CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES

MOVING BEYOND MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY AND BIG MAN MEDIATION

PEACE PROCESSES IN THE 21ST CENTURY AND BEYOND

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Introduction

What is mediation in the 21st century? In this moment of a global pandemic and protracted conflicts, the way we've been doing things still doesn't seem to have the change we aim for, and efforts don't impact the communities that have the most significant stake in the process. Coronavirus paused, shifted, and disrupted the way the world operates. As we redefine what normalcy means, we urge you to also reflect on what mediation needs to look like now and beyond.

What does it mean to be a peace leader in this time? What kind of leadership is needed in a polarized world? How could organizations adapt to shocks like pandemics and ever-shifting dynamics? How do we reimagine peace tables in the path towards inclusion? How can civil society movements affect real political change? What does behind-the-scenes mediation look like, and why should we let go of the "big man" approach to solving conflicts?

We've asked seven world-renowned peace leaders in the forefront of 21st-century mediation and peacebuilding to share their experiences and lessons learned to help answer these questions. Their reflections are intended to challenge what we think we know, to move beyond traditional approaches, and to inspire those who read it and work for peace everywhere.

These essays are adapted from the 9th Asia Peace Practitioners Research Conference, hosted by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies in November 2020. We are grateful for their powerful words and engaging discussions, which reflect a deep shift in how mediation and peacebuilding can be understood. We also gratefully acknowledge CPCS' longtime partner, MISEREOR, who has continued to sponsor critical shared learning spaces for peacebuilder networks and without whose support this book would not be possible.

Emma Leslie

Executive Director

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

Mediation in the 21st Century: Unpacking New Models and Approaches

Conflict in the world today is something that we have become all too familiar with. When we think about conflict, we think about Congo, Mali, Sudan, Syria, Somalia, Yemen. In Asia, we think about Afghanistan, Rakhine, the Philippines, Kashmir, the Korean Peninsula, Sri Lanka, and so many other places in the world. That means as a peace practitioner community, something is surely wrong. We have some more work and deeper reflection to do. Perhaps we need to come together now and use this special time to reset, rethink, and re-evaluate.

We have to ask ourselves some hard questions. And the most important question is "why". Why do we live in a world with such complex, complicated, systemic, protracted conflicts, and what is it that we are not getting right in the way that we are addressing those conflicts? It's time for us to reconsider mediation and our models of dialogue. It's time for us to challenge the status quo in the way that we understand peacemaking, peacebuilding, political mediation, and all that goes with them.

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They say mediation is 3000 years old, but in the modern era during World War II, we saw the first envoys go out into the world trying to solve problems. People like Folke Bernadotte from Sweden worked hard throughout World War II to engage Nazis, talk to Churchill, and help save people on the ground. He is one of the most famous envoys, who later went to Palestine on behalf of the United Nations (UN), tried to end the Middle Eastern Israeli-Palestine conflict, and was assassinated. Alongside him are people like Ralph Bunche, the first African American international mediator, who went out from the UN and other places in the world, also trying to find ways to end the conflicts of the post-50s and early 60s.

Then there was the Cold War era, and mediation was not so fashionable. Still, the United Nations held on to its charter in chapter six, which says mediation is part of the United Nations' DNA. As a result, many of us still look up, hoping to see how the United Nations or those "Big Man" mediators that fly in might save us by bringing parties together, trying to get them to find some way of making an agreement.

In the 1980s, we tried to improve this model and came up with "Track One" diplomacy. We needed other models; we needed to find ways of having top-level dialogue where people might be flown away to Camp David, or to Norway or other places in the world where they can have secret talks and try to work out their differences.

We realized that was a little bit exclusive, and so we added "Track Two". Track two was semi-professional mediation people who were trained to help stakeholders come together. It became an expertise, and experts joined in the multi-track processes. But, of course, those of us from the civil society said: Hang on a minute. Wait, we need a voice. When you do that, you exclude us. You exclude young people. You exclude women. You exclude indigenous people. From this, more tracks for academics, researchers, and civil society were developed.

We ended up with a hierarchical system of tracks, where the people at the top talk to each other, and those underneath try to find ways to get their messages through and up the system and wait for the mediation results to filter down. That system still doesn't seem to be working. The 21st century came, and we got social media. We now have Facebook, Twitter, Telegram, Signal, and myriad other ways to communicate. We could suddenly send a message to the head of an armed group, tweet the heads of state, and become Facebook friends with a range of stakeholders. We had better access than we've ever had before, and somehow, that hierarchical system started to erode.

In the 21st century, peace organizations like the Centre for Peace and Conflict have been trying new modals and systems of mediation. One of them we call "pax spiral" or "spiralling for peace." A complicated, complex system of conflict that is not bound by one geographical area no longer respects borders. It is geopolitical, economic, and connected to all nations around it. When that happens, we need to find complex systems to respond to conflict in terms of mediation, dialogue, facilitation, and peacebuilding. So "spiralling for peace" is about guiding all the stakeholders in the same direction, trying to get people to work towards a similar vision even if they're not together in the same peace-talks room. It's about governments, armed groups, political parties, and civil society not being above the other but being interconnected towards a shared vision. That's a lot of background, egoless, behind-the-scenes mediation, and facilitation.

Another modal is reflected in the work of Sue and Steve Williams, authors of the book: Being in the Middle by Being at the Edge. It speaks about how we could facilitate a peace process without being “that person” who's flown in from outside, but being around the edges helping connect the dots and get people on the same page to know each other.

Big men mediation is not about men. It's about a hierarchical system that has become outdated in our way of approaching mediation and conflict, and that's why we chose to publish this book. It's time to move beyond those frameworks and to explore new ways. That's why we have chosen six of the world's peace leaders, mediators, and negotiators to share their own experiences of facilitating and mediating conflict, of being negotiators, of taking leadership, and mobilizing civil society and governments together towards making a significant change.

The following chapters include reflections from leading mediators: Ameya Kilara, who is working from India, but on all of the complexity of conflicts in her region. Julia Roig, who has built a global movement that works on peace leadership and peace systems. Meredith Preston McGhie, who has been involved in high-level political mediation in Asia, Africa, and Canada. Christine Ahn, well known in the United States as a Korean peace activist, uses her mobilization to change the discourse on the Korean Peninsula and thereby mediate that conflict. Shadia Marhaban, who's come through a journey of peace in her own life, and is one of ASEAN’s leading peace mediators today. Last but not least, Neha Sanghrajka, who has been mentoring our team in her journey in facilitating the Mozambique peace talks by being on the edge. What these mediators do, works. How do we mainstream what they do and how we get them?

> Peace is possible; persistence pays and we can do this together. The more power we give away, the more power there is.

The theme of this book represents political mobilization. It's about sharing power. It's about being egoless and tireless and showing up. It's about always believing, hoping, and understanding that peace is always possible, that persistence pays, that we have to do this in partnership and we have to do this together. If you wanted to talk about gender, maybe that's a feminist model of mediation. Perhaps feminism has nothing to do with gender but everything to do with the way we share and give up power; the more power we give away the more power there is.

The late Somali Kenyan peace activist Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, facilitated peace processes all across East Africa – nomadic conflicts, conflicts in Somalia, and so on. She said, "The participation in the peace process is not about the mathematics of numbers and percentages in relation to who is in the majority or the minority. It is about plurality, diversity, participation and ownership of all those affected by the conflict." There's a lot we need to reform in how we understand the systems, moving beyond big man and multi-track diplomacy. Multi-track diplomacy locked us into a kind of hierarchy of mediation that doesn't allow us to change identities in complex conflict systems, move between formal and informal systems and to be generative, creative and vision-building. There is much work to be done documenting and researching what does work. We must begin by a deeper questioning of our entrenched concepts and practices in mediation in service of a more sustainable peace.

Dr. Emma Leslie

Executive Director

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

About Emma

Emma Leslie, an Australian - Cambodian, is the founder director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, supporting peace processes and conflict transformation in Asia.

She developed the MA and Ph.D. programs in Applied Conflict Transformation Studies (ACTS), launched the Cambodia Peace Museum, and for a decade has served the Philippine Government – Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) peace talks as a member of the International Contact Group (ICG). Emma has been actively engaged in Myanmar for 25 years, made several peace missions to North Korea, and accompanies many non-state actors in their negotiations strategies. Emma teaches mediation annually at the Swedish government's Folke Bernadotte Academy to United Nations personnel.

Emma is an active member of the South East Asia Women Mediators and Peace Negotiators and the Women Mediators Across the Commonwealth (WMC) and on the board of the Centre for Peacebuilding at the University of Melbourne. She holds a BA in South East Asia history and politics, a Grad diploma in Education, an MA in International Development, an honorary Ph.D. in Education, and the title Order of Australia.

WATCH EMMA'S PRESENTATION


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CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
WE NEED to ASK OURSELVES the HARD QUESTION WHY?
USE this TIME to REACCESS, RETHINK & REEVALUATE
it's TIME for US to RECONSIDER MEDIATION & OUR MODELS of DIALOGUE CHALLENGE the STATUS QUO
COMPLEX, COMPLICATED, SYSTEMIC & PROTRACTED CONFLICT
the ADVENT of SOCIAL MEDIA ALLOWED for MORE COMMUNICATION & CONNECT
the HIERARCHY SYSTEM STARTED to ERODE
POVERTY RELIGIOUS GEO POLITICAL ECONOMIC ETHNIC
CONFLICTS ARE NOT JUST BOUND by ONE GEOGRAPHIC AREA
NO LONGER RESPECTS BORDERS
WE NEED to UNDERSTAND COMPLEX SYSTEMS to RESPOND to THEM
SPIRALING for peace is ABOUT WHIPPING ALL THE STAKE HOLDERS ~ALL in the SAME DIRECTION
-BE- INTERCONNECTED TOWARDS a SHARED VISION
WORK TOWARDS the SAME VISION
IT'S ABOUT BEING on the EDGES CONNECTING the DOTS & TRYING to GET PEOPLE to BE ON THE SAME PAGE
EXPLORE NEW WAYS
IT'S ABOUT SHARING POWER
the MORE POWER WE GIVE AWAY, the MORE POWER THERE IS!
BEING EGOLESS & TIRELESS
SHOWING UP
ALWAYS BELIEVING & HOPING, UNDERSTANDING that PEACE IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE
PERSISTENCE PAYS
WE HAVE to BE in PARTNERSHIP
TOGETHER
PARTICIPATION in the PEACE PROCESS...
...IT IS ABOUT PLURALITY DIVERSITY PARTICIPATION & OWNERSHIP
PEACE is POSSIBLE: PERSISTENCE PAYS
WE ARE IN THIS TOGETHER
EMMA LESLIE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CENTRE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES
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Shadia Marhaban

Mediator and Regional Peace Leader

Mediators Beyond Borders

Leadership in a Polarised World - Challenges and Opportunities

When I was asked to reflect this topic about leadership in a polarized world - challenges and opportunities- I thought, where can I draw my experience? And it leads me to a small detailed process that I didn't think of before. The lockdown during this COVID-19 makes me reflect even more. COVID-19 is transforming our world from the macro-level down to our everyday life. From decision-making being made in high buildings, now we can do it from our home, from our kitchen, to our gadgets and internet. While some take refuge in their comfortable homes, many more of the world's population cannot survive without living or working outside their homes. So this is something that made me think that mediation will definitely be different. They are working for the immigrants, the migrant workers, and in the continents that we're living in. There are millions in Asia, and actually, they are our faces.

The question I'm challenging now is: Are we really in this together? Are we leaving them alone? Are we listening enough to this situation? I'm not just talking about poverty, although according to the Overseas Development Institute, there will be an additional 250 million people in extreme poverty in 2030 due to COVID, reduction in jobs, and whatever is happening out there. It will take ten years for economic growth to bring the extreme poverty numbers back to where they were before this crisis. So definitely, we see a huge challenge ahead of us. So, what can we do as mediators? Should we still be talking about the same things we talked about 20 or 15 years ago when we know that the challenges ahead of us will be different?

> “We are not just women. We are mediators. If we keep talking about women, women, women, it puts us in the box. And we don't want the box anymore - not to close it, but to open and emerge and expand the box.

In an interview with Pankaj Mishra, an Indian scholar, he said that “democracy needs some agreed-upon notion, some sense of solidarity and community, that we are in this together. And that has been missing for a very long time because every society we see has emphasized too much of a hyper-individualistic notion and a

dangerous idea: The pursuit of private interests." Of course, capitalism is part of this. We are witnessing a polarized world, not in the old sense of West versus East, but the developed countries versus the developing countries, global north versus global south. It is now a global geopolitical shift where even the most advanced countries we have been told to aspire to for decades are now in social, economic, and political turmoil - this is something we didn't experience 20 or 30 years ago.

At the same time, there-emergence of hate politics divides us. Borders are closed. Nationalisms strengthen to unite the people in fighting the virus. The saddest part is, we are at risk of closing hearts and our minds. At this point, our sense of solidarity, of community, is shrinking. We only want to feel safe with people who are seemingly similar to us - skin color, faith, political ideology, race, and ethnicity. What kind of mediation are we facing in the next 20 years from now?

The polarized world is simultaneously a multipolar one, a constant fight of multiple forms of hate and crisis right into our home, right before our eyes. Democracy is in decline. It's happening in front of our eyes, but we barely notice it because we are busy saving ourselves with the illusion that we can be saved alone on our own separate islands.

This also makes me think that during the pandemic, we lost not only our faith but also our spirituality. We have seen religions exclude others and support racist misogynists, fascist leaders, and terrorism. Religions have become a faith of those who refuse to believe we are all born equal and bleed the same blood. We need to bring back spirituality into the hearts of our faith - the courage to resist, fight and enlighten our collective responsibility. Why am I talking about collective responsibility? It's because this is why God created us humans. Our existence is defined by our humanity and we're trying to challenge now the challenges with opportunities.

There are three challenges in democracy that we are seeing – hate, injustice, and exclusion. They are what makes our mediation more complex and difficult and more robust and interesting.. Some of the world's leaders feel these three gain more power and impact those people on the ground. People fought and killed each other for this, for the belief. As long as there is injustice, we must have the courage to resist.

We know that capitalism is in crisis. In this recent article, the economist Jeffrey Sachs reminded us of the importance of virtue: economics emphasizing moderation, friendship, trustworthiness, and social justice. This is crucial if capitalism wants to be sustainable. Instead of greed and hyper-individualism, this is something that those people need to think about. However, I'm not standing here to speak on the pessimistic view. I want to also shed light on hope and optimism, being a woman and a mediator in Southeast Asia. Where challenges layer on, it also holds an opportunity for us to thrive. This is, in my opinion, our biggest gift from God. We need to move from the same thinking and mindset of hate and greed to move forward to consider what we can do best for our humanity. Our humanity can fall into the darkest valley of hate and greed, but it can also emerge above. When we all hit rock bottom, we have nowhere to go but to rise. Within the politics of hate, the opportunity is also the politics of rights.

So, I'm calling this leadership. The proactive, progressive leaders, who are adapting their leadership amid the strain and dangerous circumstances, to build more bridges and tables. The opportunities for mediators like us are the same. We're no longer thinking mediation as of the big man bringing two parties together. "Hey, you sit there. We want to settle your conflict." It's no longer like that. But we have to think comprehensively. We have to think with our hearts. We have to keep searching for the wisdom in each other and how could we improve and polish. Think of it like a diamond, and the more you polish, the brighter it is, you know. And by leaders, I mean not only the heads of states or top high-level positions of international agencies, but those leaders who want to adapt. All of us are the leaders in our home, community, environment, our local context and beyond. I want to make a special emphasis that we shape our own world, but we only have one world to save: planet Earth. It reminds me of Sufi master, Rumi. He said that "doing as others told me, I was blind. Coming when others called me, I was lost. Then I left everyone, myself as well. Then I found everyone, myself as well."

