

DPI Comparative Study Visit: "Getting a process back on track in challenging times"

An exploration of the Irish experience from a gendered perspective

Carried out with the kind assistance of the Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Irish Government

19-24 March 2016, Dublin, Dundalk and Belfast

Summary Report



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DPI Comparative Study Visit: "Getting a process back on track in challenging times" An exploration of the Irish experience from a gendered perspective

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Foreword

The following is a summary of the discussions that took place during DPI's recent Comparative Study Visit to Ireland, which comprised a series of roundtable meetings that took place in Dublin, Dundalk and Belfast from 19 to 24 March 2016, addressing the topic of 'Getting a Process Back on Track in Challenging Times', exploring the subject in the context of the Irish experience of conflict resolution, and from a gendered perspective. This meeting came at what continues to be a time of great difficulty in Turkey, with significant challenges being faced in relation to the country's Kurdish resolution process. The Institute hopes to carry out further activities focusing on related topics in the coming months as part of its Turkey programme.

As always with DPI's activities, this meeting was held under Chatham House Rule. In the interest of transparency, a full transcript and audio recording of the March 2016 Comparative Study Visit is available to the public. Please contact <u>info@democraticprogress.org</u> for further information.

DPI working papers relating to some of the key topics addressed *(including an update on the current context in Northern Ireland, and a briefing paper on the implementation of UNSCR1325)* can be found at the end of this report. Other research papers on the subject of conflict resolution, and all previous DPI activity reports, can be found on the Institute's website: <u>www.democraticprogress.org</u>



DPI Participants visit Leinster House in Dublin for a tour of the Irish Parliament.

Context: Dialogue and exchange at a challenging time

This activity took place during what is still an extremely challenging time in terms of Turkey's political climate. Polarisation throughout society remains high, with continued violence in the southeast of the country as well as in more urban areas such as Ankara and Istanbul more recently. The Kurdish resolution process remains "parked" today and there is a need for confidence building measures on both sides, in order for dialogue to resume. It is in this context that a group of 11 delegates came together in Ireland. The opportunity for participants from very different ends of the political spectrum, to meet in a neutral environment, away from the current conflict environment, and away from the glare of the media and of parliament, provided a much needed space for those from diverging perspectives, to convene in a "safe space", both to learn from the many experiences of Ireland, and to exchange dialogue in a frank and open way together.

Identifying the need for a platform for relevant dialogue and discussion, the roundtables that took place during this five day visit focused on the ways in which to bring a process 'back on track' when it is facing significant difficulties such as those being faced in the context of Turkey's resolution process today.

'There were changed attitudes and new thinking which led to a strong desire to create a better future for the new generation.' -Dr David Mitchell of the Irish School of Ecumenics at Trinity College Dublin referring to the changes in Northern Ireland to get the peace process back on track.

The visit took place through a "gender lens", meaning that all of the meetings were conducted from a gendered perspective, bearing in mind the particular experiences of women in the Northern Irish conflict and peace process. Through our work, DPI has for long been working to increase the role of women and awareness of gendered perspectives in peacebuilding activities, with previous activities held in Turkey, Ireland, the Philippines and South Africa addressing topics related to the gendered effects and experiences of conflict and the role of women in conflict resolution, in addition to our ongoing gender focused research on topics such as the implementation of UNSCR 1325, women and DDR processes, and gender and transitional justice among many others. The aim of this activity was to build on our previous work in this area, and to provide a platform for exploring related topics in greater depth, with a view for the learnings from the visit to be shared with the wider population in Turkey and for dialogue to continue beyond the activity itself.



Breige Brownlee, former political prisoner and former councillor for Sinn Fein with DPI participants in Belfast.

'Day to day, it has been consistently women who have been trying to meet the needs and care for those who were injured. Because we haven't had a proper reparations process, the women have been doing this work with very little acknowledgement from the state.' – Dr Catherine O'Rourke of the Transitional Justice Institute, Belfast.

