Recommendations for National stakeholders*

- Avoid securitized responses and language that can lead to further radicalization.
- Develop normative framework for the inclusion of radical groups at the UN level.
- Pay attention to the preventative actions, enhanced ways of political engagement, schools curriculums and the role of the media, for example.
- Pay attention to refugee camps and prisons where the recruitment may flourish.
- Ensure the support for security for middle men and for negotiations to take place. Use of force should only be as last result but sometimes it is needed for creating a safe space.



## Parallel Workshop C. Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (09.00-12.30)

*“Nothing for you, without you.”*

The workshop was chaired by **Andrew Marshall**, Senior Adviser on Mediation, Crisis Management Initiative. The rapporteur was **Eemeli Isoaho**, Project Officer, Crisis Management Initiative.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- **Zahra Langhi**, Co-founder of Libyan Women’s Platform for Peace
- Prof. **John Packer**, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre of the University of Ottawa
- Dr. **Eleanor O’Gorman**, Director of Policy and Practice, Conciliation Resources; Senior Associate, University of Cambridge
- **Ann-Sofie Stude**, Ambassador for UNSCR 1325 (Women, Peace and Security), MFA Finland

### Key recommendations and Findings

Move from the normative to implementation; whenever possible forgo gender specific labels, panels or working groups and pursue the right of effective participation. Use inclusion both as a method and an end.

It is important to ensure a clear and acceptable definition of inclusivity, as concept of inclusion will differ from location to location. Shared comprehension is essential so as not to create, reinforce or aggravate divisions. Inclusion should be pursued as a means to open political space and ensure diversity of views ideas and issues.

Inclusion creates complications and complexity, be sure to afford sufficient time for processes to unfold in a coherent, systematic and efficient manner

Pursue positive inclusive peace over negative exclusionary peace. Design and format of process are as important as content and will vary from place to place. Define your international community, determine their needs and build inclusive environment to ensure buy-in from local, regional and international players.

Women have to participate in a comprehensive manner – political, economic, social – meaningful participation and quality of participation are important. To this end provide



facilities and security to ensure participation of women.

There is a need to define expectations of political transformation. The international community needs to play a more pro-active role in supporting the important function of civil society in peace processes. Create additional fora in parallel to on-going peace processes, to permit the active participation of those excluded. These should receive support from INGO's (international non-governmental organizations).

Take the message and the means to the grassroots level. Identify and support men and women who can champion the message of inclusion.



## Parallel Workshop D. Building the capacity of self-mediation, deadlock breaking, consensus building and people's participatory processes in the change mechanism

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (09.00-12.30)

The workshop was co-chaired by **Hannes Siebert**, Senior Adviser for Common Space Initiative/UNDP and Director of the Peace Appeal Foundation and **Sanna Tasala**, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Specialist at the UNDP Arab States Regional Hub. The rapporteur was **Soha Frem**, Senior Project Manager at the Common Space Initiative/UNDP.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- **Bishnu Sapkota**, Senior Adviser and General Secretary NTTP/UNDP, Nepal
- **Thuzar Thant**, Coordinator of state-based Common Spaces and dialogue forums, EBO Burma
- Dr. **Thusitha Tennekoon**, Director of One Text Initiative, Sri Lanka
- **Maria Zeniou**, Co-coordinator of Cyprus Dialogue Forum, Cyprus
- Dr. **Karam Karam**, Co-Director and Head of Research, Common Space Initiative/UNDP

### Case studies: Why and how they emerged?

Five initiatives were provided as case studies for the discussion, and were presented by the practitioners working inside those initiatives. Next there will be a summary on how each emerged, the original role they have played in the peace process and how they have evolved today.

- **The One Text Initiative** in Sri Lanka was founded in 2003 as a confidential multi-party 1.5 track Peace Negotiations Process, following the breakdown of the official facilitated negotiations. It facilitated more than 120 joint understandings over the past 13 years and survived 7 governments and a brutal civil war. It also brought all the Muslim political parties together for the “Peace secretariat for Muslims”; and created a joint mechanism for the three Peace Secretariats to meet and exchange, including: the Muslim, LTTE and the government. Today it is a space for multi-stakeholders’ dialogue processes, fully owned by the stakeholders, for policies and option generations.
- **The Nepal Transition** to Peace Institute was created in 2004 as 1.5 non-formal dialogues and convened all stakeholders during 10 years, when various attempts for National negotiations failed and during some of the most turbulent times in Nepal. It facilitated the negotiation of Nepal’s ceasefire agreement, the comprehensive peace accord, and convened all stakeholders’ dialogues, to resolve deadlock issues, in the drafting process of the new constitution over the past 7 years. Today it provides space where stakeholders meet to work jointly on option generation issues post-constitution signing.
- **The Common Space Initiative (CSI)** in Beirut, was created in 2009 to provide technical support to the Formal National Dialogue and evolved to support tracks 1.5 policy dialogues. It acted as a safety net and managed to convene all political stakeholders around route cause issues, when the formal talks broke down. It also facilitated the drafting of the Baabda Declaration, the Lebanon dissociation policy from regional conflicts. Today it supports policy dialogues around Lebanon’s structural issues, local peace building initiatives in Syria and regional reflections between stakeholders in the Arab world.
- **7 Common Spaces** in Myanmar have evolved as informal dialogue spaces to engage the various levels of society in the peace process and to support the upcoming national dialogue. The evolving common spaces together with EBO were the key actors to facilitate the nationwide Ceasefire agreement, the Deed of Commitment and the Framework for political dialogue.
- **The Cyprus Dialogue Forum** was created in 2013 where for the first time organizations and political parties from both the Turkish and Cypriot communities were brought together. It aims at complementing the official negotiation by engaging a wider array of society in the dialogue; raise public awareness about the negotiation process and the period following the agreement. The forum has already facilitated numerous common understandings on issues critical to the success of the peace negotiations and process.

While each initiative presented an array of valuable material and experience, next a couple of conclusions relating to the complementarity of those initiative to formal processes, their common structural characteristics, common challenges and proposed recommendations will be presented below.

### **How do these initiatives complement formal peace processes?**

- Provide support mechanisms for the national process and prevent it from total collapse (Sri Lanka)
- Provide deadlock-breaking mechanism when formal dialogues halt, (Lebanon).

- Provide a space post-constitution drafting for the generations of policies and options.
- Act as support structure for upcoming national dialogue
- Ensures inclusion of all stakeholders (unlike formal ones) which makes those processes easier to recognize by all actors
- Provides a space for discussing issues that cannot be on the agenda of formal discussions (such as Lebanese-Palestinian dialogue at the CSI)
- Spaces for option generations and common understanding and not decision making.
- Allows political parties to be more flexible and accommodating in generating options, than in formal processes.
- Provides the parties involved in the formal process with the technical knowledge to better prepare them for the formal process.
- The importance of the non-formality of those processes is that they are not tied to any obligations and do not run the risk to collapse or fail like formal processes, but have the flexibility to reformulate and convene, away from public, media and political pressure.

#### **What are critical structural characteristics common to these initiatives?**

- These initiatives were developed based on inclusive nationwide stakeholder's participation. They were context driven and were shaped in a way to respond to the needs of national stakeholders and support the formal dialogue/negotiation process in a direct or indirect way. Some emerged following periods of conflict, system failures, political instability, or during conflicts, and continued to evolve.
- There is a strong stakeholder's ownership of the process when stakeholders set the agenda without intervention of external parties.
- They represent inclusive safe spaces for trust building, open communication, knowledge sharing, creation of mutual understanding and consensus building.
- They are non-formal spaces for generating options, rather than spaces for formal decisions.
- They are long-term or permanent spaces, rather than quick fixes.
- International organizations and donors were crucial in the development and sustainability of those initiatives and in protecting the spaces from external interventions.
- The Support services provided to the processes include: physical spaces, research, facilitation, process design, technical expertise, communication, administration and finance.

#### **What are common challenges for the case studies?**

- Time-factor is a real challenge: initiatives take a significant time to develop its various structures and methodologies.

- It is difficult to measure/quantify the impacts of this kind of initiatives and have systematic concrete outputs, as they are more of process nature and not projects as such. This is a real challenge with the donor community and partners organizations.
- They are long-term processes, which require a lot of patience, discipline, endurance and engagement from the national stakeholders, as well as from supporting experts and the donor community.
- Their impact is based in big parts on the willingness and engagement of various stakeholders.
- The security threats.

### **What are key areas where more capacity and knowledge is required?**

- What is the role of locally driven informal mechanisms/initiatives and how can we support them without hindering the process?
- How can we build the capacity of local and external facilitators and experts in the design and support of those mechanisms?
- How do those informal processes feed into the formal processes, on what levels and through which tools?
- How can we build the capacity of the parties themselves and ensure information sharing on a horizontal as well as vertical level?
- How can we develop more efficient facilitation, research as well as knowledge capturing tools for the generation of options?
- How can we ensure funds while taking into consideration that these are long-term processes?

### **Recommendations on addressing challenges**

#### *Recommendations for national stakeholders*

- Recognition of the values of such initiatives in supporting formal dialogues and commitment to participation
- Building stronger linkages between formal constitutional institutions and informal mechanisms.

#### *Recommendations for international organizations*

- To support such initiatives, but act as shadow supporter rather than being at the forefront.
- Play the role of buffer between the local initiatives and the donors in order to protect those spaces and allow them to grow. Example: as in Lebanon and Cyprus.

### *Recommendations for the Donor Community*

- Build a better understanding on the role and nature of this kind of initiatives and engage with them in a longer term support. Example: Sri Lanka 13-years of activities. with 5-years without funding.

### *Recommendations for practitioners*

- Initiate peer-to-peer exchanges to share experiences and build a better knowledge and understanding around those mechanisms
- Undertake studies and workshops aiming at strengthening knowledge sharing, capturing and production during those processes.



## Parallel Workshop E. Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators in National Dialogues Processes

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (14.00-17.30)

*“What can they bring to the table that others cannot?”*

*“The message is trusted because they trust the messenger.”* – Quote from Libya

*“Dangers of romanticizing or demonizing...”*

*“How can we do things differently to build a social covenant between all...”* – Quote from Libya

The workshop was co-chaired by **Pekka Metso**, Ambassador for Intercultural Dialogue Processes and Professor **Mohammed Abu-Nimer**, Senior Adviser for KAICIID Dialogue Centre. The rapporteur was **Martine Miller**, Senior Consultant for the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- **Luxshi Vimalarajah**, Programme Director, Berghof Foundation
- **Dr. Mohamed Elsanousi**, Director of DC Office, the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
- **Chetan Kumar**, Senior Conflict Prevention Advisor, Governance and Peacebuilding Cluster, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP
- **Alvaro Albacete**, Deputy Secretary General for External Relations, KAICIID Dialogue Centre

## **Main Findings**

The workshop began with defining religious and traditional actors: as holding authority to represent religion and tradition and having inherent legitimacy. Three types of religious and traditional actors were identified: 1. Devout; 2. heads and key actors of religious institutions; 3. faith inspired organizations.

In many societies, *religious and traditional* identities are vital dimensions in everyday life and inherently in peace and conflict and transformation. For many years, these have been overlooked, sidelined and/or conflict-insensitively downplayed by external (regional and international), and at times internal actors (governments). However, today, peace research and practice have increasingly been acknowledging the importance of local (e.g. indigenous or insider) peace and peacebuilding processes, which are owned and driven by local actors, who often factor in contextual and cultural dimensions like religion and tradition, and where external actors play a supportive and complementary role.

As has been demonstrated in the definition above, religious and traditional actors have their own unique set of attributes – moral legitimacy, access and close constituencies, understand the dynamics within their communities, and can be trusted and listened to for guidance – all of which equip them to play a substantial role in conflict transformation. More often than not however, their full potential of complementing other local and external mediation processes happening in their context is not well recognized and utilized.