So I want us to take this journey of reflection as mediators to really think about what kind of world we want to see for our future. What generations are we planning to build? What capacity-building is suitable for them? Are we going to be still the same, still using the same words: capacity-building? Maybe those people that we teach capacity-building have more capacity than us. Perhaps those people that we think are on the ground, armed groups that I met inside the jungle, probably have more knowledge and wisdom than us who are sitting in high-rise buildings. These are the things we have to reflect on. Mediation in 2020 and beyond is about bringing ourselves together, learning others' sufferings, and having more ears. I keep telling my mediation students that we have to have not two but six ears. So increase your ability to listen and analyze and understand what pains, what triggers the pain. From there

> Maybe those people that we teach capacity-building have more capacity than we do. Probably the armed groups on the ground have more wisdom and knowledge than we do. Mediation in 2020 and beyond is about bringing ourselves together and having more ears. Your ability to listen, understand, and analyze, what triggers the pain.

you work on your process design, and you design how you want to produce the peace agreement.

We are beyond diplomacy tracks. We work in very rocky ground and difficult situations in Southeast Asia, but because it is such a limited space, we dance in that little space. And the beauty of the dance is that we can share this knowledge with the rest of the world. We learned about mediation from the Swiss and the Americans, but maybe the Swiss should come to Aceh. We could learn from everybody. This is the beauty of collective leadership and can also help mediators in the future to be wiser.

Shadia Marhaban

Mediator and Regional Peace Leader

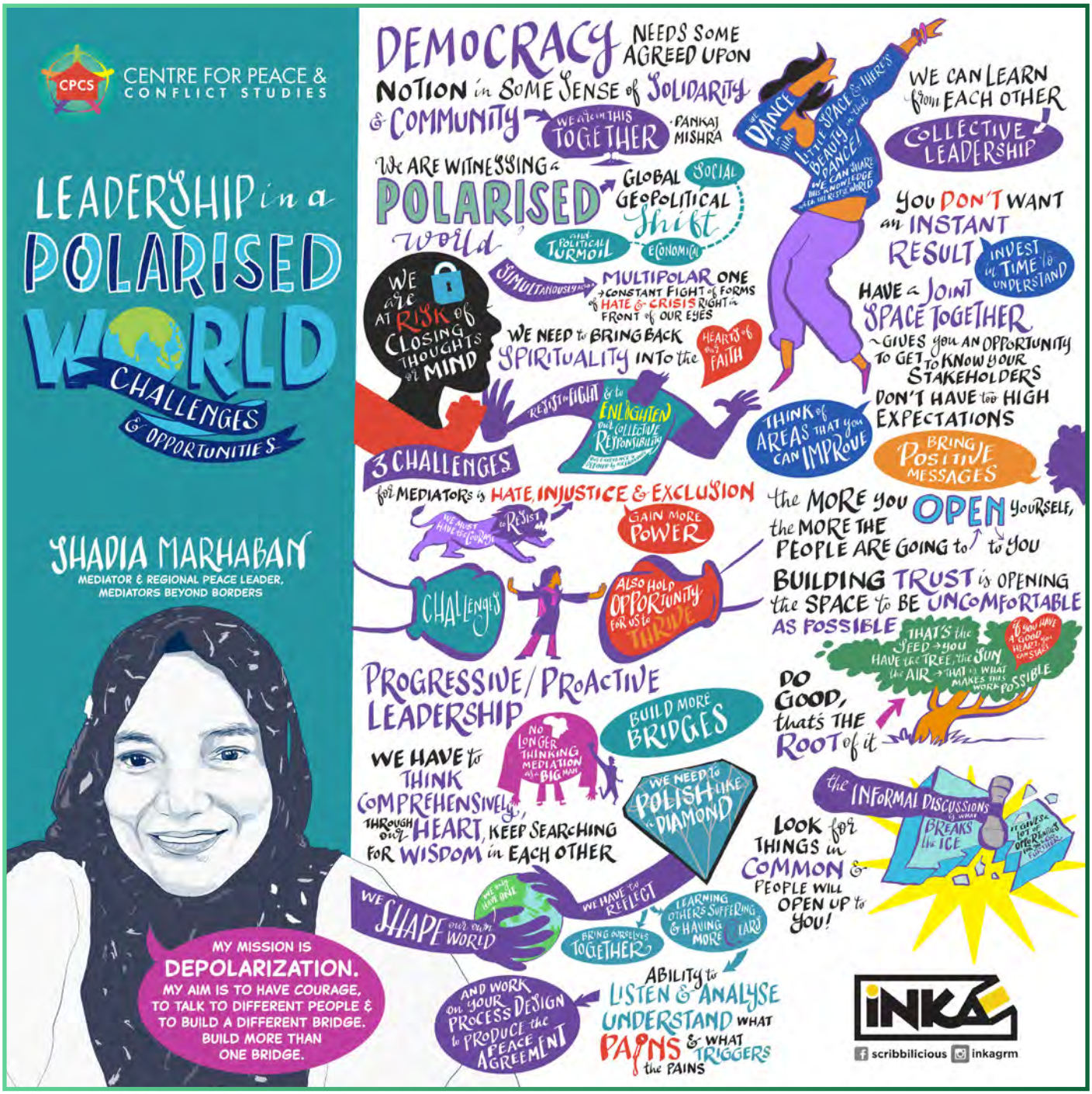
Mediators Beyond Borders

About Shadia

Shadia Marhaban was a support team member of the Free Acheh Movement (GAM) peace negotiating team in Helsinki (2005) that ended the 30-year conflict. She was exiled in the United States and returned to Aceh after the peace agreement was signed in 2007. Upon her return, Ms. Marhaban engaged in peaceful dialogues throughout Southeast Asia, Colombia, Nepal, Afghanistan, and recently Cameroun.

Ms. Marhaban's areas of expertise are political transition of the Resistance Liberation Movement, ceasefire, disarmament, and reintegration of female former combatants. Currently, Ms. Marhaban works as a consultant for UNDP, ASEAN, Berghof Foundation and Mediators Beyond Borders. Ms. Marhaban studied Political Science and was a Fellow at Harvard University.

WATCH SHADIA'S FULL PRESENTATION


CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
LEADERSHIP in a POLARISED WORLD
CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES
SHADIA MARHABAN
MEDIATOR & REGIONAL PEACE LEADER, MEDIATORS BEYOND BORDERS
MY MISSION IS DEPOLARIZATION.
MY AIM IS TO HAVE COURAGE, TO TALK TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE & TO BUILD A DIFFERENT BRIDGE. BUILD MORE THAN ONE BRIDGE.
DEMOCRACY NEEDS SOME AGREED UPON NOTION in SOME SENSE of SOLIDARITY & COMMUNITY
WE are in THIS TOGETHER
PANKAJ MISHRA
We ARE WITNESSING a POLARISED WORLD
GLOBAL GEOPOLITICAL Shift
SOCIAL
POLITICAL TURMOIL
ECONOMICAL
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MULTIPOLAR ONE → CONSTANT FIGHT of FORMS of HATE & CRISIS RIGHT in FRONT of OUR EYES
We are AT RISK of CLOSING THOUGHTS of MIND
WE NEED to BRING BACK SPIRITUALITY INTO the HEARTS of FAITH
RESIST the LIGHT & to ENLIGHTEN our COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY
3 CHALLENGES for MEDIATORS is HATE, INJUSTICE & EXCLUSION
GAIN MORE POWER
CHALLENGES
ALSO HOLD OPPORTUNITY FOR US to THRIVE
PROGRESSIVE/ PROACTIVE LEADERSHIP
WE HAVE to THINK COMPREHENSIVELY, THROUGH our HEART, KEEP SEARCHING FOR WISDOM in EACH OTHER
NO LONGER THINKING MEDIATION as a BIG MAN
BUILD MORE BRIDGES
WE NEED to POLISH LIKE a DIAMOND
WE SHAPE our own WORLD
WE HAVE to REFLECT
BRING OURSELVES TOGETHER
LEARNING OTHERS SUFFERING & HAVING MORE EMPATHY
AND WORK on YOUR PROCESS DESIGN to PRODUCE the PEACE AGREEMENT
ABILITY to LISTEN & ANALYSE UNDERSTAND WHAT PAINS & WHAT TRIGGERS the PAINS
DANCE like THERE'S NO ONE WATCHING! LITTLE SPACE & THERE'S BEAUTY in the DANCE! WE CAN SHARE OUR KNOWLEDGE & SEEK THE RESPECTIVE WORLD
WE CAN LEARN from EACH OTHER
COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP
You DON'T WANT an INSTANT RESULT
INVEST in TIME to UNDERSTAND
HAVE a JOINT SPACE TOGETHER
~GIVES you AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET to KNOW YOUR STAKEHOLDERS
DON'T HAVE too HIGH EXPECTATIONS
THINK of AREAS THAT you CAN IMPROVE
BRING POSITIVE MESSAGES
the MORE you OPEN yourself, the MORE THE PEOPLE ARE GOING to ↑ to you
BUILDING TRUST is OPENING the SPACE to BE UNCOMFORTABLE AS POSSIBLE
THAT'S the SEED → you HAVE the TREE, the SUN the AIR → THAT is WHAT MAKES THIS WORK POSSIBLE
If you have a GOOD HEART you can SEE
DO GOOD, that's THE ROOT of it
the INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS is where BREAKS the ICE
It GIVES a LOT of OPPORTUNITIES for FURTHER
LOOK for THINGS in COMMON & PEOPLE WILL OPEN UP to you!
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Meredith Preston McGhie

Secretary General

Global Centre for Pluralism

21st Century Inclusivity - What Is It and Why Does It Matter?

As we're all peacemakers, I want to start by acknowledging that I'm writing to you today on the unceded territory of the Algonquin nation. The Algonquin are one of the first nations of this land who were here for centuries before settlers came. The land is unceded, which means that no peace treaty or agreement governs our right to be on this land. We feel it's essential to acknowledge the land on which we sit and what that represents for reconciliation in Canada. Especially with indigenous peoples and in these international forums, it's an acknowledgement that all nations and societies struggle with their past and even today with building inclusive and peaceful societies.

I was away from Canada for 23 years. I just came back last year, and I spent all of that time working with other societies on trying to address their own conflicts. It's been a learning experience for me to come back and see how far we have to go here in Canada and really understand how important it is that this work begins at home.

I left Canada in the late 1990s and worked in refugee camps on what was then the Thai-Burma border. I was working for an extraordinary Naga human rights activist and working on addressing the conflict in Nagaland, which of course still continues, and that is too forgotten an area. One of my reflections in that period was that these conflicts were about more than inclusion. They were really about a desire for pluralism, respect for different cultures, languages, and traditions. These differences should serve as societies' basis to flourish, rather than what was happening, which was violent suppression of these beautiful differences and diversity in these communities, in these societies. I think back to those times, and I'm reminded even almost 25 years ago of the turmoil that the world had found itself in. Then I have a lot of very fond memories of staying in one of the refugee settlements outside my home where I was warmly welcomed. We'd lie at night on the floor, listen to the BBC World Service and listen to stories about NATO forces bombing Yugoslavia, Russian forces overtaking Chechen forces in Dagestan, India-Pakistan standing off again over Kashmir. But I also felt that at the time, we still had some optimism about what was coming, in a way that maybe we don't know. We believed that there was something possible in the Good Friday Agreement, which had just been signed, hoping to bring peace to Northern Ireland. President Suharto stepped down from power, and the East Timorese had their referendum for independence, which was such a landmark moment, both for the Asia region and internationally.

It led me to reflect on what's changed since then and where we are now. Even before this immense crisis of the pandemic, when I joined the Global Centre for Pluralism, we were looking at a situation where the international community is more entrenched in long-term conflict than they've ever been. Conflicts are more complex and durable, and more resilient to resolution. The international tools that we have to address these conflicts are falling so tragically short. When I look around, India and Pakistan continue to stand-off over Kashmir. Twenty years on from the NATO bombings in Yugoslavia, the Balkans remain a highly tense and contested space, still really struggling with their own past and figuring out a peaceful future. I mentioned all of these by way of introduction because I think it's important to think realistically about where we are. Not just in the details of these specific conflicts that we're all working in, but to try and understand where we are globally as a peacemaking community. To reflect on the deep and lasting effects that conflicts have on societies - the prolonged trauma, violence, mass displacement, loss of education opportunities, and divisive narratives and politics in a conflict-affected society. However, we see those mirrored in societies that are so-called spared from conflict; societies that aren't in violent conflict, but we're seeing divisive narratives. We're seeing populist and nationalist rhetoric on the rise around the world, so it is hard to imagine where we look for examples of leadership, inclusion, reconciliation, or progress.

When I look at this picture, I think there is a greater need for inclusion than there has ever been, but it is going to be harder for us to get there. I've been reflecting a lot about the approaches we've been taking, and this is a moment where we need to push further. We need to look for a full transformation of the peacemaking space. A new understanding of peacemaking internationally, not just at the grassroots or in the individual conflicts that we're working on. I believe this is the only way to achieve 21st-century inclusivity.

What is 21st-century inclusivity? My proposal is that we look beyond inclusion and consider pluralism as a framework for transforming peacemaking. I've been struck over the last two decades about the evolution of the change in peace processes for women fighting for seats at the table to larger coalitions of actors. Women, youth, and civil society are pushing for the table to be broadened, extended, and multiplied. We've made some significant gains, but we're not there yet. I've seen several cases where, on the international stage, there's been an upfront commitment to inclusion, but then when you watch that inclusion applied, it falls so deeply short. It’s so obvious that there isn't a real understanding of what inclusion means and why certain decisions are taken within a process to embed inclusion in all of the different pieces. It needs to fundamentally change the outcomes of a peace process rather than be tokenistic. In this moment of global disruption, the sort of madness of this pandemic year, we have an opportunity to rethink these approaches, push to try new things, and really push the peacemaking community to be open to innovation.

> We've fought to have greater diversity of the people who sit in the chairs at the table. But we haven't asked why this table? Why not 20 tables? Why this approach? What is the nature of the table and the room we're sitting in?

Before reflecting on a couple of processes that I've been involved in, I want to reiterate what we mean when talking about pluralism. It's a big concept. People use the word a lot, but we feel like it's essential to be quite specific in our definition. We also talked about diversity, and diversity in society at every level is a demographic fact. Every society is universally diverse. Societies, communities, nations - their differences might vary, but the fact that there are differences is universal. Pluralism refers to the actions that we take to respond to that diversity positively. Thus we see diversity as a basis for success for a society to flourish and thrive, not something that we need to manage or overcome nor need to suppress. Imagining the peace table in all this, many approaches to inclusion have been about the chairs at the table. We fought to occupy the chairs. We fought to multiply the number of chairs. We fought to have a greater diversity of the representatives that sit in those chairs. This is important and has had an impact, but the challenge with this traditional thinking is that what we're not doing is saying, “Why are we at this table?” “Why this table, why not 20 tables, or why not a completely different system?” What we need to be looking at now is much more transformational. We need to look at the nature of the table and the room that we're sitting in, not just play a game of endless musical chairs.