Through examining a selection of themes drawn from the Irish experience of conflict resolution, demonstrating ways in which obstacles have been overcome and the peace process maintained despite difficulties such as spoilers and renewed violence, the Roundtable addressed issues currently relevant to Turkey, and allowed a much needed space for dialogue on related topics. By analysing and sharing the experiences and developments of peace process in Ireland from a gendered perspective, through meetings with various experts and practitioners in areas of gender and conflict, gender and transitional justice, and gender and international law, as well as some of the key women actors involved in the conflict and resolution process in Ireland, participants were able to draw from the valuable lessons and insights shared, using these as a basis for discussion and reflection throughout the visit.

'You don't negotiate with friends you negotiate with enemies and you have to make them partners.'

-Avila Kilmurray, founding member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition speaking about maintaining the peace process.

Themes

Topics discussed during the visit the include the incorporation of women into the peace process and post conflict transition process; the role of women as mediators and backchannels within the choreography of the process (examining in particular the experiences and architecture of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition); gender and transitional justice and dealing with the legacy of the past; gender-specific provisions within international law and the role of UNSCR 1325; the role of civil society (including religious actors) in sustaining a peace process; the role of third party actors in transforming and resolving conflict; DDR and SSR (including the role of international third parties in overseeing decommissioning and verification processes); as well as legislative and constitutional reform (including questions relating to governance and power sharing). Other topics addressed include questions of language, identity and culture (including in the context of education); women's political representation in Ireland and the roles and relationship of the British and Irish governments in the context of the Northern Ireland peace process.

Participants examined many of the topics in the context of the Good Friday Agreement, however subsequent agreements were also looked at in detail, including the recent Stormont House and Fresh Start Agreements, and their impact on and continued role in the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement today.

'I think that is why the paramilitary groups still play a significant role is because they provide a sense of security. One of the reasons it has been hard for them to disband is that there is fear of retribution.' – Kate Beggs, representative of the Northern Ireland Office. Key points of discussion in relation to the Irish experience of "getting a process back on track" during challenging times include:

- Specific periods and events which threatened the furthering of the peace process in Northern Ireland, including the 1996 London Docklands Bombing; riots relating to flags and emblems; the 2015 suspension of the Stormont Executive; and the recent evidence of ongoing paramilitary activity in Northern Ireland among others.
- The practical steps and mechanisms adopted in the Irish context, to keep a process on track in the face of obstacles, including third party involvement such as that of Senator George Mitchell and General de Chastelain; the following of a clear choreography/ sequence in relation to decommissioning, verification and negotiations; ensuring the inclusivity of the process to encompass all groups in order to create a strong sense of ownership and to minimise the capacity of spoilers; state engagement with the media to ensure positive use of language and to garner support for the process (to prepare the public for peace).
- The mechanisms that have been adopted since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland, to protect the process and to safeguard against renewed conflict, including comprehensive verification of decommissioning; the parking of controversial issues such as policing and dealing with the past, to reassess at a later time; the creation of Stormont's power sharing executive and increased devolution to Northern Ireland; the inclusion of human rights provisions and guarantees to incorporate the principle of equality and non-discrimination throughout society.

• The specific steps taken in Northern Ireland to overcome the "stalling" of the peace process at times of crisis, including the continuation of backchannel talks to keep momentum despite public discourse and an absence of formal peace talks.

Lessons learned - the Irish experience

Topics discussed with speakers (all with first hand experience in the subject areas covered) focused on <u>mechanisms employed to "get a process</u> <u>back on track</u>" during challenging times, including in the face of renewed violence. The Canary Wharf bombing of 1996 was discussed as an example of this, with speakers sharing on the importance of continuing a process in spite of attempts to derail it by the breaking of a ceasefire. Themes of compromise, and amnesty were discussed with those with first hand experience of dealing with these issues, including representatives of the British and Irish governments, and former political prisoners. The subject of spoilers was discussed, including in the context of dissident armed groups in Northern Ireland, drawing on the recently commissioned assessment on ongoing paramilitary activity. Speakers emphasised the need for continuation of dialogue and confidence building measures on all sides, in order for a process to keep moving forward despite setbacks.

'Even when there are problems, both the parties recognized that nothing will be solved through violence.'