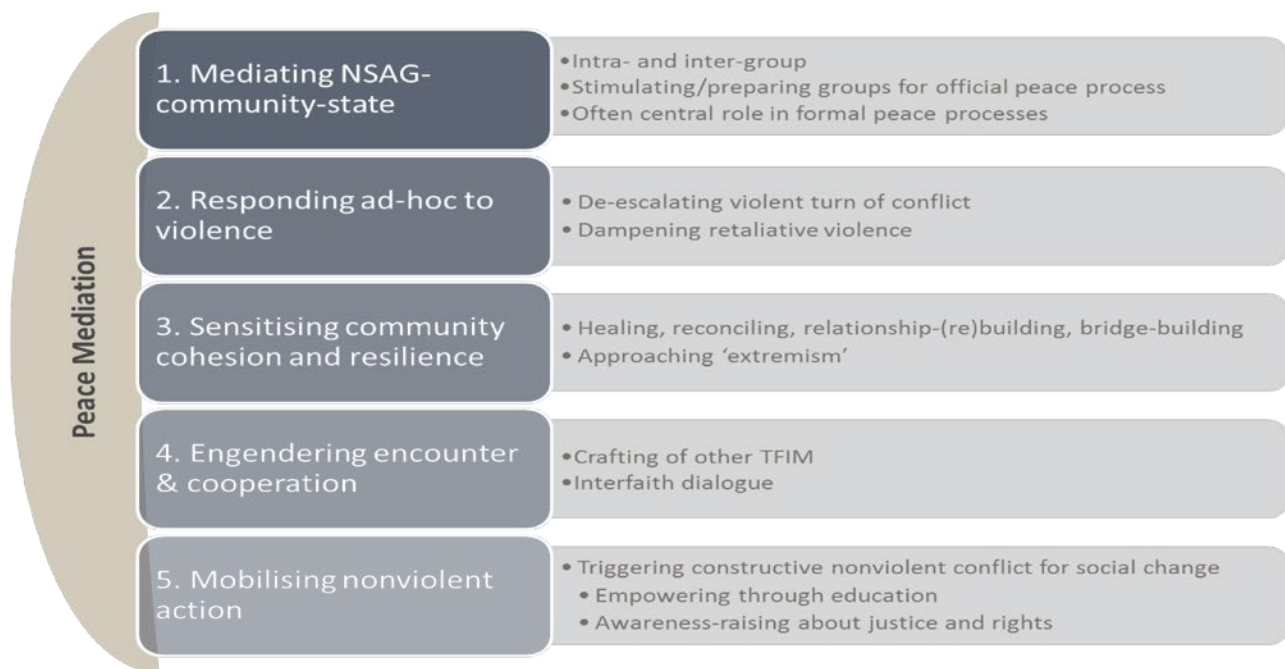
Sustainable peacebuilding can only be expected, if all peacebuilding initiatives within the context are coordinated and strategically complemented by vital local, regional and international actors, within a framework of collaborative support. Indeed, with specific focus on traditional and religious/ faith-based actors, it has been observed that support for and coordination with these actors is mostly ad-hoc by nature, not systematized, and in some contexts non-existent or perceived as an area of no-go. Meanwhile, the engagement of religious and traditional actors is not a panacea and also comes with some challenging realities such as resistance, insecurity, persuasion, etc, as noted below.

## **Opportunities for Enhancement**

Religious and traditional actors have and are able to engage in a range of peace and –building processes. For instance, the religious and traditional elders have played and are vital in peace and state building process in Somalia (e.g. peace committees – traditional elders, religious leaders, women and youth and participate.).

Given religious and traditional actors access to their communities and constituents, they may be door openers – offering entry points to possible peace and –building processes. They may utilize their deepened understanding of their contexts, own scriptures and values to engage their intra- and interfaith populations. They work less through a political lens, but more with values founded in their religious teachings and resonating with the population.

Religious and traditional actors may engage / link across all peace tracks.



## Challenges for Transformation

Religious and traditional actors play a significant role, as demonstrated here, but little is known about these actors, how they engage, the particular advantages and strengths they bring to the table, limitations, coupled with their needs for effective inclusion in peace and – building processes.

Some religious actors, given context, may be seen as untrustworthy when having real or perceived connections, for instance, with corruption, a political regime and/or close ties with the international community.

While this holds true for most and certainly including the international community, religious and traditional actors track record on inclusive engagement of women and youth remains limited to not existent. Example: 20 religious leaders from Nigeria were engaged in a dialogue - not a single woman was included and at the same time they said they represented millions of Nigerians. Example: Kenya – women of faith – when mediating they used both religious and traditional processes. Meanwhile, a young pastor in Kenya, while discussing some challenges to youth engagement, mentioned the internal difficulty of working with two different set of views among the elders and youth.

Furthermore, youth are at times perceived more as subordinates and/or a security threats. Religious actors should tap into youth as a vital resource for civil society positive empowerment and advancements. At current, extreme groups have tap into this vital resource.

In addition, when outsider mediators/peacemakers enter a context, and are interested in working with religious and traditional actors they tend to also overlook women and youth given the nature of the actors' leadership. In this way they tend to reinforce exclusion and, may even believe such engagement is not possible. However, there are numerous ways of ensuring women and youth engagement through process design. Inclusive engagement of women and youth must be woven into design and support process and actually be utilized.

Further challenges include exploitation of religious and traditional actors by the national and international community. Religious and traditional actors themselves may also be involved in the instigating and fueling of conflict. However, there are examples of paradigm shifts. Example: Myanmar monk pre- and post-Nargis.

### **What are the key areas where more capacity and knowledge is required?**

Religious literacy among both inside and outside religious and traditional mediators and supporting actors is vital.

It is important to provide an exchange and capacity building platform for intra-faith engagement for better understanding and solid foundation within religions, given conflict and fragmentation and, interfaith engagement for understanding between religions, building upon the intra-faith platform. Example: CAR – Important to strengthen the Muslim communities – building trust among them so that they can move forward with other religious communities. Essentially providing actors space for better unity to move forward to inter-faith engagement and peace advancements.

It is vital to map training needs coupled with resources for religious and traditional actors and supporters.

### **Recommendations on addressing challenges**

- Commit to better understanding the engagement of religious and traditional actors in given contexts.
- Research and better understand the roles and needs of religious and traditional peacemakers in given context to ensure better support and inclusive engagement of these actors.
- Consistently conduct mappings and analysis given that contexts are dynamic and not static, e.g. insider and outsider-roles change all the time.
- Ensure the inclusion of women and youth through the design, implementation and follow-up peace and –building processes.
- Further invest in women and young religious faith based insider mediators.
- Understand the risks and insecurity that religious and traditional actors can face as inside peace actors – and weave this into all designs, processes, follow-up.
- Be aware of different inside mediators - how do they interrelate and work within the larger context.
- Understand the available infrastructures of peace and support these infrastructures.
- Explore means to balance internal ownership with external support to ensure that the insider is not depleted or harmed and receive maxima effective support to advance peace.





## Parallel Workshop F. National Dialogues as Change, Dialogue and Reconciliation Instruments: A Discussion on the UN's guidance framework for National Dialogues

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (14.00-17.30)

The workshop was co-chaired by **Andries Odendaal**, Senior Adviser, for IJR and Centre for Mediation in Africa and **Pekka Haavisto**, Special Representative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland on Mediation with special focus on Africa. The rapporteur was **Malin Herwig**, Policy Specialist at the UNDP.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- **Roxaneh Bazergan**, Team Leader of Mediation Support Unit, and Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA)
- **Hannes Siebert**, Senior Adviser, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Director, Peace Appeal Foundation
- Prof. **Walid Moubarak**, Member of National Dialogue Steering Committee, Lebanon

The objective of the session was to provide greater conceptual clarity of national dialogues and what we mean when we say that it is an instrument for change and reconciliation. Do we need to pin down the concept since it is context specific? What are the essential characteristics of national dialogue? How is it different from mediation?

A guidance paper is being prepared by UNDPA (United Nations Department of Political Affairs) that should capture how national dialogue can be useful in particular in political transitions, highlighting what mediators should think about, however not assuming that national dialogues require external mediation.

### Key issues to frame the guidance

- *Situating*: Where does the National Dialogue (ND) fit within the political transition and what can the National Dialogue deliver on? It is important to have clarity on what comes next after the National Dialogue, as well as timing.
- *Political buy-in*: expanding from elites and ownership, but the elites still need their buy-in if the national dialogue should work and be implemented.
- *Mandate*: is the National Dialogue taking decisions or rather focusing on principles/framework? If taking decisions, then which ones? Or is it a means to buy time in the political transition? What are the relations to existing institutions?

- *Inclusivity*: As broad as possible to coalesce a society or more focused to take specific decisions? How representative are the actors?
- *Agenda*: risk of overloading a National Dialogue? What kind of issues?
- *Role of a mediator* (focusing on UN mediators but potentially applicable for others): create the space within the peace agreement for a National Dialogue; a convener, facilitator, technical assistance.
- *Linking to other processes*: other dialogue initiatives by various actors.
- In Lebanon, the following spaces were created in 2010: 1) under the President, a Steering committee on dialogue, and 2) the Common Space Initiative to help out with the dialogue and act as a safety net.
- Recognizing that external actors influence and that issues are very much regional in nature.
- The transition was important and during this time the national dialogue replaced institutions that were in paralysis.
- Political buy-in; participants were keen to avoid reaching “an end”, rather to freeze the situation and create space to breathe, but without reaching a point where agreements had to be made.
- Unequal distribution of power among the groups: while searching for inclusivity – how inclusive is really the dialogue?
- Structural support to the dialogue needed: in Lebanon the Steering Committee as well as the CSI (knowledge based and track 1.5) provided support.
- Lebanon’s stability has a lot to do with the national dialogue that has created breathing space but it failed to solve the issues.
- How does the narrative of an agenda of the national dialogue emerge? How do we translate needs-based issues into an agenda? How does the global system influence the regional, the sub-regional, the national level down to the village level (there may be many parallel dialogues or processes)?
- There have been a greater number of civil wars within the last two decades, but as well a shift towards self-mediated processes and national dialogues. Mediation needs a fundamental element of justice and reconciliation (therefore this is closely linked to the issue of who is a mediator) whereas national dialogue is a self-mediated process.
- Competition over who is participating, if more than 30 people in the room then it’s not a dialogue, but rather managing a massive process.
- How do we create safety nets that accompany the National Dialogue, since the National Dialogues are incomplete instruments reflecting a broken society, a safety net could help capture the process if the National Dialogue would fail?

## **Main issues and challenges**

- What constitutes a National Dialogue process: is it an ad hoc process (not in Lebanon), inclusive (not in Tunisia), defined by its mandate (if so, what is it?), binding or providing recommendations, public or secret?
- Representation – who do the armed groups represent? Some want only the parties who won to be part of the dialogue. Representation as a balance between efficiency and representation.
- A national dialogue is a very valuable process in itself, possibly starting to define democratic culture or principles, tolerance etc., whether or not it reaches an agreement on constitution, federal state.

### *Externals vs self-mediates*

- The question is what can ‘externals’ do to support the space that has been created so it is owned by the people and not spoilers. Need to look at what is the objective of a specific process, if it is to build consensus on values and way forward then the National Dialogue managed by internal actors is superior. Sometimes you have National Dialogue supported by an international mediator – but no need for theoretical disputes or to seek perfectionism, but rather a sense of pragmatism.
- How can we create most breathing space and by whom? United Nations can have many different roles, even as a guarantor. The role of an external mediator is to empower a domestic process and for people to find their own solution and support from outside.
- The reality is that United Nations is involved and part of the international system, it is thus difficult to define an open framework for a National Dialogue having the UN involved, since we need to protect the UN against some of its member states while a change process needs space and be allowed to take long time.