There are lessons that I want to draw out from my experiences. The first is around leadership and the importance that, if we are going to take pluralist decisions towards diversity, we need to take this seriously and spend political capital. We need to make the right choices to actually make it happen in a peace process. I was fortunate to act as an advisor to Kofi Annan during the mediation of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process. It's a very grand name for a peace process, but the political actors in Kenya saw it as a very simple case of power-sharing. It was a political settlement, so they wanted to look at a model that would bring the government and the political opposition into a temporary political compromise to halt the violence following the presidential elections in 2007. This was what was expected of the mediation, come and sew this bit back together. The political actors also believed that they could manage the narrative of what was happening and guide the mediators into this fairly narrow definition of what they wanted to have done. However, the mediators came in

with a very different view, and if you know Mr. Annan, he's got a fairly singular mind when he chooses to do something. He strongly believes in looking at the broader roots of the conflict and what was needed to craft a resolution. Not just to the immediate but also for some of the longer-term issues in Kenya. Mr. Annan and his two co-mediators, Graça Machel and President Benjamin Mkapa, the former President of Tanzania, came in with a pluralist understanding of Kenya's situation, which guided their decisions.

Kofi Annan used inclusion as leverage which I always thought was something that other mediators could learn a bit of a lesson from. He made an early determination that he would enable the people of Kenya to set the narrative of what had happened in the conflict and not just rely on the political parties. After he and the panel had met with the President, the opposition leader, and essentially got a mandate for the peace process and to mediate, they set that aside and said: We're not meeting with you anymore. We're going to speak to the people of Kenya and set aside four days, just for consultations with Kenyans. Four days doesn't sound like a lot, but this was a 41-day mediation in the end, so four days was a huge amount of time in the scope of that process. So they set out a process to meet with elders, youth, other political parties, business leaders, civil society, and women, running the whole gamut. What it did was enable Annan to have the power to essentially contradict versions of events that the political actors were bringing to the table. It allowed him to bring the voice of Kenyan people into the room to push back on some of the issues that the political leaders were talking about. It also set a precedent so that civil society, the business community, and others were able to continually access and feed information, solutions, and so forth into the talks. In terms of substance, what was really important was that we got what became known as agenda four, which looked at long-term issues and solutions for the process. And so it broadened out the scope and the substance of the process and then eventually of the agreements. This is a vital piece that set the stage for what the process was.

Another piece I want to mention places everything in a beautiful light. Annan was looking at inclusion in this very broad space. On the subject of women, there were times set aside for consultations with women, and that's incredibly important. However, as we all know, women are not a monolithic community. As half of the population, unsurprisingly, there is massive diversity among women, but no time was set aside for the intra-dialogue required to get any cohesive discussions between women from the various sides of the conflict. The emotions were running incredibly high, and the women really couldn't sit together without things erupting. Still, Annan was very keen to continue these consultations, then move on to the main talks. Enter Graça Machel, who is not just a woman. She was a leading civil society activist and a mediator, quite powerfully at that time. As the wife to Nelson Mandela hence,

she had enormous amounts of moral authority. Graça pushed for and supported a process for women to come together and have some of the much-needed messy conversations to craft some degree of shared understanding within the diversity of women's views in Kenya in order to bring things forward. Quite famously, she met with a number of the women, in addition to the meetings already set up. They had to meet at 5 am because all the meeting rooms were fully booked, and all the time in the schedule had been allocated. So they met early morning, and the women came together, and everybody started shouting, and it was incredibly acrimonious. Graça Machel stopped them and said: I'm handing you over to a Kenya facilitator that she knew. She also said, "I'm closing these doors, and you're not to come out until you've found some kind of common understanding. You don't have to agree on everything, but you have to agree on some common positions as women of Kenya." This became quite famously known in Kenya as the "spitting session." The women said "we needed to spit at each other and tear each other's hair. We needed to get it out so that we could take a step back and say, okay, we can set those differences aside and figure out what we need to do as women in addressing this conflict." It was a real reminder that leadership needs to come at every point. If it means that other things need to be delayed so that these pieces can be done right, we need to take that time. Definitely, there was some tension within the leadership between Annan, Graça, and Mkapa in making sure that this was happening. Fortunately, as ever, Graça prevailed.

> "Leadership needs to come at every point. If it means that other things need to be delayed so that these pieces can be done right, we need to take that time.

I'll mention another case that's quite different from the Kenya process. I was fortunate to work on a series of peace processes in Nigeria's Middle Belt, an area where there have been cycles of violence between communities for more than a decade. Some lessons were about the decisions you make when you're designing a process, when you're entering into a space, and how you can look at that from a pluralist and inclusive perspective. One approach we took in the space in Nigeria was to approach the communities themselves and not look from top political leadership, although there were political and legal issues that were related to the conflict – going directly to the communities and talking to them about the need to live together and cooperate to pull themselves out of cycles of violence that were damaging all of the communities across the board, not just one. The process we designed with the communities focused on building more pluralist systems in the society, both socially and

culturally, in terms of the interaction between the groups, as well as legally and structurally. We didn't achieve everything, as in Kenya, these processes didn't solve everything. But they helped contribute to more transformative thinking. In Nigeria, we brought communities together to try crafting agreements that built common ground on where communities could cooperate and build interdependence so that collectively, maintaining peace and cooperation benefited all of the communities together. Their differences became something that they saw genuinely as things that they could build upon rather than fear.

One of the women's organizations spoke powerfully about herders and farmers, which were one of the meta-identities that the community sort of fell into. They spoke about the symbiosis between the farmers needing the fertilizing power of the cattle for the cultivation of the farms, the importance of the herders needing the grazing land, and looking again at how to return to a symbiotic relationship, rather than the one they were in. Markets were a huge point of discussion. A lot of markets had been burned. Markets had become segregated. They looked at a redesign of markets, where communities would work together in terms of the different goods and services provided by the different communities, and how you could essentially build an economically inclusive and interdependent system between the communities.

Interestingly in Nigeria, one of the things that led to the conflict was an unequal citizenship law that gave certain groups different rights within the state. While they weren't able to change that, they were able to identify some workarounds so that some of the groups being disadvantaged by those laws would agree almost not to apply those laws at the local level to enable inclusion and the sense of belonging. This resulted in a different type of peace process. Signatories went beyond being parties to the conflict and became supporters of the process and this wider sense of responsibility to build peace. Sanam Anderlini often and very eloquently reminds us that we too often look at how we bring the parties to a table in order to share power when actually we should be looking at all of the actors in society coming together to share the responsibilities of building peace. And that's how we'd sought to approach that in Nigeria.

There was, again, the question of women's representation in these discussions, and again we pressed for women to be part of all of the community delegations. We set up a steering committee separately for women and another for the youth to look at the wider issues affecting those two groups. There was pushback, from some communities, about the inclusion of women in the process. And so again, we took decisions that meant that the process took longer and spent more resources. We hired somebody specifically focusing entirely on addressing this issue, convincing these communities that women representatives needed to be there,

working with women from that community to do some of the internal advocacy they needed to do to make that happen. It took time. There weren't women represented when we opened the talks within that community, but in the second round there were, and at the end, it was really embraced by that community. It took a long time and a lot of resources, but if that's built into the decision-making early on, I believe it can make a real difference.

I've seen in these two processes that there's something transformative about the principle of embracing diversity as a foundation for the process as well as the decisions coming from that process. So you're thinking about that all the way through. If the goal is worthwhile, it's worth failing. If you see that this goal is building a society that embraces diversity and not as a threat that leads to violent conflict, then you take your decisions in a different way. What we've usually seen is that inclusion gets siloed rather than built in this more holistic way. I would argue that most of the conflicts that we're all working on are rooted in these notions of exclusion; therefore, pluralism offers one of these really important foundational solutions.

At the Global Centre for Pluralism, all we think about is, of course, pluralism. We've been thinking about a pluralist peace process to transform the process - how we enter, design, and go about a peace process. Also, how you transform the outcomes - what are you trying to achieve, and how are you getting those outcomes to build a longer-term vision for embracing diversity in your societies. The two objectives within that would be: that all decisions are viewed through a pluralist lens, with a commitment to embracing diversity in the process itself; and then the substantive outcomes of the process are designed to help set a path for the society to be more positively responsive to diversity, and not just some specific cases (for example, the specific ethnic group that has taken up arms.) That's not the only diversity question in a given society. These are huge intersections. It can be several different ethnic groups, and it can be linguistic, cultural, historic, related to gender or land. There are many differences that need to be understood. Particularly in terms of understanding the problem when we enter a conflict. How do we set the stage in any context that sets a foundation so that we recognize that diversity management is needed while understanding all of the spaces of difference within the society, and not only the most dominant in the conflict narrative itself? How can we imagine our own contextual analysis building in this pluralist understanding and thinking through which differences matter, looking at everything from how laws exist in this society, how they're applied to different groups, how different groups are interacting with one another, and what are some of the intersections of difference that are happening across the society? These would give us a more holistic understanding to then enter into a peace process.

Then, how do we gain agreement from the parties and the international community to use this principle of respect for diversity running through all of our decision-making? This would open up a new way of thinking across the board about the representation of the talks, so we're not just pulling up a few extra seats and chairs at the table. For example, you may know that in the Yemen talks, when several women were pushing for inclusion in the talks that were taking place in Sweden, one of the responses they were given was the room was too small, and there weren't enough chairs. It's sort of funny, but tragically so. Obviously, that was not the real reason why they weren't included, but it's just a reminder that we needn't focus on the chairs. We need to focus on the entire holistic design of the process. Could we think about how consultations are more comprehensively built into a process so that the feedback is given greater weight in the formal process? Could different tracks of dialogue engage on various issues that are being considered in the process so that you're bringing in different voices? How do you ensure that some voices that might be silenced because they are so marginalized culturally are somehow fed in, safely, and in a way that protects those communities but still respects their need to be heard in whatever forum is possible for them?

Pushing for pluralism to be a core principle of commitment by the parties – the regional and international community that supports those agreements – to guide all of those decisions. It would mean that you'd have some parameters by which deals would be made, and so totally exclusionary power-sharing agreements would be limited by their need to find ways of setting the country on a path to embracing wider diversity and not just bringing two big men together. In the substance of the agreement, thinking about how governance frameworks would build in an embrace for diversity at this early stage. Thinking about how you would begin to support inclusive and equitable economic systems if you were looking, for example, at natural resource sharing. Ensuring that the informal economy is considered when talking about economic recovery in a peace process. In transitional justice, looking not just at retributive justice concepts, but thinking about how a transitional justice process can build up normative support within the society in building respect for multi perspectives of the history, and building that into a commitment towards nonviolence and constructive engagement and dialogue on differences moving forward. There are real possibilities there.

What I'm offering may be over-optimistic. But given the circumstances of where we find ourselves, this is potentially a moment for us to push beyond where we've been with inclusion and try for something bigger. So often, when we're in our own mediation processes, we get into the minute details of the art of the possible – if I can just get the parties to agree to meet, if I can get them to agree to any kind of process, if I can get a temporary halt to the violence.

These are all vital pieces, but to Mr. Annan's point, you have to think about the bigger goal, and how these pieces act as steps towards this embrace to be within society in the longer term. If they're not, are there other paths that we could take to get us there? Because, ultimately, that's where we need to get to craft these more durable peaceful solutions and societies.

Meredith Preston McGhie

Secretary General

Global Centre for Pluralism

About Meredith

Meredith Preston McGhie has devoted more than 20 years to addressing conflict and instability in Africa and Asia in some of the most troubled situations. From working with the Naga in Northeast India and indigenous communities on the Thai-Myanmar border to supporting UN efforts in Kosovo, Northern Iraq, and several African countries, her work has straddled frontline negotiation, policy, and diplomacy.

Meredith became the Global Centre for Pluralism's Secretary General on October 1, 2019. Most recently, as Africa Regional Director with the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, she oversaw the HD Centre's complex mediation and dialogue efforts in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan, Somalia, and South Sudan, among other places. In the Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process in 2007-08, she advised the Panel of Eminent African Personalities led by the late Kofi Annan. She has contributed annually to the Oslo Forum, a gathering of the world's leading experts and policymakers in conflict resolution, and teaches mediation practice internationally. She is a member of the Women Mediators Across the Commonwealth and serves as a member of the Steering Committee.

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CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
21ST CENTURY INCLUSIVITY
WHAT IS IT & WHY DOES IT MATTER?
MEREDITH PRESTON MCGHIE
SECRETARY GENERAL, GLOBAL CENTRE FOR PLURALISM
DIVISIVE NARRATIVES
MORE COMPLEX THEY ARE MORE DURABLE
MORE RESILIENT TO RESOLUTION
THE CONFLICTS WERE MORE ABOUT INCLUSIVITY, A DESIRE FOR PLURALISM, RESPECT FOR DIFFERENT CULTURES, LANGUAGES & TRADITIONS
BASIS FOR SOCIETIES TO FLOURISH
THERE'S A GREATER NEED FOR INCLUSION BUT HARDER TO GET THERE
WE NEED TO PUSH FURTHER, LOOK FOR A FULL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PEACEMAKING SPACE
& A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF PEACEMAKING INTERNATIONALLY
ACTIONS THAT WE TAKE TO POSITIVELY RESPOND TO DIVERSITY
21ST CENTURY INCLUSITIVITY
PLURALISM AS A FRAMEWORK FOR TRANSFORMING PEACEMAKING
WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO RETHINK
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PEACEMAKING COMMUNITY TO BE OPEN TO INNOVATION
WE NEED TO SPEND POLITICAL CAPITAL, MAKE THE RIGHT CHOICES TO MAKE IT HAPPEN, TAKE IT SERIOUSLY
PLURALIST DECISIONS
USE INCLUSION AS A LEVERAGE
BUILD PLURALIST SYSTEMS,
TRANSFORM-ATIVE THINKING
AN ECONOMICALLY INCLUSIVE & INTERDEPENDANT SYSTEM BETWEEN COMMUNITIES
WE SHOULD BE LOOKING FOR ALL ACTORS IN SOCIETY COMING TOGETHER TO SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF BUILDING PEACE
A PLURALIST PEACE PROCESS TO TRANSFORM BOTH THE PROCESS
HOW WE ENTER DESIGN & GO ABOUT A PEACE PROCESS AS WELL AS HOW YOU TRANSFORM THE OUTCOMES
WHAT YOU ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE
HOW ARE YOU GETTING THOSE OUTCOMES TO BUILD A
LONG TERM VISION
DESIGNED TO HELP SET A PATH FOR SOCIETY TO BE MORE POSITIVELY RESPONSIVE TO DIVERSITY
FOR EMBRACING DIVERSITY AS A SOLUTION
DON'T FOCUS ON THE CHAIRS! BUT ON THE ENTIRE HOLISTIC DESIGN
THINK OF HOW CONSULTATIONS ARE MORE COMPREHENSIVELY BUILD INTO THE PROCESS
FEEDBACK IS GIVEN GREATER WEIGHT IN THE PROCESS
BRING IN DIFFERENT VOICES
THINK ABOUT THE BIGGER GOAL
INCULCATE CRITICAL THINKING EARLY ON - TEACHING & HELPING PEOPLE HOW TO ENGAGE IN DIFFERENCE
NEED TO CRAFT A MORE DURABLE PEACEFUL SOLUTION
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Ameya Kilara

Director

South Asian Leadership Initiative, Inter Mediate

The Essence of Peace Leadership and How Does It Manifest?

What is peace leadership? That's a very big question. For me, it goes back to how we're right in the middle of a global pandemic, and yet many of the places we work in and the conflicts we've been following continue to be violent, intractable and extremely painful.

