

Institution: University of Edinburgh		
Unit of Assessment: Law		
Title of case study: Case Study 3: Navigating Inclusion in International Peace Processes		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2015-2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Christine Bell	Professor of Constitutional Law	01-Aug-2011 to present
Sanja Badanjak	Chancellor's Fellow in Global Challenges	12-Sep-2016 to present
Kevin McNicholl	Research Fellow	03-Jan-2018 to present
Jan Pospisil	Research Fellow	03-Aug-2015 to 31-Dec-2017
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2015-2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
1. Summary of the impact		
<p>Major new data on peace and transition processes produced by the Political Settlements Research Programme identified the need for inclusion of more diverse constituencies at all stages of the process. Extensive comparative analysis demonstrated how to navigate political tensions between strategies aimed at inclusion of the armed actors responsible for conflict and strategies aimed at wider inclusion. It provided an evidence-base that was critical to interrelated impacts on: (i) new international laws on inclusion; (ii) new practices supporting the inclusion of women in UN peace mediation; and (iii) new global policies on the development-peace nexus.</p>		
2. Underpinning research		
<p>Since 2015, the Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP) directed by Bell (GBP6,570,000; FCDO) has addressed a fundamental dilemma in peace negotiations: to end conflict, political-military elites need to agree to share power; but broader forms of social inclusion and agendas for change are also necessary to sustain these pacts over time.</p> <p>A key output is the PA-X Peace Agreements Database (3.1): the first large-scale qualitative and quantitative dataset enabling comparison of how inclusion is addressed in peace and transition processes. PA-X data is extensive, including more than 1800 agreements in the more than 150 peace processes concluded between 1990 and 2020, with full subject-matter coding and sub-databases on gender and local agreements. It is accessible in end-user tested search interfaces, visualisations, interactive infographics, and statistical and corpus (text-based) formats.</p> <p>PSRP data enables comparison of both agreements and processes, including interrogation of who is included at what point in a peace process and their effect on the agreement's agenda for change and its implementation. Through unique cross-site partnerships with conflict-affected communities, peacebuilders and international organisations, PSRP research has demonstrated the long-term timeframes and multiple agreements that constitute peace processes in a practice</p>		

field that was narrowly focused on inclusion at the 'handshake moment' of a comprehensive agreement. Analysis focuses on how inclusion efforts are shaped through bargaining dynamics by political-military elites representing the conflict parties, and how wider social inclusion should be supported in ways that engage with this reality. It points to how peace processes unfold in iterative, incremental stages, with non-linear moves from conflict to peace (3.1).

Pre-negotiation, partial, comprehensive and implementation agreements create different opportunities and risks for inclusion at different stages (3.2). To provide effective support, international actors need to understand the entire trajectory of a peace process and the different political obstacles to inclusion at each stage, and how to overcome them. Most particularly, inclusion is central to conflict resolution and specific findings include:

- Inclusion agendas are set at early stages of talks when only political-military actors are present, creating pathway dependencies that constrain broader peace negotiations (3.4). Implementation agreements also 're-narrow' negotiations and renegotiate past commitments, including those to include women and non-dominant minorities. Participation strategies need to focus more on early and late stages of peace processes (3.3, 3.4, 3.5).
- International norms leverage change when they support civil society actors to engage effectively with political bargaining more than simply 'mandating' change (3.6).
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325's requirements that a 'gender perspective' be adopted in peace agreements remains under-implemented (3.4, 3.5). After 15 years, references to women in peace agreements increased from 11% to 27%, but few agreements embrace a holistic equality agenda. Women require multiple modalities of inclusion to gain entry to mediation processes at international, national and local levels.
- Peace processes, especially complex power-sharing arrangements, often create 'formalised unsettlement' rather than settlement, with unstable bargains which stall (3.2-3.6). Civil society can find unusual opportunity structures for widening and deepening these bargains if supported to adopt an incremental approach.