## **What are the key areas where more capacity and knowledge is required?**

EU has a fact sheet on National Dialogue and insider mediation as guidance for staff; that is to be up-date. NDPA is in the process of developing guidance on National Dialogues for its mediators. However, focus on lessons learned rather than producing more blue prints or guidance. One such area identified was how to get in women’s leaders at similar level as men.

## **Recommendations on addressing challenges**

- Don’t let national dialogue become a dumping ground for issues.
- Don’t have too high expectations on the dialogue but recognize it has a value in itself.
- Restrict external influence but be pragmatic about possible external support when needed (mediation).
- Structural support to the dialogue needed (safety space)



## Parallel Workshop G. Support structures for Officially Mandated National Dialogue Processes

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (14.00-17.30)

The workshop was chaired by **Oskari Eronen**, Manager for Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation at the Crisis Management Initiative. The rapporteur was **Laura Salonen** from the Crisis Management Initiative.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- Prof. **John Packer**, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre of the University of Ottawa
- **Chukwuemeka B. Eze**, Executive Director for the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)
- **Derek Brown**, Randolph Jennings Senior Fellow on national dialogue & Secretary and Executive Director of the Peace Appeal Foundation
- **Denis Matveev**, Programme Adviser to CMI's Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia programme.

Three types of support for situations in pre/during/post dialogue process were identified: 1) organizational; 2) material support; 3) political support. National Dialogues and support structures require inclusiveness, constructive ambiguity, autonomy and continuity.

The advantage of informal support structures and processes are: 1) they do not need and are not limited by official mandates; 2) the ability to engage all actors, also the difficult or the officially irrelevant; 3) they do not need to be always transparent and public; 4) they can provide backchannels and safe spaces; 5) they can be quick to roll out and wind down – they don't get stuck in outdated processes and cannot be easily hijacked; 6) Less vulnerable to games in/with publicity; 7) easier for politicians to allow access and to hear the bad news.

- Dilemmas/tensions:
  - Processes – structures/institutions
  - Internal/national/local support – external support
  - Permanent – temporary
  - Ambiguity – transparency
  - Getting started – getting things done

## Recommendations for addressing challenges

- *Ambiguity vs. strict design*: Not to get stuck on one theory or the other, but understand what works best in the given situation. There needs to be room for improvisation. It is important to shepherd the process forward, rather than to have a predetermined design. Shifting roles along the process. Have tools to check the design and adjust – iterative approach, start-up mentality. Trying to put a fixed frame on the process might kill its energy. Understand that mistakes in short term can create success in long term.
- *Analysis and access to knowledge*: Need to invest in analysis and design. Must be contextualised: the specificity of the context/actors/interests. The question of who to include, is crucial also in support structures. Combine different skills and viewpoints; use independent experts and parties. Support structures driven by questions and clarity on contribution are successful. Think how to sustain in longer term: availability of needed knowledge, financing?
- *Ownership and inclusiveness*: International actors need to trust and respect the national stakeholders. How to include actors without giving them inappropriate legitimacy? Dialogue format needs to reflect the core of the conflict.
- *Mandate or mission?* For support structures, mission could be more important, and more effective and sustainable. Local support structures can create their mandate by hard work.
- *Learning and research*: Need to study more the issue. National dialogues are one piece of the puzzle. Are we looking for ideal, or optimal (“Perfect is the enemy of good enough”)? Learn from each other working in the field, have peer-to-peer exchanges, donors and support actors need to come together and understand the specific nature of this type of work. Informal support initiatives could learn from the social entrepreneurship and technological innovation sectors to better communicate their design logics and results while not being constrained by classical development frameworks. Practitioners, donors and researchers should come together, to help each other overcome the current constraints such as short term funding cycles and demand for immediate results from longer term support processes.
- *Financial support by donors*: Need to be flexible and long-term and to allow the ambiguity of the process especially in the beginning. Donors have to distance themselves from the process. Need to have funding “without a logo”. Ability to deliver requires long term engagement. In particular where support structures are needed for post-dialogue implementation. Support structures need support too. In a wider portfolio of funding for development and stability, this is risk investment – but not trying can be even costlier.



## Parallel Workshop H. Shared knowledge creation

Tuesday, 17 November 2015, (14.00-17.30)

The workshop was chaired by Dr. **Timo Stewart**, Project Manager at the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The rapporteur was **Sanna Tasala**, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Specialist at the UNDP.

The workshop included the following speakers:

- Dr. **Karam Karam**, Co-Director and Head of Research, Common Space Initiative/UNDP
- **Sajana Maharjan**, Acting Executive Director, Nepal Transitions to Peace
- **Mahmoud Ramadan**, Strategic Development Coordinator, Syria Initiative
- **Pao Hom**, Pyidaungsu Institute

### Main findings

Lack of shared knowledge is a key challenge in all of the countries studied. Lebanon and Syria struggle with war of data, where data is manipulated for political purpose and becomes a driver of conflict. In Nepal and Myanmar the lack of data and unequal access to it cause inequality that worsens the conflict.

Types of knowledge that are needed range from

- comprehensive stakeholder and conflict mapping in Syria,
- context specific knowledge production for the different dialogue files in Lebanon (not searching for an exact number, but rather common understanding)
- Building the capacity of and gently educating political leaders in Nepal
- enhancing the access of ethnic minorities to basic statistical information in Myanmar (information on SSR/DDR, land reform, natural resources, federalism, etc.) so that ethnic groups were able to participate in the Nationwide Ceasefire negotiations, developing their Frameworks for Political Dialogue and to enable them to participate constructively in the political dialogue, due to start next year

It is important to remember that issues related to data are not often related to real numbers, but fears behind them. Furthermore, knowledge is not always academic, but there is knowledge that is created by the process and for the process and can be valuable for the stakeholders even though it is not 100% scientific. Facilitators should not approach dialogue with a

pre-established framework; rather they should build the conceptual framework with the stakeholders. Facilitators need to be highly knowledgeable about the context.

### **What are the key areas where more capacity and knowledge is required?**

- Depends on the country context, in Lebanon and Syria knowledge is manipulated for divisive action and to fuel conflict, and it has also become a source of dialogue when used productively as part of evidence based dialogue
- In Nepal the challenges include the limited interest of dialogue members to engage in shared knowledge creation
- In Myanmar challenges are still vast with very little information being accessible to ethnic groups and even internet connection being largely absent in many places.

### **Recommendations on addressing the challenges**

#### *Recommendations for national stakeholders*

- Jointly identify needs for shared knowledge
- Ensure that dialogues are knowledge/evidence based
- Benefit from lessons learnt from the international processes, but do not get stuck with them

#### *Recommendations for international technical advisers and facilitators supporting the process*

- Knowledge is context specific
- Dialogue process should drive the shared knowledge creation
- Support national initiatives and knowledgeable locals

#### *Recommendations for process design*

- Successful dialogues studied here produced knowledge for the process and stakeholders based on their demands and needs of the process.

### **Country Case: Lebanon**

- Common Space Initiative is a co-owned knowledge based dialogue initiative.
- Lebanon historically has a very open society with a lot of knowledge production, culture of dialogue (or at least arguments between many opposing viewpoints), and has a very dynamic civil society and a lot of forums
- However, Lebanese are not really ready to compromise their positions or seek a common vision
- Data in Lebanon varies from party to party, appears to be sectarian motivated, and derives

from the existential fears of parties (such as the Christian fear of the Palestinians changing the sectarian balance)

- The CSI has been able to provide a mechanism of deadlock breaking in a context of high fear and paranoia through the knowledge based dialogue
- The purpose of the dialogue is to confront knowledge, and search for common ground, process wise CSI kicked off debate with commissioning studies
- Producing knowledge that is not always academic, but for the process and often needs to be reworked based on the process (it is not meant to be normative from the beginning)
- Facilitators should not approach with a pre-established framework, rather building the conceptual framework with the stakeholders
- Facilitators need to be highly knowledgeable about the context.
- It is important not to represent your party at the common space (actors are not tied by the discussion since it is not a decision making forum, but a venue to experiment)

### **Country Case: Nepal**

- In Nepal the insecurity caused by new constitution adds to conflict (federal system for identity needs) still not implemented federalism.
- NTTP started as a confidential dialogue initiative but has since registered as a independent peace institute in 2014.
- Primary stakeholders are political parties.
- The process is a 1.5. track process, those who come to the dialogue table in Nepal are in leading party positions at top senior level (also sit in the track one, most often party leaders or cabinet ministers).
- Also used evidence based dialogue strategy and benefit from political party researchers, who are not academics (have contacts with all parties and government).
- Have benefitted from comparative studies throughout the process (p&d platform will become useful in the future for this purpose)
- Unlike in Lebanon, in Nepal people don't have their own data (only unified maoist-leninist party has their data)
- Data needed for educating the political leaders.

### **Country Case: Syria**

- Syrian conflict is a very mediatized conflict, where information and data plays a key role in fueling conflict and is extremely contested.
- Syria Initiative aims at empowering peace assets to help them initiate dialogue on common



issues of concern, local and thematic dialogues (lack of electricity, access, how to enhance community resilience – so not on divisive issues at this stage but issues of common concern)

- Several track 2-3 processes are currently taking place.
- Purpose is to provide a shared reading, knowledge created by direct interaction, explicit knowledge and to start build tacit knowledge inside people on the ground
- Syrian Initiative is now running 14 spaces for dialogue (database of outcomes, research and mapping), it has increased demand for knowledge and now Syrians are doing dialogues by themselves in Syria
- Quantitative and qualitative data needed, Syria Initiative discovered that 8 different educational curricula are used in schools

### **Country Case: Myanmar**

- Myanmar is still in a middle of a 60 year civil war, that has showed that when political dialogue didn't work, 'parties' resorted to the military way.
- Talks with ethnic armed groups started in 2012, many signed bilateral agreements with the government.
- Myanmar doesn't have basic data in the first place, it is very much a paper based country still, so a need to start from basic information.
- PI created a platform for the ethnic people.
- The ceasefire agreements have become good resource documents, that have allowed for comparison of positions and finding similarities and differences.
- Challenges are vast (limited internet connection, limited human resources etc.)
- Need to make information more accessible for local people.
- There has not yet been dialogue, so at least actors have not yet faced a conflict of data- however stakeholders come with different opinions and emotions.
- Ethnic areas have very few COS that support them (whereas people of Myanmar have a lot of organizations supporting them) – indirectly support people of Myanmar also by sharing information and knowledge.



## Plenary Session: Presentation on Conflict Analysis

Wednesday, 18 November 2015 (09.00-09.30)

**Jerry White**, President of Global Impact Strategies Inc., Professor of Practice, University of Virginia, and his colleague **Amir Bagherpour**, Chief Political Scientist and Director of Analysis, Global Impact Strategies Inc., got the final day of the conference to a start by presenting their work on conflict analysis based on open source meta data collection using computer models and methodologies in predicting possible pathways and challenges for social phenomena. The presentation also highlighted the need to harness the vast amount of data available today and use it for positive causes.



## Plenary Session: Current Conflict Dynamics in the Middle East – the Challenges of Mediation and National Dialogues

Wednesday, 18 November 2015 (09.30-11.30)

**Lars Backström**, Ambassador for Mediation Tasks with focus on Asia, MFA Finland, led the session to a start and raised the frail situation of the Middle East on the table.

