



National Dialogues Conference

2022

Conference Report

The Fifth Conference on National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes

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Conference Report

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Ministry for Foreign
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The Network
for Religious
& Traditional
Peacemakers



CMI MARTTI AHTISAARI
PEACE FOUNDATION





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01. Introduction

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland together with a Consortium of NGOs consisting of Finn Church Aid (FCA), Felm, and CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation organised the fifth conference on National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes in June 2022 in Helsinki, Finland. The conference on National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes is a unique event. It provides a safe and inclusive space for joint reflection and in-depth discussion between the invited stakeholders and experts working with peace mediation and dialogue processes in different contexts.

In the world we live in, peace processes are facing great uncertainty. Two years of Covid-19 pandemic combined with other global challenges such as shifts in the geopolitical landscape, growing inequalities, shrinking space of the civil society and the climate change, have worsened the situation. These developments have also negatively affected the ability to discuss and transform conflicts through dialogues.

The Fifth National Dialogues Conference thus focused on Revisiting National Dialogues, asking how to (re)position the national dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes in the changing world. In this context, the Conference reflected on the role of the regional structures and discuss both established and emerging practices of inclusivity and dialogue process design. The Conference also discussed how new peace movements and non-violent resistance movements relate to national dialogues and explore climate emergencies from the perspective of national dialogues and their ecosystems.

The above-mentioned challenges that negatively affect conflicts also affect how we perceive national dialogue ecosystems and our ability to create sustainable processes that lead to lasting peace. Revisiting, therefore, did not mean to shy away from the internal pressures and inconsistencies of dialogue theory and practise, but rather to address them. Some international frameworks have been dysfunctional, mandate questions and challenges are unresolved, and the inclusivity requirement remaining on process descriptions, but not fully applied in practice – the National Dialogues Conference was the place to challenge, criticize, and improve. The discussions included insights and experiences of from various countries and regions as the conference gathered around 180 stakeholders, practitioners and experts in Helsinki.

“You may think that you are living the crisis alone, but if you travel from Lebanon and the Middle East to Ethiopia, Africa, Colombia and South America, the scene will not change for you. We share the problems on the ground.”

NDC 2022 participant

This conference report gathers together the discussions at the conference. Before presenting each session of the conference, the report a summary of the main findings of 2022 National Dialogue Conference, prepared by the Secretariat and the Consortium partners. The rest of the report is based on the individual session reports prepared by designated rapporteurs and compiled by the conference secretariat Finn Church Aid. The views and positions represented do not directly represent the views of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland or the Consortium of NGOs organizing the conference. The session reports are gathered under four themes of the conference: Inclusion and Process Design; Regional Structures; Mass Social Movements; and Climate.

02.

Main Findings and Reflections

The conference discussions revolved around inclusion and meaningful participation, process design, regional actors supporting peace processes and process owners, mass social movements in the context of national dialogues and the effects of climate crisis to national dialogues.

Inclusivity has been a key theme in each National Dialogues Conference, as national dialogues have also been seen as crucial for the inclusion of women, youth and minority groups in wider peace processes. Particularly women's role in peace making and conflict prevention has been widely recognised but ensuring their active inclusion on all stages of national dialogue processes remains an issue. When re-visiting National Dialogues and re-positioning national dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes in the changing world, inclusivity and participation also as a process design principle was at the core of the exploration.

Inclusivity, as well as the recognition of the equality of the people and people groups in peace processes, was noted as the first order of action when designing national dialogues. In order to create new beginnings, all voices are to be heard and listened to. It was emphasized that national dialogues can often serve as a platform and a vehicle for inclusive state-building processes and governance, but it does not always reach its set objectives nor is it always the best tool for resolving the issue at hand. Therefore, national dialogue can create an inclusive nationally-led and -owned space for a dialogue.

Despite the wide recognition of the integral role of women and youth in any national dialogue process, a lot remains to be done to ensure their meaningful participation and influence in practice, recognizing also the diversity of women and youth. The conference explored as an example the distinct role of women of faith mediators, or the role of masculinities in these processes. Persons with disabilities remain the world's largest

minority that have been overlooked in national dialogue and dialogue processes, with their distinct needs ignored and their capacities for conflict transformation left un-utilised. At the same time, the participants noted that rather than having tokenistic representation, genuine inclusion translates into influence from the design of the process, to shaping the agenda, to the implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It also changes the way how dialogue processes are run. As an example, rather than inviting youth to an established table, young men and women can shape the table bringing their own ways of doing things. It was also highlighted how more creative methods such as theatre, singing and dancing can in a truly locally led process be an inherent part of the dialogue process design over externally imposed methods and tools.

Moreover, when it comes to contemporary national dialogue and peacebuilding design and practice, participants called for the recognition of different power dynamics linked to it as well as the realization of knowledge and value base of process design. The exploration of the context-based and locally led alternatives and the re-imagination of the peacebuilding process design and practice were urged for.

Genuine inclusion also requires integrating mental health and psychosocial support into national dialogue processes to enable and ensure participation in collective decision-making. This requires acknowledging the negative toll that conflicts have on mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of some members of affected societies, communities and individuals also through paying attention and addressing mental health and psychosocial support needs in ways that are relevant for each context and process.



While national dialogues place emphasis on internal actors, as it works to broaden political ownership, thus ensuring a more inclusive process and lasting results, it is important to deepen the understanding on the overall ecosystem of national dialogues with **a focus on regional structures in support of ND processes**. While all dialogues and tracks might not be inclusive, the ecosystem can be. Multilateral organizations can promote national dialogues and their inclusion. Preparation of the process is the key - inclusion can only be successful if there is proper and adequate, context-specific preparation including identifying all persons and parties related to the issue and conflict and engaging them from inception to implementation. Multilateral organizations can play important role in supporting this process, e.g., by providing technical support to ensure representative and credible national dialogue. However, in cases of unconstitutional changes of government, international structures and regional spaces become a platform for complex conversations. When certain political decisions do not reflect the rights of the citizens, it is a challenge for regional structures to intervene and prevent violence while respecting the sovereignty of a state. At the same time, national dialogues have also been used as a political tool to control the streets and “manage” people’s movements and therefore regional structures and multilateral organisations can support in ensuring a credible national dialogue process.

Mass social movements, with the aim to change society or affect a peace process, play a key role in bringing about democracy and peace and therefore often serve as a catalyst for a national dialogue process. But how are mass social movements included to the table? Even when they are invited, it does not necessarily translate that the peace process will be sustainable or is inclusive. Furthermore, the discussants urged that rather than asking the question of how we bring the voices of a social movement to the table, we should ask **how to reinvent the table to fit the social movement**. The current focus is too much on representation (who sits around the table?) whereas more focus should be on the agenda (what is on the agenda and how it’s discussed?). This especially impacts women and young women within social movements. Women in peace processes want to discuss power-sharing and broader systemic and structural changes. If women are mere participants in peace processes instead of joining the agenda setting, there

is a high risk that social movements are only instrumentalized and playing the agenda of the powerful. It was also highlighted throughout the discussions that social media can be an advantage or disadvantage to social movements. It can quickly spread messages, provide local news where media outlets are not present, and reach people who are far away. On the other hand, there is a disadvantage because the government can restrict access to social media platforms, and only ensure that they or their sympathizers have access. In addition, digital environment also enables the creation of echo chambers which are used for disseminating **false information and propaganda**.

As countries most vulnerable to climate change are also the countries where conflicts have exponentially risen in the last years and where the recruiting grounds for terrorism are particularly fertile, there is a need for peace practitioners, and national and international organisations to take climate change into account in peace initiatives and national dialogues. Climate change should not be seen as an exclusively environmental issue as it has also a social and economic dimension, and therefore also a political one. Climate-sensitive approaches to peacemaking are becoming increasingly important, as not including this aspect in conflict resolution efforts has already proven to potentially do harm. As an example in the Lake Chad Basin, largely climate-insensitive countering violent extremism efforts led to the burning of crops or the banning of fishing. These actions weakened the ability of local communities to fight climate change, igniting anger and frustration against the authorities and, ultimately, increasing the recruitment of terrorists in the region and therefore undermining peace efforts.

Furthermore, the gendered impacts of climate emergencies and roles of women, including indigenous women, in mediating climate-induced conflicts are often ignored. However, there are also emerging examples where context-specific climate strategies have acted as a convening power to help prevent conflict, strengthen peace and unite communities. As an example, water diplomacy and joint management of natural resources can serve as a connector. It was also highlighted that indigenous people and local communities play crucial roles to preserve the local ecosystems when threatened by environmental degradation and climate change. However,

many nature conservation efforts are still carried on with a colonization mindset, approaching challenges and opportunities with certain bias leaving the ideology, culture, perspectives and traditions of local and indigenous communities unconsulted. Going forward, there is a need to strengthen **context-driven and localized research and approaches** to tackle the intersection between climate, conflict and peace.

Lastly, **the national dialogues, their outcomes and evaluation** were revisited from the perspective of the new, emerging peacebuilding paradigm, which acknowledges the non-linear nature and the inherent complexity of national dialogue and

peace processes and highlights the importance of adaptation and flexibility. It was discussed how this entails moving away from conventional evaluation towards complexity sensitive approaches, where the focus of assessment is placed on learning and adaptation, instead of simply looking at predefined outcomes. Besides recognizing the complexity and non-linearity of national dialogues and peace processes, inclusion should be considered in the design, implementation and evaluation of dialogue processes. The participants noted that to support adaptation and innovation, donors should consider partnership based approaches and enabling core and programmatic funding.



All photos used in this report are by Ms. Maria Santto. Group photo of Minister of Foreign Affairs Finland, Pekka Haavisto, with 2022 NDC participants.



03.

Conference Sessions

Keynote:

Role of National Dialogues in the Changing World

Main takeaways:

- 1.** National dialogues are key tool to address conflicts and grievances. They must be based on trust and solidarity. Moreover, national dialogues must be recognized as nationally led and nationally owned because only then can we achieve sustainable peace and development. All other efforts, led by international and intergovernmental bodies, must facilitate, and support the process - neither replace nor duplicate.
- 2.** Inclusivity is key to national dialogues, but at the core of it should be equality, so that everyone has an opportunity to engage.
- 3.** Social media and technology have opened the door to new ways of addressing challenges and conflict. However, it has also created new barriers to peace, such as the spread of hate speech and misinformation. Tech and social media frameworks must be balanced to ensure its seeds are beneficial to the whole of society.

National dialogues need to be national efforts, otherwise it is not a peacebuilding process. When it comes to, for example Africa, one must recognize that Africa is not the Africa it was 50 years ago, which means that dialogue processes should be supported, not led by external actors. National dialogues need to be locally led and owned. Inclusivity, as well as the recognition of the equality of the people and people groups in peace processes, is the first order of action when designing National dialogues. In order to create new beginnings, all voices are to be heard and listened to. Women and youth are an integral part of any national dialogue, and different organizations from local to international levels, also have their unique roles in the process.

Further, transparency and public participation are vital parts of these discussions. Social media has both created opportunities for free speech and challenges in the form of phenomena such as hate speech. The question is – how can social media be harnessed for the common good? In addition, the conveners of national dialogues need to have the national credibility to take part in peace processes. Moreover, national identities should come before ethnic identities. If national dialogues are not well managed, a lot can go wrong.

National dialogues do not always reach the goals set for them, although a successful discussion does not always mean that everyone signs up for it. The main goal is to create a platform where these discussions can be held, as it occurred in Yemen’s national dialogue process.

Furthermore, national dialogues should be recognized as a vehicle to move forward with. Root causes of the conflicts need to be recognized, and in some cases, such as in political ones, national dialogues might not be the best tool to resolve the issue. However, national dialogues can make a difference to help country-building processes, create inclusivity and offer people to have a say in the field of governance. Moreover, national dialogues offer a context where no one would need to worry or fear and be prepared to flee the country when raising their voices – it is an important means to create opportunities for all to participate in peacebuilding processes.

Keynote: Hanna Tetteh, *UN Under Secretary General and Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa*

High-level discussion: Role of National Dialogues in the Changing World

Main takeaways:

1. National dialogues need enhanced inclusion – inclusion needs to be embedded in the process from inception to implementation and to monitoring and evaluation.
2. Multilateral organizations can play important role in guiding the national dialogues process and providing technical support in ensuring the representative and credible process.
3. Youth need more opportunities to lead: besides building the skills and capacities of youth, the peacebuilding processes need to also hear and learn from youth.

Since the last National Dialogues Conference three years ago the world has faced tremendous challenges and turmoils including the global pandemic as well as, series of civil unrest and violent conflicts. However, meanwhile we have also witnessed acts of resilience, good will, companionship as reactions to the crisis. Besides recognizing challenges our societies and peace work face, the session identified ways to move forward collectively and inclusively.

In this context the OSCE Special Representative on Youth and Security called for stronger accountability and upholding international law – it is vital to show the whole world that violating peace never pays off. War in Ukraine is more impactful as Europe build the international law that emphasizes the need to protect human life in the midst of conflicts. If Europe shows it's not able to protect a European country, all the regimes that contest peace and democracy can rise as they feel they can do violence without consequences. That is why there is a need to show that attack against sovereign state is never advantageous.

Foreign Minister brought up the concepts of neutrality and solidarity in the context of the war in Ukraine. Food crisis, climate crisis, and energy crisis are good reasons to think of solidarity from a global perspective even though crises are also region specific.



Role of National Dialogues in the Changing World panel discussion. [From left to right] Hanna Tetteh, Dr. Mohamed Elsanousi, Maria Raczyńska, & Minister Pekka Haavisto.



Hanna Tetteh delivering keynote.

UN Under-Secretary General and Special Envoy to Horn of Africa underlined the need for genuine solidarity and pointed out the lack of understanding between people coming from the different contexts. We have not fully utilized the well-connected world to help people to understand each other's. Mutual understanding is needed for creating and fostering solidarity. It is also important to address the pronouncements of solidarity in action.



When addressing collective ways of moving forward, the panelist agreed that **youth need more attention and support**. The Foreign Minister called for immediate action and partnership with youth to avoid future catastrophes. For example, job creation can prevent many youths from drifting into negative behavior cycles. The OSCE Special Representative on Youth and Security more peace education for youth in order to have youth who value peace and abstain from conflicts.

The speakers agreed that **national dialogues need enhanced inclusion**. There is a need to understand inclusion in a broad way. Having comprehensive representation of actors included in dialogue is not enough. The OSCE Special Representative on Youth and Security emphasized that each actor must be allowed to introduce in the dialogue their way of doing things and not forged into ways of doing things or roles they don't feel comfortable. Foreign Minister used youth as an example – instead of merely including youth in the dialogues, the dialogues shall learn from the youth and adopt the long perspective youth often have. The UN Under Secretary and Special Envoy to Horn of Africa underlined the perspective of minorities in inclusion – they need to feel and see the inclusion.

Furthermore, the UN Under-Secretary and Special Envoy to Horn of Africa shared views on how multilateral organizations can promote national dialogues and their inclusion. Preparation of the process is the key - Inclusion can only be successful if there is proper and adequate, context-specific preparation including identifying all persons and parties related to the issue and conflict and engaging them from inception to implementation. **Multilateral organizations can play important role in guiding this process, providing technical support to ensure representative and credible national dialogue**. Credibility is crucial- the principles of the multilateral organizations have to be consistently applied regardless of which country is impacted.

