Mapping German Development Cooperation in Peace Negotiations and Mediation:

Experience, Potentials, Gaps and Areas for Strategic Support[1]

Abstract

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) funded Sector Programme Peace and Security (SP-FuS/GIZ) commissioned Berghof Peace Support (BPS)[2] to map the activities of German Development Cooperation (German DC) in support of peace negotiations and mediation. The purpose is to take stock of German DC experience in establishing negotiation support mechanisms, to reflect on mediation support experience at grass-roots, local and regional levels, both multi-sector and multi-track, to offer a mapping containing exemplary programmes and programme components based on defined criteria, and, finally, to generate recommendations for the German DC to engage more effectively in activities related to peace negotiation support.

The mapping paper seeks to respond to four overarching questions: What kinds of the German DC's activities are undertaken in terms of peace negotiations support? What kind of in-house capacities are available for mediation support? Which potential roles could development cooperation actors play before, during and after peace negotiations? And how can their contribution strategically complement the efforts of international and national efforts in war-to-peace transitions?

This mapping paper argues that the German Development Cooperation - beyond its traditional roles of being engaged in the aftermath of war (i.e. humanitarian assistance, early recovery and post-war recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction) or in the early prevention of violent conflict - has much to contribute before, during and after peace negotiations. The support provided for peace negotiations has to have a long-term focus, incorporating the pre-negotiation and the post-negotiation phase, which in turn must be embedded in the broader peace architecture. A necessary prerequisite for such support services is the explicit commitment of the conflict actors.

The results of the findings suggest that the German DC can provide vital support at various stages and on various levels of peace negotiation processes. The German DC has contributed directly to peace negotiations in three ways: institution and capacity development, financial assistance and logistical support. At track 2 and 3, support to track 1 peace negotiation is given in terms of thematic expertise and capacity-building for

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civil society initiatives that aimed at influencing the negotiation table. However, having analysed a range of programmes conducted by the German DC, our hypothesis would still be that the support provided to peace negotiations so far is relatively small compared to the actual potential of the German Development Cooperation.

The negotiation support at track 1 and 1.5 as illustrated in the study is still at a rudimentary stage. With respect to direct negotiation support, the area of least engagement of the German Development Cooperation seems to be at track 1 level, both in the (pre) negotiations and post-negotiations phase. More support is given at the track 2 and 3 level. The strongest area of expertise of the German DC seems to lie in mediation support. However, the conceptual understanding of the term mediation varies widely within the programmes.

The German DC can contribute to support peace negotiations by utilizing its vast experience in individual and institutional capacity development, establishing of networks/alliances, and by creating space for dialogues with a multi-track and multi-issue focus. These core competencies should be further refined and developed to support peace negotiations. Given the high-level of donor activities on the ground, an explicit commitment to and professionalization on certain topics (e.g. power-sharing, security arrangements etc.), or certain approaches (i.e. supporting infrastructures for peace, multi-track approaches) and tools (e.g. mediation and negotiation skills training) would contribute to enhancing the German DC's profile. The German DC's activities concerning peace negotiation support have to be undertaken in close cooperation and collaboration with the German Federal Foreign Office.

Concerning peace negotiation support, we suggest that the German DC should focus on supporting **infrastructures for peace**. This would entail encouraging and supporting more inclusive peace structures (e.g. peace secretariats, peace councils/ministry, sub committees, National Dialogues etc.) - involving women, youths, minorities and political groupings, providing technical and financial support, enhancing effective networks, providing individual (i.e. conflict parties) and institutional (i.e. organizational development of peace institutions) capacity building on negotiation skills and negotiation topics. Since the peace structures are mandated by at least one conflict party, there is less inherent risk (politically) in providing support to such peace support structures.

In terms of mediation support, we recommend that the German DC should focus more on supporting **community mediation**. It serves to enhance the capacities of the local community to handle conflicts and to promote change. In concert with local and international organisations, systematic training for multipliers and key influentials in mediation, negotiation and conflict transformation should be offered. In times of need, those trained multipliers ("insider" mediators) would be in a position to facilitate/mediate the conflicts themselves.

For the German DC to step up its activities concerning peace negotiation support at track 1 it is vital that the different German Federal ministries (AA, BMZ, BMVg) coordinate their activities based on a coherent strategy concerning peace negotiation support.

At the Ministerial (AA, BMZ, BMVg) level, we recommend:

- Aiming for better communication, coordination, and cooperation among the different German governmental actors by establishing consensus on supporting peace negotiations
- Designing a robust strategy to support the full cycle of peace negotiations
- Clarifying mandates
- Using stock-taking as base for coherent action

At the BMZ level, we recommend:

- Ensuring a quick and timely engagement at the implementation level
- Supporting infrastructures for peace
- Extending support to community mediation
- Exploring creative ways of engaging with "failed/failing" and authoritarian states

At the GIZ level, we recommend:

- Aiming for strategic complementarity with local, international state and non-state actors, with different relationships and distinctive roles
- Introducing systematic institutional learning
- Initiating a continuous process of exchange between the various GIZ sectors and programmes on different concepts and understandings of mediation and dialogue
- Embarking on joint conflict analysis as the basis for coherent and complementary action in peace negotiations
- Creating incentives for engagement in volatile processes

Contents

I.   Introduction

The BMZ-funded Sector Programme Peace and Security (SP-FuS/GIZ) commissioned Berghof Peace Support (BPS) to map the activities of German Development Cooperation (German DC) in support of peace negotiations and mediation. The purpose is to take stock of German DC experience in establishing negotiation support mechanisms, to reflect on mediation support experience at grass-roots, local and regional levels, both multi-sector and multi-track, to offer a mapping containing exemplary programmes and/or programme components based on defined criteria, and, finally, to generate recommendations for the German DC to engage more effectively in activities related to peace negotiation support.

This mapping paper helps to gain more insight into the strengths and weaknesses as well as options and limitations of German bilateral DC in support of peace negotiations and mediation support. It is undertaken in the context of the OECD International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) deliberations on peace processes and will feed into the process of finding a workable formula to foster cooperation and collaboration between mediation, development, defence and peace-building actors in support of whole-of-government/system approaches.

The mapping paper seeks to respond to four overarching questions: What kinds of the German DC's activities are undertaken in terms of peace negotiations support? What kind of in-house capacities are available for mediation support? Which potential roles could development cooperation actors play before, during and after peace negotiations? And how can GIZ's contribution strategically complement the efforts of international and national efforts in war-to-peace transitions?

This paper is divided into six sections. After the 'introduction' chapter, the paper begins by briefly reviewing the relevance of peace negotiations for development cooperation actors in general (section I and II). Section III goes on to discuss the methodology, approach and the scope of the mapping. Section IV presents the findings of the interviews: First, it will analyse the programmes/programme components in support of peace negotiations at track 1-1.5 and activities that are located at track 2 and track 3 with a strategic link to track 1. Then, it will look at GIZ's experience with mediation, independent of peace negotiations. The latter includes mediation activities, capacity development in mediation, and mediation support activities at various levels (micro, meso and macro level) and various sectors (environment, business, land, and resource management etc.). In Section V, we offer some observations related to the findings. Section VI outlines the possible areas of engagement for German Development Cooperation and will conclude with some strategic considerations and overall recommendations for future German Development Cooperation in this area.