This has been a good year to separate what matters from what doesn't. That is why the question of leadership in this moment is so powerful and so profound. And as I thought about it, if I had to boil it down to one word? It's politics. Peacebuilding is politics in another form. The challenge that we're facing in many places, both in Asia and globally, is fundamentally a political one. We're looking at people who have collective interests that are competing, collective identities that are clashing, collective narratives that are at war with each other. So today, when I look at leadership, I'm going to use a political lens to understand the challenge and look at how peace leadership can and should manifest. This does not invalidate any other perspectives. This is something that, for me, speaks to the current moment we are in.

> If we look at political challenges, we are actually trying to mediate competing interests, identities, and narratives.

What do I mean by leadership? Let's start with what I don't mean by leadership. Given this global context, it becomes evident that leadership is not a role. It's not a position. It's not being Prime Minister of a country or the head of an organization because, frankly, those positions don't guarantee that the work of leadership, given the magnitude of the challenge, can get done. Christmas is coming up, so think about Santa Claus. The reason why Santa is so appealing to many of us, including my three-year-old niece, is because it's nice to think that there's a big old man who will come to save us and give us the goodies we're looking for. But, sadly, in the conflicts we work in, I don't think Santa is coming in any shape or form. So this is a challenge to big man (or big woman) mediation.

South Asia is the region I focused on this year. While Donald Trump made more than 12 offers of mediation to Indians and Pakistanis to mediate that conflict, we went from a hostile border on one front between India and Pakistan to two fronts as the conflict between India and China also escalated to the most violent it's been in the last four decades. I think that's enough said about why we have to find some new ways of imagining leadership beyond the big man (or woman) coming to save the world.

If leadership is not that, then what is it? I think leadership then becomes a process and activity that can happen from anywhere in the system. That's where you and I come into this conversation. I'm going to talk about how I believe leadership in peacemaking can and should manifest by sharing eight points that have personally resonated with me based on my own experience in practice. Hopefully, this is shared by many of you.

1. Create the peace table.

The first leadership challenge for us is not taking the table as a given in any of the places we work. For example, imagine a Thanksgiving dinner. If you've ever been in charge of setting a family table for Thanksgiving or a wedding, you know that there is nothing more political than doing that. There's a question of who carves the turkey, who's the closest to the food, and most importantly, who gets to sit next to the auntie that talks too much. In peacebuilding, there's a challenge of actually imagining what the peace table should look like, setting it, creating it, and then making that a reality. This is the first challenge that we face.

Here is an example from a process I've been a part of with other colleagues. Five years ago, we'd been doing work in Kashmir for a long time, and we felt that it might be time to start a Track 2 dialogue - bringing together former officials from India and Pakistan. I still remember that conversation when we were trying to imagine what the processes would look like. The conflict have been around for more than 70 years. And many peacebuilding efforts, including on the Track 2 level, have replicated the format of official negotiations, which was to get the big powers, India and Pakistan, into a room together and then let them sort things out. But there's a small problem with that. It is a political problem. There are close to 22 million people who live in the region that we call Jammu and Kashmir. How do you make sure that the people at the table are actually the ones who have the biggest stake in finding a way out? And when you think about it exactly, the logic is baffling.

The primary stakeholders who would have an interest in finding a way forward should be the people that are impacted, yet most of the structures that we created to resolve the conflict didn't really account for that. So when we put together this process, we found a way to involve a group of very credible, influential Kashmiris in that process. Of course there were questions and challenges to it. It was delicate and a lot of work to get everybody involved to see the value in it, and see that, without this, it would not be politically feasible that we'll find a way forward.

2. Mediate competing interests, identities, and narratives.

When looking at the political challenge in peacebuilding, what are we actually doing? We're trying to mediate between competing interests, identities, and narratives. Imagine trucks that are allowed to cross the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir. The Line of Control is a divide around 450 miles long between the two sides of Kashmir, controlled respectively by India and Pakistan. In the early 2000s, the LoC was opened for travel, and then a little bit later for trade. Along with colleagues at Conciliation Resources, I got to observe a very interesting process centered around the idea that borders can be made irrelevant. This is, politically, such a powerful idea, because you have two countries saying we have our territorial interests in the whole of the region that we are not giving up. Then you had various perspectives from Kashmiris themselves saying we want autonomy, we want independence or we want full integration with India or Pakistan. And somewhere in this whole messy picture, somebody came up with the idea that, actually it doesn't have to be this or that. Maybe something that would create a common interest is making borders irrelevant. And from that grew something very interesting for us.

A process called the "Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industries" is the first time 48 people from all the different regions of Jammu and Kashmir got together to promote trade connections across the LoC. It is a process that has involved many former militants. It involves people of all ideologies and religions and fundamentally relies on a greater identity and shared interest that could bring people together. This is just one of many examples of what we do. And many of us in different processes have done this, trying to find some common space that can create a shared interest for people on different sides of a conflict to come together.

3. Engage with the political core.

As peacebuilders, sometimes we tell ourselves a lot of myths. We say we're not doing something political. And I understand why we need to say it. But when it comes to dealing with the bad people, things get murky as you get closer to the centers of power. I found that it can sometimes pose a moral dilemma about legitimizing problematic leaders through our engagement with them. I think this dilemma can be addressed by asking ourselves: "What is the purpose of what we're doing?" What I found in my work is that trying to take the initiative to engage with people I don't agree with, that I'm ideologically very opposed to, or I know have done very problematic things, is always a difficult choice. It's always an act of courage. And the way I have reconciled this dilemma is by seeing that the purpose of this is to find that common ground, to find that space with all of these different factions together. If there's a situation where I feel like that purpose is not going to be solved, then I don't do it. But it's vital that, along with the work that we do in so many other spaces, that we're willing to touch the political core of these conflicts. That means engaging political people, governments, armies, political parties on all sides, even though that process can often present discomfort and difficult dilemmas.

4. Create balcony spaces.

The "balcony" signifies a space of reflection and stepping back. One way to imagine this is that you have a dance floor. When you're on the dance floor, you're so involved in the dance. You might be able to see your partner next to you and a few people dancing around you. You are basically focused on the dance. That's very true of people who are making decisions from government, of politics or parties, as equally to all of us. We're so caught up in the day-to-day of what we need to do, the next decision, and the next challenge, that we don't really get the time and space to step back onto the balcony. We don't see the whole system and whether what we're doing is effective or not. More importantly, other roles that we're playing may actually hold us back from really seeing the possibilities.

Three things have helped create these balcony spaces over the past year. The first example is from an exercise at a workshop we convened last year. We brought together very senior officials and policy wonks, but we wanted to do something different. So we brought them together to do some filmmaking. We got an Oscar-nominated film director to take us through filmmaking exercises to get our group to start imagining a different end to these conflicts:

our “story” if you like. We studied the different characters involved very deeply like you would when you write a film script. Then we did some scriptwriting and tried to imagine different scenarios which would have a different ending. It was very interesting. I don't think we came away thinking that any of us are blessed with acting skills, but the takeaway was that it helps to get people to step back and be creative about the options.

The second thing: This year, through the pandemic, we've facilitated two different leadership programs, which we call the balcony initiatives. What we've tried to do virtually is bring senior political and civil society leaders into a space where they can reflect on the different challenges they're facing. The challenges are in real time, very difficult ones. We are again trying to create this idea of a balcony where they can come, reflect, and then go back to the dance floor.

The third thing is poetry. Poetry has been something that gives people a moment to step back, and this creates a different dynamic in the group . But sometimes it can lead to unexpected, unpredictable consequences. In one of these poetry sessions I shared one of my favourite poems by Kahlil Gibran, On Children. The poem goes “Our children are not our children. They are the sons and daughters of Life’s longing for itself.” I went through the whole poem, and one of my colleagues looked quite shocked, and then he said to me, “How did you know?” I was taken aback. I asked him, “Know what?” He responded, “How did you know that my children are actually not my children?” It can be interesting to create balcony spaces, but sometimes you might find that it can surprise you!

5. Change the frame.

Often in our work, we change the frame creatively in very entrenched political discourses. One of the best examples of this was Prime Minister Vajpayee, Former Indian Prime Minister, who soon after the Kargil War with Pakistan decided that he wanted to open a dialogue process with the Pakistani and Kashmiri leaders. The big sticking point was, how to talk and on what basis? Would it be based on the Indian constitution or based on something else? What he did is still remembered all across the region as something so creative. He said, we will talk within the framework of humanity. And he coined the expression, “Insaniyat, Jamhuriyat, Kashmiriyat” (meaning humanity, democracy and Kashmiriyat, which is the cultural essence of being Kashmiri).

Just like that, in one moment, the frame for the dialogue changed. There've been more recent examples as well if you have been following the news. There've been recent efforts for some political groups within Kashmir to come together. One of the interesting things they seem to have done is inject into the political discourse the idea that we can come together to protect **the dignity of all Kashmiris**. Again, that's changing the frame. It enables them to say, "okay, we can justify entering into a dialogue process with all of these different groups that don't agree with us and have been our rivals for a long time, because we just shifted the frame for these dialogues."

6. Be like Kali.

There's a goddess from Hindu mythology, Goddess Kali. The cool thing about Kali is that she, in some forms, has ten heads. I believe that describes what we need to be in peacebuilding, what leadership is. The challenge of leadership is that we need to be able to have multiple heads. Emma said that "everybody's welcome, including people with two heads," but I hope that also extends to people with many, many more because that's what we need in peacebuilding.

One of the big mistakes we can make is to get enamored by our organizations' stories about ourselves. We say we're a Track One organization, or we're a Track Two organization, we only work with communities, or we work with religious leaders. We do ourselves a big disservice when we restrict ourselves to one thing because what is required of leadership is to be able to move nimbly across different parts of the system. It boils down to the question of what our purpose is. If that point can be served by meeting with the Prime Minister, then go ahead and do that. If it could be served by meeting somebody around the corner shop at the end of your street, do that. I don't think either of those things are in themselves meaningful, if they are disconnected from the overall purpose. So, I'm going to leave you with this. We should be more like Kali and less stuck in one role.

One of the personal challenges I've had is a leadership challenge as well. Sometimes we get stuck playing one role within the groups we're a part of and work with. For me, I'm somebody who's hopeful, optimistic, and have energy. The thing I find difficult is expressing anger. I've been realizing that to be effective, we need to be able to have those many heads. You need to be hopeful when it's required. You need to be hopeless when it's required. You need to be angry, and you need to be able to be strict. You need to be sad. You need to be able to call on a range of tools and emotions to be able to navigate these complex political environments.

7. Embrace Risk.

Leadership in building peace is inherently a risky business. It's risky for two obvious reasons – working in dangerous places with the travel and the political risks and risky in the sense that you know that you are betting against the odds. I'm so tired of people asking me, do you think it's likely that, for example, India, Pakistan (or you can replace with any of the places that all of us work within), do you think it's likely that they will even come to any sort of resolution? That's not the point. It's not really the question because it's a choice to say something's possible, and you do it knowing that it's very risky because it's against the odds. But there needs to be some people within the system willing to take that risk and bet on something that's unlikely but possible. One of the disappointing things is seeing how the field has evolved in a way that makes us very risk-averse. If you look at the peacebuilding system as a whole, from the way things come down from donors and then to more powerful organizations to less powerful organizations. The whole exercise seems to be geared towards just passing on risks to the lowest person in the food chain. You have a donor who says, I'm not going to risk my trade relationship, my defense relationship, or anything else with country X that really needs to be behaving differently for this conflict to be resolved. But I'm going to give a tiny bit of money towards a peacebuilding budget, pass that risk to a local organization, and then ask them to report back on how close they've come to resolving the conflict. It's a bit like the Emperor's New Clothes. Who's going to call it? We need to think about systems and what this whole field need to look like to enable us to take the risks we know we need to take to do this work.

8. Hold the "whole."

Probably the biggest leadership challenge, for us as individuals, for our organizations, and as a whole for peacebuilding, is who in the system will be able to hold the whole picture. If you look at political transformation in any of the places we work, it will need something that's non-linear. You are looking for a moment of transformation, where one plus one will not be two. One plus one may lead to a million or may lead to zero. But the way we have structured ourselves to say,

> Holding the whole and having the people willing to take risk is a collective responsibility. There's no point denying those risks and we as a field need to have more leverage and be more powerful.

okay, I am responsible for my little piece of the puzzle, which is implementing this particular project with this log frame with these deliverables. I understand, and I'm not invalidating those processes. I'm not invalidating what we are all doing in different spaces, but I think there is a big question about the overall ambition the field needs to be confronting. Who's actually responsible for that? It goes beyond connections. What will enable our collective effort to be more than just the sum of its parts? I leave this question to all of us.

Ameya Kilara

Director, South Asian Leadership Initiative

Inter Mediate

About Ameya

Ameya Kilara is an Indian lawyer based in London and has worked for the past decade towards building peace in situations of violent conflict, particularly Kashmir. She heads the South Asian Leadership Initiative at Inter Mediate, a program focused on the role of leadership in conflict resolution in South Asia in partnership with experts at the Harvard Kennedy School. Inter Mediate is an organization advising leaders of government and political organizations on negotiating political pathways out of violent conflict in different parts of the world.

Previously, at Conciliation Resources, Ameya facilitated various dialogue initiatives across the Line of Control in Kashmir and an India-Pakistan track two process with former military and intelligence chiefs. She has provided technical support to the UN's Office of the Special Envoy for Syria. As a solicitor at Linklaters, a leading international law firm, she helped to promote the mediation of commercial disputes.

Ameya holds a Master in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Ameya has received multiple awards for her work including Temasek Foundation-NUS Leadership Enrichment and Regional Networking Award 2008, the Gleitsman Leadership Fellowship at Harvard's Center for Public Leadership and the Women of the Future Award 2019.