Speakers: Hanna Tetteh, *UN Under-Secretary General and Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa* // Maria Raczyńska, *OSCE Special Representative on Youth and Security* // Pekka Haavisto, *Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland*

Moderator: Mohamed Elsanousi, *Executive Director of the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers*

INCLUSION AND PROCESS DESIGN

How to Support Locally Led and Peaceful Transformation: Revisiting Process Design

The purpose of this session was to situate the National Dialogue and peacebuilding processes and their design in the contemporary practices and to revisit the process design. The importance of recognizing and addressing different power dynamics linked to process design were discussed. Moreover, the knowledge and value base of process design thinking was addressed, and context and community-based alternatives explored. The panel emphasized the need to decolonize and re-imagine the peacebuilding design and practice.

Main takeaways:

1. It is important to acknowledge, i.a., the significance of the local assets, the community capital, different local knowledges in peacebuilding design and practice. The key values for locally led peacebuilding, between local and external actors, are mutual trust, respect, and humility.
2. Process design is always ideological and very much shaped by our own values and our own ways of seeing life, living life and being. It is important to take constantly into account the idea of positionality when designing processes and delivering the interventions. All the actors in the field of peacebuilding have the responsibility to challenge the positions and conceptions of power when they are unhelpful and don't open pathways for building peace. Moreover, the methods used in peacebuilding need to be (self)-critically and regularly reviewed (and possibly revised) in terms of colonial approaches that may be in place.
3. External support actors need to be more patient: the complex change processes may take decades with small steps without big and visible victories. Collective skills of building together, sense making and complexity awareness, are needed in peacebuilding.

The panel recognized the significance the local assets, ongoing local initiatives, intuitive analysis of people in local communities (community capital) and the importance of grass-root approaches and different local knowledges in process design and peacebuilding in general. **Local leadership and ownership** can be seen as the fundamental principles in peacebuilding.

Too often external actors come with an attitude to help, solution in hand and with an assumption that they can help. Instead, external actors should first recognize the local existing assets and give space for the local people to do their intuitive analysis of what is going on before any external expertise will be introduced to the context. Introducing new resources without understanding and using the community capital will hurt the local dynamics. Discovering and giving space for the resources of the community helps people to build a new value chain, face new situations and also improve resilience. This is key in all the bottom-up processes.

In addition, external actors should be mindful when referring to local leadership in local communities as some connotations are colonial whereas the trusted leaders are the owners of the everyday lives of people. **Revisiting process design involves perspective that calls for the need to decolonize peacebuilding practices.** The decolonizing can include both internal and external decolonization. For example, in the context of Myanmar, the case has been domestic decolonization where the majority (Bamar) states i have been colonizing the periphery. At the beginning of the peace process there was a spirit of cooperation and the process included civil society and political parties together with the ethnic armed organizations and the military. However, deep down the military was not really interested in the design for change, they were only interested in a ceasefire. Process was therefore designed without the honest will and engagement of the military.

What's more, process design sometimes struggles with the so-called perception of professionalism. There are practitioners who have become trained in the language and thinking of process design in a sort of orthodox (normative) standard way. However, most of the time those standards are exported by the external support actors and it becomes a challenge when one starts measuring the local standards against the global ones; the focus moves to fitting for the normative terminology and framework. Even though external expertise can bring benefits, a strict focus on certain standards may unintentionally end up weakening the power and agency of local actors.

In addition, it needs to be acknowledged that **process design is always ideological and very much shaped by our own values and our own ways being and seeing life.** It is important to

recognize that biases cannot be completely avoided. That is why the idea of positionality and placing local voices, power, trust and influence in the center is something that must be all the time taken into consideration when designing processes and delivering the methods and actions in interventions.

Moreover, external actors are used to rational, logical, and verbal ways of thinking and discussing issues, but there is a lot of opportunity in artistic methods of drawing, singing, in poetry too. In many cultures, especially in the developing economies, both understand life and communicate better in those ways. Many actors that don't have a voice may feel uncomfortable with oral speaking but feel more comfortable with dancing or singing. The external actors should also be mindful of how and what to learn from the local processes, what is the footprint that external actors leave behind, and does the process carry on when they leave.

For these reasons also a selection of methods of national dialogue and peacebuilding needs more attention. The used methods can be counter-productive and create barriers to envisioning new ways of doing and being and constructing peace. The methods need to be revised and reviewed constantly in terms of colonial approaches that especially external actors may have. Even though history and past experiences are important, their usefulness depends on how actors deploy and use them to form new settings to build on.

Furthermore, in the globalized world there is a collective responsibility to challenge the positions and conceptions of local power when they are unhelpful and when they don't open pathways for building peace. The same applies when the positions don't allow emerging of the local voices that challenge, for example, the issues that are culturally ingrained in the societies. An example of these issues is dismissing voices of women and children. There is a need for victim-centered and human rights-based approach, dismantling the different structures of power in the context of locally led peacebuilding and dialogue processes. Including intersectionality into the agenda is important when talking about decolonization of peacebuilding. There are cases in which "locally-owned processes" are misused by internal forces to reproduce the structures of violence and manipulation or in which the issues linked to gender-based violence and conflict-related sexual violence are not addressed due to the "customary peacebuilding".



When it comes to the way forward, in the context and characteristics of the current volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous world, we have to concentrate more in the relationships between people, the frequency and quality of interactions of different stakeholders and partners. We have to be able to bring different worldviews together and let them connect deeply: the more complicated issue there are on the agenda, the more trust is needed. **The mindset, as well as the operating system of peacebuilding, must be turned around.** We are currently living more and more within the ecosystem of conflict, even if we should counterbalance it and build the ecosystem of peace instead. Therefore, we need to build peace from multi-entry and bottom-up, horizontally and vertically – different local and social realities have to be brought to feed into the political process. Decolonizing knowledge and expertise is very important, because bringing previous knowledge to deal with new challenges will not necessarily work. A rigid planning system and linear thinking to deal with this fluidity and uncertainty do not work. The panel called for the flexibility of actors in the peacebuilding as each next step needs to be response to a different set of opportunities.

Furthermore, **when it comes to the external engagement, the panel concluded that it is always an inter cultural encounter and a power encounter.** Power here has to do with resources and knowledge – external actors normally come with money attached with a formula for how this money should be used. When talking about external engagement the values are important, such as trust, respect, and humility:

1. Trust as freedom of local actors to do what they think is needed in the local context to enhance peaceful transformation. This does not exclude external actors being critical towards what local actors are doing and challenging it, but the external actors should not impose their solutions. This kind of honest interaction requires some level of trust between the local and external actors which have to be build.

2. Respect means that local actors must be respected as equals. According to the panel, there are still people who consider certain ethnicities as inferior in their thinking and doing and for this reason “they have to be helped”. Intentions may not be malicious, but they simply reflect disrespect.

3. Humility, the humbleness – often the efforts of national dialogue and peacebuilding are not successful. External actors need to be able to say out loud that there are things that they don’t know and that they are willing to learn.

There is the need to continue creating spaces for collaboration, be open to negotiate, run dialogues, and exchange knowledge. A long-term orientation and vision is needed as well as collective skills of building together, sense making and complexity awareness, skills to be able to understand and actively making use of insides from contrasting perspective in a constructive way. Especially, it was pointed out that the so-called colonial way of understanding processes and expecting fast changes has to be replaced with patience and mindfulness: the change may take place in small steps over decades. First and foremost, regardless of any political situation, work for peace should carry on, based on the work in communities - building relations and solidarity is the best way to create new political actors to carry on later any international, regional or national agreement

Speakers: Carolina Escobar-Tello, Senior Lecturer/ Multidisciplinary Design, *Loughborough University/School of Design and Creative Arts* // Kenneth Mtata, Executive Director, *Zimbabwe Council of Churches* // Mahmoud Ramadan, Senior Adviser, *Common Space Initiative* // Harn Yawngwe, Executive Director, *Euro-Burma Office*

Moderator: Stephen Gray, Co-Founder and Director, *Adapt Peacebuilding*

Roles of Masculinities Within National Dialogues and Mediation Processes

This session seeked to build understanding on the gender identities of men and boys in conflict and peacebuilding. It is necessary for men to promote gender, peace and security agenda, in terms of both responsibility and ownership. The session also uplifted best practices and lessons learned on bringing consideration of masculinities into gender-sensitive peace programming.

Main takeaways:

1. Peacebuilding, including national dialogues and mediation processes are highly gendered. They can't be isolated from home or household level power dynamics. These dynamics shape the interactions also in national dialogues and can reveal barriers for inclusion.
2. Perceptions of what makes a good leader should be considered in socialization processes of young boys and girls. Role models of strong leaders and heroes of all genders should portray alternatives for militarized types of leadership (e.g., civil society leaders) and emphasize dialogue/problem solving/finding win-win solutions over "winning" disputes through strength alone.
3. There is a wealth of gender transformative programming at the community level from where one can draw lessons to address gender inclusion from a masculinity's perspective in dialogue processes.

The speakers noted that in many ways we live in a patriarchal world. **In the context of peacebuilding, masculinities are typically linked to the perpetration of violence.** However, there is not just one type of masculinity but many as different people create this inner balance in different ways. For example, men can be carers as well, take good care of themselves and their health and be less prone to violence. In terms of sexual diversity, the world is not binary but a spectrum. When there is more acceptance to show diversity, it is possible to move away from one-sided negative representations of masculinities as positive masculinities (and femininities) can be seen as freedom to create these complementarians.

It is necessary to remember that everyone can act in a more or less masculine or feminine way, depending on the circumstances and agenda. Masculinities can have a strong effect on peace mediation, with masculinities expectations (such as equating strength with maintaining negotiation positions or seeing compromising as weakness) shaping men's engagement in dialogues. In both peace and conflict settings, it is important to explore more deeply what shapes men's attitudes. Men can be responsible for violence, and they can also be responsible for ending it. So far, militarised masculinities that drive men to violence have been the focus of discussions. This focus

however sidelines other types of masculinities as well as men's vulnerabilities, visible for instance in the experiences of men veterans, prisoners/detainees as well as sexual minorities.

Regarding national dialogues, one needs to look at who is sitting at the table. The men who are monopolizing these tables are certain types of men – often military leaders or elite men of older generations. Often men who are included in national dialogues are from the military, but the civilian men are missing. In the case of women this is vice versa: civilian women are included whereas women from the military are excluded. Men and women in all their diversity should be included to be part of the conversation to truly reach a national consensus. Grassroots voices, the men and women who are facing vulnerabilities due to conflict should be invited to join. However, participation in national dialogues can be a luxury for someone who needs to work in the fields every day. Thus, indirect participation should be enabled to ensure the representation of different intersectional groups. Better inclusion also means compensation for meaningful participation and accessible language.

In a conflict, young men are often in the front row engaging in or experiencing direct violent, while the older men that mobilized them are not facing the same risks. Age can affect men's vulnerability as an important element in changing hegemonic masculinities is the socialization process of young boys. What kind of role models is our society and/or culture offering as strong leaders or heroes? What is expected from young men? Is it possible to offer alternatives for hegemonic or militarized masculinity types of leadership? All men and boys should be allowed to experience full spectrum of emotions, and this should start from socialization. It should not be a fatality that one becomes violent man if one lives in a conflict affected area. For example, many young men living in conflict affected settings with economically challenging circumstances may for many reasons not be able to reach conventional markers of being an adult man – to have an income, to own a house or livestock or to be able to get married – things that are seen to bring social respect in man's life. There should be a possibility to fulfill the masculinity markers in other ways as well.



Speakers highlighted some successes from their work with masculinities:

- Work with traditional and religious leaders has been effective in addressing harmful practices. The message coming from religious leaders matters to local communities. Message may be “man is head of the family”, although, women are running the families (especially in conflict affected settings). Also rationalizing that equality is not “extra” for Christianity, as there are scriptural interpretations in the Bible.
- Moreover, in African cosmology, there is definition of human being as ubuntu (humanity, I am because you are). Whether man or woman, you are important as ubuntu. Traditional leaders have begun to recognise this way of thinking again.
- Programmes that capacitate young men have also been successful. These have addressed for example men’s responsibilities as father or how they can support their partner. Targeting younger men thus helps to change attitudes and behaviour, albeit slowly. Speakers agree that what happens at the household level affects the national level and further. The way gender related interactions are shaped in everyday life and households reflect interactions in macro level processes, such as national dialogues.

Positive masculinities concepts regarding leadership and strength are not only a men’s thing. Women can also be great leaders, thus presenting traits typically associated with masculinity. In some cases, discussion on these topics has been effective when first introduced with groups of women and men separately, separated into different age groups for best impact.

For example, work that addresses wartime sexual violence against men has faced opposition from some NGOs working with women victims. Moreover, often peace dialogues as processes are “degendered”. A human implicitly refers to a man, while “women’s issues” are discussed separately. However, gender issues affect everybody and should enter to main process to be jointly interacted on. An example can be sexual and reproductive health issues that are everybody’s responsibility. Discussion about menstruation is not just for women, it is a human issue that men should also care about.

Mandating men to promote Gender, Peace and Security agenda is necessary, in terms of both responsibility and ownership. **If we try to get women to dialogue forums, we need to provide them with protection if they face backlash.** Intervening in cases of harassment or for example derogative jokes is the leaders’ responsibility – including male leaders. Anti-gender movement has brought together unlikely allies from religious and political sides. The change in gender equity can also lead backwards from where we are now.

Future directions:

- **There is a need to promote new and alternative types of leadership and role models in national dialogues.** The dialogues need to be more representative. To enhance diverse participation, we must look at what kind of men and women are around the table, what their interests are and what or who do they represent. Dialogues need to involve more civilian men and women from armed actors.
- **In different country contexts culture, politics and religion affect the peace processes.** If you are not allowed to talk in your house, how would you talk in a high-level meeting? Moreover, the ones not in favor of gender equality would need to be included in the discussions. Conveners of dialogues have a special role to manage and balance participation in terms of gender, age groups, and ethnicities.
- **Regarding socialization process, there is an opportunity to lobby for government policies that provide basic life skills and teach positive masculinities as part of the school curriculum.** In the first place, socialization starts at home. However, we could strive for a better harmony between home, school, church, education providers, and political leaders.

Speakers: Bafana Khumalo, Sonke Gender Justice/Co-Chair of *Men Engage Alliance* // Jana Naujoks, Head of Programmes, *Inclusive Peace*

Moderator: Élise Féron, Senior Research Fellow, *Tampere Peace Research Institute Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI)*

Rethinking the Challenges of Inclusion in National Dialogues in the Sahel

The objective of this session was to discuss challenges faced by individuals in the context of national dialogues in the Sahel. Especially, the session looked into the processes of inclusion. By sharing experiences of best practices on how to address and overcome the challenges the session aimed to create realistic reflection on inclusion in national dialogues in the Sahel that can be applied to a wider context.

Main takeaways:

1. Confidence and trust are key in successfully convening a national dialogue like the one in Mali, but a lack of continuity and follow-up on the agreements remains a challenge across the region.
2. The local and national ownership of the national dialogues and agreements is necessary. In the case of Mali, a bottom-up approach taking into account local dynamics has proven to be effective in ensuring local and national ownership.
3. Inclusion of women and marginalized groups remain as the major challenge. Increasing training and funding for women groups are ways to support their inclusion in national processes. Particular attention should be directed to nomadic communities and those who reside far from the urban centers. The nomadic practices of mediation and conflict resolution can be better utilised in support of the national peace efforts.

The Assises nationales de refondation was a national dialogue process conducted at the end of 2021, during the political transition period which started after Mali's military coups d'état in 2020-2021. In the discussion it was noted that confidence and trust are key in successfully convening a national dialogue process like the assises of Mali. The previous dialogue structures put in place by the state had failed because of perceived government interference, so the intention this time was to have a bottom-up approach, to include all social classes and make the dialogue politically independent.