II.   Background

With the end of the Cold War and increasingly after 9/11, conflict prevention, conflict transformation and the promotion of peace have become increasingly important to German development policy. Internationally, the significance of violent conflict for failing to achieve the Millennium Development Goals has prompted the international aid/development agencies to carve out policies to address the various facets of violent conflicts

and state fragility. Conflict sensitive planning/monitoring, the application of "do-no-harm" principles in the implementation of development projects, and the identification of peace-building needs, have become relevant principles in German development practice. Notwithstanding the various real-politik impediments at the implementation level, an awareness of the potentially conflict-aggravating dimension of development assistance has become firmly rooted in policy planning and implementation. However, the question of not only how to avoid possible negative impacts on local conflict dynamics, but also how to proactively contribute towards lasting positive change has remained a challenge and is still of concern to the international development community.

This mapping paper argues that the German Development Cooperation - beyond its traditional roles of being engaged in the aftermath of war (i.e. humanitarian assistance, early recovery and post-war recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction) or in the early prevention of violent conflict - has much to contribute before, during and after political negotiations. This argument rests on three key assumptions:

Development assistance is essentially political in nature and should be part of negotiation processes:

The nexus between development and politics in conflict affected countries is well established in the literature[3]. Development assistance in conflict contexts is inherently political in nature. The politicisation of aid and development in conflict zones is a common phenomenon, that is sometimes further entrenched by placing aid in an incentive structure with the goal of achieving a political settlement or peace agreement. Development actors, therefore, are political actors that could use their leverage and influence to accompany conflict actors in war-to-peace transitions in a whole-of-government approach. In addition, development actors are on the ground long before the commencement of "official" negotiations. They have established trusted relationships with local political networks and established communication channels with conflict parties to enable humanitarian corridors. Moreover, an understanding of local customs, local contexts and traditions is crucial for any international third-party attempting to help resolve the conflict. Interestingly, this knowledge and potential source of leverage is not sufficiently utilised to support political processes in negotiations.

The reasons are manifold: from sovereignty-infringement related claims by partner countries to the erroneous understanding that development and aid delivery should be separated from political interventions such as the active transformation of violent contexts. The question of the legitimacy of such external interventions in local conflicts has been subject to much debate. In many conflict contexts, the partner states are party to the conflict and will not readily accept an external country "intervening" in their internal affairs. There are growing concerns from development agencies that they might jeopardise their bilateral relations with the recipient states if they are seen to be involved in politically sensitive matters of the country. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of aid is intrinsically connected with political power and conflict dynamics in partner countries. As such, an important task of aid/development agencies could be to create favourable conditions for the effectiveness of development efforts. As the last section of this paper will show, respecting sovereignty and contributing to the transformation of conflicts, do not necessarily have to be mutually exclusive notions.

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[3] The UK DFID concedes that there is a tendency in development cooperation to work 'around' conflict and not 'on conflicts' in the sense of transforming conflicts (DFID (2010): Building Peaceful States and Societies - A DFID Practice Paper, p 6) Working around conflicts has led many times -often unintentionally- to the preservation of the status-quo of the prevailing political system and by extension prevented any progressive political change.

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Bringing Development Cooperation into negotiation processes can improve the credibility and sustainability of peace agreements:

Although wealth-sharing, and/or land reform, and the exploration of an economic settlement, are central negotiation topics, development actors seldom influence these political processes. Though development actors are expected to help implement the mediated or negotiated settlements, which have severe implications for aid efficiency, stabilisation, poverty reduction etc., they are barely consulted or included during the negotiation process. Development practitioners are left with the daunting task of delivering the peace dividend that has many times been brokered on the basis of unrealistic expectations by both the parties in conflict and the mediators. Most often the ability and willingness of development agencies to meet the financial and material expectations of the settlements are grossly overestimated. Beyond donor and diplomatic forums, it is important that development actors take an active role in co-shaping negotiation processes, both in terms of the contents of the negotiations and in terms of creating a conducive support structure for fruitful negotiations and post-negotiations implementation. These activities should be conducted under the leadership of a mediator (if available) and should be embedded in overall peace architecture.

Development actors possess an array of development instruments, contacts, and relationships that can be used to strengthen infrastructures for peace in negotiation processes:

Capacity-building and institutional support are central instruments of German Development Cooperation and can be used to support negotiation processes. Negotiation processes are highly volatile, adversarial processes that are in most cases dominated by the mentality of defeating the "enemy" at the negotiation table. Often, negotiating teams have insufficient access to negotiation expertise and lack the "institutionalised" memory of previous negotiation efforts.[4] Local institutions and structures that have been created in support of peace negotiations (i.e. peace commissions, local peace councils, sub committees, etc.) are insufficiently equipped in terms of expert personnel, technical infrastructure and financial resources. Moreover, the unequal level of knowledge and access to power centres - including access to the international community - tends to make it harder for the perceived "weaker" party to stick with the highly uncertain and unpredictable nature of the negotiation process. It is therefore important to build the capacities of the conflict parties in negotiation topics (i.e. constitution making, power/wealth sharing, land reform, security reforms etc.), and in negotiation skills and techniques. Only empowered actors see the value in finding a peaceful negotiated settlement to their conflicts. Third-party mediators, often for fear of being perceived as partial, hesitate to offer skills-enhancing activities for negotiation parties, particularly, if the trainings are seen necessary for just one single conflict party. The expertise of development actors in capacity-building and institution-building could be strategically utilised to enhance the capacities of conflict parties.

Based on these premises, this mapping paper seeks to explore an area that is less reflected upon in the debate: *What potential roles can German Development Cooperation play before, during and after peace negotiations? How can it complement and support international and national peace-making activities?*

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[4] Anecdotal evidence suggests that the insurgent movements often posses better knowledge about previous futile peace efforts than the state authorities as the insurgent movements rarely change their negotiators whilst the government in power changes frequently in periodical elections and so uses negotiators that are nominated on behalf of the state.

III. Methodology and approach

The methodology applied to approach the subject under analysis is straightforward. With the help of the GIZ-Sector Programme, we conducted a GIZ- DMS intranet search based on key words, and screened and reviewed background material. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 46 selected individuals, mainly GIZ country programme coordinators, from the headquarters as well as FriEnt and KfW staff. The selection of interviewees was based on the reviewed material, recommendations from German DC personnel and drawn from the BPS's own network.

Before proceeding, a final note on limitations. This mapping study is a desk study, mainly examining BMZ-funded programmes of the German Development Cooperation - ranging from former GTZ to DED/Civil Peace Service to former InWEnt. The activities of the KfW- Bankgroup were only considered in two cases, as were some selective activities funded by the German Federal Foreign Office. The mapping is based on GIZ's own documentation (progress reports, evaluation reports, proposals etc.) and the personal accounts of the GIZ staff. As such, it is not exhaustive and comprehensive, encompassing outsider's viewpoints as in the case of evaluation mission reports. To prevent any possible negative repercussions, we have avoided direct citations from the interviews. Wherever statements were made "off the record", they were treated confidentially. Moreover, on the evidence presented, we cannot be certain that we have considered all the programmes related to peace negotiations support conducted by German Development Cooperation. Nonetheless, the paper attempts to cover a range of relevant activities, which in itself is a great asset to build upon.

Altogether, we looked at experiences of GIZ (former GTZ, InWEnt and DED) in Africa, Asia, South America and South-Eastern Europe. After having reviewed the material and having spoken to senior staff in the regions, the number of countries that had been preselected was further reduced to 20, namely Aceh, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Cambodia, Colombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Malawi, Nepal, Palestine, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Caucasus, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor-Leste, Uganda, Yemen and Zimbabwe. At the regional level, close attention has been given to the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities (Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and East African Community (EAC) and other regional cooperation mechanisms (International Conference for the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) etc.)