WATCH AMEYA'S FULL PRESENTATION


CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
the ESSENCE of PEACE LEADERSHIP & HOW DOES it MANIFEST?
AMEYA KILARA
DIRECTOR, SOUTH ASIAN LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE, INTER MEDIATE
USING a POLITICAL LENS to UNDERSTAND the CHALLENGE
it's POLITICS
COMPETING INTERESTS
COLLECTIVE INTERESTS
at WAR with EACH OTHER
COMPETITIVE COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES
CLASHING COLLECTIVE NARRATIVES
LEADERSHIP
PROCESS
ACTIVITY
CAN HAPPEN ANYWHERE & WITHIN
1 CREATE the PEACE TABLE
THE CHALLENGE IS IMAGINING WHAT THE PEACE TABLE SHOULD LOOK LIKE & MAKING THAT a REALITY
2 MEDIATE COMPETING INTERESTS, IDENTITIES & NARRATIVES
FIND COMMON SPACE with PEOPLE in THE FUTURE
CREATE COMMON INTERESTS
3 ENGAGE with the POLITICAL CORE
ENGAGE with PEOPLE I DON'T AGREE with
FIND the COMMON GROUND
4 CREATE BALCONY SPACES for SPACE for REFLECTION
STEP BACK to SEE the WHOLE SYSTEM
CREATE PARKING SPACES ~ it MAY SURPRISE YOU!
5 CHANGE the FRAME
6 BE LIKE KALI
the CHALLENGE to HAVE MULTIPLE HEADS
RESTRICT OURSELVES to ONE THING
it's a DISSERVICE when WE LEADERSHIP MUST be ABLE to MOVE to DIFFERENT PARTS not STUCK to JUST ONE ROLE
7 RISK EMBRACE
it's a CHOICE to SAY SOMETHING'S POSSIBLE & YOU DO IT, KNOWING it's VERY RISKY & AGAINST the ODDS
SOMETHING UNLIKELY but POSSIBLE
8 HOLD the WHOLE PICTURE
~ SOMETHING NON LINEAR is REQUIRED to HAVE THAT MOMENT of TRANSFORMATION
ONE + ONE MAY NEED to BE a MILLION or 0
WHO is ACTUALLY RESPONSIBLE for THAT OVERALL AMBITION that THE FIELD NEEDS CONFRONTING
it's BEYOND CONNECTIONS
WHAT will ENABLE OUR COLLECTIVE EFFORTS to BE MORE THAN JUST the SUM of its PARTS
it's a WORK in PROGRESS
WHAT's the PURPOSE?
THERE are MANY LEVELS ~ NOT EVERYONE NEEDS to HAVE the SAME VISION
NOT HYPER STRUCTURING CONVERSATIONS
ALLOWING SPACE for QUESTIONS ~ MAYBE WE DON'T ALWAYS AGREE ON the PURPOSE
HOLDING the WHOLE PEACE CORP is OUR JOB
SOMEONE HAS to MEDIATE & PROTECT THAT SPACE for SOMETHING COMMON to EMERGE
HMM.
STEP BACK & LOOK at the WHOLE PICTURE
WE NEED to HAVE more LEVERAGE to BE MORE POWERFUL
THERE is NO SILVER BULLET
it SHOULD be a SHARED COLLECTIVE
it's TOUGH RELATING to YOURSELF
LIKE you DON'T HAVE ONE THING, HOLDING the IDEA THAT WE CAN BE MANY THINGS
I CAN BE WHATEVER I WANT ~ THINGS in a DAY
but BE WISE
AS HARD
& A LOT of WORK to BE CREDIBLE & TAKEN SERIOUSLY
STRATEGICALLY FOCUSED
IT BECOMES MEANINGFUL WHEN you CONNECT to THE PURPOSE
INKA
scribbilicious
inkagrm

Julia Roig

Former Director, President

Partners Global

Adaptive Leadership for Peace Organizations

I am the President of PartnersGlobal based here in Washington, DC. We used to be Partners for Democratic Change. If you don't know about the organization, we just celebrated our 30th anniversary in 2009. So, we've been around for a while, and we function as a network. There are 20 Partners centres around the world that we in the United States have helped to set up over the years. They're completely independent, autonomous, non-profit organizations to share a brand, so Partners Georgia, Partners Albania, Partners Colombia, etc. We've collectively done a lot of work in your region, although, as of now, we don't have any network members in Asia, and we'd love for that to change.

Over the years, we've been an organization that's helped build other organizations to be committed to ongoing peacebuilding and good governance work, to serve as a kind of neutral platform. That's the kind of work we know all countries in transition and facing conflict needs. Over the years, our work has changed. The network itself has been an important kind of platform for learning. We've also started focusing on building up and sustaining what already exists, not necessarily building new organizations. So this topic of resiliency has been on our minds for a long time because we feel that, as a network, we've been staying resilient through lots of different political changes and social changes. It's a very sexy topic right now - we hear a lot about "resiliency". But for almost five years now, together with the another civil society network, Civicus, we developed a resiliency framework to help organizations working in democracy, governance, and peacebuilding to survive and thrive during big shocks to their system. Shocks - what does that even mean? Well, we just had a global pandemic. It's a good example of a shock.

There are seven factors in the resiliency framework but we'll focus on one factor today, our capacity to be adaptive. I'm not going to talk about the whole framework, but we've found that the ability to be adaptive is a key factor in staying resilient as an organization.

Let's briefly go through each of the points in the title of this paper. Why do I feel it's important to focus on ***organizations*** in particular? I was reflecting on the fact that many people in our field – professionals, amazingly dedicated, experienced peacebuilders – have never been taught how to be a manager. I went to law school, no one ever taught me. I never thought that I would be the head of an organization. Being the head of a non-profit is actually a struggle and a kind of science in and of itself, isn't it? Peacebuilding and peacebuilders need strong

organizational platforms to sustain our work because governments will come and go. We know that our commitment to building peace is a long-term one. And so obviously we want to have really strong organizations that are well-funded, well-staffed, that can continue to do the work, especially now. We're seeing a lot of peacebuilding organizations struggle to maintain their operations, especially when funder priorities change. The world is very focused on public health right now. They're worried about economic development. So maybe some of the funding for our work is going to be changing.

Why adaptive ***leadership***, and what do I mean by leadership? The visual I'm using is kind of a stereotype. A big red ball at the head of a bunch of other balls, a person supposedly having all of the answers and saying: This is the direction we're going to go. But the concept of leadership is changing. I think we're all trying – and if we're not trying, we should be – to figure out what non-hierarchical structures of leadership look like. So I am talking about leadership at all levels of the organizations that we work within. I'm talking about the concept of *shared leadership.* Many of us perhaps have grown up in hierarchical structures, maybe starting with the family and how our schooling system worked. We follow what we know and what we think it means to be a good leader, but part of adapting is getting out of traditional ways of thinking about leadership.

Why ***adapt***? Everybody's talking about a new normal. I don't know if this is so new. Maybe it was always like this, in the fact that we thought the road ahead of us was kind of a straight line. Even when we're dealing with conflict dynamics, we somehow have a sense that the world is changing at a more rapid pace. And so this ability to adapt and then put into practice adaptive skills are some of the leadership skills of the future.

One of the founding principles of adaptive capacity, similar to systems leadership or systems theory, is the difference between dealing with something that's complicated versus problems that are complex, and then how do we plan to address those? You may have heard about clock problems and cloud problems, for example. The systems theory concept states that a complicated problem is one problem that has a lot of moving pieces. But you know what those pieces are and you can, one by one, start putting the pieces back together. If you took apart a clock, you could put the clock back together. For example, we want to maybe have a peace curriculum in a school. We know that – depending on the school system's size and the different stakeholders who need to approve, and also looking at the grade level – we can solve that problem. We can design a good curriculum for students and get the right people to sign off on it. It may be a very complicated policy dynamic, with different teachers and stakeholders, but we could solve that problem.

On the other hand, complexity is something we can't get our hands around, and that's why they call them cloud problems. You can't really get your arms around the cloud but you can observe a cloud. The cloud goes by. And so, a complex problem might be more like what we're trying to address right now, misinformation. We're trying to figure out how to deal with the fact that both kids and our societies are just marinating in a diet of misinformation. We think that a really good school curriculum might solve that problem. We want them to learn better discernment, media literacy, and yet there are so many other elements. For example, how media is paid for by advertising, a post's number of clicks, and the different people who benefit from the misinformation. There's all the brain science behind why we believe things or don't believe things. Addressing this kind of misinformation ecosystem is a very complex problem. It doesn't just take putting the different pieces out and then solving it. We're always having to observe what's happening, observe with others, maybe trying to address one piece of it and see what effect we have on that, but it's going to be constantly adapting and evolving. The idea is that complexity doesn't have order and predictability because there are so many pieces, this means that the pieces of the problem will potentially interact with each other and in unpredictable ways.

I wanted to talk about the difference between complicated and complex problems because sometimes, our organizations are set up as if we're only dealing with complicated problems. Maybe it's because we like for example, to do strategic planning. We like having strategic planning for three to five years; we say we're going to do A, we're going to do B, we're going to have our results framework. We're going to do X, then Y is going to happen. We'll have our hypotheses. However, we have to structure organizations differently if we're trying to solve complex problems, or not really even solve them. They say: Stop trying to solve them. We have to manage what's happening now, which is a little bit less certain. And of course, the way our donors fund our work, we have to over-promise, we have to say we're going to be solving things. It's much more different in dealing with issues like climate change. When I was reflecting on it, I do think peacebuilders are good at this. We apply this frame of mind to our work because we understand that conflict is messy and is not a straight line. When we're in the midst of a group dynamic, we understand all the different human elements. And yet, it's not easy applying these concepts to ourselves internally in the way that we manage and design programs and work with our teams. I've at least observed that we manage ourselves as if we're only dealing with complicated problems. A little bit of self-awareness, to take what we naturally do externally and try and apply it in our own organizations, is part of bringing adaptive capacity into our organizational structures.

There are three aspects of adaptive leadership. One is that there is internal work with regard to how we individually change our mindset. Second, I think there are very specific shifts and practices of things that we can do differently. And third, I'm a big believer that we shouldn't be doing any of this alone, that we need to think differently about who we partner with in order to embed this adaptive leadership into the way we work collectively.

1. **Mindset Shifts.** We'll talk about curiosity, sense-making, and foresight.

CURIOSITY.

Somebody once said that "curiosity is a superpower." I love that. Staying curious about the problems that we are trying to face, but also staying curious about what's going on in our own organizations. This is why I wanted to mention traditional leadership models of someone who needs to have all the answers. A vulnerable leader maintains that level of curiosity to even acknowledge: maybe I don't have all of the answers. There is a mindfulness aspect of curiosity, which is to make sure that all of the voices on our teams are actively participating in observing this complex system. To the extent that part of your mindfulness is essentially understanding your own biases and being more situationally aware. When we're really busy and stressed, I think that those aspects of our practice and mindset are the first to go. There's this kind of cult of busy-ness of just getting through our to-do list.

> Curiosity is the superpower... staying curious about problems we face and what's going on in our organization.

Staying curious also essentially includes empathy, doesn't it? We do not necessarily have to put ourselves in someone else's shoes. But we have to have empathy to potentially understand how somebody might be experiencing whatever set of problems you're dealing with differently. Again, I'm not talking about our work as peacebuilders because we're really good at this. We facilitate people having empathy for each other when we're mediating. And yet, getting into our own organizations and feeling the responsibility of what we think it means to have a

direction makes it harder to embed empathy into the organizational culture. Someone told me once that, at the end of every meeting, we should ask what hasn't been said that still needs to be said. It's a way of ensuring that different voices and talents have a space to participate.

Humility. Another part of being curious is staying humble. There's a humility to accept yourself, not necessarily think less of yourself. As the CS Lewis quote says, “Humility isn't thinking less of yourself, it's thinking of yourself less.” We talked about this being potentially a gendered capacity, but I don't think that's true. The act of being vulnerable within our organizations to have that curiosity is really a superpower because new understandings emerge, which is desperately what we need when we're trying to get our hands around those cloud problems.

SENSE-MAKING.

I love this term because it's different from problem-solving. We're taught problem-solving, it's one of the seven steps of the Harvard Negotiation model. In brainstorming, we define the problem, come up with various solutions, we look at and evaluate the solutions together. Then we pick one, we move forward, and we’ve got an agreement. Sense-making is a totally different action of how we’re collectively making sense of this volatility and complexity. Problem identification again goes to this concept of a complicated problem that just needs to find the right solution.

Let's say we’re making sense of an ecosystem that's causing polarization to take place; this is a problem all over the world right now. Why are we becoming more and more polarized? Lots of people want to talk about social media, want to talk about politicians that polarize us, and that there are aspects of manipulation. It's a very complex problem that we're trying to make sense of. So when we go through the art of trying to make sense through those conversations, reflections, and observations, we have to be comfortable with not being totally accurate. Sense-making is an action where we will never know all the aspects of complex problems, and we won't have the complete picture. We have to be comfortable defining an action without having such accuracy, if we're just trying to make sense, because then it becomes what's *plausible*. Is it sufficiently plausible that part of the problem is social media, and that is why we're becoming more polarized? Because we can't know everything. This is the way that we have the conversations, to allow ourselves to not have all the information, then decide how to act. Again, maybe it's a curriculum on media literacy that we've decided we're going to try and act on that polarization because we think that's going to be part of the solution. Then we're continuing to make sense and observe how that affects the communities that we're working in.

FORESIGHT.

I know that sounds like a funny mindset shift. Again, we're really good at this as peacebuilders because we do think about peace being in the long term. We're working for long-term change. Sometimes we're thinking in terms of generations. And yet, how do we apply that concept into our own organizational practice in our own mindset? I know that our funding structures sometimes force us into kind of six-month, one-month kinds of program cycles, but we do have to be futurists. We all have to be futurists now, thinking about what we're doing today and the likely scenarios of what might be happening in the future, because it helps us make sure that we don't just do the same thing we've always done.

None of us thought that we would be working so remotely. Wherever you are in your different countries, you probably had some experience with being locked down, "working from home," and how much had we been prepared for that? Some organizations were better prepared than others. I don't think we ever would have thought we would be in a pandemic. Some people did. But part of foresight and forward-thinking is thinking about what are the coming trends that I need to be preparing for now? I know a lot of organizations that were better prepared for everybody teleworking than others. Now, we can't blame them for not knowing that a pandemic was coming, but understanding the technology will be a bigger part of our work life, that we need to be more forward-thinking, and incorporating that is part of applying foresight mindset.

2. **Adaptive Practices.** We have transparency, inclusion, and scenario planning.

TRANSPARENCY.

What are we incorporating into our daily life within our organizations? Transparency is key. A lot of us work for transparency, and we think of transparent governance as one of the key concepts of building a peaceful society. In applying transparency practices within our organization, the ability to adapt is that everybody needs to have the same information. Why are we making decisions that we're making? How are decisions being made based on what criteria? You have the ability to have great group-think while being more inclusive with different thoughts.

INCLUSION.

We think of inclusion, sometimes in terms of ethnic diversity. We think of racial diversity in the US, or we think of the gender balance. I have been thinking more and more about age diversity. It's something I struggle with, quite honestly, because there is a real difference between how younger people in my organization and the network think about their work-life, themselves at work, and the kind of decision-making role they're claiming as young people. We have stereotypical leadership models - you have to pay your dues; you're not as experienced as those of us who have been around for a while. There's a little bit of "know your place" thinking. Then I've got these young people who are just energetic and excited and claiming leadership, not even asking for it. I have observed a lot of intergenerational tensions, and I've been in favor of those in more traditional leadership models trying to figure out what that inclusiveness is within our organizations. In the peacebuilding field right now, there's a call that youth need to be leading peacebuilding efforts, so we support youth organizations and youth movements. But what does it look like when we're working together between generations? I think that's something that we need to be better at.

SCENARIO PLANNING.

What does scenario planning look like? At **Partners**, we don't do a strategic plan anymore. Personally because I feel like, after six months, it's not relevant anymore. So we have something called a *mission action plan* and our mission is still pretty relevant. We're working to support civil society activists around the world to be better connected and integrated with each other and with other partners. It's our name. But we have to run scenarios of what we think is going to happen, a month, two months, or six months from now? What's the best case scenario? We're in peak uncertainty right now with the pandemic, but I think we're going to be in peak uncertainty for a long time. There's all sorts of scenario planning tools out there. There are tools available at **Partners** with simple formulas that can help you think at the organizational and operational level, programs, and strategy.

3. Partnerships.

Where do we think we're going and how do we plan for these different scenarios unfolding? What I want to say is that none of us should be doing this alone. We should not be sitting alone in our own organizations doing scenario-planning, because we don't have all of the information. There are some sacred cows of the peacebuilding field that we need to be reflective about.

Do we keep doing the same things without really thinking deeply about the impact in this new environment, these new scenarios, these new inputs? The only way we're going to get that is by talking to different people who see differently. Hence, we run a lot of scenario-planning exercises and look at future trends with groups of organizations on a regular basis. Because in partnerships, we adapt better when we're faced not only with different thinking outside of our organization, but also within our professional community.