The most spoken local languages were used in addition to French, Mali's official language, to guarantee the inclusion of all ethnic groups. The facilitators were also chosen in a way to



Rethinking the Challenges of Inclusion in National Dialogues in the Sahel. [From left to right] Mamadou Hachim Koumaré & Fadimata Walett Oumar.

secure that they are ready to explain the terminology to the interviewees. The dialogue started from the municipalities and administrative zones, and later proceeded to the national level, with the goal of ensuring local and national ownership. The process produced over 500 recommendations on how to change the political system and reform the state.

However, major challenges remain in terms of inclusion of women in the dialogue and the Algiers peace agreement follow-up processes. This is the case both within the communities and at the national level. **Limitations of social attitudes toward women as decision-makers and lack of support for the participation of women and nomadic communities continue to pose challenges on inclusion.** Particular attention should be directed to nomadic communities and those who reside far from the urban centers. While these communities continue to be marginalised from the political decision-making, they play a central role politically and culturally in the national peripheries. Notably, the nomadic practices of mediation and conflict resolution can be better utilised in support of the national peace efforts.

Especially the nomadic women from remote northern areas of Mali have been mostly excluded from dialogues. Besides of issues like security and physical distance, reasons for exclusion include also lack of education and illiteracy, resulting in the nomadic women feeling far less included and represented than urban Malian women. There is a need for training and increased access to information for women in order to meaningfully include their views. Nomadic women can bring various perspectives and experiences to the table on issues



related to transitional justice yet lack knowledge of their political rights and avenues through which to safely express and contribute. Language barriers and illiteracy should be taken into consideration, and information ought to be provided in local languages and in oral tradition. Thus, it is necessary to allocate more time for national dialogue processes to ensure sufficient informing and participation of communities from remote areas. The women groups must be also better funded in order to be able to organize their work.

Additionally, it is important to work from within these communities. **Women have to be convinced that their participation matters.** It is important to take all the time necessary to explain to them that their participation is essential. Women's inclusion brings added value also thematically by often covering different themes than those that men raise. The mere presence of women has brought issues to the table such as education and health, as opposed to the matters of security that men often focus on. This has created direct and concrete change in the communities in Mali.

Finally, a lack of continuity and follow-up on the agreements remains a challenge across the region. It was pointed out that many Malians feel discouraged by the lack of implementation of the 2015 Algiers peace agreement which was intended to end the conflict between several armed groups operating in Northern Mali and the Bamako government.

Speakers: Mamadou Hachim Koumaré, Président, *Comité d'organisation des Assises nationales (Committee for the Organisation of Mali's National Conference for Refoundation)*
// Fadimata Walet Oumar, President, *tartit N'Chetma Bamako Association* & Member of the *Peace Agreement Monitoring Committee*

Moderator: Elisa Tarnaala, Head, *Women in Peacemaking, CMI*
— *Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Engaging and Uplifting Women of Faith as Mediators Within National Dialogue and Mediation Processes

The focus of the session was on role of the women of faith mediators and the challenges they face within national dialogues. Furthermore, avenues for solutions to the current problems were sought to better include women of faith mediators in future peace processes.

Main takeaways:

1. Women of faith have a unique role to play in mediation. This is due to their trustworthiness, their roles in the community including charities, how their lives are impacted by the conflicts, and their shared values shaped by their faiths. However, women of faith are impacted by conflicts differently, and thus it is important to recognize their unique voices.
2. Women of faith mediators face additional barriers to their leadership and participation for being judged for their activism around gender equality and for advocating for women, as well as with religious texts being interpreted to hold them back from taking on these roles.
3. There is a critical need to be sensitive to the culture of communities and context specific to achieve your desired results. Women of faith mediators would need more funding, more awareness raising around relevant policy mechanisms and resolution, and the need for generation equality to co-create around mediation together with young women of faith.

Women of faith mediators carry a unique value in their local communities within mediation processes. They are able to be diverse in the types of mediation due to their roles within the home and their neutrality based on the values of their faith. In addition, women are seen as both victims and peacebuilders, and known from their charitable work and character. When it comes to peacebuilding, women of faith mediators take a holistic approach because they cover cross-cutting issues, including mediating around issues of armed conflict, sexual and gender-based violence, and family disputes.

Further, they represent interests of all the community, not just women's issues. Being known as a 'person of faith' can help with building trust. Therefore, women of faith mediators are trusted and have good relationships within their communities because of their shared values, which harmonizes them as a group. The example was given that women of faith know they can transcend beyond death, knowing that they will gather all together beyond this life, as a way of unifying. Panelists also stressed that while they had not used the term before, they draw from their faiths as inspiration in their mediation, but it does not necessarily negate the process design.

Many challenges were raised during the discussion that are impacting the work of women of faith mediators, such as:

- **Patriarchal norms in communities.** The norms prevent women from taking mediator positions, as most positions are still dominated by men. In addition to this, there is a double layer of barriers for women of faith to be involved in peace processes specifically because of the additional layer of religious norms, which traditionally precludes women from taking leadership positions. Second, women of faith are judged based on their personal lives, as well as their activism around advancing gender equality. As a result, women mediators are given 'soft issues' of mediation. However, one's faith background can also be divisive within faith-based conflicts, because one can lose the perception of neutrality.
- **Lack of funding and recognition for their work.** There is no news of women of faith mediations in the media.
- **Lack of pathways available for young women of faith mediators.** Young women of faith have triple layer of barriers because of their age, gender, and faith. Young people are also viewed as spoilers to the mediation process because they are viewed as the main perpetrators of the conflict.
- **Lack of protection for both women and young women of faith mediators.** Many face death threats from the work that they do, and no resources exist to help protect them.

The panelists highlighted that the women of faith mediators, especially the young ones, would have to have more skills training - mentorship and the need for co-creation with young women mediators of faith is greatly needed. In addition, there is a need to have possibilities to examine religious texts more critically to help support the role and work of the women of faith not to forget the importance of creating opportunities to mediate across inter-religious lines. It would be essential for women of faith mediators to get support as a sector first so that one day, identity would not have to be relied on in mediation as much. Creating a coalition to lobby religious institutions to access mediation spaces could be a solution to the challenges the women of faith mediators face in peacebuilding.

Speakers: Caryn Dasah, General Coordinator, *Cameroon Women's Peace Movement* // Lantana Bako Abdullahi, National Co-Coordinator, *Nigerian Women Mediators Collaborative Initiative* // Mandiedza Parichi, Lecturer, *Midlands State University, Peace and Security Studies Department* // Leonie Abela, Governance and Peacebuilding Practitioner, Peacebuilding, *Community Voice for Peace and Pluralism* // Fadimata Walet Oumar, President, *tartit N'Chetma Bamako Association* & Member, *Peace Agreement Monitoring Committee*

Moderator: Carla Schraml, Advisor Mediation and Negotiation Support, *Berghof Foundation*



Engaging and Uplifting Women of Faith as Mediators Within National Dialogue and Mediation Processes. [From left to right] Fadimata Walet Oumar, Mandiedza Parichi, Leonie Abela, & Lantana Bako Abdullahi.



Integrating Mental Health and Psychosocial Support into Peacebuilding: National Dialogue Process Design Through Psychosocial Lens

The session argued on the need to increase awareness on psychosocial peacebuilding and integrate mental health and psychosocial support into national dialogue and other peacebuilding processes. The panelists also shared emerging experiences of integrating mental health and psychosocial support into national dialogues and other reconciliation processes.

Main takeaways:

1. Integrating mental health and psychosocial support into all peacebuilding processes is crucial.
2. Chronic violence and collective intergenerational trauma must be acknowledged and addressed in peacebuilding processes.
3. The integration of mental health and psychosocial support into peacebuilding is not “one size fits all” and must be tailored to the local context.

Integration of mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) into peacebuilding is necessary given the negative toll that conflict can have on people’s mental health and wellbeing on population level. The presence of diagnosable mental disorders is approximately 21% in conflict-affected societies, while only around 2% in non-conflict-affected societies.

There is a need for **healing-centered peacebuilding** in communities that have been broken by historical injustices and violence. Without placing healing at the center of the peace processes, a community with collective and integrated trauma may not be able to utilize its resources and participate in transformative processes. However, it needs to be recognized that there is no “one size fits all” approach to the integration of psychosocial support into peacebuilding.

Three main focuses to mental health can be identified in MHPSS work in crisis or conflict-affected areas: trauma sensitivity and awareness, community-based psychosocial support, and global mental health, which acknowledges mental health both as a development resource and a human right. panelists



Integrating Mental Health and Psychosocial Support into Peacebuilding: National Dialogue Process Design Through Psychosocial Lens. [From left to right] Ronald Nare, Ufra Mir, & Angi Yoder-Maina.

mentioned the connection between justice and healing is central, pointing out that **justice and healing are intertwined**. Healing is a continual process, and when happening at the institutional level connected to judicial processes, it can be quite transformative even if this is difficult work that takes time. One challenge in conflict contexts is the equal treatment of victim and perpetrator when it comes to access to MHPSS - victims often do not have access to the same resources and privileges as perpetrators.

As for a concrete example of how MHPSS is integrated into the national dialogue process, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches is collaborating with Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Felm) and has developed Multi-Disciplinary Expert Facility (MDEF) to implement a multi-disciplinary approach to support pastors in handling and referring mental health and psychosocial support issues in their often hard-to-reach communities. Zimbabwe faces challenges on different levels, such as in economy, constitution, humanitarian crises, and unaddressed past events. The National Dialogue Process must collectively find solutions to the pressing challenges while also focusing on the individuals and addressing the mental health and psychosocial support needs.

The approach of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches is based on the fact that churches are a well-trusted moral authority in their communities. The above-mentioned modality, MDEF, draws on a team of volunteering professionals with diverse expertise and skills (consisting of social workers, teachers, psychiatrists, etc.) to collectively support and advise the pastors who are facing

the issues in their communities. This panel of experts can be consulted using a helpline accessible via WhatsApp and if they deem the issue too complex to be dealt with at a local level, they can refer it further. This system has expanded access to psychiatric and psychological support, which is typically scarce and expansive in Zimbabwe.

Supporting greater inclusivity of the national dialogue processes requires integrating mental health and psychosocial support into processes because when an individual is affected by a combination of daily stressors and traumatic experiences, it is exceedingly difficult to participate in collective decision-making processes. Thus, inclusivity requires paying attention to the particularities of the diverse situations of individuals and providing mental health and psychosocial support so that affected individuals can meaningfully participate in collective processes.

Furthermore, groups experiencing marginalization and discrimination may require a safe space in which their voices and interests may be heard. For example, in Zimbabwe, the national dialogue process has shown that it is needed to provide specialized dialogue spaces for women, youth, and persons with disabilities.

Besides the mental health of the members of conflict-affected societies, conflicts also affect the mental health of peace practitioners. There is an **urgent need for a new way of looking at peacebuilding in a wellbeing-orientated way**. So called Western notions of self-care in the peacebuilding work that focus solely on individual self are not relevant in all contexts. For many, individual well-being depends on community well-being. In such contexts, creating safe spaces for community and spiritual connection and expression enables the well-being of individuals. Rather than only focusing on building the resilience of communities in the ongoing conflict, more attention should be paid to the accountability of the occupiers and colonizers. Without justice, there is no solid ground for self-care.

Speakers: Angi Yoder-Maina, Executive Director, *Green String Network* // Ufra Mir, Peace Psychologist and Founder and CEO, *International Center for Peace Psychology* // Ronald Nare, Programme Manager, *Zimbabwe Council of Churches*

Moderator: Riina Isotalo, Adviser, *Psychosocial Peacebuilding, Felm*

Revisiting National Dialogues, Their Outcomes and Evaluation in the New Peacebuilding Paradigm

The session revisited and discussed national dialogues, their outcomes and evaluation from the perspective of new peacebuilding paradigm. Perpetual peacebuilding¹, acknowledges the non-linear nature and the inherent complexity of national dialogue and peace processes. The session discussed the need to shift from conventional evaluation models to evaluations that appreciate the complexity of these processes and the need to adapt. When evaluating national dialogue processes, it is important to assess whether the process has been able to adjust and adapt, as well as review the actual results, instead of solely focusing on evaluating predetermined outcomes. In addition, participation and inclusion should be considered in the design, implementation and evaluation of dialogue processes and their outcomes. Moreover, to support adaptation and innovation, donors should consider partnership based approaches and enabling core and programmatic funding.

Main takeaways:

1. There is a need to reconsider the outcomes and evaluation of national dialogue processes in the new peacebuilding paradigm, ‘perpetual peacebuilding’, which acknowledges the complexity of peace processes, and the consequent need to respond flexibly and adaptively.
2. The new paradigm conceptualizes peace as a continuous process rather than as a specific outcome, which needs to be acknowledged when evaluating national dialogue processes. This entails moving towards complexity sensitive approaches, where the focus of assessment is placed on learning and adaptation, instead of simply looking at predefined outcomes.
3. Participation and inclusion should occur at all levels and points of the national dialogue process, which also concerns evaluation. For instance, different stakeholders should have the opportunity to design indicators that reflect the quality of the national dialogue process and the positive outcomes that the participants to the process see as valuable.

¹ Thania Paffenholz (2021) Perpetual Peacebuilding: A New Paradigm to Move Beyond the Linearity of Liberal Peacebuilding, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 15:3, 367-385, DOI: 10.1080/17502977.2021.1925423



4. Support for national dialogues should be based on partnership and mutual learning. To support adaptation and innovation, donors should consider enabling core and programmatic funding.

Recognizing the multifaceted challenges of the current world, the peacebuilding practice has growingly become more complexity aware. **The new, emerging peacebuilding paradigm, perpetual peacebuilding, aims to better capture the quality of peace as non-linear and continuous journey rather than as a specific, fixed outcome.** The paradigmatic shift implies change in our language, conceptualizations of peace, and the related processes and practices, including the evaluation of national dialogue and peace processes.

While there is a need for reality-based, adaptive, and flexible approaches to national dialogues based on contextual needs, there is also equally **a need to rethink the related review and evaluation processes and practices.** Oftentimes, the evaluation processes still assume linear development of dialogue and peace processes with predetermined end-goals. It is a commonplace to discuss road maps, which makes the processes appear linear; however, national dialogue and peace processes are multidimensional and complex with multiple levels and stakeholders. There is no clear road or path to travel, but rather, it is a 'sea that needs to be navigated'. The conventional evaluation models make this new paradigm challenging to navigate. The movement towards adaptive approaches means also moving away from conventional evaluation approaches where the process is assessed either as a success or a failure, and where peace is seen as a destination. The understanding of peace as a non-linear continuous process, shifts the focus of evaluation from predefined outcomes to the assessment of learning, 'navigation', and adaptation.