The focus of the mapping is on peace negotiations and the related activities of the German DC in support of it. Hence, the study was not initially intended to examine the vast area of peace processes in general. Instead, it focuses on one narrow segment of peace processes: the negotiation cycle - from pre-negotiations to the post-negotiations agreement period. The graphic below depicts the different phases of the negotiation processes along with the corresponding activities undertaken by the conflict actors in each respective phase. Later on in this paper, we will discuss the potential role of development actors in these different phases using the same graphic (see page 21). This graphic does not in any way suggest that peace and negotiation processes are neat linear processes but rather acknowledges that they are non-linear and dynamic processes with high volatility. It also acknowledges that peace negotiations in many cases are not strictly divided into these categories outlined below but may be overlapping or simultaneous/concurrent processes.
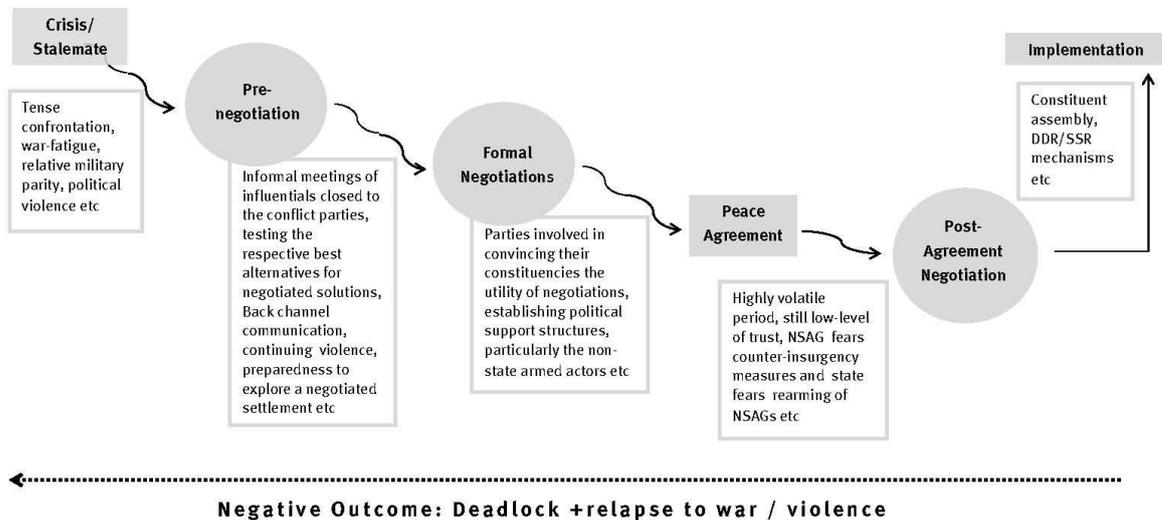
Figure 1: Stages of negotiation process and possible activities of conflict parties

When we started gathering the experiences of German DC, it quickly became obvious that as traditional development actors, the experience of the agencies with regard to direct peace negotiation support is rather limited. Consequently, we developed a framework to map the various support activities that are placed on the margins of negotiation support but remain strategically linked to the track 1 macro-political level. The following categorisation seemed feasible:

1. Programmes/programme components at the (pre) negotiations level
    1.1. Programmes/programme components that support the pre negotiation and negotiation process directly at track 1 and 1.5
    1.2. Programmes/programme components that are created at track 2 and 3 with a strategic link to track 1 peace efforts
2. Programmes/programme components at the post-negotiations level
    2.1 Programmes/programme components that help to stabilise the peace negotiations at track 1 and 1.5
    2.2 Programmes/programme components that are created to sustain the peace efforts at track 2 and 3 with a strategic link to track 1.

The tracks refer to the different levels of engagement adopted from John Paul Lederach[5]. While track 1 refers to the official macro-political level with military, political and rebel leaders, track 2 refers to middle range

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[5] See for more details Lederach, John Paul. Building Peace. Washington DC : USIP Press, 1998.

leaders, for example personalities from civil society, academia etc. Track 3 is the grass-root level. Track 1.5 refers to unofficial activities with track 1 actors or with persons with close ties to track 1.

Programme activities at track 2 and 3 are only considered in so far as they are linked to track 1 level. Programmes concerning Transitional Justice are not part of this mapping study.

The second focus of the mapping is on the mediation support that is provided by GIZ at various levels (micro-, meso- and macro level including regional cooperation mechanisms) and in various sectors (i.e. in the political arena, business sector, water, land and resources management). The term 'mediation support' describes the various activities connected to capacity-building in mediation skills. Contrary to the other categories above, this third category is not linked to a concrete negotiation process. The third category therefore is termed as: Programmes/programme components that use mediation as a tool for resolution of conflict at all tracks.

Negotiation Phase & Tools	Track 1-1.5	Track 2-3
At the (pre) negotiation level	Programmes/programme components that support the pre-negotiation process directly	Programmes/programme components at track 2 and track 3 with a strategic link to Track 1
At the post-negotiation level	Programmes/programme components that were created to stabilize the peace negotiations	Programmes/programme components that are created to sustain the peace efforts with a strategic link to track 1
Mediation as a tool for the resolution of conflict	Programmes/programme components that offer mediation support at track 1-1,5	Programmes/programme components that offer mediation support at track 2-3

Figure 2: Overview of categorisation

Unlike with peace negotiation support, the experience of GIZ in the area of mediation support is vast and only a few selected projects are described in the study. In much of the examined programmes, skills-training in mediation was offered along with other conflict transformation techniques such as negotiation and facilitation training. A far more detailed analysis than we could offer in this particular paper is needed to fully understand the range, type and impact of the mediation trainings.

The programmes that are introduced in appendix 1 are based on the above mentioned mapping categories. The project synopsis is written on the basis of the interviews and has been authorised by the respective GIZ senior programme staff.

IV. Main findings

In the following section, the findings are presented on the three categories introduced above. Wherever suitable, reference is made to concrete programmes. Appendix 1 contains the full details of all the selected programmes.

1. Programmes/programme components at the (pre) negotiations level

1.1 Programmes/programme components that support the pre negotiation and negotiation process directly at track 1 and 1.5

Here, activities related to preparing the political conditions for (pre) negotiations are considered, such as building negotiation capacities of the conflict actors, promoting dialogues at unofficial levels, helping to establish processes and structures to assist negotiations, providing expertise and logistical support.

German DC has contributed directly to peace negotiations in three ways: institution- and capacity development, financial assistance, and logistical support.

With regard to <u>institution-building and capacity-building in negotiation support</u>, the Civil Peace Service project (DED) in Yumbe/West-Nile Uganda (2001) and the Sri Lanka Resource Network for Conflict Studies and Transformation (RNCST) (2001) implemented by the then GTZ and the NGO Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies, are particularly noteworthy. While both conflict contexts are different in nature in terms of conflict issues and the trajectory of negotiations, the examples nevertheless show the range of instruments available for development cooperation to support peace negotiations. The Civil Peace Service even acted as a neutral third-party, providing "good offices". RNCST offered direct support to negotiations by supporting the institutional structures (Peace Secretariats, various sub-committees, Constitutional Affairs Ministry) and building the capacities of the conflict parties in negotiation techniques and negotiation topics (via study tours, foreign expert advice, technical expert input on constitutional drafts etc.).

In some cases, <u>financial support</u> has been provided to peace structures by the German Development Cooperation, such as the support of the German Federal Bank KfW for the Nepal Peace Trust Fund, or financial support to the logistics in the context of the Sudan and Somali peace negotiations by IGAD. The most prominent case of <u>logistical support</u> was provided by the former GTZ to the Loya Jirga ("grand assembly") in Afghanistan in 2002 (funded by the Federal Foreign Office).