I am a big proponent of partnering with organizations that we wouldn't necessarily think of as peacebuilding organizations. There's a big push for *business for peace* right now, and how can businesses contribute to peace. I teach many graduate students on business for peace how to partner with peacebuilders and businesses, and sometimes I get a lot of pushback. Those are the greedy folks. They're the ones causing problems, whether it's social injustice and inequality, the things that we're all trying to solve, so we sometimes make blanket generalizations. Media companies, for example, as part of the problem because of their business model. Therefore, finding the right partnerships who could potentially consider themselves a part of our goals, maybe even push us to see what we do and how we do it in different ways, is going to be the only way that we adapt.

I always ask people to check their own biases about who they think shouldn't be partnering with us. My sister works for a dairy company on the West Coast of the US, and it's a well-known dairy company in making cheese and yogurt. When we talk about the business community, they're very active in the state of Oregon and they operate as corporate citizens, meaning they bring together workers from different sides of the state. They've been very involved in different dialogue and education efforts, they're committed to environmental sustainability, and they're worried about the ecology and the state. Those partnerships can help us think about how we're going to continue to adapt and ask ourselves the hard questions about how we do our work.

> We need to consider merging together. On how we share resources, ways to protect each other in solidarity, coordinated messaging and not each of us having a piece of our own.

I acknowledge that all this adapting is exhausting. It truly is. We have to take care of ourselves. I have a lot of empathy for some colleagues who said they felt like they have transition fatigue and

asked when was **Partners**Global, going to just get in a flow? When were we just going to stop being in transition? We're just never not in transition. What does that mean? It's very hard on our brains to be constantly tasked with not knowing exactly what's next or what to expect. It actually physically hurts our cognitive abilities. Therefore, do whatever you have to do to take care of yourself. You can't be an adaptive leader within your organizations and do your work without taking care of yourself. You're dealing with trauma, you're dealing with the healing work that we do externally. We've been talking for a long time about how peacebuilders apply that kind of healing to ourselves, and I'm giving you another reason to do that because we are going to be in this adaptation business for a long time.

Julia Roig
President
Partners Global

About Julia

Julia Roig, Former Director and President of PartnersGlobal, provides technical and strategic leadership within the international network of 22 Partners' affiliate organizations. She represents the organization as a member of international civil society with a personal commitment to multi-lateralism and global cooperation. As President, Julia has solidified private sector partnerships to reach development goals and is spearheading linkages with entertainment and advertising industry leaders under their Narratives for Peace initiative. She is a substantive expert in Good Governance, Rule of Law, and Conflict Resolution, and has been spearheading Partners' Resiliency+ Framework for civil society. She currently serves as the Chair of the Board of the Alliance for Peacebuilding.

In January 2022, Julia will be launching a new initiative called The Horizons Project to dedicate herself to bridging the Peacebuilding, Social Justice and Democracy sectors in the US, continuing to connect with global networks to improve the way we share experiences and uncover new restorative movement-building practices

WATCH JULIA'S FULL PRESENTATION


CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
ADAPTIVE LEADERSHIP for PEACE ORGANISATIONS
JULIA ROIG
PRESIDENT, PARTNERSGLOBAL
WE DEVELOPED a RESILIENCY FRAMEWORK to HELP ORGANISATIONS WORKING in DEMOCRACY GOVERNANCE & PEACE BUILDING WORK → HELP THEM to BE
ABLE to SUSTAIN BIG SHOCKS to their SYSTEM SHOCKS PANDEMIC
KEY STRATEGY
SUSTAINING RESILIENT ORGANISATIONS
OUR CAPACITY to BE ADAPTIVE
COMPLICATED vs COMPLEX PROBLEMS
A LOT of MOVING PIECES THAT ONE BY ONE WE START
PUTTING TOGETHER
CLOUD
COMPLEXITY is SOMETHING WE CAN'T GET OUR HANDS AROUND - CAN ONLY
A LITTLE SELF AWARENESS is REQUIRED
STRUCTURE ORGANIZATIONS DIFFERENTLY
FOR MY ADDRESS MISINFORMATION
NEED to CONSTANTLY ADAPTING & EVOLVING - NO PREDICTIBILITY
A LOT of SELF REFLECTION is HELPFUL
SELF CARE - to BE an EFFECTIVE ADAPTIVE LEADER - APPLY SELF HEALING
TAKE CARE of OURSELVES
WE NEED to ADAPT OUR LANGUAGE
DON'T USE JARGONY LIKE RETURN on INVESTMENT
WE WANT to be SELLING A VISION, SELLING PEACE
LEARNING HAVE FEEDBACK LOOPS
RESILIENT ROOTS of CIVICUS
PRACTICE ACCOUNTABILITY
EVERYBODY DOES a BIT of EVERYTHING
GET our HANDS DIRTY, LEARN from PEOPLE & WHAT YOU HAVE to TEACH THEM
SOAK up LEARNING & SHARE
LEADERSHIP is CHANGING
TRYING to FIGURE out WHAT DO NON HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURES of LEADERSHIP LOOK LIKE
ADAPTIVE LEADERSHIP
MINDSET Shift
HOW WE INDIVIDUALLY CHANGE
CURIOSITY is a SUPERPOWER
THERE is MINDFULNESS ASPECT
HAVE EMPATHY
BE HUMBLE
FORWORD THINKING
WE NEED to THINK DIFFERENTLY ABOUT WHO WE PARTNER WITH
SENSEMAKING - COLLECTIVELY MAKING SENSE - WE WILL NEVER KNOW ALL THE ASPECTS of COMPLEX PROBLEMS
FORESIGHT
WE ALL HAVE to be FUTURISTS - LIKELY SCENARIOS
ADAPTIVE PRACTICES
TRANSPARENCY is KEY → GOVERNANCE
INCLUSION
AGE DIVERSITY
YOUNG LEADERS are INTERESTED & EXCITED CLAIMING LEADERSHIP
WORKING TOGETHER BETWEEN GENERATIONS
SCENARIO PLANNING
MISSION ACTION PLAN ~ RUN SCENARIOS
THINK DEEPLY
BEST CASE
DO NOT DO THIS ALONE
FIND the RIGHT PARTNERSHIPS
INKA
scribbilicious
inkagrm

Christine Ahn

Executive Director

Women Cross DMZ

The Power of Civil Society Movements for Political Change

I'm fascinated by this theme of – and feel that in describing the Korean peace process, the words could be switched to – "Moving Beyond Big Man Diplomacy and Multi-Track Mediation." The Korea peace process began with the 2018 winter Olympics in Pyeongchang. If you've been tracking this process, we did feel that peace was on the brink of breaking out with the dramatic summits between South Korean President Moon Jae-in and North Korean Chairman Kim Jong-un and between Chairman Kim and US President Donald Trump. However, after the Hanoi summit between Chairman Kim and President Trump failed, the so-called peace process came to a grinding halt, not just between the United States and North Korea, but also between North and South Korea.

I was in Hanoi when the summit abruptly ended. I had just spoken to my 6-year-old daughter by phone and explained that today was the day that the United States and North Korea would finally end the seven-decade Korean War and that the Korean people would be able to live in peace. By lunchtime, the talks collapsed. You can imagine the pandemonium at the international press conference center. What happened? But the hardest was going to the room where all the South Korean journalists were – there was a collective sense of doom. The air was heavy and the room silent.

> The war would not end unless, we, the people, social movement, and civil society, organize and demand it with our political leaders

Instead of returning to the United States defeated, I was even more certain that the war would not end unless we, *the people*, and social movements organized and demanded it of our political leaders.

I would like to share with you the story of Women Cross DMZ and the transnational feminist movement that we have helped build to mobilize women for peace in Korea. I have no illusions that what we have been able to build is replicable, especially the resources we have leveraged from the wealthiest country in the world. But it has been inspiring for me to witness the small but significant political changes in South Korea and the United States and know that the

organizing by women peace activists has had a hand in shaping them. Before I share with you the five strategies we have used as a civil society to help advance peace on the Korean peninsula, let me first explain the genesis of Women Cross DMZ, which began, literally, with a dream.

In 2009, I was working by day at the Global Fund for Women in San Francisco and by moonlight as a Korea peace activist. We had just launched an initiative called Women Dismantling Militarism, and we screened Abigail Disney's film called Pray the Devil Back to Hell. It was about the Liberian women's peacebuilding by crossing religious and ethnic lines to bring an end to the country's 17-year civil war.

That night, I woke up in the middle of the night and, like many of us insomniacs, turned on my computer. On the New York Times home page was a story about the Imjin river, which runs through the heart of the Korean peninsula, north to south. It was rainy season, the river was flooding, and North Korea allegedly lifted the dam without informing South Korea. Several people in South Korea were swept away and drowned, including a father and his son who were fishing in the early morning. The two leaders at the time were Kim Jong-il, the father of the current North Korean leader, and Lee Myung-bak, the former Hyundai executive now serving time in South Korea. The hotline was shut off between the two Koreas, so there was no official channel of communications. I remember reading that article and just being pissed off. Why couldn't one man just pick up the phone and call the other? I decided to go back to sleep, and that's when I had the most incredible dream.

I was wading in the river, and it was just before the crack of dawn. There was a glow of light floating down the river, and soon that light morphed into the embrace of elderly Koreans. It was a powerful and moving sight. I'm not sure if you've ever seen the reunion of elderly Koreans who have not seen their siblings for over 60, 70 years, but it's heart-wrenching. And yet, I wanted to know where the source of the light was coming from, so I continued to wade up the river, and that's when I came to the most incredible sight. It was a circle of women, and they sat around a big black kettle and were stirring some thick liquid which they then poured into little vessels that then flowed down the river and became the light. And that is when I woke up and said to my then-husband, I know who will end the Korean War. Women will end the Korean War.

Well, then, I asked myself, how? I began to do some research and learned that the first meeting of North and South Korean women in 1991 – nearly 40 years after the Korean War was halted – was organized with the help of a Japanese woman, which is significant, given the colonial occupation of Korea by Japan. I realized that, especially in times of impasse between the two Koreas, international activists played a role to help advance peace on the Korean peninsula.

As my good friend and mentor Gloria Steinem says, "*Without leaps of imagination, or dreaming, we lose the excitement of possibilities. Dreaming, after all, is a form of planning.*"

In 2015, on the 70th anniversary of Korea's division by the United States and the former Soviet Union, I set out to organize a women's peace walk across the De-Militarized Zone (DMZ) from North Korea to South Korea. The Korean War ended with an Armistice Agreement, a temporary ceasefire, and military generals from the US, North Korea, and China agreed to return within 90 days to negotiate a permanent peace settlement. That never happened.

Women Cross DMZ made headlines when we brought together 30 women peacebuilders from around the world to cross the world's most militarized border — including Nobel Peace Laureates Mairead Maguire and Leymah Gbowee and American feminist icon Gloria Steinem. We held peace symposiums in Pyongyang and Seoul, where we heard North and South Korean women talk about how the Korean War impacted their lives. And we walked with 10,000 women on both sides of the border. With this act, we called for a formal end to the Korean War with a peace agreement, the reunion of separated families, and women's involvement in the peace process. Since our crossing, our calls for peace have become louder and more urgent — especially after 2017, when the US and North Korea came dangerously close to another war.

Here are five ways that our transnational feminist movement has been laying the foundation for peace:

1. We've Brought Women Together Across Boundaries

The initial goal of our 2015 crossing was for women from North and South Korea and around the world to cross the DMZ together in a symbolic act. Unfortunately, we were not able to do so. But we never stopped trying. In February 2016, Women Cross DMZ tried to bring North and South Korean women together in Indonesia, one of a handful of countries where both can meet. We succeeded in bringing six women from the DPRK, who ranged in age from 20s to 60s, and many who had participated in the women's peace symposium in Pyongyang. Many of these women had never left North Korea before. Unfortunately, as retribution for North Korea testing a nuclear weapon, then South Korean President Park Geun-hye prohibited the South Korean women from meeting their North Korean counterparts. Given the intense redbaiting and other repercussions for organizing the 2015 crossing, the South Korean women didn't want to face high fines or imprisonment. So instead, we held back-to-back meetings with both sets of women.

After multiple attempts, finally in 2018, in Beijing, we brought North and South Korean women together with women from China, Japan, Russia, the US, and Canada for the first-ever Northeast Asia Women, Peace and Security Roundtable. We faced enormous challenges given the politically fraught tensions between the US/Canada and China over the Huawei dispute, but thankfully we were able to meet in the Canadian Embassy. We talked, laughed, shared meals, and discussed how we could achieve a more peaceful future with women at the peacemaking table. In fact, at that meeting, Jacqui O'Neill – who has since become the first Women, Peace and Security Ambassador to Canada – presented several examples of how women's peace groups inserted themselves at the peacemaking table in different conflicts around the world.

2. We Launched the Global Campaign Korea Peace Now!

In 2019, Women Cross DMZ, WILPF, Nobel Women's Initiative and the Korean Women's Movement for Peace – which includes four longstanding South Korean women's peace organizations– came together to launch a global campaign, Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End War. Thanks to a $2-million-dollar grant from the NoVo Foundation's Radical Hope Fund, we launched that spring in four cities – Washington, DC, New York, Ottawa, and Seoul. Now we had the means to bring women from all over the globe to strategize and work together toward our shared goals of ending the war with a peace agreement, women's leadership in the peace process, and highlighting the human impacts of this unresolved conflict.

3. We Highlighted the Impact of Sanctions on North Korean People

Unfortunately, despite the US and North Korea committing to a new relationship at the 2018 Singapore Summit, the Trump administration has maintained a "maximum pressure" policy — crippling sanctions and the threat of military action — to compel North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons. Not only have sanctions ***not*** succeeded, but they have also severely harmed North Korean people's lives.

To highlight the violence imposed by sanctions, we commissioned a multi-disciplinary panel of independent experts — including humanitarian workers, scholars, and legal experts — to produce a groundbreaking report, "The Human Costs and Gendered Impact of Sanctions on North Korea." We felt the moment was ripe to push back against the Trump administration and the UN Security Council on sanctions, especially since they have been a key obstacle to advancing the peace process. We released the report at the UN in New York and Geneva last fall. We held many closed-door meetings with UN Missions from Sweden, Canada and South

Korea, as well as high-profile events at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Korea Society. We briefed editors at The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal, which ultimately broke the report. We also got wide coverage in publications including USA Today, Forbes, and The Hill. It stimulated conversations among the UN Panel of Experts and other policy circles, including a personal phone call from a senior official at the Trump administration who expressed his displeasure with the report.

After sending the report to Tomas Quintana, the UN Special Rapporteur on North Korea Human Rights, he urged governments to hear our message, called for the easing of sanctions during the pandemic, and, most importantly, noted the importance of peace in improving human rights. We have also engaged senior officials from all sides – Deputy National Security Advisor Matthew Pottinger and Deputy Secretary of State Stephen Biegun; President Moon's Senior Advisor on North Korea, Moon Chung-in; and the DPRK Permanent Mission to the UN and the National Peace Committee. We believe it's important to speak to all sides and encourage them to end the war, and we are looking forward to engaging the Biden/Harris administration.

4. We Built a National Grassroots Network

A key part of our work in creating the political space for peace is amplifying the calls from the grassroots. Women Cross DMZ has a US Organizing team led by two bilingual Korean American women who built the Korea Peace Now! Grassroots Network. In two years, we've organized chapters in 10 regions across the US.