It is important that inclusion and participation are built into the national dialogue process at every step, including in the design, implementation, evaluation and learning phases. Participation should not be superficial and it should include minorities and the most vulnerable in society, and any barriers to participation should be addressed (e.g. language). This concerns also the evaluation of national dialogue and peace processes. National dialogue processes involve various stakeholders who interpret data and outcomes in different

ways, while the evaluation of complex processes is subjective by nature. Participatory and inclusive evaluation should not only be about consulting various stakeholders at the beginning of the evaluation process but granting the key stakeholders an active role in the evaluation of the data as well as developing recommendations. A pragmatic example of participation and inclusion could be about roundtable discussions with different stakeholders to come up with indicators that would reflect the quality of the national dialogue process and **the positive results that the participants to the process see as being of value.**

In terms of **accountability**, many organizations and donors need to report results to their financial supporters and governments. Oftentimes, donors also require reporting against specific, predefined outcomes and may have other detailed demands for demonstrating results. Consequently, it can be challenging to shift the evaluation to better respond to the implications of the complex realities of national dialogues and peace processes. A possible way to overcome this challenge is to begin to focus more on (possibly unintended) **real peace outcomes rather than predefined programmatic outcomes.** An example of such a result could be participants to the process themselves beginning to design and implement their own initiatives, inspired by the process. Another example could be the national dialogue process successfully influencing a policy debate. Project proposals do not always manage to 'plan' these in their design, yet sometimes the unintended positive outcomes from national dialogue processes can be the most valuable and crucial outcomes.

The donor - implementor - relationship can also be warped by power relations, this is especially the case if the relationship is based on financial support. Ideally, the support should be about **partnership and sharing and exchanging learning, expertise, and capacities.** This could also help to mitigate against the more harmful effects of a growing and increasingly bureaucratic peacebuilding industry, as it could help create an alternative vision towards a peacebuilding ecosystem, characterized by increased collaboration and sharing of expertise and capacities. Furthermore, to support organizations' capacity to be adaptive and innovative, donors should consider enabling **core and programmatic funding** rather than project-based funding which oftentimes is more restrictive and limiting.

Speakers: Jana Naujoks, Head of Programmes, *Inclusive Peace*
// Koenraad Van Brabant, Director, *Global Mentoring Initiative*
// Stephen Gray, Co-Founder and Director, *Adapt Peacebuilding*

Moderator: Maria Riihelä, Adviser, *Peace and Reconciliation DMEL, Felm*

Breaking the Barriers to Ensure the Active Leadership and Participation of Individuals with Disabilities

The panel discussed about the barriers and challenges that people with disabilities face within national dialogues and mediation processes and shared best practices on how to address these challenges. The objective was to solicit and inspire greater support and partnership for the meaningful inclusion and participation of individuals with disabilities within national dialogues and mediation processes to ensure a whole-of-society approach is implemented.

Main takeaways:

1. Despite of UN Security Council Decision 2475 being adopted over two years ago, persons with disabilities continue to be underrepresented in the peace and mediation processes. Without ensuring the meaningful inclusion and representation of persons with disabilities, peace and dialogue processes cannot be inclusive and represent a whole of society.
2. While there is progress in integrating disability inclusion in policy and normative commitments both at national and global levels, implementation is too often lacking behind.
3. Inclusion and participation of people with disabilities to peace and dialogue processes can be enhanced by deconstructing stigma around disabilities, collaboration with civil society and women's networks as well as strengthening evidence-base for disability inclusion.

In conflict contexts, individuals with disabilities face increased risks and pre-existing marginalisation and vulnerabilities is often amplified. Persons with disabilities are unable to flee or seek shelter as information or evacuation routes are not available or accessible. Furthermore, women and girls with



Breaking the Barriers to Ensure the Active Leadership and Participation of Individuals with Disabilities. [From left to right] Lassi Murto, Florence Ndagire, & Caroline Atanga.

disabilities face disproportionate risk of conflict related sexual and gender-based violence. Humanitarian assistance in conflict contexts often fails to address the distinct and differentiated needs of persons with disabilities.

Individuals with disabilities constitute the world's largest minority that has been forgotten in peace processes. Persons with disabilities constitute 15% of the world's population and in conflict contexts, due to the disabling mechanisms of warfare, this percentage is even higher. However, disability is still often considered as a fringe issue in peace and conflict, that only affects a few. Despite progress in the normative frameworks, persons with disabilities continue to be largely excluded from peace and mediation processes. This means that their distinct experiences are not part of the design of the process, their issues are not included in the agenda, nor are they able to contribute to the implementation and monitoring of the peace process outcomes.

The speakers highlighted that without ensuring the meaningful inclusion and representation of persons with disabilities, peace and dialogue processes cannot be inclusive and represent a



whole of society approach. True inclusion is not only needed for the realization of human rights for all, but also for ensuring that peace processes truly meet the needs, concerns, and aspirations of the affected population as a whole. This requires representation (“nothing for us without us”).

The barriers that persons with disabilities face are multifaceted and pre-existing vulnerabilities are exacerbated in conflict settings:

- **At the individual level**, persons with disabilities often lack access to information and skills to effectively claim their rights as citizens and to actively participate.
- **At institutional level**, there is a lack of protective legal frameworks and policies that would secure persons with disabilities right to participate and ensure their distinct needs are taken into account.
- **At socio-cultural level**, pervasive discrimination affects persons with disabilities at all levels, with stigma related to disabilities present in several contexts limiting their effective participation.

When persons with disabilities and their distinct needs are recognized in peace processes, they are too often portrayed as victims. Also, rather than including persons with disabilities in the process as active change agents whose participation and contributions improve the whole peace and dialogue process, they are often excluded from the discussions. The panelists highlighted that disability inclusion needs to be prioritized as a very important component of solving the conflict to ensure equity, inclusion, “leave no one behind”, peace and partnerships.

In terms of best practices and strategies to overcome barriers, the speakers highlighted the power of coalitions among broad-based civil society as well as the importance of strengthening evidence-base for disability inclusion. By collaborating with other peacebuilding, civil society and women’s networks, persons with disabilities and disability rights organisations have been able to ensure their agenda and needs are included. While there is progress in integrating disability inclusion in policy and normative commitments both at national and global levels, often what is lacking behind is the implementation.

In peace and dialogue processes, **there is a lack of concrete and action-oriented approaches to bridge the gap between commitments and implementation**. There can be learnings from the humanitarian and development sector and actors in peace processes to bridge the gap.

Despite commitments for disability inclusion, a lot remains to be done to bridge the gap between commitments and their implementation. Concrete recommendations include:

- **Ensure representation** of persons with disabilities and prioritise their meaningful inclusion in peacebuilding and mediation. This includes recognizing the different categories of persons with disabilities and ensuring their needs, aspirations and capacities are represented
- **Develop deliberate strategies and establish mechanisms for the meaningful inclusion** of persons with disabilities. This includes taking into account their distinct needs (accessibility, language, screen-readers etc.). Ensure legislation and policies are harmonized in line with global commitments
- **Strengthen evidence-base and conduct research on the lived experiences** of persons with disabilities in conflict
- **Deconstruct stigma** around disabilities through campaigns and awareness raising
- **Recognise persons with disabilities as agents of change** in peace and dialogue process

Speakers: Lassi Murto, Program Coordinator, Abilis // Caroline Atanga, Executive Director, South Sudan Women with Disabilities Network // Florence Ndagire, International Disability Rights and Inclusion Consultant

Moderator: Maria Mekri, Executive Director, Safer Globe

REGIONAL STRUCTURES

Panel Discussion: Regional Structures and Revisiting National Dialogues

This session discussed the role of regional structures in supporting and facilitating national dialogues, and it was highlighted that the discussions should be nationally owned and led. When, for example, unconstitutional changes of government suspend the constitution, regional organizations can make sure that dialogues are credible and inclusive. Regional structures are to support building strong local institutions.

Main takeaways:

1. As unconstitutional changes of government cause the suspension of the constitution and other legal frameworks in a state, regional structures can be the platform for creating national dialogues and become the spaces for discussion.
2. Regional structures have sufficient instruments and norms that are fit for purpose, however, more support to engage with all relevant stakeholders directly is needed.
3. Regional organisations can ensure the credibility and inclusivity of national dialogues with special emphasis on participation of women and youth.

National dialogues must be nationally owned and nationally led - supported and facilitated by external actors such as regional organisations. In the long run, a national dialogue is a nexus between political dialogue, peace, and development. The role of regional structures is thus to support the processes of national dialogues and not to replace the leadership of a given country. However, in cases of unconstitutional changes of government, international structures, and regional spaces become a platform for complex conversations.

Good example: The African Union Reflection Forum on Unconstitutional Changes of Governments in Africa was held in March 2022, in Accra, Ghana. In the forum the African member states came together with civil society, African think tanks and academia, youth and women groups, and professional organizations. The forum was useful since it allowed the voices of the above-mentioned groups to be heard by heads of African states and be included in the Accra declaration on unconstitutional changes of governments in Africa (2022).



Regional Structures and Revisiting National Dialogues. [From left to right] Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, Bankole Adeoye, & Emmanuel Bombande.

The existing structures at the international, regional and sub-regional levels supporting national dialogues are fit for purpose. Some of these entities have specific mandates (e.g., on peace and security) that could be utilized in facilitating national dialogues. In addition, the structures should also be considered as venues for peer discussion among countries. Inclusive national dialogues must consider equality and it must go beyond tokenism by identifying and including relevant stakeholders in dialogues within a country. This would also mean considering having national dialogues not only as a reaction to social and political challenges but as in and of itself a result.

There are also challenges:

- When certain political decisions do not reflect the rights of the citizens, it is a challenge for regional structures to intervene and prevent violence while respecting the sovereignty of a state. An understanding of the preventive approach that could be taken by regional structures must be agreed upon by States and regional/sub-regional structures alike.
- Furthermore, there is a need to ensure consistency when it comes to the responses by regional organizations to unconstitutional changes of government as sometimes the response is uneven.



Future directions:

- Regional or international organisations should support building strong national institutions and work towards strengthening those institutions. This would go in line with prevention of conflicts before they escalate and minimize the need for intervention by external actors such as regional/ international organisations.
- Elections and constitutional laws' played a key part in unconstitutional changes of governments recently in Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso. Hence, this aspect needs more attention.

Speakers: Bankole Adeoye, Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, *African Union Commission* // Hanna Tetteh, UN Under Secretary General and Special Envoy, *Horn of Africa* // Emmanuel Bombande, Senior Mediation Adviser, *UNDPPA* // Aderemi Ajibewa, Director for Political Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate, *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*

Moderator: Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, Head, *Sub-Saharan Africa unit, CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

MASS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Keynote and Panel Discussion: Revisiting From Bottom Up - On the Street But Not At The Table

The keynote and panel concentrated on discussing the inclusion of mass social movements in national dialogues. It is known that meaningful engagement of diverse groups has a greater influence on the sustainability and success of dialogues and peace processes. By contrast, when social movements are excluded from national dialogues, women, youth, and persons with disabilities are often affected the most. The sessions brought up examples of nonviolent movements influencing dialogue and decision-making during political transitions but recognized that there are many more examples of movements being excluded from the formal national dialogue or excluding themselves from it.

Main takeaways:

1. Mass social movements, with the aim to change society or affect a peace process, play a key role in bringing about democracy and peace and there has been a measured and noticeable rise in nonviolent mass movements over the last few years. However, even there are examples of social movements influencing dialogue and decision-making during political transitions, there are many more examples of movements being excluded from the negotiation table.
2. Some general challenges that prevent mass social movements from playing effective role in formal dialogues include representation challenge (who can represent movement in a table?), so called radicalism challenge (movements may have low skills and capacities to negotiate with elites) and demobilisation challenge (the pressure from the streets slows down during the dialogue process).
3. Media and social media are key tools for mass social movements to form a unified vision and establish goals.
4. Peace mediation community is responsible for equipping itself better for constructive engagement and inclusion of mass social movements for more effective national dialogues and political transitions.

Mass social movements take multiple forms. The most potential images that come to mind when thinking of social movements are those of mass street protests bringing together cross-segments of society (especially women and youth) organizing large rallies, blockades or civil disobedience campaigns against dictators, human rights abusers or corrupt government practices. However, nonviolent action by popular movements also entails more discreet or constructive forms of civil resistance, using the arts, the media, or the building of underground/alternative popular institutions to sustain mobilization and to build a more equitable future.

Social movements often have a diffuse structure, horizontal leadership, made up of large heterogeneous coalitions united around a common but sometimes vaguely defined objective or sets of social and political demands. They may have a reformist or revolutionary goals that focus on needs and grievances of one social sector (such as women, youth, victims, ethnic

minorities or people with disabilities), but many movements rally across intersectional coalitions to either demand specific policy reforms or a radical transformation of power. They may start as a reformist, triggered by one unpopular or undemocratic move by the government and become revolutionary over time. This was the case for most popular uprisings, including the Arab Spring revolutions one decade ago; the Ukraine Euromaidan revolution in 2013 and the Sudan revolution in 2019. Some popular uprisings also emerge in defense of democracy against military coups (e.g. popular movement in Myanmar since Feb 2021).

Finally, some social movements emerge in the midst of armed conflict. Such movements have to navigate the space between governments and armed opposition. Some of them evolve alongside armed actors, with whom they have complex relationships, often overshadowed and mistakenly perceived as the ‘civilian branch’ of rebel movements, especially when they pursue a similar agenda (e.g. nonviolent national liberation movements in Palestine, Western Sahara, Aceh, Kosovo); but other movements emerge and mobilise in opposition to armed actors, i.e. peace movements (such as Women of Mass Action for Peace in Liberia, Mothers in Black in Israel/Palestine and ex-Yugoslavia, the Helmand Peace March in Afghanistan).

There has been a measured and noticeable rise in nonviolent movements across all continents over the last few years, with 2019 being labeled as a ‘year of protests’. Many of these movements have played, or are aspiring to play, important agency in shifting power in society, towards greater democracy, justice, equality, HR, good governance, and peace. However, it is important to recognize that not all social movements pursue democratic and inclusive values. In the context of Arab revolutions as well as in earlier color revolutions and political transition of Latin America in the late 1980s, popular uprising successfully opened political space for change at the top (e.g. topping down of a dictator) but the wider system remained the same. In such scenario, there is little space for inclusive national dialogue with social movements taking centre stage.

However, there are some roles the protest movements can or potentially could play in formal dialogue and peace processes. **Popular movements have become dialogue protagonists and taken part in negotiation arenas with the regime.** The examples

include the national dialogue attempts by the Catholic church in Nicaragua mediating between the Sandinista government and civic groups following massive protests in 2018; and the role of the FFC coalition during transitional negotiations in Sudan in 2019. Elsewhere, **representatives of social movements have also taken up the role of insider mediators or conveners of national dialogue.** The Tunisian national dialogue in 2013-14 was dominated by established political parties, but street activists were indirectly represented by members of the National Dialogue Quartet, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015 for “its decisive contribution to the building of a pluralistic democracy in Tunisia in the wake of the Tunisian Revolution of 2011”.

However, the scenario is quite different in contexts of armed conflict, where the main protagonists of dialogue and negotiation processes tend to be the power-holders and the ‘the guys with the guns’ (governments and armed opposition). In these conditions, it is much more difficult for social movements to claim a seat at the table, and they rather play more informal roles as peace advocates and lobby groups.

Even there are examples of social movements influencing dialogue and decision-making during political transitions, there are many more examples of movements being excluded from the table. Some general challenges that prevent mass social movements from playing effective role in formal dialogues include representation challenge (who can represent movement in a table?), so called radicalism challenge (movements may have low skills and capacities to negotiate with elites) and demobilisation challenge (the pressure from the streets slows down during the dialogue process). In addition, **other social movements exclude themselves from the table by choosing to influence the course of dialogue processes from outside, through sustained street pressure.**

Meaningful engagement of diverse groups has greater influence in the sustainability and success of dialogues and peace process. **When the ruling body or government isolates social movements from negotiations and dialogues, women and youth, and persons with disabilities are affected the most.** Greater effort should be allocated in engaging persons with disability and ensure they have adequate information, both when participating in social movement campaigns and national



dialogues. It was underlined that the peacebuilding community has its own responsibilities to better equip its members for constructive engagement and interaction with movements. Peace support actors can and should engage more strategically with nonviolent protest movements for more effective national dialogues and political transitions.