1.2 Programmes/programme components that are created at track 2 and 3 with a strategic link to track 1 peace efforts

At track 2 and 3, support to track 1 peace negotiation is given in terms of <u>thematic expertise and capacity-building for civil society initiatives</u> that aimed at influencing the negotiation table. For instance, the GIZ support for a multi-religious and multi-ethnic Mindanao Women's Peace Conference (2003) in the period before the peace process between the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) and the Philippines Government

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aimed at influencing the table by formulating a proposal that was to be included in the peace agenda. A German Foreign Ministry funded project "Federalism Support Programme" (2009) worked in the same direction. This programme was established to support the Nepal Constitutional Assembly deliberations with capacity-building programmes on the different power-sharing models. This was undertaken in collaboration with the International Commission of Jurists and Fundamental Rights Committee.

The programme Facilitating Local Initiatives for Conflict Transformation (FLICT) in Sri Lanka at the time of its inception in 2003, was located at track 2 and track 3 and was designed as a strategic complimentary effort to RNCST, which was located at track 1 – 1.5. The FLICT programme clearly illustrates the range of activities that can be launched by the German Development Cooperation at track 2 and 3. In addition to capacity-building, it helped to establish networks between centre and periphery, provided funding to local (less urbanised) civil society via peace funds, supported peace journalism and peace education to help transform some of the roots of the conflict. It also actively sought to involve actors at the national and international levels via the representation of the partner ministry in the steering committee and collaboration with other donors in the implementation of the programme.

2. Sustaining and stabilising peace efforts as a post-negotiation mechanism

2.1 Programmes/programme components that are created to stabilise the peace negotiations as a post agreement negotiations mechanism at track 1-1.5

There are hardly any programmes of the German Development Cooperation at track 1-1.5 in the post-agreement negotiation period. The negotiation process, however, does not stop with the signing of the peace accord but continues until the implementation period, which is often neglected by international mediators. Frequently, international mediators end their engagement after the signing of the peace accord, leaving a vacuum. This is the most volatile period which is often marked by unfulfilled expectations of the constituencies, lack of willingness or capacity to implement the reached agreement, insufficient financial and human resources to accomplish the tasks, abrogation of certain provisions of the agreement, different interpretations and different narratives about the agreement and the level of fairness etc. Additionally, if the negotiation process itself was exclusive (e.g. multiparty conflicts negotiated in a two-party setting usually between the government and the armed non-state actor), the exclusive practice will most probably prevail in the post-agreement period with an inadvertent impact on social harmony, justice and access to power. There is potential for German DC to be more active in the areas of strengthening inclusive structures, security and justice transition programmes, and constitutional reform among others.

The example of GIZ engagement in Nepal elucidates the capability of German Development Cooperation to influence the post-agreement negotiations phase. The GIZ staff responsible for this programme emphasised that these activities would have not been possible if they had not been present in the country during the violent insurgency. The long-term engagement in regions that were most affected by war and poverty created an entry-point and foundation for trust for their later engagement in the post-negotiation period. The Strengthen the Peace Process Project (STPP) and the Support for the Nepal Peace Trust Fund (NPTF) collaborate closely with the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (MoPR) which has an oversight function on both initiatives. It is also the central national agency for shaping the peace process in Nepal. In the STPP project, which aims to support the Maoist Army cantonments, GIZ is the only international agency working in the cantonments alongside the Government agencies. The NPTF was established to implement the Comprehensive Peace Accords (CPA), so the support extended by GIZ to NPTF is a vital contribution towards

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supporting infrastructures for peace. <u>This support measure demonstrates how development assistance is combined with technical input, institution-building and capacity-building.</u>

2.2 Programmes/programme components that are created to sustain the peace efforts at track 2 and track 3 with a strategic link to track 1

The programmes need not be located at track 1 in order to have an impact at track 1. If programmes at track 2 and track 3 are well-crafted, based on a stringent strategy with vertical influence structures, the likelihood of them having a positive impact at track 1 level are high. In the literature the significance of a "trickle down" effect is highlighted and the importance of enabling the "trickling down" of peace benefits from track 1 to track 2 and 3 is emphasized. Yet, the importance of the inverse, the upward process receives less attention.

For instance, in 2008 in Bolivia, direct support to a track 1 negotiation on autonomy issues was possible due to the good working relationship that the coordinator of the 'Decentralized governance and poverty reduction support (PADEP)' programme had with key actors involved in the so-called "Cochabamba dialogue" that, in closed-door meetings between the government and key departmental prefects, helped to break the deadlock and facilitate the ratification of the new constitution.

Another good example of sustained peace efforts in the post-negotiation period is the 'Peace-building by promoting cooperation between government and civil society (CERCAPAZ)' programme in Colombia. By combining governance approaches with peace-building, CERCAPAZ helps initiate multi-stakeholder dialogues, empowers marginalized groups to influence planning processes, and promotes participatory planning and accountability. In this way, positive experiences and new ways of handling and settling conflicts are introduced from the municipal level to the national government level using policy proposals, development plans and other strategies. Learning processes with multiplier effects are also being initiated. In addition, CERCAPAZ promotes the sustainable development of a culture of peace among individuals. This includes educational measures of nonviolent conflict management and support for initiatives, reconciliation, equal rights and the integration of population groups threatened and affected by conflict.

The GIZ programme 'Guatemala peace process support (PCON)' offers an insight into how programmes at track 2 can get the attention of track 1 actors if the programme practice is seen to be effective. For instance, the Organization of American States (OAS) once approached PCON to run a mediation support programme for them. PCON could not respond to the requested support as the PCON program was not solely designed as a mediation program but it was aiming to support different peace activities. In general, training on mediation builds part of the training activities of PCON, which is offered to different target groups.

Although PCON was ideally placed to undertake the activity, due to the restricted mandate, it was not possible for them to make use of this window of opportunity in a timely manner.

3. Programmes/programme components that use mediation as a tool for the resolution of conflict at all tracks

This cluster differs slightly from other clusters in that it looks at one specific instrument of conflict transformation without a direct link to peace negotiations: mediation. Mediation is used as a tool in a number of programmes conducted by the GIZ, which mostly centre on capacity-building for various actors within the polity and society. This is potentially the strongest area of expertise GIZ exhibits among all the other areas analysed thus far.

Mediation support activities are conducted in the political arena (i.e. Malawi Forum for Dialogue and Peace, Mediation Qualification Programme (MQP) of Civil Peace Service in Ethiopia, the establishent of mediation panels in East-Timor, etc.), in the education sector (Development Diplomacy for Peace and Security (DDPS), in the business sector (with Chambers of Commerce in Yemen) and in land- resources and water management (i.e. Cambodia Mobile Team, COSERAM/Philippines etc.). In most of these programmes, a special emphasis was given to local mediation methods. In a number of programmes, the trained local partners took over an active role as mediators. For instance, in Malawi the trained individuals (eminent persons) served as mediators in the political impasse of the time and during the run up to the parliamentary elections in 2009.

Additionally, the GIZ support for regional secretariats to enhance its conflict resolution capacity is noteworthy (e.g. Lake Chad Basin Commission, Support for International Conference Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) etc). At the regional AU level and at the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) level, the GIZ is hoping to provide more substantial support on institutionalising mediation support.