– His Excellency the UK Ambassador to Ireland, Dominick Chilcott.



Participants meet Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein Party Leader.

Women's role in negotiations and in maintaining a peace process was a prominent and reoccurring theme throughout the visit, and particular focus was given to the role of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. Participants were eager to learn about the technicalities involved in creating such a coalition, and its capacity to play a vital role within the process, both as a presence at the negotiating table and "behind the scenes" as a cross party channel of communication. Avila Kilmurray, a founding member of the NIWC shared her experiences in this area, and discussed the process involved in the creation of the Coalition, drawing on examples relating to the electoral system introduced during the peace process which allowed for smaller parties and greater inclusivity at the negotiation table (both in relation to political representation and the representation of women), as well as the founding principles of the NIWC, which included equality, inclusion and support for human rights. Discussion took place on the Coalition's ability to bridge the political divide as a result of these principles, and to serve as a channel of communication between the different parties to the conflict during difficult periods faced.

'Peace talks are all about communication. So we could keep the lines open and gather as much information as possible and then try to exchange it'

– Avila Kilmurray, founding member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition.

Jane Morrice, another founding member of the NIWC who went on to be Deputy Speaker of the first Northern Ireland Assembly was also met with, and topics relating to women's parliamentary representation and the use of gender quotas were discussed, as well as the important role played by women in addition to the NIWC (including Mo Mowlam) in the good Friday Agreement process.

'I went home to my husband and said we're forming a women's political party. And he said, now what would you do if I said we're setting up a men's political party? I said if for 20 years the 20 seats were all held by women, I'd help you!' – Jane Morrice, Deputy Speaker of the first Northern Ireland Assembly, Member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, and Vice President of the European Economic and Social Committee, speaking about women's parliamentary representation.



Jane Morrice, Deputy Speaker of the first Northern Ireland Assembly, Member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, and Vice President of the European Economic and Social Committee, at a meeting with DPI participants in Belfast.

<u>UN Security Council Resolution 1325</u> was discussed in the context of the Troubles and the present day – participants learned about the Irish government's National Action Plan for implementation of the resolution and heard from members of the Women, Peace and Security Oversight Group of Ireland's second NAP (2015-18). Questions relating to implementation of the principles of UNSCR 1325 in the absence of a NAP were also discussed, drawing on the experiences of Northern Ireland. Paula Bradley MLA, of the Democratic Unionists Party met with participants to discuss her role within a largely male dominated political party, and in particular her role within the All Party Group on UNSCR1325, discussing the practical ways in which 1325 can be drawn on and applied despite a lack of direct implementation of the resolution, and ongoing the politics of defining "armed conflict" in Northern Ireland.



DPI Participants with Democratic Unionists Party MLA, Paula Bradley in Belfast

Dealing with the legacy of the past was another topic discussed at length, in particular the recent attempts to resolve this very sensitive and outstanding issue in the context of Northern Ireland (including during Stormont House and Fresh Start Agreement talks) and the lack of a formal reparations mechanism. The recently proposed Historical Investigations Unit, and the Independent Commission on Information Recovery as well as oral history mechanisms were discussed in detail, with an exploration of the ongoing challenges faced by Northern Ireland in relation to the pursuit of truth and justice also taking place. This topic was explored from a gendered perspective, taking into account the particular experiences of women in conflict, and the necessity for gender sensitive mechanisms for dealing with the past and for addressing questions of accountability. Participants met with Catherine O'Rourke of the Transitional Justice Centre at Ulster University, who discussed the importance of gender sensitising transitional justice mechanisms, so that they take into account particular harms against women such as sexual violence, and also expose the gendered impact of many of the past violations dealt with, such as the issue of women becoming full time carers for male family members injured during conflict.

'What we've seen in Northern Ireland is that these gender issues were at first ignored. They were seen as issues that were too contentious and too political. But these issues do not go away.'

– Dr Catherine O'Rourke, of the Transitional Justice Institute at Ulster University Belfast, speaking of the important role gender issues have in transitional justice.