Also, social media and news outlets have been proven as important tools in unifying the vision and common goals of mass social movements. Moreover, slogans and messaging during this phase is highly critical and must be sustained, from inception to implementation, to ensure pressure remains on the government.

Finally, one factor hindering the inclusion of mass social movements by the peacebuilding community is the lack of knowledge. Despite an increasing interest by the peace mediation community for mass social movements, **there is still a lack of understanding, documented evidence and best practices on how to effectively involve grassroots movements in formal or informal dialogue processes.** Peace mediation community can find it easier to work with established, institutional actors and assume that they somehow will speak for the street.

Keynote: Veronique Dudouet, Senior Advisor, Conflict Transformation Research, *Berghof Foundation*

Speakers: Veronique Dudouet, Senior Advisor, Conflict Transformation Research, *Berghof Foundation* // Hannes Siebert, Senior Advisor for Peace and Dialogue Processes, *Felm*, Senior Advisor & Co-Director, *Common Space Initiative* // Samah Elnour, Member of *MANSAM Coordination Committee* and Resistance Committee member, *MANSAM* // Mahmoud Fakih, Journalist

Moderator: Matthias Wevelsiep, Senior Operations and Program Manager, *Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers*

Managing Mass Social Movements Digitally - Who Are Opinion Leaders?

This learning lab session addressed the opportunities and the threats related to social media in conflict-affected environments in particular from the angle of how these platforms are leveraged to inform and mobilize the masses. The session also looked at online platforms as channels for peaceful interaction building social cohesion

Main takeaways:

1. The end results of social movements are greatly influenced by the state of the government - is there a system of governance or a trustworthy leadership who is open to the idea of change and allows for example social media infrastructure to exist?
2. Social media can be an advantage or disadvantage to social movements. It can quickly spread messages, provide local news where media outlets are not present, and reach people who are far away. On the other hand, there is a disadvantage because the government can restrict access to social media platforms, and only ensure that they or their sympathizers have access.
3. Social movements nowadays are quickly restricted in their rights to utilize the digital space by the authorities. The usage of satellites is one solution to this.

Social media-enabled mass social movements differ from those that emerge as a result of more traditional means. While traditional social movements often have clear opinion leaders, those shaped in the digital space do not necessarily have leaders to give speeches to or leaders to look up to. On the one hand, mass social movements growing on social media platforms may seem **leaderless** in the digital environment enabling a **more non-hierarchical approach** for movements to form. On the other hand, new leaders appear, and old leaders are put down. Some people may try to seize the opportunity and become leaders in addition to the audience raising new leaders from the crowd.

For modern social movements, social media supports orienting activities (mobilizing crowds) and communications. As a result, **social media is increasing activists' efficiency while providing a modern avenue to influence the public.** Social media enables

to enlarge the reach and thus the scope of influence in addition to enabling faster distribution of information – also among the diaspora. Furthermore, social media provides a safer avenue for opinion sharing as it enables people to hide their identities behind anonymity – although anonymity is not always for the good.

The recent examples of social media-powered mass social movements showcase that social media have a higher tendency to mobilize younger people. In addition to age, the cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of the people affect the inclusivity of social movements gaining a foothold in the digital space. In the session, concerns were raised on whether social media platforms will become elitist in the future. In addition to the potentially limited inclusivity of mass social movements leveraging social media, the digital environment also enables the creation of echo chambers which are used for disseminating **false information and propaganda**. Therefore, to avoid a more destructive use of social media to mobilize crowds, efforts should be put into **media literacy education** in addition to incentivizing social media companies to bear their responsibility.

To conclude, it is evident that social media is here to stay, and it will be used for mobilizing crowds in the future as well. Therefore, in particular for activists, it is essential to learn to navigate the digital space safely. **Questions concerning the security of online activists need to be considered** as in certain contexts the operational space of online activists is limited and if caught, they might face severe consequences. Also, social media platforms should be invited to the debates on mass social movements because they bear responsibility for what is happening on their platform. For example, social media platforms should be regulated more strictly and not tolerate the spread of hate speech and misinformation.

Panelist: Mahmoud Fakh, Journalist // Nilofar Ayoubi, Social Media Influencer & Journalist, *Women's Political Participation Network*

Moderator: Aino Piirtola, Project Officer, CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation

Women's Movements

Women and young women are often some of the first to experience injustices and harmful policies, which is why their participation and leadership within social movements is critical. The session focused on the role of women and young women within social movements, with case study examples from Libya, Cameroon, and Sudan. The session identified common challenges facing women and young women in moving from the process of social movements to more formal spaces within peace processes, as well as identified solutions to broadening the inclusion and broader participation of women and young women within wider society.

Main takeaways:

1. It is crucial to uplift and amplify the voices of women and young women from the grassroots level who are familiar with the realities of the conflict and its effects on their communities.
2. Women and young women's participation in existing processes alone is not sufficient, as women and young women should have leadership roles in the design, implementation and monitoring of the process, including what specific issues are addressed and how.
3. National Dialogue processes need to embrace and listen to the intersectional diversity of women and young women's voices and not view them as a homogeneous group, but also take into account other forms of identity, including ability, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

National dialogues are most often established as a consequence of social pressure and social movements. Women and young women are often the first to participate in social movements because they are some of the first to experience injustices or policies that negatively affect themselves and their families.

However, there is a serious need to reframe the discussion on women and young women's participation in national dialogues. Rather than asking the question of how we bring the voices of a social movement to the table, we should ask ourselves **how we can reinvent the table to fit the social movement**. The current focus is too much on representation (who sits around the table?), whereas more focus should also be on the agenda (what is on the agenda and how it's discussed?).



National Dialogues Conference

While in the dialogue process, it's important to discuss and address issues that are relevant to women and young women. These are not individual substance questions as **women are against the status quo**. For example in Libya, women have been able to participate in the official peace talks. Furthermore, the women mediators see themselves as *mediators that disrupt the status quo*. However, this is not easy as issues related to atrocities against international law and crimes against humanity are avoided in talks due to their sensitivity. Moreover, the WPS agenda has been criminalized by the internationally recognized government.

Women and young women in peace processes want to discuss power-sharing and broader systemic and structural changes. As one of the panelists put it: *"We don't want a piece of the cake (a piece of power), we want to change the recipe of the cake."* If women are mere participants in peace processes instead of joining the agenda setting, there is a high risk that social movements are only instrumentalized and playing the agenda of the powerful.

In addition to the direct participation of women, their participation must be reflected in the peace agreement through **gender provisions and specific language** so that women and young women more broadly will benefit. In Sudan, after the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan, women's movements have been demanding a quota system for the Parliament in line with the 40% stipulated in the Constitution but have so far been able to obtain only a few seats.

Another pit to be avoided is the lack of representation among women and young women included in the peace processes. We must decolonize peacebuilding

"We don't want a piece of the cake (a piece of power), we want to change the recipe of the cake."

NDC 2022 panelist, *Women's Movements*

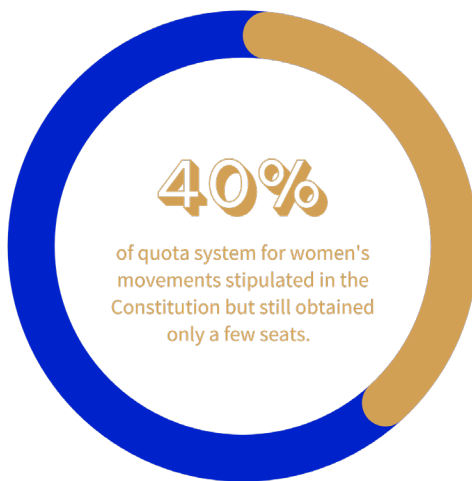
spaces, this means including everyday women in peace processes. For example, in Cameroon, there were some women consulted in the National Dialogue Process. However, the process was not properly representative of local women from rural communities, who are affected

the greatest by conflict. There is a strong need to **prioritize giving space to women and young women operating at the grassroots level** as they are the first to respond to and experience violent conflict.

When reaching grassroots women, language can be a barrier that isolates women from the peace processes. It's important to identify mechanisms for including women and young women who speak local languages and women in nomadic and/or marginalized communities, including women with disabilities. This will facilitate the inclusion of voices from a broader spectrum of women and not just the urban-based elite. In **Cameroon**, the social movements have been strong but are now facing an issue of elitist women being at the 'table' with no connection to the grassroots women's movements.

Furthermore, more attention should be paid to intersectionality and multi-vocality. We shall not expect one woman to speak on behalf of all women, but rather to create space for the voices of many women from many backgrounds and perspectives.

Finally, even if inclusion is the recipe the peace processes need to include, in some cases social movements should not be instrumentalized and "domesticated" in formal dialogue processes but shall let to remain as a monitoring mechanism overseeing democratic governance. In Cameroon, social media has played an important role in the social movement by mobilizing the 'street' and monitoring and putting pressure on the government.



40%
of quota system for women's movements stipulated in the Constitution but still obtained only a few seats.

This was after the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan in 2015

How to improve the inclusion of women in peace processes:

- **The international community and official mediators** shall establish relations with women and young women networks and alliances to be able to identify and connect with them.
- **All practitioners** need to identify and utilize non-violent methods and mechanisms of inclusion for getting women **and young women** involved in politics and challenging the status quo. These can include quotas, legislation, institutional frameworks, advisory boards, and various models of indirect representation in peace processes.
- **All practitioners** need to find ways to broaden the spectrum of women who are participating in peace processes including addressing language barriers limiting women's participation.

Panelists: Nazik M. Abbass, PhD, Coordination Committee Member (Socio-economic track), *MANSAM* // Zahra Langi, Co-founder and CEO, *Libyan Women's Platform for Peace (LWPP)* // Caryn Dasah, General Coordinator, *Cameroon Women's Peace Movement*

Moderator: Sylvia Thompson, Senior Manager, *CMI* — *Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*



Women's Movements. [From left to right] Caryn Dasah, Zahra Langi, & Nazik Abbass.

Unpacking the Opportunities, Changes and New Dialogue Dynamics Created by People's Movements

This session discussed people movements' role in peacebuilding and in creating sustainable peace and addressed how movements' do not exist in a vacuum but take place within established societal structures. System-level change, however, was recognized as a challenge for people's movements, as was the case in the Arab Uprising.

Main takeaways:

1. People's movements should not be analyzed as short-term processes, but rather as long-term processes that keep evolving.
2. There is a strong tendency to think that all people's movements are similar. More emphasis should be put on the fact that they are not happening in a vacuum but within social and political structures, that can either enable or challenge the change processes.
3. In some countries, national dialogues have been used as a political tool to control the streets and "manage" people's movements. More emphasis needs to be put on understanding the importance of timing.
4. More discussion is needed on how people's movements can be supported so that they can contribute to deep system change.

National dialogues are too often seen as quick fixes to solve crises. At times, they can be counterproductive by taking away the power of social movements. **In some countries, national dialogues have been used as a political tool to control the streets and "manage" social movements.** More emphasis needs to be put on understanding the importance of timing.

Recent years have demonstrated a substantial increase in the number of social movements that are revolting against oppression, discrimination, and abuse of power by various governments or oppressive authorities around the world. While social change does not happen overnight, the movements tend to experience varying degrees of success and failure. Even if social movements often share common ideas and objectives, none of them are alike. **More emphasis should be put on**



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the fact that social movements do not exist in a vacuum but within social and political structures, that can either enable or challenge the change processes. The people's movements should not, however, be analyzed as short-term processes, but rather as long-term processes that keep evolving. The structure of change processes is highly complex and nonlinear by nature.

A major challenge for people's movements is to transform political change processes as well as instrument and facilitate deep structural and societal change. As a result of the Arab Uprising, major reforms including new constitutions, economic liberalization, elections, and the emergence of new political parties and civil society took place. However, counter movements were quickly developed by the ruling elite or military that managed to control, minimize, and undermine the deep change the movements aimed for. **The movements might have been efficient and effective in overthrowing the regimes, but the change was not sufficiently embedded in practices, culture, and awareness of the societies.** The counter movements derailed the change processes and results became superficial without a deep system change. The social movements were created by the people to rethink state-society relations. Despite multiple reforms and new elites in many parts of the Arab region, the relationship between state and society did not change.

Speakers: Karam Karam, Regional Advisor on Governance, Peacebuilding and Transition, *UN-ESCWA* // Hannes Siebert, Senior Advisor for Peace and Dialogue Processes, *Felm*, Senior Advisor & Co- Director, *Common Space Initiative* // Nang Raw, Program Manager, *Nyein Foundation*

Moderator: Ken Butigan, Senior Lecturer, *Peace, Justice and Conflict Studies Program at DePaul University*

CLIMATE

Climate Plenary: Addressing the Complex Nature of the Relationship Between Climate, Peace and Security

The objective of this session was to begin unpacking the relationship between climate change and peace. Key questions identified that require further attention include the impact of the absence of a recognised climate, peace and security agenda at the global level as well as efforts to integrate climate change into mediation conflict, prevention and peacebuilding efforts, including process design of national dialogues.

Main takeaways:

1. The failure of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms to incorporate the impact of climate change in certain regions contributes to an increase in clashes between communities. In addition, climate change is creating mass migration flows that result in semi-permanent relocations, often putting strains on already scarce resources in fragile areas.
2. The lack of clear policy frameworks in climate, peace and security forces practitioners to improvise. As no harmonized practices are developed at the global level, this may result in unequal and incoherent responses or conflict-insensitive climate actions.
3. Climate sensitivity adds complexity to process design of national dialogues and peace processes. With the lack of clear guidance, this is challenging and even discouraging. There is a need to ensure that climate change components don't come at the expense of other development priorities.

With regards to the climate change-conflict link, there was a consensus in the panel that regardless of the concrete nature of the relationship, it is undeniable that climate change-related consequences have an impact on conflict-affected contexts and vice versa. The data points that **the countries most vulnerable to climate change are also the countries where conflicts have exponentially risen in the last years and where the recruiting grounds for terrorism are particularly fertile.** While further research on the inter linkages between climate change and conflict was deemed crucial, these visible effects are sufficient for peace practitioners, and national and international

organisations to take into account climate change in their involvement with peace initiatives and national dialogues.

To illustrate this situation, the context in the Sahel region was discussed. For instance, herder-farmer disputes have become one of the main conflict drivers even though these two communities used to interact sporadically and were generally successful in solving their conflicts through traditional dialogue mechanisms. However, they are now forced to share already insufficient resources in a more permanent way, causing their conflict to escalate in seriousness and number. This is a consequence of the mass displacements caused by terrorist attacks, but it is also a direct consequence of the reduction of usable land in the region due to desertification linked to climate change.

Climate change should not be seen as an exclusively environmental issue as it has also a social and economic dimension, and therefore also a political one. Climate change affects the livelihoods and choices made by every community. The reduction of arable land, the scarcity of water, desertification, and an increase in weather unpredictability are all environmental phenomena affected by climate change, that can translate into mass migration, disputes with neighboring communities for vital resources, or the loss of crops due to unexpected floods or droughts. This means that in the context of preventing or resolving conflicts related to climate change, mitigation and adaptation actions are about a reallocation of resources, which will have serious financial implications. In other words, it amounts to distribution and governance issues.