The support for the Cambodia Cadastral Commission (CC) Mobile Teams (MT) demonstrates the practical relevance of mediation related activities. In 2007, GIZ and the National Cadastral Commission designed the CC Mobile Teams (MTs) with the aim of addressing case backlogs left over from the district and provincial CC's regular activities; some of these unresolved cases were highly problematic in that they involved powerful and wealthy parties. The MTs settled many cases successfully, including these problematic ones. All settlements were by conciliation[6] because this was the only means of case resolution legally available to the MTs. The success was partly due to the recruitment policy of GIZ that systematically hired the most skilled retired district land department officers for this work.

V. Observations and conclusions related to the findings

The results of the finding suggest that the German DC can provide vital support at various stages and on various levels of peace negotiation processes. However, having analysed a range of programmes conducted by the German DC, our hypothesis would still be that the support provided to peace negotiations so far is relatively small compared to the actual potential of the German Development Cooperation.

The negotiation support at track 1 and 1.5 as illustrated above is still at a rudimentary stage. With respect to direct negotiation support, the area of least engagement of the German Development Cooperation seems to be at track 1 level, both in the (pre) negotiations and post-negotiations phase. More support is given at the track 2 and 3 level. Whether this was/is always based on strategic thinking in order to influence the track 1 level is disputable. Presumably, many of these initiatives came into being when windows of opportunities arose. That said, there are also examples that prove the opposite. A good example for a strategic linking of tracks 1, 2 and 3 is the case of Sri Lanka. Under the focal area Poverty Alleviation and Conflict Transformation (PACT) in 2001/2 the projects RNCST and FLICT were initiated and a working group comprising all projects with Conflict Transformation/Peace-Building focus was established (with a coordinator), and strategic alliances

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[6] The concepts of conciliation and mediation share many similarities and are often used interchangeably. While some scholars insist that there are no differences between a mediated and a conciliated process, others maintain that are "substantive differences concerning impartiality and the level of third-party involvement" (USIP- Glossary). The significant difference seems to be that the conciliator possesses expert knowledge on the issue to be conciliated (labour, land disputes etc) and a mediator often not.

with other donors working on peace-building (Swiss/RNCST and FLICT/DFID) were forged with the view to bundle resources and to design a targeted intervention.

In the following, other apt examples of how strategic links to the macro-political level can be fostered are discussed. In Senegal ('ProCas'), Palestine ('Regional Social and Cultural Fund for Palestinian Refugees and Gaza population, Jordan, West-Bank and Gaza') or the Philippines (COSERAM), we notice how the German DC operates in sectoral areas, while still aiming to make an impact at the macro-political level through negotiation actors, through negotiation topics and through the establishment of strategic networks.

The programmes seek to influence the macro-political level by strategically targeting the key conflict actors in conflict resolution trainings. The "Programme for the socio-economic development to support Peace in the Casamance" (ProCas) is a case in point. In its peace promotion component – it aims to reduce the tensions between specific actors within the civil society, the state and the rebel movement (Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance - MFDC). In order to stabilise conflict zones and to secure humanitarian access to rebel strong-holds, the GIZ promoted dialogue and interaction between the various actors. For a long time, GIZ was the only international actor involved in the promotion of peace. Only recently have other actors such as the ICRC, UNICEF and USAID set up their activities in the area.

In many of the programmes examined, GIZ also sought to influence the macro-political level via counter-part ministries or members of the government who were part of steering committees such was the case in FLICT/Sri Lanka and COSERAM/Philippines. The Regional GIZ Social and Cultural Fund for Palestinian Refugees and Gaza Population programme is an interesting example of a creative approach to critical negotiation topics (such as "refugee repatriation" in the context of Israel/Palestine) within cultural programmes. Both examples clearly demonstrate that the programmes need not be placed at track 1 level in order to influence track 1 processes.

In cooperation with other donors - as with the RNCST project with the Swiss government and the CPS project in Yumbe with the Danish Development Agency DANIDA - and with the support of national (e.g. PRAFORD-Yumbe) and international NGOs (e.g. Berghof-Germany), the German Development cooperation can strategically enhance its support for negotiations. The strategic alliances with other donors and local and international NGOs will increase the impact and help to shoulder the political risk that is often connected with fragile peace processes.

Arguably, the strongest area of expertise of German DC seems to lie in mediation support. The conceptual understanding of the term mediation varies widely within the programmes. While in some programmes mediation is used as an umbrella term to incorporate dialogue, negotiation and conciliation activities, others use the concept of dialogue as a heading to subsume the various activities related to mediation, negotiation and round table discussion. These variations reflect the general confusion prevailing in the peace-building and conflict transformation field. Consequently, some scholars advocate "political dialogue"[7] as an overarching term to describe the various conflict transformation activities from high-level negotiation to mediation, while others feel that these terms will lose their intellectual rigour if they are not clearly distinguished. An analysis of these various definitions and connotations is beyond the scope of this mapping.

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[7] See Andries Odendaal (May 2011): "The role of political dialogue in peace-building and state building: An interpretation of current experience". A report submitted to the working group on political dialogue of the 'International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding' (Non-paper).

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A further exploration of these various strands is, however, beneficial for a better foundation for German DC in this field in general. In-house lessons sharing on mediation skills training and capacity-development should be institutionalised within the implementing agencies, mainly GIZ. We see unrealized potential for German DC in the field of community mediation, and have also heard in our talks that this topic deserves a more in-depth study.

Negotiation Phase & Tools	Track 1-1.5	Track 2-3
At the (pre) negotiation level	Programmes/programme components that support the pre-negotiation and negotiation process directly 1) RNCST/Sri Lanka 2) Capacity–building Balay Mindanaw/Phillippines 3) Capacity-building Yumbe/Uganda	Programmes/programme components at track 2 and track 3 with a strategic link to Track 1: 4) Women´s Peace Conference/Philippines 5) FLICT/Sri Lanka 6) Federalism Support Programme/Nepal
At the post-negotiation level	Programmes/ programme components that were created to stabilize the peace negotiations 7)STPP/Nepal 8) NPTF/Nepal	Programmes/programme components that are created to sustain the peace efforts with a strategic link to track 1 9) PADEP/Bolivia 10) CERCAPAZ/Columbia 11) PCON/Guatemala
Mediation as a tool for the resolution of conflict all tracks	12) Malawi Forum for Dialogue and Peace/Malawi 13) Capacity-building Support at the level of the African Union (AU), Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and other Regional cooperation	14) Business Mediation/ Yemen 15) Support for ICGLR 16) Mediation Qualification Programme (MQP)/Ethiopia 17) Sustainable Water management Chad Lake/ Chad 18) Cambodia Cadastral Commission (CC) Mobile Teams /Cambodia 19) Development Diplomacy for Peace and Security (DDPS)/Sub Sahara Africa 20) Development of Alternative Concepts/ Timor-Leste

Figure 3: Programmes and programme components supporting the negotiation process

Before we proceed to outline recommendations for GIZ and German DC, some observations that go beyond the actual guiding questions for the mapping at hand will be shared. They result from our interviews and research in the GIZ database and can be of use for improving the framework conditions for an effective engagement of the GIZ in the field of peace negotiations. Having an informed, competent and flexible staff pool is a necessary prerequisite for a possible enhancement of GIZ activities in the field of peace negotiations support.

The observations can be broadly divided into two sections. The first set of observations relates to project staff and project planning in the context of violent conflict and peace processes. The second set of observations relate to the content and approaches that are used in projects.

1. **Dealing with project staff and project planning in the context of violent conflict and peace processes**

≣ <u>Insufficient support for staff working in conflict zones:</u> Some senior staff felt there was insufficient support for staff working in conflict zones. Working under conditions of war and crisis requires special assistance and support mechanisms for staff before, during and after their assignments. Specialised supervision and counselling (either by peers or externally) was identified as necessary.