Governmental relations between the UK and Ireland were examined, focusing on the positive impact these have had on the peace process in Northern Ireland. Discussion focused on the different factors that have led to a positive transformation of relations and have contributed to the continuation of the peace process despite challenges, with topics relating to trade and migration, public policy, the role of the EU, and acknowledging the past all being covered. British Ambassador to Ireland His Excellency Dominick Chilcott discussed the importance of gestures by both the UK and Ireland in maintaining good relations, including the 2011 visit to Ireland by Queen Elizabeth and the reciprocal visit of the President of Ireland in 2014. Ambassador Chilcott also discussed the ongoing role played by the British and Irish governments in maintaining the peace process in Northern Ireland through "pressing the parties to reach solutions" during difficult periods, for example facilitating the Stormont House Agreement in 2014 following issues relating to the flying of the flag above Belfast City Hall.



His Excellency British Ambassador to Ireland Dominick Chilcott meets with DPI participants in Dublin.

The role of international third parties, in particular the function of US Senator George Mitchell, Chair of the Good Friday Agreement talks, and the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning in Northern Ireland were explored in the context of *DDR*, as well as the role intermediaries such as Haass and O'Sullivan have played in the ongoing implementation and furthering of the Good Friday Agreement in practice in recent years. Discussion centred on the necessary criteria necessary in selecting a third party and the ways in which third parties can assist in providing structure in a peace process as well as in relation to accountability and verification. The delegation travelled to Dundalk to meet with Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs and a key actor in the peace process for over 20 years. Ahern discussed the important role played by the US, and also emphasised the vital role of the EU in sustaining peace in Northern Ireland. The role of neutral parties in facilitating backchannel dialogue (such as religious and civil society actors) was also discussed.



Dermot Abern, former Minister for Foreign Affairs in Ireland meets with DPI participants in Dundalk.

Legislative and constitutional aspects of the process were discussed at length with a number of speakers, including Kate Beggs of the British Government's Northern Ireland Office, with a focus on governance and power sharing. Discussion of the benefits and disadvantages of the D'Hondt system used in Stormont took place, with a detailed analysis of the devolution process and the relationship between the Northern Ireland Assembly and Westminster. Legal processes and reform were discussed in the context of equality and discrimination, including questions of policing and <u>SSR</u> (security sector reform) and in relation to gender quotas. The technicalities of referendum were also covered at length.

'In a conflict which is still so recent where politics is greatly impacted by the conflict, every suggestion is politicized and can be interpreted by either side to mean a number of things.' - Sarah McGrath, of the UK and Americas Division, Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Participants learned about the diverse *roles of civil society* in supporting the process in Northern Ireland, with particular focus on women's groups, religious actors and former prisoners. The importance of public ownership for a process was emphasised, and mechanisms for encouraging support for peace were analysed, including that of the media. Meetings took place with civil society leaders working to promote cross community dialogue, and with former prisoners, who discussed the challenges faced in reintegrating into society. Speakers on these topics included Susan McEwan of Corrymeela, a faith based peacebuilding organisation, working with different groups across society to foster dialogue. Michael Culbert and Breige Brownlee of ex-prisoners network Coiste were also met with, to share on the role of former prisoners in maintaining the peace process, and the issues that have arisen in Northern Ireland following political imprisonment, in a post conflict context. Participants met with Sinn Féin Minister and former IRA member Carál Ní Chuilín. who discussed the transition from armed struggle to her role as an elected MLA at Stormont.

'I wanted a republic that treated all people equally, that didn't treat women differently.''

– Carál Ní Chuilín, Sinn Féin Minister and former IRA member.



Susan McEwan of Corrymeela discussing the work of civil society dialogue initiatives in Belfast.

Meetings took place on the significance of *language, identity and culture* in conflict and conflict resolution processes. Questions relating to mother tongue education were addressed, and the subject of integrated education was also explored in detail with experts in the field from the Northern Ireland Integrated Education Fund and the Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education. Remaining issues of flags, emblems and parades were also discussed in the context of ongoing challenges faced in the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland and the recent talks leading to both the Stormont House and Fresh Start Agreements were examined in this context. Participants took part in a field visit to the interface areas of Belfast and met with members of both the Republican and Loyalist communities during a guided tour of the "peace walls" and historical sites, to discuss ongoing questions relating to the role of identity in the conflict resolution process, and to gain a deeper understanding of the issues still affecting the people of Northern Ireland today, including economic factors, commemorative events, anniversaries and parades.