Our members are multi-generational Korean Americans, peace activists, veterans, students, housewives, small business owners, academics, and others who collectively press for an end to the Korean War. They collect signatures on postcards, organize house meetings, call and meet with their representatives, show up at town hall meetings, write letters to the editors, and tell their personal stories to press their representatives. This is truly a people-powered movement led and mobilized by women.

In June, in spite of the pandemic, we organized a national advocacy week with over 200 members conducting over 90 virtual lobby visits with Congressional staffers. As a result, we helped secure more Members of Congress to co-sponsor resolutions barring President Trump from waging an unauthorized war against North Korea, and supporting reuniting divided Korean American families.

5. Lastly, We're Building Korea Peace Champions

Our main legislative vehicle for building the political will for a peace agreement is a Congressional House Resolution 152, which calls for an end to the Korean War and a peace agreement. We worked with California Rep. Ro Khanna to provide substantial input on this resolution. Although it goes against over 30 years of Washington orthodoxy, it now has 53 co-sponsors, including all the contenders for the next Chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the first Republican. This may seem not much, given that there are more than 400 Members of Congress, but a decade ago, in the 60th year of the Korean War, only two members of Congress would support peace with North Korea. The change is the work of civil society movements.

Although we still have a long way to go, there is growing bipartisan consensus for peace. According to a poll released by Data for Progress and YouGov last year, 67 percent of US voters support negotiating a peace agreement with North Korea. Support is highest among Republicans at 76%. We're also seeing growing support for reducing the military budget, and most Americans think that the US should negotiate with adversaries to prevent war. We're also seeing the election of younger, more diverse voices calling for a new US foreign policy away from endless wars.

These are all steps in the right direction. But history tells us that one element that can improve the outcome of a peace process is the involvement of civil society, especially women's groups. Research shows that when women are involved in peace processes, an agreement is more likely to be reached and to last. Between 1991 and 2017, women's groups were involved in 71% of informal peace processes. I can confidently say that our participation helps to legitimize the formal peace process among the public.

> History tells us that there is one element that can improve the outcome of a peace process and that is the involvement of civil society

So we need women, we need members of Congress, we need the public and all of you, especially in Asia and around the world, working together with us to finally bring an end to this 70-year-old conflict. Our work is far from over. As someone whose family was one of the countless Korean families impacted by the war, I believe that we must see an end to this conflict in our lifetimes. And with women leading the way, it can be done.

Thank you.

Christine Ahn

Executive Director

Women Cross DMZ

About Christine

Christine Ahn is the Founder and Executive Director of Women Cross DMZ, a global movement of women mobilizing to end the Korean War, reunite families, and ensure women's leadership in peacebuilding. In March 2019, Women Cross DMZ launched a global campaign "Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End the War" with a coalition of women's organizations, including the Korean Women's Movement for Peace and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Christine is the co-founder of the Korea Peace Network, Korea Policy Institute, Global Campaign to Save Jeju Island, Korean Americans for Fair Trade, and National Campaign to End the Korean War. She has organized peace and humanitarian aid delegations to North and South Korea, and has addressed the U.S. Congress, United Nations, Canadian Parliament, and the Republic of Korea National Commission on Human Rights and the ROK National Assembly.

Christine has worked with leading human rights and social justice organizations, including The Global Fund for Women, the Oakland Institute, The Institute for Food and Development Policy, the Women of Color Resource Center, National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, and the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development.

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CENTRE FOR PEACE & CONFLICT STUDIES
the POWER of CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENTS for POLITICAL CHANGE
CHRISTINE AHN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WOMEN CROSS DMZ
in TIMES of IMPASS BETWEEN the 2 KOREAN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS HAVE a ROLE to PLAY to HELP
BREAK the SMILE MASK
2019 in HANOI, the SUMMIT ABRUPTLY ENDED
BIG MAN DIPLOMACY
BUT OUR POWER to RECLAIM OUR ROLE in THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS DOESN'T END
WOMEN CROSS DMZ - INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST MOVEMENT
WOMEN for PEACE in KOREA - CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS to HELP ADVANCE PEACE on the KOREAN PENINSULA & END the KOREAN WAR
BEGAN with a DREAM
WITHOUT LEAPS of IMAGINATION or DREAMING, WE LOSE the EXCITEMENT of POSIBILITIES. DREAMING, AFTER ALL, is a FORM of PLANNING - GLORIA STEINEM
KOREAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SEPARATED FOR 3 GENERATIONS
UNRESOLVED
STRATEGIES to END the KOREAN WAR
1 WE CONTINUE to BRING WOMEN TOGETHER ACROSS BOUNDARIES
IN 2015, ONLY INTERNATIONAL WOMEN WERE ABLE to CROSS the DMZ BUT WE NEVER STOPPED TRYING
2 WE LAUNCHED a GLOBAL CAMPAIGN CALLED KOREA PEACE NOW! MARCH 2019
- NOW WE HAVE the MEANS to BRING WOMEN TOGETHER FROM ALL OVER the GLOBE to STRATEGIZE & WORK TOWARDS SHARED GOALS OF ENDING the WAR
3 WE HIGHLIGHTED the IMPACT of SANCTIONS on NORTH KOREA
- SEVERELY HARMED PEOPLE'S LIVES
WE COMMISIONED a MULTI DISCIPLINARY PANEL of HUMANITARIAN WORKERS with GROUND EXPERIENCE with LEGAL EXPERTS EXPERTS to PRODUCE this REPORT
THE HUMAN COSTS & GENDERED IMPACT of SANCTIONS on NORTH KOREA
IT WAS IMPORTANT to MEET & ENGAGE with ALL SIDES & ENCOURAGE THEM to END the KOREAN WAR
4 WE BUILD a NATIONAL GRASSROOTS NETWORK
CREATING the POLITICAL SPACE for PEACE
AMPLIFYING the VOICES FROM the GRASSROOTS
BUILD
THERE is ONE ELEMENT that CAN IMPROVE the OUTCOME of a PEACE PROCESS
THE INVOLVEMENT of CIVIL SOCIETY ESPECIALLY WOMEN'S GROUPS
with WOMEN LEADING the WAY it CAN BE DONE!
TREMENDOUS POWER, PROFITS & INTERESTS that FUNDING & MADE off WAR!
CONFLICT & TENSION SELL MORE WEAPONS!
WE HAVE to BRING the HUMAN STORIES & SUFFERING the HUMAN COST of the CONFLICT
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS
PERSONAL STORIES are VERY POWERFUL
INKA
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Neha Sanghrajka

Senior Advisor

Mozambique Peace Process

The Behind-the-Scenes Mediator - What Are We Learning? How Does It Work?

Beginning in 2007 I worked on the Kenya mediation process for about seven years, the process was then chaired by Kofi Annan and involved Graça Machel and Benjamin Mkapa. Having spent a significant amount of time working on that process, I then joined the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) and started working on Mozambique. I think it's about six years going on and being involved in three different processes in Mozambique, which culminated into what we hope is a final peace agreement in 2019. Here are some key lessons on behind-the-scenes mediation that I've learned throughout the process.

THE TEAM IS EVERYTHING.

The people you work with, your colleagues, and the team around you can actually make or break a process purely because there's a lot of white noise on the outside. You have to work hard to keep your eyes focused on the goal, have a service mentality, and think first of the perspective of the parties involved. Our mediation team was composed of vastly different personalities, different ages, different nationalities, different ways of working, but we somehow managed to put aside everything except why we were there. We would frequently check in to make sure that the goal was still there. It's not easy, because people forget that within a peace process, it's not about you or what you're doing. While you are very important, it's all about the parties and the people you are serving. You have to always go in with the perspective of the parties, and I found that quite difficult initially as there are a lot of pressures in peace processes for multiple factors.

EGOLESSNESS.

While we all have egos, I think it's the degree to which we express this or how we manage it. Let's put it that way. It was really difficult because, in the beginning, you first have to get to know the other mediators. You have to get to know each other's quirks and unique personalities. You have to do a lot of homework beforehand on how to manage yourselves within the team because, once you go in front of the parties, you have to be united. For example, there've been quite a few times when we've gone in, and my colleagues, either Jonathan Powell or Mirko Manzoni, said something that I don't agree with, or vice versa.

At that moment, we stay silent because when you're attempting to foster an atmosphere of collaboration and peace, you don't go in with a dispute amongst yourselves. It does not make sense. And so, whatever your differences, you solve those outside the mediation room, away from the parties. One important factor between people going through a conflict and people trying to help those people going through a conflict is emotion and empathy. The parties to the conflict do not only have to make concessions, they have to think rationally, and they're also burdened by emotion. They are burdened by the sheer weight of the fact that if they do not make ABC happen, it means more to them than it does to us. Therefore, we have to make sure, as people going into the process, check your ego at the door, definitely. If you can't check it at the door, at least manage it, and keep your eye on the bigger picture, the goal.

IT'S ABOUT THE PEOPLE AFFECTED.

I remember speaking to my former boss, Kofi Annan, in Geneva about the Syria conflict. At the time, he was sort of resigning from the conflict. He said, "You can never want peace more than the people themselves. That is the number one thing to respect." Many times, I've seen people go in and push and talk down to the parties, and they project a feeling that they want peace more than the protagonists, more than people who are there. It is an arrogant stance to take. That's something that always stayed with me from then on. It's very easy to get lost in the minutiae, in the egos, the personality clashes, and personality differences. Then you bring in the competing interests, and that's where a peace process really needs managing and handling. The biggest thing is, of course, trust. You have to trust your colleagues, and you can't micromanage. You have to trust that you're all in it for the same reasons, and the day that you're not, it's time to move on because it isn't about making money. This kind of career takes not only a lot of emotional intelligence because you have to manage yourself (and trust your colleagues to manage you), but also it takes a lot of strength to put other people first.

For example, Mirko Manzoni was Swiss Ambassador and is now the Personal Envoy for the UN Secretary-General, and he never made anyone feel that. He was always humble. Jonathan has been involved in many processes, written books, and is an authority on the subject. Compared to them, I am a novice, and they always treated me with kindness and respect. They have been involved in so many conflicts and had so many successes; it's quite a feat. But when I was working with them from the beginning, I never actually felt that they treated me in any way less than a colleague. We had to do quite some crazy things. The opposition leader was in the mountains, so every single time we needed to negotiate anything with him, we had to travel, sometimes seven hours climbing mountains, with mishaps like cars

getting stuck in the mud. In the end, it's attitude, it's flexibility, it's really about the people. The person can actually make it fun because 80% of this work (for me) is not fun. It's painful. You go out of your comfort zone. You're in a foreign territory, and you just have to make it work. The moments that you get an agreement or some semblances of success are few and far between, and those are the moments that I hold on to. And they're always around the corner. Pessimism is easy. It's easy to be pessimistic. It's easy to criticize, and it's even easier to poke holes in a strategy or in a way of being. That's our natural instinct. Optimism is extremely difficult because optimism isn't the absence of realism but is the ability to have a good sense of humor along the way, and to make sure that you always look at what can be rather than what cannot.

The other aspect was that the three of us came from different organizations. Jonathan was from Inter Mediate, Mirko was the Ambassador of Switzerland, and I was with the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, and there were three entities working together, which is also quite rare, and that takes a lot. I got lucky with my two colleagues and with HD Centre, because they completely understood discretion and doing things out of the box. They really helped in that aspect. In my opinion, sometimes it is about the right constellation of people just like the stars. They have to align.

EIGHTY PERCENT (80%) OF THE WORK HAPPENS BEHIND THE SCENES.

In Mozambique as we already had two processes that did not lead to any lasting peace, the parties were quite reticent. It took a long time for us to build trust, not only amongst ourselves as people, but also trust between Mozambicans and the international community. We kind of flipped the script. We decided we were going to be creative and just go with the flow and do something new. So, the Mozambique peace process wasn't designed and then implemented in a classic way. You have to start from where you are and move on. I say this because the normal trajectory of peace processes is that you have a conflict, big man mediation, three or four presidents/dignitaries fly in, have peace talks, have an agreement and then implement it. In, this case it was very quiet and discreet, and it was basically the three, four (including our national colleague Eduardo Namburete, an MP and trusted by the opposition leader) of us going up and down, up and down. And then we brought in other entities, other parties, but very discreetly and very quietly.

One thing that strikes me in this way of doing things is that we actually discarded written paper, so we were not interested in getting them to sign anything or commit to anything because that wasn't the end goal. You can have a lot of people sign things all the time, and it

may not hold. The key is how to get to a place of trust, or at least enough trust so that you can bring them to the signing table. We started implementing this peace process and the peace agreement before signing the peace agreement. And why do I say that? We would slowly go back and forth and find out what the issues were - military affairs and decentralization. We would begin a process of implementing decentralization and the issue of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) in small spades. Small confidence-building measures along the way. One side gives a little, and then the other side gives a little. This was a process of three years, from the end of 2016 to 2019, when the agreement was signed. In 2018, the military agreement was signed and the decentralization bill was passed. It was at that point that there was enough faith and trust to sign an actual peace agreement in 2019. And the peace agreement, if you look closely enough, is really just a combination of the work of three years. In that way, we were implementing before actually signing, implementing along the way, testing each other. All the sides were testing each other in terms of how much trust there was and if it was sufficient. This is also a new way of doing things because I'm not sure it's been done in that way before. It also takes a lot of time for the parties and the leaders to be brave enough to be able to change the course of what they know is normal. To change the course of history, you have to be different. You have to do something, and you have to have enough faith in yourself. You have to have enough faith in the process. That will then allow you to go against the norm. It's not about imposing our wishes but more about appreciating the needs and that the country has to lead things, and that takes time.

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> To change the course of history, you have to be different. You have to have enough faith in yourself and in the process

QUIET COLLABORATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS.

Again, it's about people. We got lucky that the three of us were able to work together, but we also understood we had the same goal. I think that's the most important thing, and then we could manage the organizational aspect of it. But what we did was to keep asking ourselves the question, why are we there? What is the purpose? Reminding ourselves that it’s not about us. Keep reminding yourselves that at the end of the day, what you're doing is just a drop in the ocean of what everyone else is doing. So really, it's not about you at all. It's about every little thing that makes a difference. However, sharing is key. That is why I think it's fascinating that there were three entities, three organizations doing what they could to collectively make

a difference. But I know in the world today this is really difficult because you have countries, you have donors, you have lots of organizations doing the same thing, offering the same thing, but I believe that there is enough to go around. And if we share, it's the only way to multiply peace or multiply the feeling. I spent a lot of time, never really saying who I was, what I was doing, why I was doing that because it was not important – the work and how I could help was more important. I think that's the benefit of being an insider, like being a behind-the-scenes mediator, which is you don't have to. If you don't want to, you don't have to be labeled. You don't have to conform. You just have to be, and they have to trust you first, and then your organization. But you have to get the key first. And if you go in with the hat of something, then it's much more difficult. You can understand not everyone has the luxury of that, but I think we all just made it work. The three of us worked together, in the sense that whenever either of us needed something, the others would be there – we supported each other because we also have our own lives. And over the course of three years, we have to remain persistent and dedicated because there were lots of ups and downs in this process.

TRUST THE PROCESS.