This shows that **climate change and its far-reaching consequences for local communities are already a central part of many conflicts**. Therefore, it necessarily has to be taken into account in dialogue and peace processes. Climate-sensitive approaches to peacemaking are becoming increasingly important, as not including this aspect in conflict resolution efforts has already proven to potentially do harm.

For instance, the fight against terrorism in the Lake Chad Basin region was largely climate-blind, with local communities affected by the burning of crops or the banning of fishing. These actions weakened the ability of these communities to fight climate change, igniting anger and frustration against

the authorities and, ultimately, increasing the recruitment of terrorists in the region. This is a concrete example of how climate insensitive peace and security actions can translate into undermining peace.

Finally, the added complexity of climate sensitivity was raised. Process design for national dialogues and other modalities of peace processes is already a very sensitive issue in terms of inclusivity, representation, meaningful participation and gender issues. Having to also include a climate aspect to this complex process without any guidance was thought to be challenging and even somewhat discouraging. It was noted that there are concerns among some (notably among the most affected) about the implications for funding, meaning that including climate change will come at the expense of other development priorities.

The role and challenges faced by international organisations such as the UN, EU and AU when it comes to climate, peace and security were also explored. Whilst all faced challenges, they were not necessarily of the same nature. While **the African Union and its Member States have been at the forefront of recognizing the effects of climate change on conflicts** developing a Climate-Security-Development nexus for Africa, the UN has been reluctant to create a climate-specific policy framework, with a UN Security Council Resolution presented by Niger and Ireland in December 2021 being rejected. However, this has not impeded UN Special Envoys and Representatives from taking into account climate change in the implementation of their initiatives, listening and learning from those who are the most affected by climate change on the ground.

On the contrary, while the EU might have a more developed policy framework through its 2020 Concept for Mediation and Mediation Guidelines, it lags when it comes to implementation. Nevertheless, the EU, and the EEAS in particular, continue to develop their practices, giving special importance to partnerships with peer organisations as well as with independent actors such as Adelphi or CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation. The EEAS also has developed numerous conflict analysis and peace mediation tools that are allowing it to carry out systematic analyses around the globe as part of its foresight strategy. Recently climate aspects have been included in this comprehensive exercise, with a pilot analysis currently conducted in South Sudan.



On a more positive note, in Bolivia, the fight against climate change had the potential of becoming a rallying topic that could help unite communities around a common goal. This suggests that context-specific climate strategies can have a convening power to help prevent conflict, strengthen peace and unite communities.

Going forward, the panel stressed the **importance of context-driven and localized research and approaches**. While some recurring elements and factors can be identified for when climate change will have an impact, the type and level of impact on peace and security will vary. The important prevention angle of taking into account climate change in peacemaking efforts should not be overlooked. Longer time frames should be considered, moving away from short-term actions and towards longer program cycles.

Panelists: Emanuel Habuka Bombande, Senior Mediation Adviser, *Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, United Nations* // Mukondeleli Mpeiwa, Head, Mediation and Dialogue Division, Political Affairs, Peace and Security Department, *African Union Commission* // Katariina Leinonen, Deputy Head of Division, Conflict Prevention and Mediation, *European External Action Service* // Dhesignen Naidoo, Senior Research Associate, *African Futures and Innovation, Institute for Security Studies (ISS)* // Janani Vivekananda, Senior Advisor and Head of Climate Diplomacy and Security, *Adelphi*

Moderator: Jibecke Joensson, Head of Brussels Office, *CMI* — *Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*



Addressing the Complex Nature of the Relationship Between Climate, Peace and Security. [From left to right] Jibecke Joensson, Emanuel Habuka Bombande, Dhesignen Naidoo, Janani Vivekananda, Katariina Leinonen, & Mukondeleli Mpeiwa.

Natural Resource Management and Water Diplomacy for Peace

There is a growing practice of environmental peacebuilding where natural resource management is integrated into conflict prevention and peacemaking efforts to build resilience within and between communities. This session explored lessons learned from the interface of natural resource management and conflict resolution. Particularly, rapidly developing field of water diplomacy as a tool for advancing collaborative natural resource management as foundation for sustainable peace and conflict prevention and transformation via four cases in Europe and Middle East, and looking the role of natural resource governance in localised conflicts in Mozambique.

Main takeaways:

1. Technical cooperation and common interest to improve good natural resource governance can act as an entry point to build trust between conflicting parties and identify compatible interest. However, even addressing climate change and natural resource scarcity can be a forceful convener for cooperation, it can be also a conflict multiplier.
2. Natural resources and their management are a foundation socio-economic development, and they should be included in national dialogues and be a priority consideration to peace processes.
3. Climate change and environmental degradation have different drivers and different impacts and mitigating their impact requires different tools.
4. There is an increasing awareness on general climate change impacts to natural resources and conflict multiplier. We need better conflict analysis and interdisciplinary collaboration to better understand and plan for mitigation of these impacts in conflict settings and peace processes
5. While there is increasing awareness and political will to enhance transboundary water collaboration via water diplomacy initiatives there is lack in technical capacity, data and coordination transform.

With the acceleration of climate change and environmental degradation, and the continued rise in the global population, natural resources management is becoming an increasingly central element of good governance, and therefore also of conflict prevention and peacemaking. The correlation between unsustainable use of natural resources and conflict has been explored by researchers and international organisations for more than a decade. There is a growing practice of environmental peacebuilding where natural resource management is integrated into conflict prevention and peacemaking efforts to build resilience within and between communities. Similarly, climate security agenda becoming more prominent in the international peace and security agenda in United Nations and member states and regions.

Water diplomacy was seen as one of key tools to address growing number of challenges linked to the transboundary water management and conflict resolution relating to water management. It was highlighted that water has ceased to be a technical question and, in many regions, it has become or is emerging as a high political priority and factor for sustainable development and peace. Climate risk more generally is challenging resilience of communities across fragile contexts coupled with stress of population and environmental degradation. **Increasingly, however, water is seen as an opportunity for brokering peace and identifying common interests to enhance cross-boundary collaboration in conflict-affected regions where water scarcity or environmental degradation is mutually harming all rivalry parties.** Some of the key challenges related to transboundary water collaboration are lack of and sharing data and capacity to analyse effects and build trajectories for collaboration, disconnect between technical and political expertise needed, and lack of trust to engage in collaborative efforts on sensitive water security.

The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers is working in Mozambique with local actors on advancing conflict resolution capacities related to natural resource management and exploring natural resource conflicts as contributing factor to localised conflict, and instability and emergence of violent extremist groups in Northern Mozambique.

One of the regions severely impacted by climate emergency is Middle East and North Africa (MENA). When it comes to trajectories of water scarcity and utilisation and management of water the future outlook is alarming with estimated effects of climate change on the hydrological cycle is affected throughout. Already, the 1990s water has been seen as a potential source of conflict and in current and past years water has more prominently entered the agendas of track 1-2 political processes of peace processes. Blue Peace Initiative Middle East (managed by Turkish Water Institute (SUEN)) is the first regionally owned water cooperation mechanism that promotes socio-economic development and regional collaboration to enhance transboundary water cooperation in the region. One of the lessons highlighted from the regional perspective was that **developing and maintaining technical collaboration on transboundary water management can maintain relations and contribute to confidence building in situations where the political track of solving other issues is hindered.**



Natural Resource Management and Water Diplomacy for Peace. [From left to right] Lacerda Lipangue and Nawwar Sabeelish.



This good experience of moving forward with practical environmental collaboration and confidence building from the bottom up was also highlighted by another regional initiative Ecopeace Middle East where the environmentalists have been able to start up bottom-up locally led collaboration between Jordan, Palestine, and Israel to advance protection of the Dead Sea area. Inter-dependency in agreements and management of resources create common interest and can be catalyst for peace.

The panelist identified some prevailing challenges:

- Lack of data and capacity to analyse environmental and climate change related impacts to conflicts and natural resources;
- Lack of collaboration between experts and political track to promote collaborative action.

Speakers: Tugba Evrim Maden, Head, *Blue Peace in the Middle East Coordination Office, Istanbul (and Turkish Water Institute (Suen))* // Nawwar Sabeelish, Environmental Education Program Manager, *Ecopeace Middle East* // Antti Rautavaara, Senior Policy Advisor (*Development and Water*), *Ministry for Foreign Affairs Finland* // Lacerda Lipangue, Consortium Project Coordinator, *Finn Church Aid*

Moderator: Maruan El-Krekshi, Head, Middle East and North Africa, *CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Advancing Inclusive Climate-Based Mediation Processes

Climate emergencies are rapidly accelerating conflicts around the world, along with the gendered impacts they generate as a result. The contributions of women and young women mediators have never been more important within environmental peacebuilding efforts and natural-resource-related conflict resolution. However, merely 21 percent of the National Action Plans to advance Women, Peace and Security Agenda include specific objectives to address gender, climate and conflict nexus. This session raised awareness of this gap and built an understanding of the unique needs of women and challenges in climate conflict-based mediation and explored how women and young women mediators have been contributing to this growing space to promote peace.

Main takeaways:

1. Climate emergencies are impacting the effectiveness of traditional dispute mechanisms, which have been successful in the past. We need to rely on local knowledge to lead in addressing these impacts. When you have support from local leadership, inclusion can flourish.
2. We need to address the economic benefits of climate emergencies and the impact it has on traditional and indigenous communities.
3. Women mediators, who are mediating conflict-based conflicts, are almost nonexistent and this needs more focus. There are real life-threatening barriers that women are facing in this work.
4. When mediating an issue related to climate change, one must take a holistic approach and include, besides the environment, cross-cutting themes such as health, migration, agriculture, and livelihoods.

The session began by pointing out that **climate conflict-based mediation needs to utilize a holistic approach**. Climate-based conflict mediation is not centered around the environment only. Instead, the cross-cutting issue needs to be considered, including health, migration, agriculture, livelihoods and other areas. The COVID-19 pandemic is an example of a crisis that impacted populations across many sectors and had a distinct

differential impact on women and girls. Same applies to the environmental crisis such as deforestation. The panelists also explored the impacts that are raised in climate-based conflict mediation, such as the issue of land ownership and women being enticed to sell their lands.

Climate-based conflict mediators use variety of approaches and tools for mediation, including using an indigenous approach. One such approach is utilizing consensus building on environmental issues affecting communities. Another inclusive example comes from South-East Nigeria. So-called daughter ‘omother’ process allows the first daughter of every family to be a mediator within the community and the traditional rulers listen to them. Young women mediating climate-based conflicts utilize traditional chiefs who have a gatekeeper position when it comes to mediation in local matters. Traditional chiefs’ approval for young women to mediate validates their role as community mediators and thus, increases inclusion around mediation of climate-based conflicts. An inclusive approach is important in order to integrate every stakeholder into the mediation process and leave no one behind.

Many challenges were raised for advancing inclusion in climate-based mediation processes, such as:

- **Traditional dispute mechanisms are no longer working** due to the new emerging issues arising out of climate emergencies.
- **Climate-based conflict mediation has the most gender imbalance in mediation areas** because it centers around land ownership and farms. There are few women mediators in climate-based conflicts. Being a leader, as a woman, is often questioned and in addition, mediating as a woman can be dangerous.
- **There is a lack of community understanding on the gendered impacts of climate emergencies in mediation processes.** Tragic examples include a pregnant women being left on the side of the road to give birth by herself when herdsman and their communities keep moving and the disparity of those displaced by climate emergencies.

- Climate change affects communities in different ways, and this needs to be recognized in inclusive climate-based conflict mediation process. For example, hunters can continue hunting because they can pay for using national parks, but indigenous communities cannot utilize firewood for cooking or heating – or if they do, they will be arrested.
- After the mediation **process it is a big challenge to keep all the parties committed to the joint decisions as there is lack of resources and lack of institutional frameworks.** For example, in a certain context a policy was made to create ranches instead of moving the cattle on the range as moving is not climate sustainable. However, in six years there is no record of progress in implementation. Furthermore, only few receive available subsidies aimed for those impacted. More funding is needed. Also, it is important to look at issues rising from climate-based conflicts, such as increased crime (e.g. kidnapping on trains) as a result of displacement.

The panel concluded that the climate policies and action plans need to be implemented to be legally binding and enforced. Furthermore, there is a need to explore more on how women and young women are empowering each other to address the impacts of climate emergencies in their communities for example by forming support groups to build farms.

Speakers: Chioniso Michelle Murinda, Coordinator, *Community Voices for Peace and Pluralism* // Stephanie Ijeoma Ladele, Founder, *Environmental Conflict Mediation and Women Development Initiative* // Ulemu Diana Makumba, Agricultural Extension Development Officer, *Malawi Ministry of Agriculture*

Moderator: Tiina Jortikka-Laitinen, Ambassador for Polar Issues in the Foreign Ministry of Finland, *Ministry for Foreign Affairs Finland*



Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities

This session explored the key role of indigenous people and local communities in nature conservation efforts. The focus was on their traditions and knowledge that can be crucial to preserve the local ecosystems when threatened by environmental degradation and climate change.

Main takeaways:

1. Many nature conservation efforts are still carried on with a colonization mindset, approaching challenges and opportunities with a certain bias leaving the ideology, culture, perspectives and traditions of local and indigenous communities unconsulted.
2. Indigenous consult and consent approaches are needed in nature conservation. Often, co-management of natural reserves between indigenous communities and authorities is the best solution.
3. Indigenous communities have an immense collection of knowledge, which is needed to reconnect human societies with nature. We need to have a dialogue with the land, in order to try to equalize everybody's wishes and needs.

The panelists discussed their particular experiences regarding the key role of indigenous people in nature conservation efforts, particularly in times of climate crisis and during the ongoing climate action processes at different levels.

The speakers identified common realities, challenges and opportunities that apply despite their geographical location and cultural differences. The voices of indigenous communities, leaders and conservationists are still not heard and they do not have enough decision power. More specifically, some of those realities and challenges are colonialist attitudes and actions, extractivist, and racist behaviors. It is necessary to empower indigenous communities, they do not need to be nor feel trapped between nations, languages, or legislations, with not inclusive policies.

Technology and traditional knowledge should be allies to boost the inclusivity and empowerment of indigenous communities. Indigenous people have approaches that support sustainable nature conservation. Proper documentation and learning from traditional knowledge are needed. There shouldn't be room for stigma and lack of genuine interest when it comes to research and documentation of traditional knowledge. Often, **co-management of natural reserves between indigenous and local communities and government and/or conservation agencies is the best approach.** There are excellent examples in the world, with autonomous local and indigenous authorities and law enforcement. It is good to learn from those perspectives, and offer new models.

There is a need to establish a different system without extracting natural resources. We need to restore the connection with nature and find a way to be one with Earth and with each other. Working together to go for a just transition is necessary. A better relationship with nature, a sense of solidarity, and shared responsibility are the keys to having peaceful and constructive processes.

Speakers: Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, Former UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Founder and Current Executive Director, *Tebtebba Foundation* // Dorothee Cambou, Assistant Professor of Sustainability Science, *Helsinki University* // Fadjar Schouten-Korwa, Human Rights Lawyer, *Congress of Nations and States*

Moderator: Pauliina Feodoroff, *Skolt Sámi theatre director*

04.