Noel Large, tour guide and former political prisoner, gives a tour of the Shankhill Road area in Belfast.

'If you ask me if I regret the past, I can answer you in two seconds. Yes. The violence didn't make me any more British and it didn't bring the republicans any closer to a United Ireland.' – Noel Large, tour guide and former political prisoner. Key points of discussion in relation to the Irish experience of the gendered effect of conflict and women's role in the Northern Ireland peace process include:

- The role played by the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition both in terms of maintaining cross party dialogue and in ensuring the inclusion of women's rights within the Good Friday Agreement, and the practical steps and foundational principles necessary for the creation of such a coalition as well as the challenges involved.
- The gendered effects of conflict in Northern Ireland including women's experiences as carers of injured military and armed group members; women's experiences of gender based violence within and after the conflict, including sexual and domestic violence; the prevalence of mental health and addiction issues in a post conflict context, in particular among former prisoners (both men and women) and the impact of these issues on family life; the economic impact of conflict on widows of the conflict.
- The importance of incorporating a gendered perspective to any transitional justice mechanisms and for any future processes designed to deal with the legacy of the past, to be gender sensitive in their approach.
- The role of UNSCR 1325 and other resolutions on women/ gender, peace and security and the application of the principles outlined at every stage of conflict resolution, even in the absence of a National Action Plan on 1325.

- The role of women's groups and leaders among civil society in raising awareness of so called "women's issues" and in working across political divides to increase dialogue and awareness.
- The significant roles played by women political actors in the Northern Ireland peace process, including within the British and Irish governments, as well as the role of women members of armed groups, and the role played by women leaders in a post conflict society today, including within cross party women's caucuses at Stormont.



His Excellency Turkey Ambassador to Ireland, Necip Eguz and his wife meet with DPI participants at his private residence

Key points of discussion in relation to the Irish experience of the gendered effect of conflict and women's role in the Northern Ireland peace process include:

- The role played by the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition both in terms of maintaining cross party dialogue and in ensuring the inclusion of women's rights within the Good Friday Agreement, and the practical steps and foundational principles necessary for the creation of such a coalition as well as the challenges involved.
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- The importance of incorporating a gendered perspective to any transitional justice mechanisms and for any future processes designed to deal with the legacy of the past, to be gender sensitive in their approach.
- The role of UNSCR 1325 and other resolutions on women/gender, peace and security and the application of the principles outlined at every stage of conflict resolution, even in the absence of a National Action Plan on 1325.

- The role of women's groups and leaders among civil society in raising awareness of so called "women's issues" and in working across political divides to increase dialogue and awareness.
- The significant roles played by women political actors in the Northern Ireland peace process, including within the British and Irish governments, as well as the role of women members of armed groups, and the role played by women leaders in a post conflict society today, including within cross party women's caucuses at Stormont.

'Its women who are the ones who can bring about change, because we are willing to speak with each other.' - Paula Bradley, DUP MLA.

Current context in Turkey

Participants arrived in Ireland at an extremely tense time for Turkey, on the day of the most recent bombing in Istanbul on 19th March. The visit took place in the context of continued violence both in Turkey's southeast as well as in increasingly urban areas such as Istanbul and Ankara city centres and at a time in which the country is witnessing the worst bloodshed experienced since the height of the conflict in the 1990s. The renewed high levels of violence are demonstrative of the increasingly unstable and polarised domestic setting, and the fact that participants from across Turkey's diverse political spectrum came together despite these circumstances, in order to learn about the Irish experiences of conflict and its peaceful resolution, demonstrates the unique ability of DPI to convene such individuals and groups for a positive learning experience.