Like everyone else, we've been battling COVID. It's not been easy. When we signed the agreement, it was a really happy moment, a moment of relief. We started the DDR process in February 2020, then not only Mozambique but also the world was hit by COVID-19. So obviously, that slowed things down a little bit. While waiting, we decided to take a more sui generis approach. We decided, despite COVID, we're going to start the DDR process. This was quite contentious because the parties were not very sure. The country was battling something that they weren't really aware of and didn't have much information on, so there was a lot of fear. But this is where confidence comes in. To be able to sell something to someone, whether it's an idea or whatever it is, they buy the person first and the confidence first, and then the product later. So, we had to be 100% sure we knew what we were doing. Now, whether we did or not is irrelevant because you do the best with what you have. So, we started against all the odds to restart the DDR. We took all the precautions. We had the Ministry of Health with us, etc. But, you know, there is also fear. You have to combat a bit of fear. We were in Maputo, and these places where we're disarming and had assembly areas out in the middle of nowhere. Probably in the capital city, we have a lot of COVID cases, but back then, when we restarted the DDR in June, there wasn't COVID in some of these places. So, imagine if the peace process was accused of taking COVID there. These kinds of things as well, risk mitigation and so on, we had to contend with. I can definitely say that the process is going okay. There are bumps in the road, logistics, the rain, the weather. The key is being persistent, moving forward and working with empathy.

> It takes a village and more to implement something as emotional as a peace process

Things are going to come up all the time. Nobody would have ever imagined that the world would be hit with a pandemic. But I'm reminded of this quote: “The river is all around you. If you fight the flow of the river, you'll never win. So, let it be your strength.” You know, adjust your way around the course of the river. Don't fight it head-on. So, we just worked around COVID. There's a delay in the process and a lot of things to do, but, as I said, it's all about people. We have an amazing team behind the scenes. I'm here talking, but I could not say any of this without all the people who are actually doing the work which you don't see. It’s also important to treasure those people because it really does take a village. They say it takes a village to raise a child, I like to think it takes a village and more to implement anything as emotional as things that affect people's lives – peace processes. Today, I can go back to Kenya, but the conflict is here. It's those people that matter. And it's those people that have to go through that, and we always have to remember that with humility.

THE KINDNESS OF PEOPLE ONCE THEY TRUST YOU.

Why do I say that? I'm kind of shy and partly lazy. And I don't speak Portuguese that well. In the whole process, it is very humbling for me that the parties to the conflict, the leaders, and the people around me make an effort just because it's one of my flaws. It will be very easy for someone to pick apart your flaws when you're trying to help. But what has impressed me the most, or what has surprised me the most, is the kindness of people wherever you go toward your own inadequacies/insecurities. I am also not a climber. I'm not a mountaineer. I do not like the outdoors very much, nor the physical part of it. And the first time I ever climbed a mountain was here in Gorongosa. These kinds of things. Fitness isn't exactly one of my strengths. Languages isn't one of my strengths. I have a lot of things that I'm not very good at, but I am humbled by that and it surprised me that everyone’s been super accommodating to me.

EMOTION IS EVERYTHING.

It's a part of you. It's part of humanity. To say that emotion doesn't matter to somebody who is fighting and battling with a certain concept, and that's all that they know, and you want to change that – change is scary. So, there is a lot of emotion. Plenty of times, we have been thrown out of people's offices, or we have spent four days sometimes wanting to meet someone, then it doesn't work out. There is a lot of emotion around that, whether it's negative or positive. You have to contend with that. The key is to keep your emotions under control, or at least not show them, but the parties and the people and the people involved, this is their life. Emotion is everything, and I guess the key is empathy and emotional intelligence.

I'll give you one anecdote of why I fervently believe that without emotion, you might as well go home. We're demobilizing these bases. I was walking down the hill in a convoy of people. Behind me were two former combatants talking in Portuguese and I had nothing else to do, so I was eavesdropping. I was listening to their conversation, and they were chatting away because they were going home. And one of them said (it's shocking to me still), "I wonder if my children will recognize me? Having been in the bush for more than ten years, I wonder if my family will still be there." The other combatant replies in Portuguese saying, "Maybe we should ask the Peace Process Secretariat to do a DNA test." Can you believe that? How emotional is that?

Another time, I was on a motorcycle going up a mountain. During that ride, it's a 40-minute ride, very slow, very dangerous, up a mountain side without a helmet. There you are, hoping you wouldn't fall and crack your head in the middle of nowhere. But also, the driver is not a driver, he's a General or a Colonel or someone that has been sent to escort you from the other side. He's talking to you the whole way, in Portuguese, mumbling away, and he's saying: "Oh, it's really important what you're doing. Please don't leave." So I would subscribe to the idea that emotion is everything.

HOW TO BE HEARD.

By not speaking, just by not speaking, by doing the unexpected. First, by listening. Just by listening, even if I didn't agree with half of what was said. It doesn't matter. It's not about you. We don't have to make our voices heard to them. We have to let them hear us. The louder you speak, the less likely it is that the message will go through. Do it slowly. If today you're not listened to, it doesn't matter because tomorrow's another day. So, keep moving forward. But definitely by not speaking, not being in the press, not being on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, or not imposing on to the parties what you want. Your solution is not their solution. Your

way of thinking is not their way of thinking. You may not be right either, so there is no need to push. So, adaptability, flexibility, persistence, and empathy, because what you're doing matters most to the person in the bush, the person wanting a change, the mother who just wants to feed her child, or the combatant who's scared of going home because his kids might not recognize him. As for what is done around the table, there isn't just one mediator, or there isn't just one person. As I said before, it takes a village, nothing is in isolation. It takes everyone to make a difference. Therefore, it doesn't matter if your voice is not heard. Your voice is not important, but your message is. If I cannot pass the message, someone else can, so you have to make room for that. They will say the same, and they will do the same. It's not the voice. It's not the person nor the frame. It's the message, what you want to be done, and then you have to use whatever avenue and tool you have at your disposal to do it.

For example, when you have people in the middle of nowhere, and they may not connect to you, or they have preconceived ideas about women and the role of women. My point there is not to go and teach or to dictate. If they're more comfortable listening to a man, fine. As I said before, it's never about you, and what matters is the goal. What are we going there to do? We're going there to get ABC done, then it doesn't matter how you get it done.

HELPING TO SEE THE BIG PICTURE.

One thing that made a difference was to focus the attention away from the minutiae, to bring a different perspective. For example, the issue of decentralization, when you have elections that are highly emotive, and you have winners and losers on both sides, the loser cannot accept that they've lost, so you cannot go and tell them that they've lost. They believe with all their heart they've won. You can go back and forth and argue the points, but one of the strategies we used is to refocus the energy, to refocus the point. Having 1, 2, 3, or 4 provinces will not make a legacy. Changing a constitution will make a legacy. Why not build a future for your children and your children's children and not look at the short-term gains? The difficult thing about this is that every conflict is so unique. So, the solution has to be unique. It's very tailored to what it is, but the basis of all conflict is, in my opinion, the same, which is that people want to feel included. People want to belong, and whether they belong to the local golf club, a fraternity, or a group political party or grouping, they just want to belong. We all want to do our best. We all want to do what is right. It's very basic, in that sense. So how we bring about a sense of belonging in the world is the key to it.

Neha Sanghrajka

Senior Advisor to the Mozambique Peace Process

United Nations

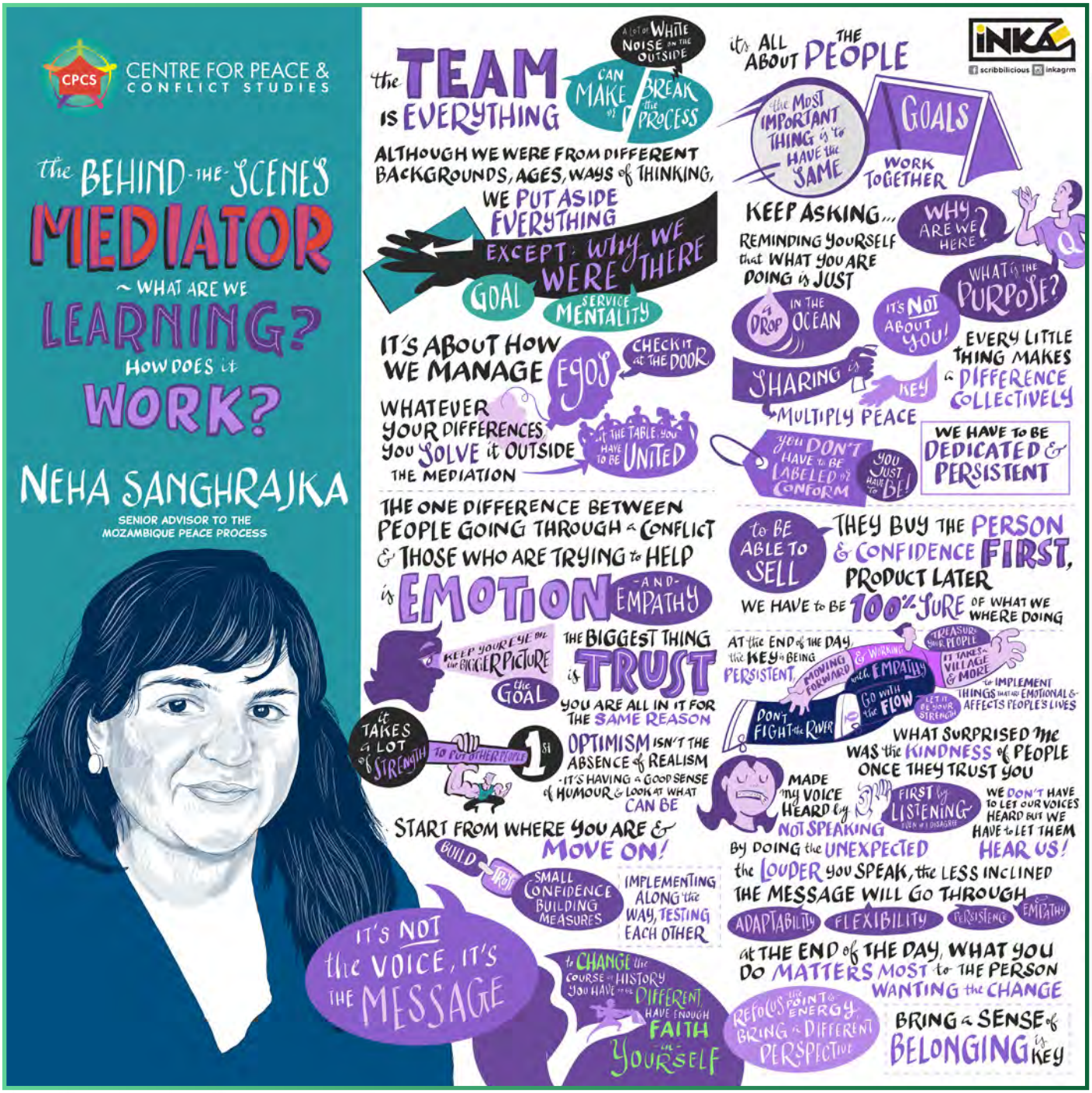
About Neha

Neha Sanghrajka is a negotiator, mediation advisor, and author with a track record of definitive and positive outcomes in high-stakes negotiations. She has more than twelve years of experience in conflict prevention, resolution, and mediation; including working for Kofi Annan in Kenya on the 2007 electoral crisis, dialogue and reform process, and most recently in Mozambique. As part of a small team mediating in this process, Neha played a central role in talks which led to a cease-fire, constitutional amendment to deepen decentralization (2018), the signing of a MoU on Military Affairs (2018), the signing of an Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, and finally the signing of a historic Peace Accord (2019).

Neha also has in-depth knowledge of working with a variety of multilateral platforms including the African Union, United Nations, European Union and HD Centre on a range of issues such as electoral processes, peacebuilding and governance. She has a strong background in legal and international affairs, and has advised senior officials and Governments on policy and political strategy in highly politically sensitive and complex environments.

Neha is a member of Women Mediators across the Commonwealth (WMC), a network dedicated to connecting women with mediation knowledge and experience.

WATCH NEHA'S FULL PRESENTATION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~ WHAT ARE WE LEARNING? HOW DOES IT WORK?
NEHA SANGHRAJKA
SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE MOZAMBIQUE PEACE PROCESS
INKA
scribblicious inkagrm
the TEAM IS EVERYTHING
A lot of WHITE NOISE on the OUTSIDE can MAKE or BREAK the PROCESS
ALTHOUGH WE WERE FROM DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS, AGES, WAYS of THINKING,
WE PUT ASIDE EVERYTHING
EXCEPT: WHY WE WERE THERE
GOAL
SERVICE MENTALITY
IT'S ABOUT HOW WE MANAGE EGOS
CHECK IT at the DOOR
WHATEVER YOUR DIFFERENCES, YOU SOLVE it OUTSIDE THE MEDIATION
at the TABLE, YOU HAVE to BE UNITED
THE ONE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PEOPLE GOING THROUGH a CONFLICT & THOSE WHO ARE TRYING to HELP is EMOTION -AND- EMPATHY
KEEP YOUR EYE on the BIGGER PICTURE the GOAL
THE BIGGEST THING is TRUST
YOU ARE ALL IN IT FOR THE SAME REASON
it TAKES a LOT of STRENGTH TO PUT OTHER PEOPLE 1st
OPTIMISM ISN'T THE ABSENCE of REALISM
- IT'S HAVING a GOOD SENSE of HUMOUR & LOOK at WHAT CAN BE
START FROM WHERE YOU ARE & MOVE ON!
BUILD TRUST
SMALL CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES
IMPLEMENTING ALONG the WAY, TESTING EACH OTHER
IT'S NOT the VOICE, IT'S the MESSAGE
to CHANGE the COURSE of HISTORY YOU HAVE to be DIFFERENT
HAVE ENOUGH FAITH in YOURSELF
it's ALL ABOUT the PEOPLE
the MOST IMPORTANT THING is to HAVE the SAME GOALS
WORK TOGETHER
KEEP ASKING... WHY ARE WE HERE?
REMINDING YOURSELF that WHAT YOU ARE DOING is JUST
a DROP IN the OCEAN
it's NOT ABOUT YOU!
WHAT is the PURPOSE?
SHARING is KEY
MULTIPLY PEACE
EVERY LITTLE THING MAKES a DIFFERENCE COLLECTIVELY
you DON'T HAVE to BE LABELED or CONFORM
you JUST HAVE to BE!
WE HAVE to BE DEDICATED & PERSISTENT
to BE ABLE to SELL
THEY BUY the PERSON & CONFIDENCE FIRST, PRODUCT LATER
WE HAVE to BE 100% SURE of WHAT WE WHERE DOING
AT the END of the DAY the KEY is BEING PERSISTENT,
MOVING FORWARD & WORKING with EMPATHY
TREASURE your PEOPLE
IT TAKES a VILLAGE & MORE to IMPLEMENT THINGS that AFFECTS PEOPLE'S LIVES
DON'T FIGHT the RIVER
GO with the FLOW
LET it BE your STRENGTH
WHAT SURPRISED ME WAS the KINDNESS of PEOPLE ONCE THEY TRUST you
MADE my VOICE HEARD by NOT SPEAKING
FIRST by LISTENING
EVEN if I DISAGREE
WE DON'T HAVE to LET OUR VOICES HEARD BUT WE HAVE to LET THEM HEAR US!
BY DOING the UNEXPECTED
the LOUDER you SPEAK, the LESS INCLINED
THE MESSAGE WILL GO THROUGH
ADAPTABILITY
FLEXIBILITY
PERSISTENCE
EMPATHY
at THE END of THE DAY, WHAT YOU DO MATTERS MOST to THE PERSON WANTING the CHANGE
REFOCUS the POINT & ENERGY BRING a DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE
BRING a SENSE of BELONGING is KEY

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