Conclusions

The fifth National Dialogues Conference was a place to look together into the current practices around national dialogues and unpack and repack them again. As one of the participants put it, it is time to *recognize the non-linear, messy nature of national dialogues and develop new ways of monitoring the impacts - for accountability to the many different groups in society, not only elites and donors.*

Regardless of the perspectives for revisiting national dialogues, the speakers' and participants' message was the same – there is an urgent need to move the commitments and changes from papers to action. Also, many pointed out that systems and structures in place in national dialogues are not fully serving the purpose, and the process design needs to be reformed. Intersectionality was seen as a key component in improving national dialogues. A ticking-the-box exercise of fitting youth, women, people with disabilities, minorities, and mass movements in the ongoing dialogue formats is not an ideal solution, but instead national dialogues require reformulating to be more representative and accommodative by nature. One of the speakers crystalized the need for enhanced process design and women's equal participation in dialogues by stating: *We do not just want a piece of the cake; we want to change the recipe.*

Hence, through the conference, the participants called for more inclusion in the national dialogues. After the first conference morning, the participants were asked to summarize and share their main takeaway from the opening, keynote and high-level panel in just one word. Inclusion was among the most repeated takeaways together with trust

and solidarity, youth, decolonization and dialogue. Enabling and supporting the inclusion of youth in national dialogues was raised in a number of discussions: *If we are not too young to be in war or to vote, then, we are not too young in peace and development.*

Besides enhanced inclusion, the worry about the climate crisis was highlighted when the participants were asked to share the main takeaways in the closing session of the conference. Climate crisis is increasingly becoming a driving force for conflicts in many countries and peaceful solutions are needed for climate crisis, food crisis and energy crisis. The serious message heard at the conference was that *most peace processes fail within 10 years if we do not take climate risks into account.*

Based on the conference feedback, the participants were in general very satisfied with the content of the conference. Some ideas for further discussion rose including youth-led social movements, women as community peacebuilders as well as environmental safeguarding and migration challenges.

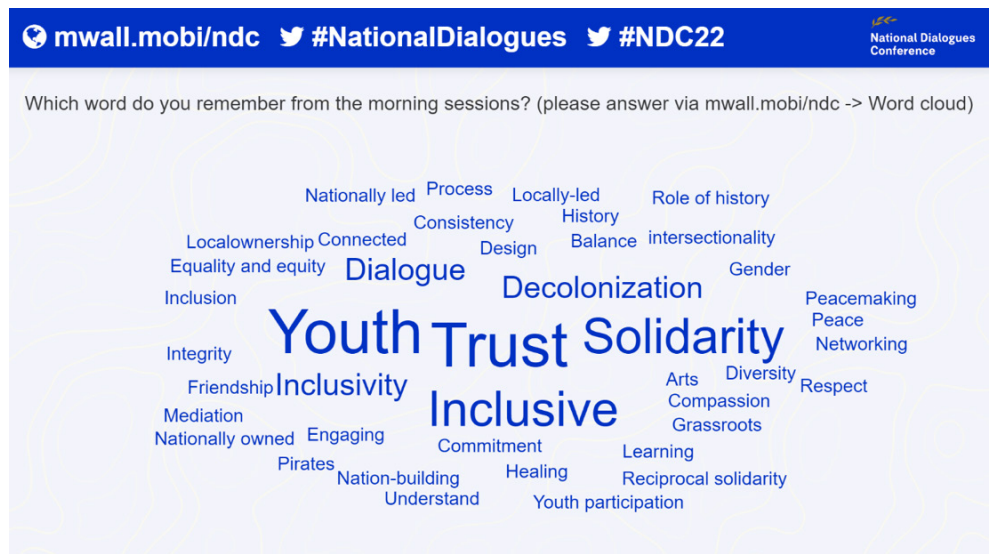


Figure 1: Results from the word cloud.



Finally, as in previous National Dialogue Conferences, the feedback given by participants show that the core value of the conference lies in its function as a venue for sharing, learning from peers and networking. For the future, the participants expressed their interest in more close cooperation and joint events between the conferences. A participant summed up the importance of the National Dialogues Conference by the feeling of being in this together:

“You may think that you are living the crisis alone, but if you travel from Lebanon and the Middle East to Ethiopia, Africa, Colombia and South America, the scene will not change for you. We share the problems on the ground.”

NDC 2022 participant



Audience members



Audience members



Managing Mass Social Movements Digitally - Who Are Opinion Leaders

05.

Annex 1: Concept Note – Revisiting National Dialogues

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, in cooperation with Felm, CMI – Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation, and Finn Church Aid (FCA), organises the *Fifth Conference on National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue* processes on 15–16 June 2022. The Conference takes place at the Paasitorni Congress Center in the Siltasaari district of Helsinki.

The Conference on National Dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes, or National Dialogues Conference as we and our guests have come to call it, is a unique event. It provides a safe and inclusive space for joint reflection and in-depth discussion between the invited practitioners, stakeholders and experts working with peace mediation and dialogue processes in different contexts. In the world we live in, peace processes are facing great uncertainty. Two years of Covid-19 pandemic combined with other global challenges such as shifts in the geopolitical landscape, growing inequalities, shrinking space of the civil society and the climate change, have worsened the situation. These developments have also negatively affected the ability to discuss and transform conflicts through dialogues.

The *Fifth National Dialogues Conference* will thus focus on Revisiting National Dialogues, asking how to (re)position national dialogues and non-formal dialogue processes in the changing world. In this context, the conference will reflect on the role of the regional structures and discuss both established and emerging practices of inclusivity and dialogue process design. The conference will also discuss how mass social movements and non-violent resistance movements relate to national dialogues and explore climate emergencies from the perspective of national dialogues and their ecosystems. Discussions are expected to include insights and experiences from various countries and regions, including for example Ethiopia, Mali, Sudan, Iraq, and Myanmar.

The National Dialogue Conference offers a much-needed platform for exchange, reflection, and joint action. Recent developments demonstrate that conflicts are difficult to predict, become more complex and more interlinked across regions. This challenges mediation and dialogue approaches used by local and international peace actors. While ecosystems require us to see broadly the interplay of events within the system, three main challenges can be pinpointed, to make the current situation more tangible:

- Covid-19 as preventing dialogue but not preventing conflict
- Major shifts in the geopolitical landscape through recent conflicts
- Climate crisis increasingly becoming a conflict driver in many conflicts

In the last three years, Covid-19 has negatively affected many countries and regions across the world. While some societies came to a de facto standstill, many contemporary conflicts in the world continued. Conflicts are often rooted in unreconciled tensions between state, identity and society, and intra-state conflicts are often intensified by structural causes for conflict – such as inequality or unemployment. Rarely are such conflicts monocausal, and accordingly, efforts to resolve them need to address the complexity of the conflict.

National dialogues, placing emphasis on internal actors, may be particularly useful in addressing intrastate conflicts with a multiplicity of stakeholders, as it works to broaden political ownership, thus ensuring a more inclusive process and lasting results. These dialogues have come in all kinds of different shapes and sizes, with varying aims and intentions – to expand



political participation (including women and youth), generate new approaches and solutions or manage change at delicate times. This inherent diversity notwithstanding, broad interest has emerged in the potential of national dialogues as a powerful approach to prevention, resolution and transformation of conflicts.

The three challenges above though, guide us in shaping the content of this year's NDC. With an unintended break in between conference, the fifth conference aspires to recognize global changes that affect both conflicts and national dialogues. The global conference series also builds on the earlier conferences, hence the focus on Revisiting National Dialogues. As it has been in earlier conferences, participants take pride in sharing and showcasing the progress they made in their field of expertise. The conference outcome will be actionable learning that translates into better process design and ultimately into better process outcomes.

Challenges that negatively affect conflicts also affect how we perceive national dialogue ecosystems and our ability to create sustainable processes that lead to lasting peace. Revisiting, therefore, means not to shy away from the internal pressures and inconsistencies of dialogue theory and practise, but rather to address them. Some international frameworks have been dysfunctional, mandate questions and challenges are unresolved, and the inclusivity requirement remaining on process descriptions, but not fully applied in practice – the NDC is the place to challenge, criticize, and improve. The conference will take 'revisiting' seriously, and invites participants to embark on a journey through the essential building blocks of national dialogue. It is not enough to reflect on the broad and often impressive abstract landscape of national dialogues. Rather, it is time to deep dive in the concrete and the tangible: Revisiting requires us to unpack and then repack, to simplify and then complexify.

SESSION SUMMARIES

High-level panel: Role of national dialogues in a changing world

As much as the process design sets the tone for the dialogue process, sets the high-level panel the tone of the conference. In the keynote and the panel "The place of National Dialogues in a changing world" the speakers will set the scene for the following two days. Our high-level panel speakers will provoke discussion on main trends of dialogue processes: many processes demand more and more inclusion, but as it turns out, bigger is not always better, and a very broad and inclusive process may lead to complex negotiation. Inclusive processes are more likely to lead to sustainable outcomes, but how do you manage inclusive processes? Similarly, a clearly mandated and locally owned process may have more credibility. This requires functional political decision making and supportive institutions. National Dialogue though is used and applies as a tool for situations, when nothing else works. How do you organize inclusive and democratic processes when society is a breaking point?

THEME: REGIONAL STRUCTURES

Panel discussion: Regional structures and revisiting national dialogues

The session reflects on the current challenges especially on the African continent related to unconstitutional changes of governments and complex political transitions and to discuss the usability of national dialogues in these contexts from the perspective of regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). By rethinking national dialogue, the session aims to instigate a wider discussion on the need for a comprehensive review, and potential renewal of, the current "toolbox" for conflict prevention and resolution, under the auspices of existing regional structures. Some of the most pertinent challenges to peace and security on the African continent relate, on the one hand, to the recent surge of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa, in particular military coup d'états, and on the other hand, to complex political transitions which are borne out of structural and systemic fragilities in governance and the oftentimes entrenched political fault lines over the distribution and access to power and resources. Whilst

recognizing the need for local ownership in national dialogue, regional organizations nevertheless, can play an important role in supporting such processes.

THEME: INCLUSIVITY AND PROCESS DESIGN

Parallel session: Breaking the barriers to ensure the active leadership and participation of individuals with disabilities

Building upon the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the UN Security Council Resolution 2475 brought a historic moment in a first-ever resolution calling upon Member States and parties to armed conflict to protect persons with disabilities in conflict situations and to ensure they have access to justice, basic services and unimpeded humanitarian assistance. The UN Security Council further urged Member States to enable the meaningful participation and representation of persons with disabilities, including their representative organizations, in humanitarian action and in conflict prevention, resolution, reconciliation, reconstruction and peacebuilding. Two years since the adoption of this landmark resolution, what barriers still remain unaddressed? Where can policymakers and practitioners advance and address the gaps that are hindering global progress? This parallel session seeks to engage experts and practitioners on how best to approach and address these barriers and gaps, while offering concrete recommendations that Forum participants can take forward in their work.

Parallel session: Roles of masculinities within national dialogues and mediation processes

Peacebuilding, including national dialogues and official mediation processes are highly gendered. While women's meaningful inclusion to participation in peace processes is essential to building sustainable peace, many organizations have realized that the connection between masculinities, violence and militarism also needs to be addressed. However, when men and boys are addressed, it is mostly as perpetrators of violence, and on occasion as actors for positive change. In terms of examining men and boys as agents of violence, the notion of violent, military/militarized masculinities being hegemonic has become increasingly commonplace. This has often lacked an intersectional approach and consideration of local complexities affecting men's attitudes, values and behaviours.

Men and masculinities are a central factor in re-producing but also potentially ending patterns of violent conflict. Going beyond the dominant and traditional roles of masculinities in conflict and peacebuilding contexts could allow to examine various other forms masculinities that are frequently overlooked. This session seeks to build understanding on the gender identity of men and boys in conflict and peacebuilding, while also looking at mediation processes themselves and the type of masculinities it may promote and portray.

Parallel session: Rethinking the challenges of inclusion in national dialogues in the Sahel

Heavily affected by the consequences of climate change, regional instability, and porous borders, the Sahelian region has struggled with increased migration flows and become a hotspot for jihadist terrorist groups. Sahelian countries have also had to face challenges posed by violent separatist groups and uprisings, as well as internal political struggles that have led to military coups in Chad, Mali, and Burkina Faso.

At the same time, the Sahel has witnessed a considerable growth in terms of the number of peace and reconciliation efforts in the last decade. In Mali, the Algiers peace agreement of 2015 was reached between the northern movements and the central Malian government, which set the scene for a national reconciliation process. In December 2021, the new military junta that ousted the former government also launched the 'Assises nationales de refondation' as a step further in the process of national dialogue and reconciliation. Similarly, the transitional government in Burkina Faso recently organized a national dialogue to define the terms for the governmental transition. Chad recently came to terms with the need for a national reconciliation process to end the decades of violent conflict due to ethnic and religious rivalries. Currently in a pre-talk stage between the government and the different movements, a national dialogue is set to take place soon. Yet, these processes have faced challenges regarding inclusivity. At their core, National Dialogues are considered to provide an inclusive and participatory framework for resolving political crises and leading countries into political transitions.



Parallel session: Engaging and uplifting women of faith as mediators within national dialogue and mediation processes

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 has advanced the creation of several notable women's mediation networks and initiatives, including Nordic Women Mediators, Women Mediators Across the Commonwealth, FemWise-Africa, and the Southeast Asia Network of Women Peace Negotiators and Mediators. While women and young women's effective participation and leadership within national dialogues and mediation processes continue to be underutilized, there remains powerful intersectional opportunities to bolster opportunities for their engagement. This includes women of faith mediators, whose approach to mediation tends to go beyond secular peacebuilding mediation. This session will therefore focus on examining the intersection of women and faith within national dialogues and mediation processes, specifically looking at how women faith-based mediators are navigating mediation efforts – whether at local, national, or regional levels.

Parallel session: How to support locally led and peaceful transformation: revisiting process design

Our world today is facing enormous, complex, and interlinked challenges. These challenges bring questions of design to the forefront; how to design peacebuilding approaches that are suitable to respond to the complex challenges and to deal with the uncertainty the contemporary world presents. The call for the need to re-think peacebuilding design, comes also along with the increasing demands for decolonizing the aid and peacebuilding sectors, and recognizing that local leadership means more than merely involving local actors in process design and implementation. The need to re-visit design concerns also National Dialogues, which typically have had a very strong process design emphasis. In this session National Dialogue processes and their design, as well as wider peacebuilding design, are looked at from the following angles: (1) recognizing and addressing different power dynamics linked to process design (2) addressing the knowledge and value base of process design thinking and exploring context-based alternatives. This session recognizes the need to decolonize the peacebuilding design and practice and aims to provide opportunities to explore alternative designs for National Dialogues and other transformative processes.

Parallel Session: Revisiting national dialogues, their outcomes and evaluation in the new peacebuilding paradigm

As the peacebuilding field and practice evolves, there is a need to situate national dialogues within the ecosystem of various processes of peace, and to revisit national dialogue outcomes and their evaluation in the new peacebuilding paradigm. The session concerns assessing national dialogue outcomes and their evaluation from perspectives that embrace complexity and perpetual nature of peace and the need to decolonize the peacebuilding measurement and evaluation.

The recognition of the challenging realities of peacebuilding have paved a way for more complexity sensitive, adaptive approaches to peacebuilding as well as to peacebuilding evaluation. Alongside with the critique of the liberal peacebuilding, the peacebuilding sector is witnessing the emergence of a new paradigm. Within the new paradigm, there is an attempt, among other things, to better recognize the dynamic nature of violence and peace, the consequences of the complexity to peace efforts, and the 'perpetual' nature of peacebuilding. At the same time, the emerging calls to decolonize the aid and peacebuilding sectors, also concern the need to decolonize the peacebuilding measurement, evaluation, and accountability, as well as, their knowledge and value base.