3. References to the research

3.1: Bell, C. and Badanjak, S. (2019) 'Introducing PA-X: A New Peace Agreement Database and Dataset', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 452-466.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318819123>

PA-X database: www.peaceagreements.org

3.2: Bell, C. and Pospisil, J. (2017) 'Navigating Inclusion in Transitions from Conflict: The Formalised Political Unsettlement', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 29, pp. 576-593.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.3283>

3.3: Bell, C. (2015) 'Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their "Gender Perspective"' (New York: UN Women).*

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201105123757/https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2017/8/evaluating-peace-agreements-for-their-gender-perspective>

*This report was subject to internal review by UN Women experts and by academics involved in the UN review process; its data is further published in 3.1 and 3.4. It is extensively cited in academic peer reviewed quantitative literature that builds on the data to produce new datasets.

3.4: Bell, C. and McNicholl, K. (2019) 'Principled Pragmatism and the "Inclusion Project": Implementing a Gender Perspective in Peace Agreements', *feminists@law*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 1-51. <https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/03/fal.742>

3.5: Bell, C. (2018) 'Women, Peace Negotiations, and Peace Agreements: Opportunities and Challenges', in Ní Aoláin, F., Cahn, N., Haynes, D.F., and Valji, N. (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 417-429. Can be supplied by HEI on request.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199300983.013.33>

3.6: Bell, C. (2017) 'Navigating Inclusion in Peace Settlements, Human Rights and the Creation of the Common Good', British Academy Report.*

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201105123658/https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/justice-equality-inclusion-peace-settlements-human-rights-common-good/>

*All British Academy publications are subject to peer review by at least two British Academy Fellows.

4. Details of the impact

(i) New international laws on inclusive peace processes

As part of the UN's 15-year review of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, Bell provided input through commissioned papers and workshops. PSRP research was extensively cited in the UN review (5.1), informed recommendations in the 2015 UN Secretary General's (UNSG) Report to the Security Council (5.2) and influenced UNSCR 2242 (5.3). The Senior Gender Adviser to the UNSG affirmed that PSRP research was "critical to informing policy thinking, norms, and programming practice to achieve the overall goals of the United Nations in this area" (5.4); tracing its impact on UNSCR 2242 to "Article 1 which requires better inclusion of women in peace processes and better technical advice to both women and mediators to increase the effectiveness of talks", and to paragraph 7, which "recommends inclusion of women at **all stages of a process**" (5.4). Further data and analysis informed follow-up reviews resulting in more specific commitments; for example, the 2018 UNSG Report (5.5.a) and subsequent UNSCR 2493 (5.5.b) promoting: "the direct representation of women in negotiations and striving for gender-balanced mediation teams with members who are well versed in obligations related to gender equality and women, peace and security" (5.4, referring to 5.5.a, 5.5.b).

PSRP work supported the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), comprising the 37 main aid-donor states, to better integrate overseas development support with conflict resolution strategies. Specifically, it contributed to the implementation of the OECD Development Assistance Committee's (DAC) 'Recommendation on the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus' – a new legal instrument that provides "a comprehensive framework that can incentivise and implement more collaborative and complementary humanitarian, development and peace actions, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected situations" (5.6.a). The former head of the International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) Secretariat at the OECD stated: "The contribution of PSRP's research findings and discussion amongst INCAF members were an important aspect in helping to shape this instrument – including the incorporation of key elements around (1) the utilisation of political engagement and other tools, instruments and approaches at all levels to prevent crises, resolve conflicts and build peace (Clause III, 3 a-c); (2) the prioritisation of prevention, mediation and peacebuilding, investing in development whenever possible (Clause IV, 1 a-f); (3) putting 'people at the centre' and providing opportunities for conflict affected groups to engage in peace processes (Clause IV, 2 a-b)" (5.6.b).

(ii) Supporting women to navigate inclusion

PSRP worked as a core partner with UN Women on programming to enhance women's leadership in Middle East peace processes (5.1). It developed novel training materials in Arabic and English and provided tailored technical support for advisory bodies established by UN mediators (5.7.a, 5.7.b). As an Advisor for Women, Peace and Security for UN Women

confirmed: *“the collaboration resulted in commitments from the mediation teams on Yemen and Syria to ensure women’s inclusion in processes that would otherwise almost exclusively involve men. PSRP can therefore claim credit not only for this significant change in the polic[ie]s of mediation teams regarding women’s inclusion, but also for providing women peace makers with the tools and strategies needed to influence peace for more justice societies”* (5.7.b). PSRP also co-designed a PeaceFem app, providing easy-access advice on gender strategies and drafting on inclusion in English and Arabic (over 900 downloads) (5.7.c).