**Adib Nehme**, commenting from an individual standpoint, started by stating the need to always differentiate the levels of analysis when dealing with conflicts, whether regional, sub-regional or possibly even wider. This includes as well the understanding of whether actions taken are dealing with the actual root causes or just individual problems. Nehme challenged the conference participants to engage with new thinking to be able to review conceptual frameworks that might not always serve the correct approaches to conflicts today. Nehme continued by pointing that some concepts regarding conflicts are too easily taken as a given, while more varied and detailed definitions get passed. Thus a mindset change might be needed. “We cannot ignore sensitive issues if we want to solve the problem” mentioned Nehme while referring to a more detailed need of analysis in the Arab world conflicts. Nehme also called upon a more unified approach towards solving conflicts, as selection of a conflict with another being neglected shouldn’t happen.

Nehme also saw the Arab world conflict within the global trend and not as something exceptional. The global trend currently concentrates on the weakened nation state and this

remains problematic for the Arab world, where the post-nation state approach doesn't resonate, when many countries remain in pre-nation state situation. "Nation states are the main channel, the main contact and interaction with the ideas of citizenship and modernity" underlined Nehme about the Arab world. When nation state is affected, this also removes the referential value systems of the people that are needed for example in mediation processes. Nehme also pointed two key challenges in mediation processes: external actors substituting for domestic actors and the assistance provided not meeting expectations in-country leading to a situation, where returning to conflict remains an option. [Mr. Nehme is also Deputy Chair and Senior Facilitator, CSI/UNDP & Senior Regional Expert and Adviser at UN-ESCWA for MENA region]

Dr. **Qamar Ul-Huda**, commenting from an individual standpoint, touched upon the issue of sectarianism in the conflict in the Middle East and the rise of sectarian divisions, as one of the primary identity markers of groups and the challenges this brings. Ul-huda raised three main points regarding the rise of a sectarian identity in the Middle East conflicts: geo-strategic sectarianism both regionally and globally; The Islamic Cold War between Saudi Arabia and Iran; Rise of extremists to fill societal vacuums. Ul-Huda saw sects challenging nations as the closest form of support available to individuals when searching for protection or rights. With sectarianism, also the question of otherness is easily brought up when identifying yourself against other actors and the possible escalated divides caused by this stated Ul-Huda. [Dr. Ul-Huda is also Senior Advisor, Office of Religion & Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State]

**Elizabeth Murray**, Senior Program Officer, Middle East & Africa, USIP, focused her remarks on Sudan and the attempts at National Dialogue still on-going. According to Murray the problem with the Sudanese government's efforts during the past two years have been that "rhetoric about openness to a dialogue didn't match the policy on the ground". To support this Murray mentioned the narrow space allowed for NGOs and calls for a neutral convener of the Dialogue having been dismissed by the government. Despite efforts of the AU of convening a pre-dialogue meeting in early 2015 the proponents within the ruling elite couldn't convince the hardliners for taking part. However, recently the government has unilaterally announced a National Dialogue process with many major groups still boycotting it. This resembles "National Dialogue in name only, not as the broad based conversation that we all envision and hope for when hear the name" Murray explained. Some hope in the situation can still be seen, as talks between the government and armed opposition are envisioned to happen soon and a resolution from these talks could actually serve a basis for the Dialogue process.

Murray summed up possible lessons from Sudan as follows: A credible convener is a key element for a National Dialogue process to go ahead; Preparations for the process are as determinant of the outcome as the Dialogue itself; Political will cannot be created from the outside. Murray ended with a call to temper the general enthusiasm for National Dialogue processes with truly critical assessments of what conditions are needed in order to achieve true outcomes.

**Paolo Lembo**, UN resident Coordinator for Yemen and UNDP Resident Representative for Yemen, stressed the key importance for experts joining peace processes of knowing the historical context of the region and the country in question: "homework has to be done when entering a country in turmoil". Lembo underlined that misreadings and misunderstandings in analysis can always happen, but an overall historical understanding cannot be overlooked. Commenting on the often chaotic situation facing experts when trying to make order of a conflict Lembo assured that the instruments for managing this order are almost always already there, but just need to be found through understanding the context. Continuing from this

Lembo underlined that the origin story of a social phenomenon is always in the historical and conflict dynamics, and finding this gives the basis for current analysis. Contemporary discourse can thus be understood through an “anthropological excursion” into a country covering economic, political and societal roots.

In managing conflict dynamics in the Middle East at the moment Lembo saw two main dynamics: regional military conflict combined with terror activity setting specific challenges to mediation efforts and the other being the challenge on how to help the people in the region renegotiate the social contract in the region. In closing Lembo underlined the need for time and patience when entering peace processes: “Business of peace is a long-term rollercoaster” and this has to be accepted and not look for an exit after the first elections.

**Jerry White**, President of Global Impact Strategies Inc., Professor of Practice, University of Virginia, concentrated in his presentation on religious communities and extremism stemming from these during conflicts. White reminded that “religion is social glue that brings people together” and the ones taking to guns always represent a minority. The peaceful majority are the ones needing support underlined White. Referring to people’s need to belong and the search for cohesion and community White highlighted religious and ideological militias also being able to offer this to individuals, as seen in conflicts. To counter this, the idea should be to reduce the use of religious narratives to incite violence. Touching upon the Global Covenant of World Religions White iterated that religions can be activated to be part of the solution in conflicts and not a part of the problem. Through the Global Covenant bringing together faith practitioners, religiously motivated violence could be addressed more effectively and the more traditional methods of conflict resolution could also benefit in tandem.



## Plenary Session: Conclusion and Summary

Wednesday 18 of November 2015, (12.30-15.00)

The Conclusion and Summary session was co-moderated by **Kristiina Rintakoski**, Director of Advocacy at the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission and Dr. **Ville Brummer**, Programme Director of Crisis Management Initiative. The session was separated into two parts. Panel 2 included reports and conclusions from workshops D-H, where the common theme was support structures and shared knowledge. Panel 1 included reports and conclusions from workshops A-E.

The session started with Kristiina Rintakoski outlining the key objectives of the conference and questions for rapporteurs. The key objective of the conference was “*to facilitate learning and sharing on National Dialogue Processes and to provide insights for national stakeholders and for international actors supporting them.*”

Rapporteurs were presented with three questions to answer about their workshops:

1. What were the main findings, issues, achievements and challenges on the theme of your workshops in the context of formal National Dialogues or informal dialogue processes and how does this also affect the overall change process or conflict?
2. What are the key areas where more capacity and knowledge are required?
3. Recommendations for national stakeholders, international advisers and facilitators and for process design?

For more details on working group reports relating to these questions, please refer to the working group sections above.

Ville Brummer summarized the findings of Panel 2 after the initial reports by commenting that while there are very different perspectives on the National Dialogue concept, there still seems to be a certain consolidation and similarities in the National Dialogues. Brummer presented the rapporteurs of Panel 2 with two questions.

First question was related to what Brummer saw as common in all the reports: question of a long-term approach. It is hard to know from the beginning of the process when the processes can be ended. He asked the rapporteurs to think about timing and the criteria for timing an exit.

The second question he presented was related to structures and institution. *“How do you see the support structures and other processes are able to link the National Dialogue process and existing political structure: meaning the parliament, the democratic system, the government, the ministries?”*

#### **Sanna Tasala, H. Shared Knowledge Creation**

According to Tasala the first question had been lurking in the air in the general conversations in the conference. In her answer she advocated for permanent spaces for dialogue:

*“We should not discuss when do you finish the dialogue and when do you exit the process. What we have learned from these conversations is that the long-term or more permanent spaces have been the more successful spaces that have actually allowed people to take their time with the process and the dialogue. It does not only take 10-months or 1-year to finalize a dialogue, it’s more on-going part of the political life.”*

#### **Soha Frem, D. Building capacity for self-mediation, deadlock-breaking, consensus-building and people’s participatory processes into the change mechanisms**

Frem noted that the first question relates to the issue of contextualization of the dialogue or the process in general. According to Frem, National Dialogue processes sit *“within the broader process of the country in terms of peace process or solving structural issues, rights issues and so on. So we should look at them complimentary; processes complimenting each other, rather than one finishing and one starting. And again we go back to the issue of ownership.”* She added that it is for the stakeholders themselves to decide how much time they need to work on specific issues.

In answering the second question Frem brought up the importance of complimentary structural design: *“It is very important to keep in mind that the design of the support structure does not alienate the constitutional structure, but that the constitutional structure be an integral part*

*in the design of the support structure. This is why it takes time because you need to make sure to include all the stakeholders; political, civil society. But also the structural context or the constitutional structure of the country.”*

**Oskari Eronen, G.** Support structures for officially mandated National Dialogue Processes

According to Eronen there are always numerous different factors at play in National Dialogue processes including *“various objectives and interests and plans and aspirations”*. He added that *“there are tensions that are to some extent irreconcilable or dilemmas that do not have easy answers. To the extent that National Dialogue process is officially mandated it probably has an beginning and an end, mandate and certain objectives. “*

In contrast with the answer above, he held that support structures are much more about permanent solutions than mandated National Dialogues: *“From the viewpoint of support structures it becomes much more structural and much more about institutions and permanent ways and means of solving social, political and economic problems and conflicts in societies.”*

**Malin Herwig, F.** National Dialogues as Change, Dialogue and Reconciliation Instruments: A Discussion on the UN’s Guidance for

Herwig began her answer by reminding that National Dialogues can help in creating a breathing space when there is a political transition. She went further by noting that we should recognize that National Dialogue *“does not exist in a vacuum, it is also a reflection of what is broken in the society at the time it takes place and the time it takes to deal with those issues, is the same space that the National Dialogue is a part of.”* She concluded by saying that only actors themselves can define the time that they need for the process to finalize.

Panel 1 focused on summarizing the reports from workshops.

**Shirley Moulder, A.** Reconciliation as part of a National Dialogue Process

Moulder answered three questions on reconciliation in National Dialogue processes. The first question was how do we create an environment that ensures reconciliation as a fundamental building block of a National Dialogue process? According to Moulder reconciliation is both a building block and an outcome. Moulder answered by asking what type of reconciliation we mean: structural or relational reconciliation? *“Structural reconciliation happens when new political and legal structures that make previously unequal relationships more equal are agreed upon and implemented. Relational reconciliation happens when dialogue processes help replace negative perceptions of the other with more positive perceptions and replace distrust with increased trust, layer by layer.”*

The second question was what instruments must be put in place that enable healing and reconciliation to continue once change has happened? Moulder prioritized the importance of helping children who are caught up in conflict: *“Their healing will take a long time. Children’s role is to play, to learn through play. Far too often at the moment in the world there are far too many children who do not have that privilege.”*

The last question was how do we ensure that women are recognized as critical stakeholders during a ND process? Moulder emphasized two points in particular. One was that actors must advocate for women to be included in all process and *“when necessary face traditional and religious leaders head on when their structures and their traditions do not allow that to*

*happen.*” The second point was that women’s participation in processes must be wide and inclusive: *“women’s peacebuilding contributions are not limited to participation in political dialogues.”*

She concluded by saying: *“My plea is simply, coming to a country, that we be willing to listen and to learn from the people on the ground and not only listen to the elites that are involved with the political dialogues. We owe this to the children of the world. If we do not, we have failed.”*

### **Edla Puoskari, B. Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process**

Puoskari began with asking and answering a question: Why should we involve radical groups and engage with them? *“We may not have any other option. We need to understand who they are and the real goals that are behind them. It is crucial to remember that there is often some reason for radicalization.”*

She then identified three distinct categories that were mentioned in the discussions:

1. Groups may become radical because they were repeatedly publicly humiliated. On the individual level this can be for example because of racism or prejudices at public places like at the airport or train station. If you assume someone is already a radical before being radicalized, this may also lead to that.
2. The second one is horizontal inequality
3. The third one is the destruction of the sense of belonging. Young people not finding their place in societies.