≣ <u>Compulsory negotiation training for senior staff:</u> In the opinion of some GIZ programme staff, senior staff seconded to conflict zones and fragile contexts are ill-equipped to deal with difficult contexts and difficult actors on the ground. Some GIZ staff proposed as with "country briefings", Harvard negotiation training should be made compulsory for all senior staff.

2. **Central content and approaches that are used in projects:**

≣ <u>Insecurity in the practical implementation of terms and concepts („do no harm", conflict sensitive approach etc.):</u> Although at the conceptual level, the central terms of conflict sensitive engagement are found to be useful and relevant, when it comes to their practical implementation, senior staff feel that they are left without clear guidance. Furthermore, the proposition of 'minimizing harm' seems to dominate in programmes rather than the pro-active contribution to the transformation of conflicts. Some staff mentioned the difficult choices and trade-offs one has to make in conflict contexts[8]. During our interviews, we came across an interesting example in the PADEP project[9] of how tailor-made support could be given to projects that aim to design its work in a conflict-sensitive manner.

≣ <u>Anxiety that the concept of mediation is understood as conflict management and not as a conflict transformation instrument:</u> Some senior staff expressed the concern that the concept of mediation is often understood as a conflict management tool that aims at resolving the particular issue at stake without investing much time into the whole gamut of the root causes of the conflict, attitudes and behaviours of the parties. It is a common concern (that particularly exists in peace mediation) that the mediators are just aiming at securing a peace agreement without paying much attention to the fundamental issues that caused the conflict in the first place. Some mediation concepts ("transformative mediation") attempt to address this gap.

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[8] Some working in the Middle East and North Africa region said that they were forced to close-down their operations at a critical time in the history of these countries when help and assistance was required. The question whether the evacuation of international staff as the security situation deteriorated, can be portrayed as 'conflict-sensitive' was posed by some staff.

[9] http://www.berghof-peacesupport.org/publications/BOL_Lecciones_Aprendidas_SAC.pdf

- <u>Risk assessments and exit strategies for all peace support programmes:</u> While there is a great amount of flexibility to include or change activities to cater to an unfolding peace process, exit strategies are seldom thought of when conceptualizing programmes. Having an exit strategy is vital if the original objectives cannot be met because of worsening ground conditions. In particular, programmes that are closely linked to any track 1 processes have to have an exit strategy if the peace and negotiation process derails. The project in Sri Lanka – RNCST - was cited as an example of a negative experience.

- <u>Clarity of roles versus room for manoeuvring:</u> Some staff of German DC find it difficult to operate in a context where programmes that work on politically sensitive peace negotiation support are not clearly outlined, where strategic direction is unclear, where the different roles and division of labour between the different organisations merged into GIZ are not clear and where the conflict analysis differs across the various German Development Cooperation programmes etc. While most staff shared this view, the strategies to deal with this differed. While some argued for a better definition of the roles and strategic focus of the programmes, others argued that it is better to leave room for creative ambiguity. The more rules that are imposed and roles that are defined, the more one is obliged to follow these. There will be no room for manoeuvring and creativity, and the possibility of reacting quickly to windows of opportunity may disappear.

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VI. Negotiation process and potential roles for German Development Cooperation: Overall conclusion

1) **The balance between agenda-setting and grasping opportunities:** The majority of the German DC programmes and activities connected to the peace negotiations field came into being as a result of "windows of opportunities". This will continue to be one of the determining factors. Nonetheless, a strategic approach that entails placing the different activities at different levels (multi-track approach) with a mutually reinforcing effect towards the greater goal of influencing peace negotiations at the track 1 level would, in the long run, be more effective. The German Development Cooperation has a role to play in lobbying for development agendas that are conflict-sensitive. This can be accompanied by making strategic use of its leverage to influence multilateral policies and programmes and to build strategic alliances with like-minded bilateral donors.

2) **German DC's potential to play a meaningful role:** The German DC can contribute to support peace negotiations by utilizing its vast experience in individual and institutional capacity development, establishing of networks/alliances, and by creating space for dialogues with a multi-track and multi-issue focus. These core competencies should be further refined and developed to support peace negotiations. Given the high-level of donor activities on the ground, an explicit commitment to and professionalization of certain topics (e.g. power-sharing, security arrangements etc.), or certain approaches (i.e. supporting peace structures, multi-track approaches) and tools (e.g. mediation and negotiation skills training) would contribute to enhancing the German DC's profile.

3) **Differentiating DC support according to phases:** The diagram below illustrates the various possible support measures that can be undertaken by the German Development Cooperation at different stages of a negotiation process. Obviously, the measures would vary according to the context. Some support measures are interchangeable within the different phases. Conflict preventive measures, for instance, can/should be undertaken in all phases. During a stalemate when it is difficult to work on the ground it may be helpful to work with the political diaspora of the respective context which usually exerts a major influence on the trajectory of conflicts in their erstwhile home countries. Working at lower levels of society (at track 2-3) could be another option. In official negotiation and post-negotiation phases, it is often less risky for development actors to engage as the level of acceptance and legitimacy of the process is relatively high[10]. In all peace negotiation processes there will be a significant portion of society that is unhappy about the unfolding peace process (commonly described as "spoilers"). Although it is crucial to the success of the peace process to engage with them constructively, they are usually either ignored or side-lined in international engagements. The failure of many peace processes underscores the importance of finding ways in which to integrate them in any peace-making efforts. Peace can only be built with the consent of those who are against it. In particular, rebel and opposition movements need to be considered in any capacity-building and institutional building programmes. Our findings suggest that the German DC

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[10] If the peace negotiations fail, then the international actors who supported the official negotiation process are seen to be biased. Hence, some argue, it can also be risky for international actors to support official peace negotiations.

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has conducted many activities that are shown in the diagram. Nevertheless, not all of the activities were interlinked; neither did they necessarily follow a strategic logic. Cautiously speaking, they were mostly stand-alone projects with short-term durations.
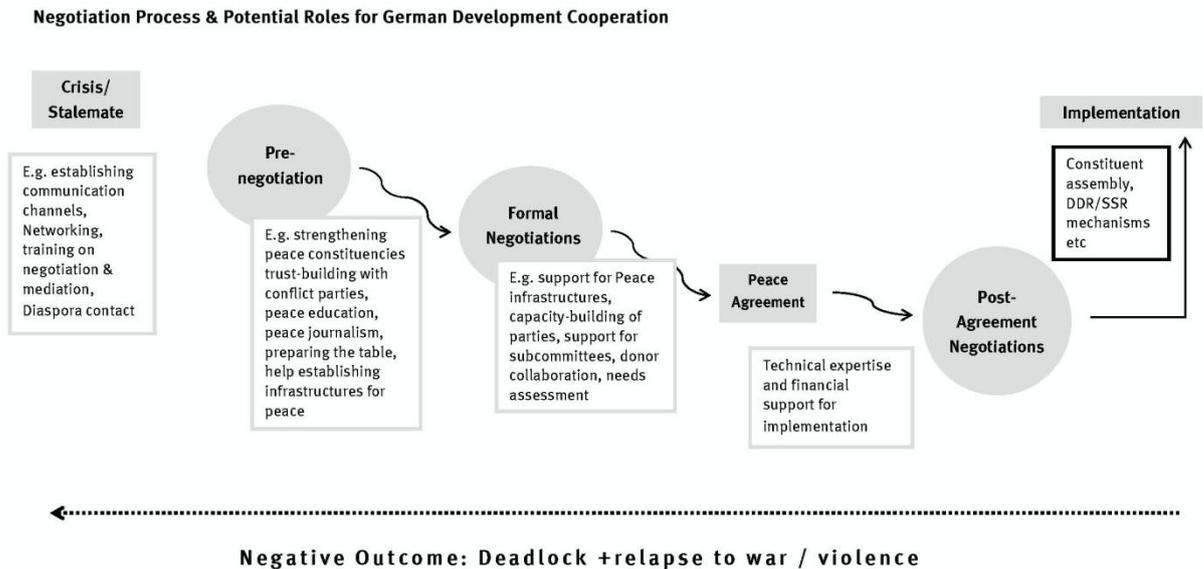