(iii) Re-shaping global policy on the development-peace nexus

PSRP research (3.2, 3.3) provided *“a vital part of the evidence base”* for the flagship UN/World Bank study, ‘Pathways for Peace’ (5.8), and is specifically cited on the need for political strategies to manage the relationship between inclusion and political contestation (5.9). The former Senior Advisor to the UNSG Peacebuilding Support Office (report co-author) stated: *“Since its launch in 2018, Pathways for Peace has been downloaded over 100,000 times, from over 100 countries...[and] has been used as source material in the development of the World Bank Group’s first ever Fragility, Conflict and Violence Strategy, the US government task force report on Preventing Extremism in Fragile States and the first ever OECD legal recommendations to DAC members”* (5.8).

PSRP research was also central to the ‘UK Approach to Stabilisation: A Guide for Policy Makers and Practitioners’ (5.10.a). As the Conflict and Stabilisation Advisor for the Stabilisation Unit explained, there has been notable success in: *“the use of the guide to inform Libya...and Yemen strategy development and stabilisation programming in...Mali and Yemen...and in influencing international partners’ approach to stabilisation, including at the UN and within the Stabilisation Leaders Forum”* (5.10.b).

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

5.1: ‘Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Security the Peace’, A Global Study on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (United Nations), Chapter 3 (pgs. 37-62): footnotes 8, 21, 24, 26, 36, pg. 60; data table, pg. 44; recommendations, pgs. 58-59. This report constituted the UN Secretary Generals High Level Review.

https://web.archive.org/web/20200829212051/https://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/en/GlobalStudy_EN_Web.pdf

5.2: Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security, 16 September 2015, S/2015/716, pgs. 5-8: data, para. 13; Bell’s findings stated verbatim, para. 15, which translated into recommendation 1 (pg. 49, para. 154).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20181221130808/https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resource/s/Report%20of%20the%20Secretary%20General%20on%20women%20and%20peace%20and%20security.pdf>

5.3: United Nations Security Council Resolution 2242, 13 October 2015, S/RES/2242 (2015).

https://web.archive.org/web/20201105145337/https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S%2FRES%2F2242+%282015%29&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.un.org%2Fen%2Fdocuments%2Findex.html&Lang=E

5.4: Testimonial letter from the Senior Gender Adviser in the Executive Office of United Nations Secretary General and former acting Chief of Peace and Security (UN Women) and head of Secretariat of the 15-year review of UNSCR 1325.

5.5.a: Report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security, 9 October 2018, S/2018/900, paras. 42, 46, 59.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210128102333/https://reliefweb.int/report/world/report-secretary-general-women-and-peace-and-security-s2018900>

b: United Nations Security Council Resolution 2493, 9 October 2018, S/RES/2493 (2019)
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210128102222/http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/2493>

5.6.a: OECD, Development Assistance Committee 'Recommendation on the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus', OECD/LEGAL/5019.

b: Testimonial letter from the former Head of the International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) Secretariat and Conflict and Fragility Advisor (OECD).

5.7.a: Testimonial letter from the Gender Advisor to the Special Envoy, Office of the UN Special Envoy for Syria.

b: Testimonial letter from the Advisor, Women, Peace and Security, UN Women, Arab States.

c: Download statistics from Google Play and the Apple Store.

5.8: Testimonial letter from the previous Senior Advisor to the UN Secretary-General's Peacebuilding Support Office and Co-author of 'Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict'.

5.9: 'Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict' (World Bank & United Nations 2018), pg. 144.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20210127200930/https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337>

5.10.a: The UK Government's Approach to Stabilisation: A Guide for policy makers and practitioners, March 2019, pgs. 103, 105, 106.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20210127201427/https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-uk-governments-approach-to-stabilisation-a-guide-for-policy-makers-and-practitioners>

b: Testimonial letter from the Conflict and Stabilisation Adviser, Stabilisation Unit.