According to Puoskari it is important to *“understand the agendas these radical groups are having and make them transform into political groups.”* The challenges related to this task begin with the definition of radical groups. *“There are radical groups that do not use violent means and then there are radical groups that aim to destroy.”* There are always numerous questions related to this definition: Should we talk to armed groups? How do we identify the quality contacts? Who has legitimacy among their own groups? And how do we identify middlemen?

### **Andrew Marshall, C. Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue**

Marshall began by concluding that there has been a poor track record at the international community on the issues of gender and inclusion, despite normative frameworks that are in place. These include the Security Council resolution 1325 and the fact that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has made the inclusion of women in peace processes one of his major priorities. Marshall noted that the outcome of all these priorities has been that they need more work.

One study mentioned by a speaker in the workshop referenced a study that found that if the current pace of moving forward with gender disparity is kept, it would take at least 250 years before we achieve gender parity. Marshall concluded that there is need for more effective inclusion: *“There are lots of resolutions, papers and talk but it actually needs to move in to a higher gear and move to implementation. We need to pursue affective participation. Let’s not just tick the box; we have some women in the room, we have some marginalized groups in*

*the room, let's make those elements part of an effective exercise.*" At the same time, Marshall noted, it is important to define what inclusivity means, as a shared comprehension of what it means can stop the creation of new divisions.

Marshall remarked that inclusion should be used as both a method and an end: *"And you should use it to open space; it's not just a narrow corridor that some people march down, but it's something where you open up space so that a diversity of ideas and thought can be included into various processes."*

He ended his report by concluding that it is important to pursue a positive inclusive peace over a negative peace. *"The design and the format of any process is as important as the content."* Womens' participation should not be limited to just certain sectors, but it needs to be done in a comprehensive manner, with the right tools and support mechanisms in place and with ensuring that they are secure as they are participating.

**Martine Miller**, E. Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators in National Dialogue Processes

Miller started by going through discussions on defining what is meant by religious and traditional actors. She noted that the working group did not come up with a clear definition, but offered her own interpretation of what could be meant by the term: *"Religious and traditional actors hold authority to represent religion and tradition and have inherent integrity in doing so. There are three kinds of actors we identified in this: devout, heads and key actors of religious institutions and faith-inspired institutions."*

Miller reminded that in many societies religious and traditional identities are vital dimensions to a society and inherently important to conflict-solution. *"Over history we have really failed to identify that."* She continued that recently there has been a distinct rise in the importance of recognizing that religion and traditional identities play a very vital role in society. *"And if we are sidelining those roles we are sidelining something very inherent in transforming those conflicts."* Miller further noted that this is not however a panacea to all problems, but *"in fact there is a huge complication in doing this as well. And some of these actors like others are also a part of the conflict. So how do we work through those dynamics?"*

**Kristiina Rintakoski** concluded the sessions by thanking all the rapporteurs for their work. Rintakoski remarked that *"I believe that the success of this kind of meeting is measured in that to what extent it brings you new knowledge, new inspiration and hope in the difficult processes that you are struggling with in your countries."* As an example from the discussions from the three days in the conference she mentioned a quote from a Syrian participant: *"you cannot understand the pain, if you do not feel it."* Rintakoski concluded that *"the uniqueness of these three days has been that there has been a space where people that are struggling with their processes that have similar pains, challenges, but also successes, have been able to come together and form that network and grow that."*





## Concluding remarks

Wednesday, 18 November 2015 (15.00-15.30)

The concluding remarks were delivered on behalf of the NGO Consortium by **Tarja Kantola**, the chair of the board of Finn Church Aid, and on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by **Elina Kalkku**, the Under-Secretary of State for Development Cooperation and Development Policy.

In her concluding remarks **Tarja Kantola** thanked all the participants and all those who helped to organize the conference. She then summarized the importance of mediation for Finland: *“we have for a long time been known to be active in the disarmament question, but since 2010 we have been very active in mediation. It has been one of the success stories of Finnish foreign policy.”*

She further remarked that in Finland there is new interest towards faith-based activities, and that Finland has something to give to these topics. One example of this new interest, she remarked, is the the new Network of Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, which was established with support from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and whose office is based in New York and partly in Helsinki. *“We as Finns want to be active in these discussions.”*

Kantola concluded by thanking the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and offering a message about possible future conferences: *“Our message is to you that we are ready to continue.”*

In her concluding remarks **Elina Kalkku** thanked speakers, participants and rapporteurs for coming together to share views and expertise on dialogue processes and National Dialogues. Kalkku underlined the importance of the work that the participants and speakers were involved with noting that: *“Your efforts and successful dialogues can be an indispensable key to most problems we face today. Nothing less.”*

Noting the large variety of questions that were raised in the conference Kalkku offered that *“All dialogues require determination, and delicate and demanding work and contribution from all. Good advice may be hard to find. Handbooks and shared experiences help. But in the end you make the path by walking. Many of you know these situations so well.”*

Kalkku also raised the importance of inclusive processes and the cooperation of Governments and active civil society: *“We all know that inclusive peace processes are necessary to deliver sustainable peace agreements and truly lasting peace. For Governments that aim at a right direction in difficult situations, an active civil society can be the best of allies, even when it criticizes the same Governments. The two may actually share the ultimate goals.”*

She further stressed the importance of womens’ participation and leadership role by emphasizing that this is a priority to Finland and *“in any mediation or dialogue effort which aims at achieving a lasting solution.”* Kalkku further noted that both Yemen and Tunisia offer good examples of womens’ contribution to a political transition process.

Kalkku told that Finland is currently outlining a new development policy and mediation support will be one important element in it. She stressed that *“this also means we are going to allocate more resources for these activities.”*

The Under-Secretary of State finished her remarks by concluding that she hopes that the conference *“is not a soon-to-be-forgotten event”* but rather that it would be *“part of a process to strengthen the dialogues as a way to solve difficult national and international problems.”*

**Disclaimer:** *The ideas, opinions, inaccuracies and conclusions expressed in the conference and in this report do not necessarily represent the views of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.*



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## Concept Note

### The Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue Processes and National Dialogues: Experiences from countries in transition

November 16-18, 2015, the House of the Estates (Säätytalo), Helsinki  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland and an International NGO Consortium



The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland is organizing the second conference on non-formal dialogue processes and National Dialogues together with a consortium of NGOs<sup>1</sup> in November 2015 in Helsinki, Finland. This is a continuation of a conference held in April 2014 which enjoyed wide participation and deepened understanding of these processes. This year's conference will again provide a space for joint reflection and in-depth discussion between practitioners, stakeholders and experts involved in or working with dialogue processes in different contexts. Joint analysis of the developments, trends, best practices and challenges pertaining to informal dialogue processes and National Dialogues, including local and national peace infrastructures and inside mediation, is particularly timely in the current context with strong non-state actors as conflict parties.

This year's conference brings together experiences especially from Myanmar, Yemen, Somalia and Tunisia. Through presentation of these countries it will be possible to analyse challenging change processes in the midst of respective mediation and peacebuilding efforts.

#### Background

Interest in supporting mediation and dialogue efforts has been growing in several international, regional and bilateral forums. The Mediation Support Unit (MSU) at the United Nations

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<sup>1</sup> The consortium of NGOs includes Finn Church Aid, Crisis Management Initiative, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Common Space Initiative (CSI/UNDP-BPPS) as well as the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, whose Secretariat Finn Church Aid is hosting. Finn Church Aid also hosts the Secretariat for National Dialogue II Conference and is therefore responsible for practical arrangements for the Conference.

Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) provides financial, technical and logistical support to peace processes. In 2010, Finland and Turkey convened the Group of Friends of Mediation in the United Nations which currently includes 41 countries and eight regional organizations active in mediation. Three UN resolutions have been adopted under the auspices of the Friends of Mediation to establish the United Nations as the setter of standards in mediation. Finland, Switzerland and Turkey have founded a similar “Friends of Mediation” group in the regional organization of OSCE and Finland has established the European Union “Friends of Mediation” with Spain. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been involved in mediating conflicts such as Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia-South Ossetia and decreasing ethnic tensions in Kyrgyzstan.

In addition to other violent conflicts, international mediation actors have been increasingly challenged by the primary form of conflict in our times, civil war, which causes unimaginable devastation and suffering in countries and regions from the macro to micro levels. These intra-state conflicts mostly take place in poor countries and massive indirect casualties are incurred through violence, insecurity, deprivation and disease. They also increasingly include regional dimensions. With almost 60 million people currently displaced – mostly due to internal conflicts – the level of human suffering is immense and the cost of addressing the refugee crisis huge. There is growing understanding that these conflicts cannot be solved solely by external actors or official processes. This has led local, national and international partners to adjust and jointly develop new approaches to mediation and dialogue.

Several international actors – such as the World Bank, the UN Development Programme and the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding – have invested in addressing fragility, peacebuilding and inclusive national dialogue. Furthermore, the 2030 agenda and especially the SDG 16 on just, peaceful and inclusive societies are set to strengthen the international focus on peace within society as opposed to national security or peace between states. The mediation community has also undertaken various efforts focusing on gathering, developing and sharing knowledge and experiences of National Dialogues. The MSU is working on a Guidance Note on National Dialogue, a consortium of national and international partners have created a global Peace and Dialogue Platform for National Dialogues and Change processes, Berghof Foundation is developing a National Dialogue Handbook, whereas the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and HD Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue are in the process of developing knowledge resources emerging from National Dialogues. UNDP has published a guidance note on supporting insider mediation and continues to contribute key learnings from different National Dialogue processes through its own involvement in national peace support processes as well as the UNDP funded Practice to Theory (P2T)-initiative. Nationally, Finland has grown the capacity and expertise of its own NGOs to support mediation and national dialogue from the elite level to grassroots efforts with Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), founded by President Martti Ahtisaari, Finn Church Aid (FCA) and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM).

Intra- and inter-religious dialogue as well as inclusion of religious and traditional actors in other dialogues can positively contribute to many peace processes and to the preparation of national dialogues. Religious and traditional actors, for example faith-oriented insider mediators, have a significant role in finding sustainable solutions to conflicts as a result of their exceptional knowledge of the local context, moral authority and up-to-date understanding about the conflict situation. Insider mediators – working often behind the scenes – use their influence and legitimacy to constructively alter the behavior and relationships of parties in

conflict.<sup>2</sup> Using facilitation, dialogue and mediation, they work horizontally and vertically, formally and informally, at local, regional and national levels.

In addition, political conflict, which may include religious undercurrents or violent extremism, needs to be understood and challenged in order to improve the sustainability of dialogue processes. At the same time, faith and tradition-oriented dialogues need to be complemented by other more inclusive peace support mechanisms, to ensure human rights at large are taken into account.

Local peace efforts should be augmented by supporting the conflicting parties in addressing their interests and achieving reconciliation through inclusive mediation (and self-mediation) processes both within and between opposing parties. Such approaches help to ensure a negotiated peace that is rooted in the local realities, and is inclusive and sustainable, while increasing the resilience of states to future conflicts and promoting a culture of peaceful approaches toward conflict resolution.

### **Conference Objective**

The overall objective of the conference is to provide a forum for national stakeholders, facilitators and international experts to share and reflect together on their experiences from non-formal dialogue processes and National Dialogues in the current changing landscape, especially in fragile states and other areas affected by fragile situations. The conference provides a space for peer-to-peer reflections and deepens the common understanding on the various forms of non-formal dialogue processes and formally mandated National Dialogues, safety net/support processes and peace infrastructures. The conference will explore mediation in different change processes. Local stakeholders will gain insights for the design and implementation of their national and sub-national dialogue processes through comparative case studies, policy options, advice for process design and participation in international networks. In order to maximize clarity and benefits of the conference, it will be arranged according to the proposed open framework of change processes that are emerging. The primary countries will be Somalia, Myanmar, Yemen and Tunisia. Representatives from other countries such as the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Lebanon, Ukraine as well as Libya will be in attendance and their countries highlighted under thematic workshops in order to enable south-south-north mutual learning opportunities.