Figure 4: Stages of negotiation process and possible DC support activities

4) **Concentrate on structures that support peace:** In our opinion the strategic contribution of German Development Cooperation to sustain and stabilise peace negotiation processes should lie in supporting infrastructures for peace. The term 'peace infrastructures' refers to "all officially and unofficially, formally and informally institutionalised, domestic structures and organisations that have been mandated by at least one of the conflict parties before, during or after peace talks and dialogue processes to support the parties, the process, e.g. through public participation, or the implementation of process results." (Berghof Peace Support: Strengthening Support Structures for Peace Negotiation, Mediation and Dialogue, Short Introduction to the Work Programme 2010).

In simple terms, supporting infrastructures for peace have the following contributions to peace processes:

≡ Building on existing capacities and institutions in the society (government, civil society, etc.) and enhancing effective coordination and networks between them, for instance in peace secretariats, peace councils, sub committees, National Dialogues, etc. to sustain and stabilise the peace process at every level of society.

≡ Providing technical and material support (i.e. transfer of knowledge, technical capacity and best practices from other comparative cases)

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▤ Providing individual (i.e. conflict parties) and institutional (i.e. organisational development of peace institutions) capacity-building on negotiation process and negotiation topics (i.e. security, political and economic reform etc.), as well as negotiation skills.

▤ Promoting inclusive and democratic structures. Peace negotiation processes are mostly elite-driven in which the society is at best consulted only in recurring elections. Peace infrastructures have the potential to widen the group (i.e. bringing in previously excluded sections of society, such as women, youths, minorities etc.) of stakeholders and deepen their engagement.

The German DC is known for its sound expertise in institution-building and should make use of this more strategically in order to endow peace negotiations with a strong foundation. Having local actors at the driving seat of these peace support structures reduces the perception of externally driven peace agendas and increases the legitimacy of the peace negotiation process. No single donor programme will lead to sustainable long lasting peace. It is clear that only the complementary strategies of all international (donors, INGOs, mediators and other third-parties) and national actors will increase the cumulative impact towards sustainable conflict transformation.

1. Potential, limitations, opportunities and strategic areas for DC support to peace processes: Overall recommendations

The comparative advantage of the German Development Cooperation for supporting peace processes is its thorough context-knowledge and access on the ground due to its long-term presence, trusted relationships, well-connected and knowledgeable national staff/national partners, networks at all levels, and access to high-level power-centres (local governments, civil society, individuals connected to rebel movements), combined with the perception of the German DC as "honest brokers" and an entity without a colonial history (in most cases). The latter perception of an "honest broker" is increasingly difficult to maintain due to Germany´s parallel engagement in the military realm. The emphasis on German economic priorities further decreases Germany´s credibility as an "honest broker". In order to avoid jeopardising the aforementioned comparative advantages, it is important that Germany's foreign, development, and security policies are embedded within a coherent and complementary overall strategy.

In addition to the comparative advantages, the German Development Cooperation possess outstanding key competencies such as capacity development, networking, organisational development, technical expertise, multi-stakeholder organisations (work with NGOs, community-based, the business community, religious entities, cultural and media work) and multi-level (micro-, meso, macro) engagement.

In order to fully utilize this potential, however, the German DC, needs to overcome certain limitations that currently make engagement in peace negotiations difficult.

2. Specific Recommendations

2.1 Recommendations to different Federal Ministries: BMZ, AA, BMVg

Aiming for better communication, coordination and cooperation among the different German governmental actors by establishing consensus on supporting peace negotiations

The German Federal government is involved in supporting conflict transformation processes in partner countries at different levels and through its different ministries – the German Federal Foreign Office, Federal Ministry of Defence and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. In certain singular cases, support for negotiation processes is also given - to varying degrees - by the different ministries. It appears that there is much room for improvement in terms of the communication, coordination, and cooperation among the different German governmental actors regarding their activities in support of peace negotiations. A coordinated approach would make better use of synergy effects and identify complementarity. Improved coordination and communication between these entities will prevent contradicting policies, as well as avoiding a possible destabilizing effect on certain activities.

Design a robust strategy to support the full cycle of peace negotiations

A coherent and a complementary approach based on a robust strategy would enhance the German Government's contribution towards peace-making. Peace negotiation support is not limited to offering assistance for securing a peace agreement. Rather, it involves the whole gamut of activities in the pre-negotiation and post-negotiation phases. The pre-negotiation period (i.e. creating the framework conditions, preparing the ground etc.) and the post-negotiation period (implementation of the peace agreement) are mostly neglected by international actors with dampening effects on the sustainability and credibility of peace agreements.

Furthermore, while it is important to utilize windows of opportunities, it is equally important that the engagement is based on a clear and a long-term strategy. A piecemeal and ad hoc approach to peace negotiation support will not yield the expected results. We recommend that the German Government subscribe to a long-term engagement based on a robust strategy for supporting peace negotiations.

Clarify mandates

As the aforementioned comparative advantages indicate, the German Development actors are well placed to offer support to peace negotiations if they are requested to do so by the conflict actors or the partner governments. The outlined comparative advantages may only be fully utilized if the German DC actors on the ground are mandated by their country coordinators, headquarters, and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Moreover, strategic priority areas and corridors for using opportunities have to be defined in coordination with the German Federal Foreign Office (AA). Clarification of the current and future potential roles among the key German Government actors is necessary for an effective and timely intervention in and for peace processes.

Use stock-taking as base for coherent action

This mapping paper could be used to initiate an exchange with German Diplomacy (AA) and Defence (BMVg) to understand better, and build upon, their respective comparative advantages in terms of peace support. Stock-taking also needs to occur in order to identify what kinds of programmes and projects were funded by the German Federal Foreign Office and Federal Ministry of Defence in support of peace negotiations. This would help to identify the relative strength and weaknesses of the respective entities in the field of peace negotiation support and contribute to filling the potential gaps, identifying synergy and complementary effects, avoiding duplicity and contradictory policies.

2.2 Recommendations to the BMZ

Enable a quick and timely engagement at the implementation level

In the absence of a coordinated mandate, opportunities that suddenly arise cannot be seized. Furthermore, by the time a decision is made the opening may have passed. Making use of openings is then subject to the personal risk a German DC programme coordinator and/or GIZ country office is willing to take if the institutional mandate is not defined and/or provided.

The same goes for bilateral and multilateral coordination: If no corridor of engagement is previously defined, the time needed to evaluate the opportunity and potential roles might be too long and the opportunity will be missed. Country strategies, country round tables and country teams are ideal opportunities to improve coordination.