The emerging new peacebuilding paradigm and understandings of peace, also places national dialogues into a perspective, in which their outcomes are not viewed as cases of either successes or failures but as part of the efforts towards the dynamic processes of peace. Complexity and the dynamic nature of peace implies that peacebuilding outcomes are not fixed. This questions the practice of judging the effectiveness and impact of national dialogues, or other peace efforts, based on predetermined, fixed outcomes. Similarly, the need to decolonize the peacebuilding evaluation calls for the need to revisit and reassess national dialogue outcomes and their evaluation. Essentially, it is about questioning whose voices and experience count in evaluation, who participates and conducts evaluation, and who gets to decide what qualifies as appropriate national dialogue and peacebuilding outcomes.

Parallel Session: Integrating mental health and psychosocial support into peacebuilding - national dialogue process design through psychosocial lens

Integration of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) into peacebuilding is becoming a part of global peacebuilding architecture. This is evident when organisations such as the EU (2020), UN agencies (UNDP 2022) and UHCHR (forthcoming), IOM (forthcoming) and WHO (forthcoming) are launching their guidelines on MHPSS Support integration. By authoring these documents, peacebuilding sector follows other sectors working in crisis settings such as the humanitarian field, which already mainstreams MHPSS (e.g., IASC 2007).

There are still significant gaps in awareness as well as knowledge among peacebuilders, MHPSS experts, policy makers and donors alike about the why's and the how's of the integration of MHPSS into peacebuilding. In the emerging body of knowledge about psychosocial peacebuilding, integration of MHPSS into national dialogue processes has received relatively little attention. The session provides an opportunity to look at the process design of National Dialogue processes through 'psychosocial lens', exploring potential as well as learning from the emerging experiences of experts and practitioners in MHPSS integration.

THEME: MASS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Panel discussion: Revisiting from bottom up - on the street but not at the table

Non-violent resistance and other mass social movements play important roles in peace processes through transforming societies. They have important roles when it comes to sustaining peace and stability. Peace movements are the "societal glue", that keeps fragmented societies together even in difficult times. Many nonviolent movements play a critical and often political role in changing the power dynamics and power balance. Protest movements, however, too often remain outside of formal dialogue and mediation processes, and that may negatively affect the sustainability of dialogue outcomes and the implementation thereof. Positively, those movements may also become powerful actors in stabilizing agreements and be agents for positive change in the implementation of mediation and dialogue agreements.

The challenge and opportunities of mass social movements will be further explored in three parallel laboratories. These are interactive sessions providing also participants with a possibility to explore topics from the panel further:

- Learning lab: Managing mass social movements digitally - Who are opinion leaders?
- Learning lab: Women's movements
- Learning lab: Unpacking the opportunities, changes and new dialogue dynamics created by people's movements

THEME: CLIMATE

Panel discussion: Addressing the complex nature of the relationship between climate, peace and security

The impact of climate change on peace and security is increasingly addressed at the policy and programmatic level by international, regional and national peace and security actors. The more attention that this topic receives, the clearer it becomes that the correlation between the two is one of complex causality around which the questions are many. Despite wide and diversified engagement and commitment to addressing this issue at the international level, the divides and politicization are well portrayed by the inability of the UN Security Council to pass a resolution that recognises the relationship between climate, peace and security. To address this reality, calls are increasingly made for context-driven research and evidence-based policymaking that addresses the complex relationship between climate, peace and security. The objective of this panel is to begin unpacking the relationship between climate change and peace, and identify some of the key questions that require further attention.

Parallel session: Natural resource management and water diplomacy for peace

With the acceleration of climate change and environmental degradation, and the continued rise in the global population, natural resources management is becoming an increasingly central element of good governance, and therefore also of conflict prevention and peacemaking. The correlation between unsustainable use of natural resources and conflict has been explored by researchers and international organisations for more than a decade. There is a growing practice of environmental peacebuilding where natural resource management is



integrated into conflict prevention and peacemaking efforts to build resilience within and between communities. Against this background, the objectives of this session is to consider when and how natural resource management can help enable divided communities to address a number of key issues for their peaceful co-existence, and considering what opportunities climate change and environmental degradation can bring in terms of using natural resource management and water diplomacy to help both prevent and resolve conflict and build sustainable peace.

Parallel session: Advancing inclusive climate-based mediation processes

Climate emergencies are rapidly accelerating conflicts around the world, along with the gendered impacts they generate as a result. The contributions of women and young women mediators have never been more important within environmental peacebuilding efforts and natural-resource related conflict resolution. While many countries have committed to National Action Plans (NAPs) to advance the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, only 17 out of 80 (21%) NAPs address gender, climate and conflict, and only three plans (Finland, Ireland and the USA) include specific objectives at this nexus. This session will raise awareness on this gap and explore how women and young women mediators have been contributing to this growing space to promote peace, conservation and stability, along with building understanding on their unique needs and challenges.

Parallel session: Indigenous peoples and local communities

The creation of protected natural areas has been a central element in biodiversity conservation policy since the early 1900s. From their inception, most protected areas were conceived as areas reserved for the benefit of future generations. However, conservation efforts were often not considering the connections that local populations already had with the area. Environmental policies for nature conservation areas have sometimes denied indigenous peoples' rights and, in some cases, they have been evicted from their homelands, provoking long-term social conflicts. New models of nature conservation should be created so they protect nature while enforcing the rights of indigenous peoples and those of other bearers of "traditional knowledge". This can offer new dimensions to the conservation efforts in times of climate and environmental crises. This session will explore the key role of indigenous people and local communities in nature conservation efforts. We will assess how their traditions and knowledge can be crucial to preserve the local ecosystems when threatened by environmental degradation and climate change.

Annex 2: Conference Agenda

Wednesday
15 June 2022

8.15–9.00: Registration

9.00–9.30: Opening of the Conference

Welcome, Katja Ahlfors, Director, *Centre for Peace Mediation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland*

Opening remarks, Pekka Haavisto, *Minister for Foreign Affairs*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

9.30–10.45: Keynote and High-level Discussion: Role of National Dialogues in the Changing World

Hanna Tetteh – UN Under Secretary General & Special Envoy *to the Horn of Africa Chairperson of the Mediation and Security Council of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*

Maria Raczynska – *OSCE Special Representative on Youth and Security*

Pekka Haavisto – *Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finland*

Mohamed Elsanousi, Executive Director of the *Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

10.45–11.15: Group photo and coffee & tea break

THEME: INCLUSION AND PROCESS DESIGN

11.15–12.45: Parallel Sessions

A) How to Support Locally-led and Peaceful Transformation: Revisiting Process Design

Carolina Escobar-Tello, Senior Lecturer/ Multidisciplinary Design, *Loughborough University/School of Design and Creative Arts*

Kenneth Mtata, Executive Director, *Zimbabwe Council of Churches*

Mahmoud Ramadan, Senior Adviser, *Common Space Initiative*

Harn Yawnghe, Executive Director, *Euro-Burma Office*

Stephen Gray, Co-Founder and Director, *Adapt Peacebuilding*

Venue: Tivoli

B) Roles of Masculinities Within National Dialogues and Mediation Processes

Bafana Khumalo, Sonke Gender Justice/Co-Chair of *Men Engage Alliance*

Jana Naujoks, Head of Programmes, *Inclusive Peace*

Élise Féron, Senior Research Fellow, *Tampere Peace Research Institute Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI)*

Venue: Tarmo

C) Rethinking the Challenges of Inclusion in National Dialogues in the Sahel

Mamadou Hachim Koumaré, Président, *Comité d'organisation des Assises nationales*

Fadimata Walet Oumar, President, *tartit N'Chetma Bamako Association & Member of the Peace Agreement Monitoring Committee*

Elisa Tarnaala, Head, Women in Peacemaking, *CMI*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

Annex 2: Conference Agenda

Wednesday
15 June 2022

12.45–13.45: Lunch

THEME: REGIONAL STRUCTURES

13.45–15.15: Panel Discussion: Regional Structures and Revisiting National Dialogues

Bankole Adeoye – Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, *African Union Commission*

Hanna Tetteh – UN Under Secretary General & Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa Chairperson of the Mediation and Security Council of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (tbc)

Emmanuel Bombande – Senior Mediation Adviser, *UNDPPA*

Aderemi Ajibewa – Director Political Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate

Tiina Kukkamaa-Bah, Head, Sub-Saharan Africa unit, CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

15.15–15.45: Coffee & tea break

THEME: INCLUSION AND PROCESS DESIGN

15.45–17.15: Parallel Thematic Sessions

A) Engaging and Uplifting Women of Faith as Mediators within National Dialogue and Mediation Processes

Carla Schraml – Advisor Mediation and Negotiation Support, *Berghof Foundation*

Caryn Dasah – General Coordinator of the *Cameroon Women's Peace Movement*

Lantana Bako Abdullahi – National Co-Coordinator, *Nigerian Women Mediators Collaborative Initiative*
Mandiedza Parichi – Lecturer, *Midlands State University, Peace and Security Studies Department*

Leonie Abela – Governance and Peacebuilding Practitioner, Peacebuilding, *Community Voice for Peace and Pluralism*

Fadimata Walet Oumar – President, *tartit N'Chetma Bamako Association* and Member of the Peace Agreement Monitoring Committee

Mandiedza Parichi, Lecturer, *Midlands State University, Peace and Security Studies Department*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation (Arabic/English/French)

B) Integrating Mental Health and Psychosocial Support into Peacebuilding: National Dialogue Process Design Through Psychosocial Lens

Angi Yoder-Maina – Executive Director, *Green String Network*

Ufra Mir – Peace Psychologist, *International Center for Peace Psychology*

Ronald Nare – Programme Manager, *Zimbabwe Peace and Security Program*

Riina Isotalo, Adviser, Psychosocial Peacebuilding, *Felm*

Venue: Tarmo

C) Revisiting National Dialogues, Their Outcomes and Evaluation in the New Peacebuilding Paradigm

Jana Naujoks, Head of Programmes, *Inclusive Peace*

Koenraad Van Brabant, Director, *Global Mentoring Initiative*

Stephen Gray – Co-Founder and Director, *Adapt Peacebuilding*

Maria Riihelä, Adviser, Peace and Reconciliation *DMEL, Felm*

Venue: Karuselli

Annex 2: Conference Agenda

D) Breaking the Barriers to Ensure the Active Leadership and Participation of Individuals With Disabilities

Lassi Murto, Program Coordinator, *Abilis*

Caroline Atanga, Executive Director, *South Sudan Women with Disabilities Network*

Florence Ndagire, International Disability Rights and Inclusion Consultant

Maria Mekri, Executive Director, *Safer Globe*

Venue: Tivoli

18.00–20.00: Cocktail Reception

Hosted by Pekka Haavisto, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Location: Paasitorni, Juhlasali



Annex 2: Conference Agenda

Thursday 16 June 2022

8.30–8.40: Opening of the Second Conference Day

THEME: MASS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

8.40–9.00: Keynote: On The Street But Not At The Table – Mass Social Movements

Veronique Dudouet – Senior Advisor, Conflict Transformation Research, *Berghof Foundation*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

9.00–10.00: Panel Discussion: Revisiting from Bottom Up: On The Street But Not At The Table

Veronique Dudouet – Senior Advisor, Conflict Transformation Research, *Berghof Foundation*

Hannes Siebert – Senior Advisor for Peace and Dialogue Processes, *Felm*, Senior Advisor & Co-Director, *Common Space Initiative*

Samah Elnour – Member of *MANSAM* Coordination Committee and Resistance Committee member, *MANSAM*

Mohamed Al Fakh – Journalist

Matthias Wevelsiep, Senior Operations and Program Manager, *Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

10.00–10.30: Coffee & tea break

10.30–12.00: Learning Labs

A) Managing Mass Social Movements Digitally – Who Are Opinion Leaders

Mohamed Al Fakh – Journalist

Nilofar Ayoubi – Social Media Influencer & Journalist, *Women's Political Participation Network*

Aino Piirtola, Project Officer, *CMI – Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

B) Women's Movements

Nazik M. Abbass – PhD, Coordination Committee Member (Socio-economic track), *MANSAM*

Zahra Langi – Co-founder and CEO, *Libyan Women's Platform for Peace (LWPP)*

Caryn Dasah – General Coordinator, *Cameroon Women's Peace Movement*

Sylvia Thompson – Senior Manager, *CMI – Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Venue: Tarmo

C) Unpacking the Opportunities, Changes and New Dialogue Dynamics Created By People's Movements

Karam Karam – Regional Advisor on Governance, Peacebuilding and Transition, *UN-ESCWA*

Nang Raw – Program Manager, *Nyein Foundation*

Hannes Siebert – Senior Advisor for Peace and Dialogue Processes, *Felm*, Senior Advisor & Co-Director, *Common Space Initiative*

Ken Butigan, Senior Lecturer in the Peace, Justice and Conflict Studies Program at *DePaul University*

Venue: Tivoli

12.00–13.00: Lunch

THEME: CLIMATE

13.00–14.15: Climate Plenary: Addressing the Complex Nature of the Relationship Between Climate Peace and Security

Emanuel Habuka Bombande – Senior Mediation Adviser, *Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, United Nations*

Annex 2: Conference Agenda

Thursday
16 June 2022

Mukondeleli Mpeiwa, Head, Mediation and Dialogue Division, Political Affairs, Peace and Security Department, *African Union Commission*

Katariina Leinonen, Deputy Head of Division, Conflict Prevention and Mediation, *European External Action Service*

Dhesigen Naidoo – Senior Research Associate, *African Futures and Innovation, Institute for Security Studies (ISS)*

Janani Vivekananda – Senior Advisor and Head of Climate Diplomacy and Security, *Adelphi*

Jibecke Joensson, Head of Brussels Office, *CMI — Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

14.15–14.45: Coffee break

14.45–16.15: Parallel Sessions

A) Natural Resource Management and Water Diplomacy for Peace

Tugba Evrim Maden – Head of *Blue Peace in the Middle East Coordination Office, Istanbul (and Turkish Water Institute (Suen))*

Nawwar Sabeeleish, Environmental Education Program Manager, *Ecopeace Middle East*

Antti Rautavaara – Senior Policy Advisor (*Development and Water*), *Ministry for Foreign Affairs Finland*

Lacerda Lipangue – Consortium Project Coordinator, *Finn Church Aid*

Maruan El-Krekshi – Head, Middle East and North Africa, *CMI – Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation*

Venue: Tivoli

B) Advancing Inclusive Climate-based Mediation Processes

Michelle Murinda Chioniso – Coordinator, *Community Voices for Peace and Pluralism*

Stephanie Ijeoma Ladele – Founder, *Environmental Conflict Mediation and Women Development Initiative*

Ulemu Diana Makumba, Agricultural Extension Development Officer, *Malawi Ministry of Agriculture*

Tiina Jortikka-Laitinen, Ambassador for Polar Issues in the Foreign Ministry of Finland, *Ministry for Foreign Affairs Finland*

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

C) Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, Former UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Founder and Current Executive Director of *Tebtebba Foundation*

Dorothee Cambou, Assistant Professor of Sustainability Science, *Helsinki University*

Fadjar Schouten-Korwa, Human Rights Lawyer, *Congress of Nations and States*

Pauliina Feodoroff, Theater Director, *Skolt Sámi*

Venue: Tarmo

16.20–17.00: Concluding Reflections and Closing Remarks: Revisiting National Dialogues

Venue: Sirkus/Circus

Simultaneous interpretation available (Arabic/English/French)

17.00–17:15: Concluding Remarks

Elina Kalkku, Under-Secretary of State, *Ministry for Foreign Affairs*

Tarja Kantola, Board Chair, *Finn Church Aid*