The more specific objectives for the conference are six-fold: firstly, the conference will create a space for joint reflection and in-depth discussion on non-formal dialogue processes, National Dialogues and mediation between practitioners, stakeholders, and experts on developments, trends, best practices and challenges including local and national peace infrastructures and inside mediation, especially in the current context with strong non-state-actors as conflicting parties; secondly, it will strengthen shared knowledge development and establish direct links between different country stakeholders, resource organizations and practitioners; thirdly, the conference will share relevant tools and develop recommendations (for example on process design, for inclusion, etc.) that can be utilized by stakeholders and practitioners; fourthly, the conference will bring together country actors and international practitioners from various countries in varying stages of the change process in order to best facilitate mutual learning; fifthly, the conference will concentrate on the inclusion of women, youth, minorities and other

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<sup>2</sup> UNDP: Supporting Insider Mediation: Strengthening Resilience to Conflict and Turbulence. Guidance Note. <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/crisis%20prevention/Supporting-Insider-Mediation---Strengthening-Resilience-to-Conflict-and-Turbulence--EU%20Guidance%20Note.pdf>

often excluded groups into peace processes for more balanced, sustainable outcomes; and sixthly, the conference will underline local and national ownership of peace processes and identify channels for international support.

### **Key Conference Concepts: National Dialogue, non-formal dialogue processes, inside mediation, gender**

Our open definitions of the evolving concepts of National Dialogue, non-formal dialogue processes, and inside mediation and their contexts will guide the logical flow of the programme and frame the discussions taking place within the sessions. We understand National Dialogue and non-formal dialogue processes as tools in a national process of change. While mediation is a tool applicable in reaching agreements at critical stages in the process of change and in advancing dialogue, National Dialogue has a specific role in rebuilding the social contract between society and government following times of extreme crisis. National Dialogues are formal extra-constitutional mechanisms to address specific issues and root causes of the conflict when constitutional mechanisms have failed. They are put in place to fix broken systems because existing structures do not accommodate all those involved. The goal of National Dialogue is to move away from elite-focused deal making by creating space for diverse interests to influence the transitional negotiations (although not, crucially, the political negotiations that lead to a ceasefire or a first framework agreement). As shown in the title of the conference, this event concentrates not only on formal National Dialogues, but also on non-formal dialogue processes as an essential part of the change process. These non-formal dialogue processes can take place prior to and parallel to formal processes.

The term “Inside Mediation” refers to peace processes and dialogues conducted by actors in/from the country in question for internal issues and conflicts. Unlike in many mediation sessions where a third party guides negotiations between parties for an inclusive outcome, for the purpose of this conference the insider mediator(s) is an influential and respected member of the society in question.

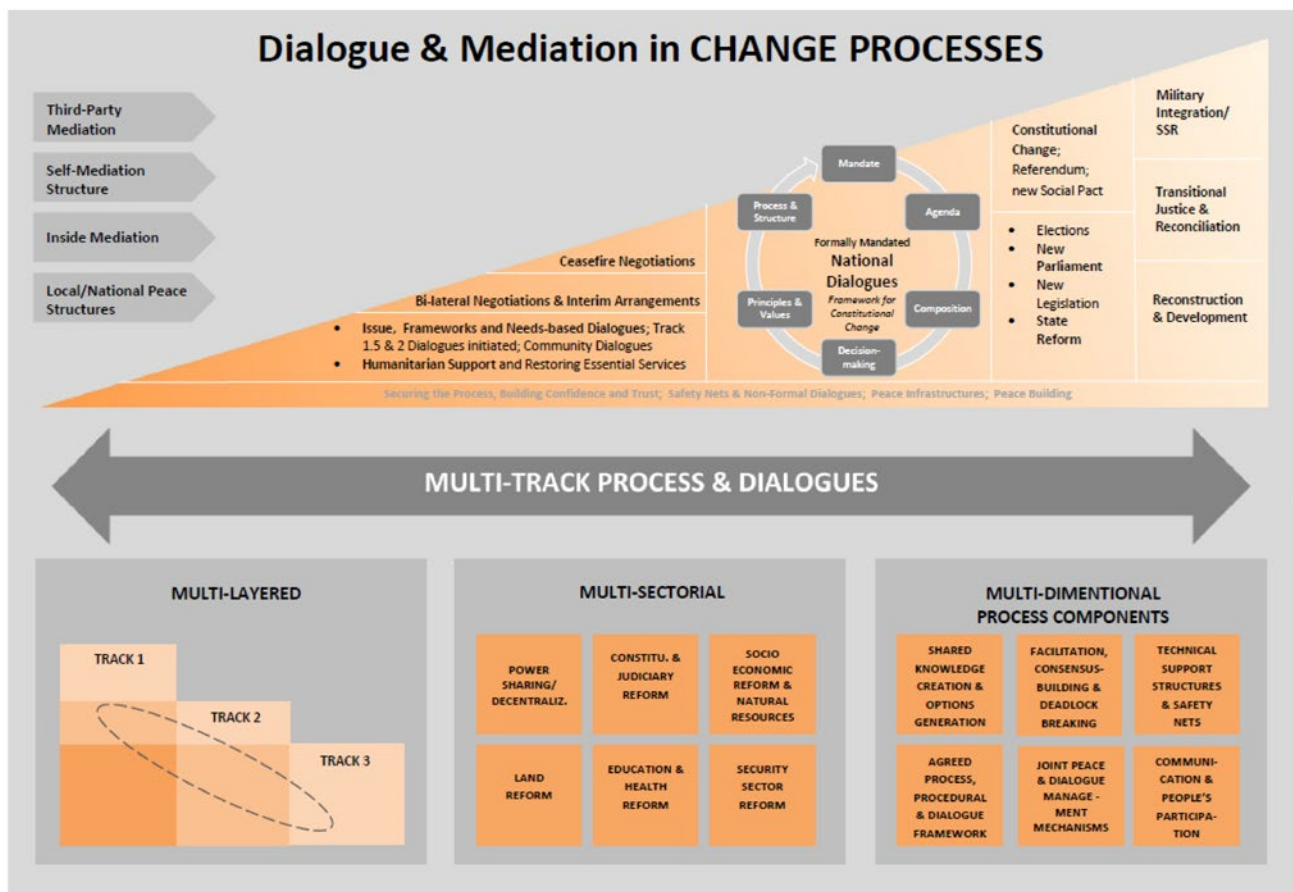
Multi-layered dialogue is critical to supporting processes of political change. Dialogue can take place on the following tracks: at the grassroots (Track 3), on mid-level including civil society and other stakeholders (Track 2), and high level political and military elites (Track 1). Some experts also include Track 1.5, signifying dialogue between official and non-official public persons and organizations. The effectiveness of multi-layered dialogue is increased at times through cross-track mechanisms, trying to identify relevant and inclusive elements from all tracks. The existence of these dialogue efforts before and/or in parallel to the formal process supports and enables a change process and is crucial for restarting efforts when high level negotiation efforts break down. Many change processes partially fail and are then reconstructed – which makes the creation of long-term safety nets and non-formal transformation processes essential. As expressed during the 2014 National Dialogue conference, “dialogue should never stop” – in whatever form the specific phase of the process requires. Due to this fact, all dialogue tracks will be included in conference discussions.

Dialogue and mediation processes mirror the existing power structures of society. This makes gender a particularly critical issue in dialogue and mediation processes as women have universally less access to and representation in power structures, and as women and men have been shown by research to have different experiences of and perspectives on conflict and options for its resolution. Not only should a gender balance be promoted in peace negotiations to promote more inclusive conflict settlements resulting in better balanced power structures

but also the use of a gendered perspective must be ensured. The National Dialogue and Internal Mediation Processes conference will integrate a gender outlook on each thematic issue, and identify ways of promoting gender inclusivity in accordance with UN Resolution 1325 and following resolutions.

### Conference Concept Diagram

The figure below captures some of the dialogue and mediation mechanisms in the anatomy of an overall change process. It is a diagram to facilitate discussion on developing open frameworks for shared understanding of complex and evolving processes. It is not simply a linear continuum, but rather a complex, multi-layered and multi-dimensional process in which the different stages, presented below, can recur or take place simultaneously. The change process includes the non-linear processes prior and following the National Dialogue. Various forms of mediation, shown as third-party mediation, self-mediation structures, inside mediation and local/national peace structures, augment the change process at critical points. The process is also continuously reinforced by multitrack dialogue in various sectors and processes displayed below functioning as safety net mechanisms and support dialogues to break the political deadlocks. The countries to be examined in particular detail during the conference are depicted under the chart roughly at the stage that they are currently experiencing: Somalia is still experiencing some conflict with multiple efforts underway to build confidence toward a formal National Dialogue, post-election Myanmar will revisit its plans for a National Dialogue process while Yemen and Tunisia have both conducted a National Dialogue but have had mixed results in implementation.





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# The Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue Processes and National Dialogues: Experiences from countries in transition

16 November – 18 November 2015  
The House of the Estates (Säätötaló), Helsinki



## SUNDAY, 15 NOVEMBER 2015

12:00–	ARRIVALS
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## MONDAY, 16 NOVEMBER 2015

8:00–8:45	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
8:45–09:15	<b>WELCOMING SESSION</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>· <b>Peter Stenlund</b>, Secretary of State, Finland</li></ul>
09:15–10:30	<b>OPENING SESSION</b> <p>Chair: <b>Pekka Haavisto</b>, Special Representative of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland on Mediation with special focus on Africa</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>· <b>Sheikh Abdallah bin Mahfudh ibn Bayyah</b>, President, Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies Abu-Dhabi, UAE</li><li>· <b>Thania Paffenholz</b>, PhD, Director, Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (IPTI), The Graduate Institute, Geneva</li></ul>



10.30–11:00	COFFEE BREAK
11:00–12:30	<p><b>PLENARY SESSION: Conclusions on ND I Seminar and Conceptual Discussion: What makes National Dialogue? Where do we need Non-Formal Dialogues?</b></p> <p>Chair: <b>Anne Sipiläinen</b>, Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Security Policy, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Hannes Siebert</b>, Senior Adviser, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Director, Peace Appeal Foundation</li> <li>· <b>Roxaneh Bazergan</b>, Team Leader of Mediation Support Unit and Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA)</li> <li>· <b>Antti Pentikäinen</b>, Convener, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> <li>· <b>Michael Miller</b>, Deputy Head of Division for Conflict prevention, Peace Building and Mediation instruments, EEAS</li> </ul>
12:30–13:30	LUNCH
13:30–15:30	<p><b>PARALLEL SESSIONS 1: Countries Early in the Change Process</b></p> <p><b>A. Myanmar (Room 23)</b></p> <p>Facilitator: <b>Sao Harn Yawnghwe</b>, Executive Director, Euro-Burma Office</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Myo Yan Naung Thein</b>, Director, BAYDA Institute and Secretary, Central Committee for Research and Strategy Studies, National League for Democracy</li> <li>· <b>Thuzar Thant</b>, Coordinator of state-based Common Spaces and dialogue forums, EBO</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Dr. Timo R. Stewart</b>, The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission</li> </ul> <p><b>B. Somalia (Room 15)</b></p> <p>Co-facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Mahdi Abdile</b>, Research Fellow, European Institute for Peace</li> <li>· <b>Jama Egal</b>, Programme Manager, FCA Somalia</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Osman Mohamed Ali</b>, Constitution and Reconciliation Minister, Galmudug State</li> <li>· <b>Mohammed Abdinur</b>, Senior Special Advisor to the ISWA President</li> <li>· <b>Farah Mohamud Egal</b>, Advisor to president, Galmudug State</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Ali Ibrahim</b>, Programme Manager, FCA Somalia</li> </ul>
15:30–16:00	COFFEE BREAK