Support infrastructures for peace

GIZ is well-positioned to extend strategic support to emerging peace negotiations (pre-negotiations, negotiations and post negotiations phase) in concert with other national and international actors. As indicated earlier in this paper, potential areas of GIZ engagement could be supporting the establishment of, or advice to, infrastructures for peace. This would entail encouraging and supporting more inclusive peace structures (e.g. peace secretariats, peace councils/ministry, sub committees, National Dialogues etc.) - involving women, youths, minorities and political groupings-, providing technical and financial support, enhancing effective networks, providing individual (i.e. conflict parties) and institutional (i.e. organizational development of peace institutions) capacity building on negotiation skills and negotiation topics. Since the peace structures are mandated by at least one conflict party, it would be less risky, politically, to provide logistical and institutional support to such peace support structures.

Extend support for community mediation

The GIZ is involved in mediation support activities at various levels and in various sectors. Due to its role as a government agency, there are limitations for the GIZ concerning its equidistant and impartial behaviour. Particularly in contexts where the state itself is the conflict actor, it rarely allows third party actors to engage in conflict transformation activities in general (let alone mediation activities). Therefore, it is more important to enhance the capacities of the local community to handle conflicts and to promote change. In concert with local and international organisations, systematic training for multipliers and key influentials in mediation, negotiation and conflict transformation should be offered. In collaboration with local networks and local consultation sessions, the potential "insider"-mediators[11] could be identified and nurtured.

Explore creative ways of engaging with "failed/failing" and authoritarian states

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[11] "Insider" mediators are drawn from the society. "Situated within a conflict, these are trusted individuals (NGO leaders, traditional or religious authorities, former politicians, respected academics and social activists) who play the role of third parties. In particular, they serve as intermediaries, helping to exchange information and messages or testing the ground for (in)formal talks. Insider mediators are characterized by their in-depth knowledge of the conflict situation, cultural sensitivity and close relationships to the parties and, in some cases, their normative authority. Typically unofficial, the quality of their mediation is crucial: not only may it open doors for formal mediation, but it also can complement official negotiation processes" (BPS). Particularly in the Asian, Latin American or African contexts, international mediators are seen to be ill-equipped to mediate traditionalist, ethnic and religious conflicts. (See for a detailed analysis of the concept and practical experience, Insider Mediators- Exploring their key role in informal peace processes, Berghof Peace Support, Swiss Peace and Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich, 2009).

In countries where bilateral relations are on hold (Zimbabwe) or in areas that are politically highly sensitive (e.g. Southern Caucasus), it is important to find creative ways to "stay engaged - but differently". Contributing to confidence-building measures, establishing networks and infrastructures for peace are crucial steps to foster change. Experience in other parts of the world shows that development actors tend to lose their credibility and trust with the local population if they pull-out of the countries because of difficult ground conditions. A re-entry is often far more difficult and cumbersome.

2.3 Recommendations to the GIZ

Aim for strategic complementarity with local, international state and non-state actors, with different relationships and distinctive roles

Not all needs, in terms of peace negotiation support, can be addressed by the German DC. Strategic coherence, coordination and a strategic division of labour with other actors would enhance the contribution towards sustainable peace. Even though the core competency of GIZ lies in capacity development, there is a lack of capacity development programmes for people and institutions involved in peace processes. The reason for this may be related to the highly political nature of the work, dependency on the explicit mandate provided by the partner government, and the absence of competent international experts within the team.

GIZ plays multiple roles: as custodian of peace funds, implementer and capacity-developer. While it is certainly advantageous to be in a position to offer a range of services, it can simultaneously weaken certain roles. For instance, technical input can be perceived as "conditional". National actors might feel pressured to accept certain proposals or political advice for fear of losing their funding.

Another restriction for governmental DC is its inherent limitation to treat all conflict parties in an equidistant manner.[12] The principles of equidistance and inclusiveness are prerequisites for successful mediation and dialogue activities. Reaching out to the opposition parties or non-state armed actors poses an additional challenge and might require a division of labour/partnerships with other third party actors like local civil society actors, national NGOs, international NGOs, or other donors.

Introduce systematic institutional learning

The aforementioned mandates and policies help to foster institutional learning around a theme. It is beneficial to expand the circle for the de-briefing of peace support programmes beyond the immediate GIZ portfolio managers. "Lessons-learned" and experience accumulated in the programmes could then be easily transferred into new programme planning. The documentation of peace negotiations related interventions has to have a refined mechanism that goes beyond the C-cluster (KR-Kennung). A refined clustering, for instance along peace and conflict cycles, thematic fields and tools would help to access the topics quickly. Furthermore, it is important to explore ways in which to preserve the organizational memory in times of staff turnover, retirement, career change etc.

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[12] It is important for donors to "clarify the form of alignment to the state in each context: whether through the state, with the state or outside the state." DFID (2010: 9): Building Peaceful States and Societies, http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications1/governance/Building-peaceful-states-and-societies.pdf (last accessed November 30, 2011). Once there is clarification on the appropriate strategy, modalities can be worked out to channel aid and support. Channeling through INGOs and national NGOs can be a better strategy if the state itself is the conflict actor. Unfortunately, this is more difficult for bilateral development cooperation. Nevertheless, all options have to be considered about how to engage with the government in such situations.

Initiate a continuous process of exchange between the various GIZ sectors and programmes on different concepts and understandings of mediation and dialogue

GIZ offers mediation support in various sectors (i.e. political arena, business sector, land, water and resources management). GIZ is also active in this field at track 1.5 level in Regional Cooperation mechanisms (AU-Regional Economic Cooperation). The experience gathered in the various sectors should be made available for relatively new activities at the AU level. As mentioned before, the conceptual understanding of mediation and its practical implementation differs across the various sectors. While in some GIZ programmes mediation is used as an umbrella term to incorporate dialogue, negotiation and conciliation activities, others use the concept of dialogue as a heading to subsume the various activities related to mediation, negotiation and round table discussion. A further exploration of these various strands is beneficial for a better foundation for the GIZ´s work in this field in general. In-house lessons-sharing on mediation skills training and capacity-development should be institutionalised within the implementing agencies - mainly GIZ. We see unrealized potential for GIZ in the field of community mediation, and have also heard in our talks that this topic deserves a more in-depth study.

Embark on joint conflict analysis as the basis for coherent and complementary action in peace negotiations

A regular conflict analysis with all German DC actors would enhance the possibility of coherent action. To date, this is undertaken by the respective organisations, resulting in very different analyses and strategic priorities. Moreover, providing programme staff with clear guidance on how to implement the principle of conflict sensitivity seems particularly important. What conflict sensitive behaviour is depends very much on the particular context and timing and a general template/tool-box approach does not assist practitioners in achieving the desired outcomes. With the assistance of external expert facilitation, a regular conflict analysis should be conducted to identify practical steps to implement the principle of conflict-sensitive development delivery. Having a competent and confident staff pool is a prerequisite to undertake further work in the direction of peace negotiation support. Furthermore, it is essential that programmes go beyond the principle of 'minimizing harm' and adopt a more pro-active policy of envisaging complementary strategies to support peace negotiation processes.

Create incentives for engagement in volatile processes

There is a tendency to connect the effectiveness of intervention to the "success" of peace negotiations. If peace negotiations fail, the intervention itself might be seen as a failure. This has led some of the DC staff that we interviewed to avoid involving themselves in risky, intangible, and unpredictable programme activities.

The impact assessment of social change processes remains difficult and often the German DC staff feels enormous pressure to deliver tangible results as the result of high expectations. Peace processes and negotiation processes are non-linear processes, in which positive outcomes might take time to occur (often a long time after the actual programme implementation). Even then, it might be difficult to attribute those positive outcomes to the specific intervention.

Internal policies have to be set in place to encourage 'risk-aware' rather than 'risk-averse' engagement in peace negotiation processes.