<p>16:00– 18:00</p>	<p><b>PARALLEL SESSIONS 2: Countries Having Undergone Significant Change Process Efforts</b></p> <p><b>A. Tunisia (Room 15)</b></p> <p>Facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Adib Nehme</b>, Deputy Chair and Senior Facilitator, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Senior Regional Expert and Adviser at UN-ESCWA for MENA region</li> <li>· <b>Mehrezia Labidi</b>, former Deputy Speaker of the Transitional Parliament</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Mohamed Msalmi, Assistant Secretary-General</b>, Tunisian Labor Union</li> <li>· <b>Radwan Masmoudi</b>, Head of Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Tunis</li> <li>· <b>Amine Ghali</b>, Director, Kawakibi</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Maya Outayek</b>, Shared Knowledge Coordinator and Librarian at the Common Space Initiative/UNDP.</li> </ul> <p><b>B. Yemen (Room 23)</b></p> <p>Facilitator:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Maruan El Krekshi</b>, CMI</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Dr Elham Manea</b>, Associate Professor, University of Zurich</li> <li>· <b>Dr Susanne Dahlgren</b>, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore</li> <li>· <b>Afrah Azzoubah</b>, Deputy Secretary-General of the National Dialogue Secretariat</li> <li>· <b>Adam Baron</b>, Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies and European Council on Foreign Relations</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Emmi Hänninen</b>, Project Manager, CMI</li> </ul>
<p>19:00</p>	<p><b>BUFFET DINNER (for Speakers, Moderators and invited Participants)</b></p>

**TUESDAY, 17 NOVEMBER 2015**

<p><b>8:30–9:00</b></p>	<p><b>PLENARY SESSION: Introduction to Workshops</b>  Moderator: Rev. <b>Aaro Rytkönen</b>, Ecumenical Envoy, Finn Church Aid</p>
<p><b>9:00–10:00</b></p>	<p><b>PARALLEL WORKSHOPS (A–D), SERIES 1</b>  Co-facilitated by country context partners and organizations with relevant expertise</p> <p><b>A. Reconciliation as part of a National Dialogue process (FELM, Peace Appeal, EBO)(Room 17)</b></p> <p>Co-facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Shirley Moulder</b>, Member of the Board, Peace Appeal Foundation, and Founding Trustee, Southern Africa Trust</li> <li>· Rev. <b>Rolf Steffansson</b>, Director, Department for International Cooperation, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Prof. <b>Barney Pitjana</b>, President of Convocation, University of Capetown</li> <li>· <b>Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj</b>, Senior Coordinator, Syria Initiative</li> <li>· <b>Ashin Panna</b>, Buddhist Teacher, Myanmar</li> </ul> <p>Comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Jeff Seul</b>, Chairman, Peace Appeal Foundation</li> <li>· <b>Sao Harn Yawnghwe</b>, Executive Director, Euro-Burma Office</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Jeff Seul</b>, Chairman, Peace Appeal Foundation</li> </ul> <p><b>B. Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process (Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers in collaboration with its network organisations: FCA, EIP, Sant'Egidio and others) (Room 23)</b></p> <p>Facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Antti Pentikäinen</b>, Convener, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Eliza Urwin</b>, Senior Program Officer, Afghanistan, United States Institute of Peace</li> <li>· <b>Chetan Kumar</b>, Senior Conflict Prevention Advisor, Governance and Peacebuilding Cluster, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP</li> <li>· <b>Abdullahi Abdi Farah</b>, Mediator and Human activity, Somalia</li> <li>· <b>Giancarlo Penza</b>, International Relationship Office, Comunita' Di Sant'Egidio</li> <li>· <b>Tamrat Samuel Gebreyesus</b>, former Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Liberia (2013-2015) and in Nepal (2007-2008)</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Edla Puoskari</b>, Liaison Officer, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> </ul>

	<p><b>C. Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue(CMI) (Room 15)</b></p> <p>Facilitator:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Andrew Marshall</b>, Senior Adviser on Mediation, Crisis Management Initiative</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Zahra' Langhi</b>, Co-founder of Libyan Women's Platform for Peace</li> <li>• Prof. <b>John Packer</b>, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre of the University of Ottawa</li> <li>• Dr <b>Eleanor O'Gorman</b>, Director of Policy and Practice, Conciliation Resources; Senior Associate, University of Cambridge</li> <li>• <b>Ann-Sofie Stude</b>, Ambassador for UNSCR 1325 (Women, Peace and Security), MFA Finland</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Eemeli Isoaho</b>, Project Officer, CMI</li> </ul> <p><b>D. Building capacity for self- mediation, deadlock-breaking, consensus-building and people's participatory processes into the change mechanisms (CSI, PAF and UNDP-BPPS) (Room 3)</b></p> <p>Co-facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Hannes Siebert</b>, Senior Adviser, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Director, Peace Appeal Foundation</li> <li>• <b>Sanna Tasala</b>, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Specialist, UNDP Arab States Regional Hub.</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bishnu Sapkota</b>, Senior Adviser and General Secretary NTTP/UNDP, Nepal</li> <li>• <b>Thuzar Thant</b>, Coordinator of state-based Common Spaces and dialogue forums, EBO Burma</li> <li>• Dr <b>Thusitha Tennakoon</b>, Director of One-Text Initiative, Sri Lanka</li> <li>• <b>Maria Zeniou</b>, Co-coordinator of Cyprus Dialogue Forum, Cyprus</li> <li>• Dr <b>Karam Karam</b>, Co-Director and Head of Research, Common Space Initiative/ UNDP, Lebanon</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Soha Frem</b>, Senior Project Manager, CSI-UNDP</li> </ul>
10:00–10:30	COFFEE BREAK
10:30–12:30	PARALLEL WORKSHOPS (A-D), SERIES 1 CONTINUES

12:30–14:00	LUNCH
14:00–17:30	<p><b>PARALLEL WORKSHOPS (E-H), SERIES 2</b></p> <p>Co-facilitated by country context partners and organizations with relevant expertise</p> <p><b><i>E. Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators in National Dialogues Processes (FCA, Berghof Foundation, Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers) (Room 15)</i></b></p> <p>Facilitators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Pekka Metso</b>, Ambassador for Intercultural Dialogue Processes, MFA Finland</li> <li>· Prof. <b>Mohammed Abu-Nimer</b>, Senior Adviser, KAICIID Dialogue Centre</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Luxshi Vimalarajah</b>, Programme Director, Berghof Foundation</li> <li>· Dr. <b>Mohamed Elsanousi</b>, Director of DC Office, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> <li>· <b>Chetan Kumar</b>, Senior Conflict Prevention Advisor, Governance and Peacebuilding Cluster, Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, UNDP</li> <li>· <b>Alvaro Albacete</b>, Deputy Secretary General for External Relations, KAICIID Dialogue Centre</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Martine Miller</b>, Senior Consultant, The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> </ul> <p><b><i>F. National Dialogues as Change, Dialogue and Reconciliation Instruments: A Discussion on the UN's guidance framework for National Dialogues.</i></b></p> <p><b><i>(CSI, DPA/MSU) (Room 17)</i></b></p> <p>Facilitator:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Andries Odendaal</b>, Senior Adviser, IJR and Centre for Mediation in Africa</li> <li>· <b>Pekka Haavisto</b>, Special Representative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland on Mediation with special focus on Africa.</li> </ul> <p>Speakers/Resource Persons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Roxaneh Bazergan</b>, Team Leader of Mediation Support Unit, and Senior Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Department of Political Affairs (UNDP)</li> <li>· <b>Hannes Siebert</b>, Senior Adviser, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Director, Peace Appeal Foundation</li> <li>· Prof. <b>Walid Moubarak</b>, Member of National Dialogue Steering Committee, Lebanon</li> </ul> <p>Rapporteur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Malin Herwig</b>, Policy Specialist, UNDP</li> </ul>

**G. Support structures for officially mandated National Dialogue Processes (CMI) (Room 3)**

Facilitator:

- **Oskari Eronen**, Manager, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, CMI

Speakers:

- Prof. **John Packer**, Director, Human Rights Research and Education Centre of the University of Ottawa
- **Chukwuemeka B. Eze**, Executive Director for the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
- **Derek Brown**, Randolph Jennings Senior Fellow on national dialogue & Secretary and Executive Director of the Peace Appeal Foundation
- **Denis Matveev**, Programme Adviser to CMI's Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia programme.

Rapporteur:

- **Oskari Eronen**, Manager, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, CMI

**H. Shared Knowledge Creation (FELM, EBO) (Room 23)**

Facilitator:

- Dr **Timo R. Stewart**, Project Manager, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission

Speakers:

- Dr **Karam Karam**, Co-Director and Head of Research, Common Space Initiative/ UNDP
- **Sajana Maharjan**, Acting Executive Director, Nepal Transitions to Peace
- **Mahmoud Ramadan**, Strategic Development Coordinator, Syria Initiative
- **Pao Hom**, Pyidaungsu Institute

Rapporteur:

- **Sanna Tasala**, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Specialist, UNDP Arab States Regional Hub.

**WEDNESDAY, 18 NOVEMBER 2015**

<p><b>9:00–9.30</b></p>	<p><b>PLENARY SESSION: Presentation on Conflict Analysis</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Jerry White</b>, President, Global Impact Strategies, Inc; Executive chair, Global Covenant Partners; Professor of Practice, University of Virginia</li> <li>· <b>Amir Bagherpour</b>, Chief Political Scientist and Director of Analysis, Global Impact Strategies Inc.</li> </ul>
<p><b>9.30–11.30</b></p>	<p><b>PLENARY SESSION: Current Conflict Dynamics in the Middle East - the Challenges for Mediation and National Dialogues</b></p> <p>Moderator: <b>Lars Backström</b>, Ambassador for Mediation Tasks with focus on Asia, MFA Finland</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Paolo Lembo</b>, UN Resident Coordinator for Yemen and UNDP Resident Representative for Yemen</li> <li>· <b>Jerry White</b>, President, Global Impact Strategies, Inc; Executive chair, Global Covenant Partners; Professor of Practice, University of Virginia</li> <li>· <b>Elizabeth Murray</b>, Senior Program Officer, Middle East &amp; Africa, USIP</li> <li>· <b>Dr Qamar-ul Huda</b>, Senior Advisor, Office of Religion &amp; Global Affairs, Office of Secretary John Kerry, U.S. Department of State</li> <li>· <b>Adib Nehme</b>, Deputy Chair and Senior Facilitator, Common Space Initiative/UNDP, and Senior Regional Expert and Adviser at UN-ESCWA for MENA region</li> </ul>
<p><b>11:30–12.30</b></p>	<p><b>LUNCH</b></p>
<p><b>12:30–15:00</b></p>	<p><b>PLENARY SESSION: Conclusion and Summary</b></p> <p>Moderators:</p> <p><b>Kristiina Rintakoski</b>, Director, Advocacy, FELM</p> <p>Dr <b>Ville Brummer</b>, Programme Director, CMI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Reports from the working groups</li> <li>· Report from the conference rapporteurs:</li> </ul> <p><b>Panel 1</b></p> <p><i>D. Building capacity for self- mediation, deadlock-breaking, consensus-building and people's participatory processes into the change mechanisms</i></p> <p><i>F. National Dialogues as Change, Dialogue and Reconciliation Instruments: A Discussion on the UN's guidance framework for National Dialogues.</i></p> <p><i>G. Support structures for officially mandated National Dialogue Processes</i></p> <p><i>H. Shared Knowledge Creation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Soha Frem</b>, Senior Project Manager, CSI-UNDP</li> <li>· <b>Malin Herwig</b>, Policy Specialist, UNDP</li> <li>· <b>Oskari Eronen</b>, Manager, Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, CMI</li> <li>· <b>Sanna Tasala</b>, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Specialist, UNDP Arab States Regional Hub.</li> </ul>

15.00-15.30	<p><b>Panel 2</b></p> <p><i>A. Reconciliation as part of a National Dialogue process</i></p> <p><i>B. Involvement of Radical Groups in a Change Process</i></p> <p><i>C. Gender and Inclusion in National Dialogue</i></p> <p><i>E. Religious and Traditional Actors as Insider Mediators in National Dialogues Processes</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Shirley Moulder</b>, Member of the Board, Peace Appeal Foundation, and Founding Trustee, Southern Africa Trust</li> <li>· <b>Edla Puoskari</b>, Liaison Officer, Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> <li>· <b>Eemeli Isoaho</b>, Project Officer, CMI</li> <li>· <b>Martine Miller</b>, Senior Consultant, Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers</li> </ul> <p>Concluding remarks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· <b>Tarja Kantola</b>, Chair of FCA Board</li> <li>· <b>Elina Kalkku</b>, Under-Secretary of State, Development Cooperation and Development Policy, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland</li> </ul>
15:30	<b>COFFEE AND DEPARTURES</b>





ULKOASIAINMINISTERIÖ  
UTRIKESMINISTERIET

# The Second Conference on Non-Formal Dialogue Processes and National Dialogues: Experiences from Countries in Transition

16 November – 18 November 2015  
The House of the Estates (Säätötaló), Helsinki



## List of Speakers, Participants and Observers (Including Conference Team)

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Aaro Rytkönen        | The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers                      |
| 2. Abdallah bin Mahfudh | ibn Bayyah Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies                   |
| 3. Abdullahi Abdi Farah | Somalia  |
| 4. Adam Baron           | European Council on Foreign Relations, Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies |
| 5. Adib Nehme           | CSI/UNDP   |
| 6. Aila Waismaa         | FCA  |
| 7. Alaa Murabit         | The Voice of Libyan Women  |
| 8. Ali Ibrahim Dayow    | FCA  |
| 9. Amanul Haq           | OIC  |
| 10. Amer Hasan Fayyadh  | University of Baghdad  |
| 11. Amine Ghali         | Kawakibi   |
| 12. Amir Bagherpour     | Global Impact Strategies Inc.  |
| 13. Andrea Seucan       | MFA/Romania  |
| 14. Andrew Marshall     | CMI  |
| 15. Anisa Doty          |  |
| 16. Anne Palm           | Wider Security Network   |

17. Annina Hentinen	Consortium secretariat
18. Annina Peltonen	Consortium secretariat
19. Ann-Sofie Stude	MFA/Finland
20. Antti Pentikäinen	The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
21. Anu Ala-Rantala	MFA/Finland
22. Ari Vitikainen	Suomen Lähetysseura
23. Arne Jan Flolo	MFA/Norway
24. Ashin Panna	Myanmar
25. Asmaa Kftarou	Feminist Lobby
26. Barney Pityana	University of Capetown
27. Batulo Essak	
28. Bishnu Sapkota	NTTP/UNDP
29. Brigitta von Messling	Federal Foreign Office of Germany
30. Caomh Kelt	Embassy of Ireland
31. Cassandra Lawrence	Al Amana Center
32. Charlotte Keppel	Peace and Dialogue Platform
33. Cheikhna bin Bayyah	Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies
34. Chetan Kumar	UNDP
35. Cho Cho Aung	Bayda Institute
36. Christopher Louise	UNDP
37. Chukwuemeka B. Eze	WANEP
38. Dato' Blanche Olbery	MFA/Malaysia
39. David Lanz	OSCE
40. Deepika Singh	Religions for Peace
41. Derek Brown	Peace Appeal Foundation
42. Devrin Jeck	MFA/Malaysia
43. Dina Bennani	Kingdom of Morocco
44. Douglas Leonard	Al Amana Center/The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
45. Duke Burbridge	International Center for Religion & Diplomacy
46. Edla Puoskari	The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
47. Edward Marques	The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers/LIAS
48. Eemeli Isoaho	CMI
49. Eija Rotinen	MFA/Finland
50. Eleanor O'Gorman	Conciliation Resources
51. Elham Manea	University of Zurich
52. Elina Lehtinen	CMI
53. Eliza Urwin	USIP
54. Elizabeth Murray	USIP
55. Emmi Hänninen	CMI
56. Erbay Akansoy	Cyprus Dialogue Forum
57. Eva Ziedan	COSV Civil Society Support Project
58. Evren Dağdelen Akgün	MFA/Turkey
59. Frej Stambouli	
60. Fulvia Benavides	Slovenia
61. Giancarlo Penza	Community of Sant'Egidio
62. Hannes Siebert	CSI/UNDP
63. Hannu Heinonen	MFA/Finland
64. Harn Yawngwe	Euro-Burma Office
65. Hayder Al-Darraj	National Reconciliation Commission's Youth Movement

66. Heidi Huuhtanen	CMI
67. Humphrey Peters	Church of Pakistan
68. Hunderra Assefa	
69. Hussein Al-Hindawi	Iraq
70. Hussein Al-Tae	CMI
71. Itonde Kakoma	CMI
72. Jaakko Jakkila	MFA/Finland
73. Jabber al-Jabber	Iraq
74. Jama Egal	FCA
75. Janne Oksanen	MFA/Finland
76. Jeff Seul	Peace Appeal Foundation
77. Jennifer Freeman	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice/ WomenPeacemakers Program
78. Jerry White	Global Impact Strategies Inc.
79. Joanna Lindén-Montes	FELM
80. Joel Linnainmäki	National Dialogue Conference Secretariat
81. Johanna Leppänen	FCA
82. John Packer	University of Ottawa
83. Jonathan Harlander	HD-Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
84. Jonna Haapanen	Demo ry
85. Juha Christensen	PACTA
86. Julia Amoo	FCA
87. Jussi Nummelin	MFA/Finland
88. Jussi Ojala	FCA
89. Kalle Sysikaski	AEPF
90. Karam Karam	CSI/UNDP
91. Katariina Väisänen	The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
92. Katja Palokangas	Consortium
93. Katja Pehrman	MFA/Finland
94. Katri Malmi	Consortium
95. Katri Viinikka	MFA/Finland
96. Katri Viinikka	MFA/Finland
97. Khalid Nasser	Iraq
98. Kjell-Åke Nordqvist	The Åland Island Peace Institute
99. Kristian Melander	FELM
100. Kristiina Rintakoski	FELM
101. Lars Bäckström	MFA/Finland
102. Lassi Härmälä	Demo ry
103. Laura Nordström	EP
104. Laura Salonen	CMI
105. Laura Seppälä	CMI
106. Laura Vanhanen	FCA
107. Lauratuulia Lehtinen	MFA/Finland
108. Lea Pakkanen	FELM
109. Luxshi Vimalarajah	Berghof Foundation
110. Mahdi Abdile	European Institute for Peace
111. Mahendra Bhattarai	Christian Commitment Building New Nepal
112. Mahmoud Ramadan	Syria Initiative
113. Malin Herwig	UNDP-BPPS MENA Program, Jordan
114. Manal Nasraddine	League of Arab States

115. Maria Mekri SaferGlobe
116. Maria Serenius Foundation of the Finnish Institute in the Middle East
117. Maria Zeniou Cyprus Dialogue Forum
118. Marko Lehti University of Tampere
119. Marleena Lammikko Consortium
120. Martine Miller The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
121. Maruan El Krekshi CMI
122. Mathew Lawrence Tony Blair Faith Foundation
123. Matthew Lavine US State Department
124. Matthias Wevelsiep FCA
125. Matti Karvanen MFA/Finland
126. Matti Ojanperä Peace and Reconciliation
127. Maya Outayek CSI/UNDP
128. Mehrezia Labidi Tunisia
129. Michael Miller European External Action Service
130. Michael Weeder St. George Cathedral, Cape Town
131. Mikko Koivumaa FCA
132. Milla Perukangas FCA
133. Minna Kukkonen Office of President Ahtisaari
134. Minna Saarnivaara FELM
135. Mir Mubashir Berghof Foundation
136. Mohamed Alajil KALAM Research and Media
137. Mohamed Abdinur ISWA Somalia
138. Mohamed Elsanousi The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
139. Mohamed Htewish The Libyan Institute for Advanced Studies
140. Mohamed Mahjoub Boye Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies
141. Mohamed Msalmi Tunisian Labour Union (UGTT)
142. Mohamed Zerktouni Kingdom of Morocco
143. Mohammad Salman Iraq
144. Mohammed Abu-Nimer KAICIID Dialogue Centre
145. Mohammed Ariad Kingdom of Morocco
146. Moosa Elayah Radboud Universiteit
147. Munib Younan The Lutheran World Federation
148. Myo Yan Naung Thein National League for Democracy
149. Natalia Djandjgava CMI
150. Nicole Providoli MFA/Switzerland
151. Noora Luomaranta Consortium
152. Omar Abdulaziz Hallaj Syria Initiative
153. Oskari Eronen CMI
154. Osman Mohamed Ali Galmudug State Somalia
155. Otto Turtonen National Dialogue Conference Secretariat
156. Pallavi Sekhri Columbia University
157. Pao Hom Pyidaungsu Institute
158. Paolo Lembo UN/UNDP
159. Paula Tarvainen The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers
160. Pekka Metso MFA/Finland
161. Pekka Puustinen MFA/Finland
162. Petri Wanner MFA/Finland
163. Pinja Parkkonen YK-nuoret
164. Qamar ul-Huda US State Department

165.	Radwan Masmoudi	Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Tunis
166.	Raija Hurskainen	FELM
167.	Raili Lahnalampi	MFA/Finland
168.	Rauno Merisaari	MFA/Finland
169.	Rilli Lappalainen	Kynnys ry
170.	Rolf Steffansson	FELM
171.	Roxaneh Bazergan	UNDPA
172.	Sajana Maharjan	Nepal Transitions to Peace
173.	Salla Matilainen	FELM
174.	Salla Uusitalo	Consortium
175.	Samuli Lahtinen	Consortium
176.	Sanna Tasala	UNDP
177.	Sarah Snyder	Religions for Peace
178.	Sari Rautio	MFA/Finland
179.	Satu Helin	FCA
180.	Satu Kantola	FELM
181.	Seppo Rissanen	FELM
182.	Shirley Moulder	Peace Appeal Foundation
183.	Sidina Sidi	Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies
184.	Soha Frem	CSI/UNDP
185.	Susanne Dahlgren	National University of Singapore
186.	Susanne Kuha	Consortium
187.	Tamrat Samuel	Gebreyesus UN
188.	Tanja Honkonen	Consortium
189.	Tanja Korkalainen	FCA
190.	Tanja Viikki	MFA/Finland
191.	Tarja Kantola	FCA
192.	Tarmo Heikkilä	FELM
193.	Thania Paffenholz	Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative
194.	Thomas Crick	Carter Center
195.	Thusitha Tennakoon	One-text Initiative
196.	Thuzar Thant	EBO
197.	Tiina Jortikka-Laitinen	MFA/Finland
198.	Timo R. Stewart	FELM
199.	Touko Piiparinen	MFA/Finland
200.	Trisha Riedy	United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
201.	Tuija Talvitie	CMI
202.	Tuomas Meurman	Consortium
203.	Ufuk Gocken	OIC
204.	Walid Moubarak	National Dialogue Steering Committee
205.	Vesa Jaakola	MFA/Finland
206.	Ville Brummer	CMI
207.	Vlad Corbu	DAG
208.	Zahra' Langhi	Libyan Women's Platform for Peace
209.	Zeshan Zafar	Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies
210.	Åsa Wallendahl	MFA/Finland



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