'DPI is a tool. Every visit I learn something different. This visit I was more hopeless than before, but then I heard something, and my light started to sparkle.' – DPI Participant

Creating a platform for continued dialogue

The comparative study visit took place over six days, with the first half of the visit being spent in Dublin, where participants met with representatives from the Irish Government's Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade, both the British and Turkish Ambassadors to Ireland, renowned historians and political experts from Irish universities, and a founding member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. The visits then travelled to Dundalk, to meet with former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, before spending the second half of the visit in Belfast, where participants met with political actors from the two main parties, civil society representatives from the different communities in Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland Office of the British Government, former prisoners and former members of armed groups, experts in gender and transitional justice, and experts in integrated education.



Participants meet with Kate Beggs of the Northern Ireland Office in Belfast.

The visit concluded with an internal evaluation meeting, in which all participants shared their learnings and perspectives on the visit, and their plans for further sharing and developing of knowledge gained during the visit. Key points of interest from the visit were said to be the role of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, which provided an inspiring and practical model for a cross party initiative, which was successful in supporting the peace process including during difficult times and stalemates. Participants were eager to learn about the technicalities involved in establishing such a coalition, and discussed the steps taken in Northern Ireland, with founding members Avila Kilmurray and Jane Morrice. Questions focused on the challenges faced by the coalition, and the mechanisms adopted to overcome polarisation and divergence of views. Speakers explained the structure of the coalition and the ways in which this took account of the diverse political viewpoints of the members of the coalition. They also focused on the principles of the coalition, which included support for equality and human rights, and the way in which abiding by these principles (which were not attached to political perspectives) allowed the coalition to play an objective role, and to bring key issues relating to women's rights and human rights to the negotiating table during the peace process.

'How can we forge a friendship among ourselves? The most important thing was the women's coalition; how can we do this in Turkey?' – DPI Participant.

Other topics of particular interest include the means by which the process in Northern Ireland was maintained despite challenges and setbacks, including renewed violence and spoiler activity during the formal negotiation process, but also following the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, for example the continued existence of armed groups in Northern Ireland and the ongoing discussion regarding dealing with the legacy of the past and transitional justice mechanisms. Participants were eager to hear about the debate on this issue and the talks on related subjects during the recent Haass and Fresh Start Agreements. Speakers shared with participants the ongoing difficulties in addressing some aspects of the past in Northern Ireland, and the proposed mechanisms to create accountability and truth sharing, and discussion took place on public perception in this regard.

Outcomes of the visit

This visit has had a significant impact in Turkey, and is deemed to have been a success by all participants. This is largely due to the relevance of the issues at play within the Northern Ireland process to Turkey's current situation, in particular those relating to means by which a process can be brought "back on track" and maintained despite challenging circumstances such as renewed violence. It is also due to the opportunity provided by the visit, for participants from different views and backgrounds, to come together in a way which might not be possible in Turkey, to converse and build valuable relationships across the political spectrum.

This is the third visit carried out by DPI with a particular focus on gender and conflict. All of the participants in the delegation are women, and saw this as an opportunity to learn about the experiences of women in Ireland, in relation to conflict and its resolution. Much inspiration and technical knowledge were gained through meeting with women actors in the process in particular, and this has led to discussion taking place among the group, on ways in which to continue the dialogue which took place during the visit following the group's return to Turkey. Participants are keen to explore the possibility of working together across parties and political perspectives, and to form a women's forum or platform, through which conflict resolution can continue to be explored in Turkey across the many different groups and perspectives that exist there. DPI will endeavour to support these steps as much as possible.

'I should just make a point that it is important for independent oversight. That is why the work of organizations like DPI is so important... I am very thankful to DPI, as somebody who was involved for all my political life in our own peace process.' – Dermot Ahern, former Irish Foreign Minister. There has been significant media coverage of the visit in Turkey, with columnists, journalists, and media figures present during this visit having used the opportunity to share the experiences gained, with the wider public via their respective newspaper, television and social media audiences. National media reports and prime time television broadcasts (including a live televised discussion) continue to cover different aspects of the visit. The case of Ireland remains a rich source of knowledge and experience in Turkey, and continues to be referred to as an example to be drawn on regarding many of the issues being faced today, in particular in relation to timing and choreography, questions of DDR, and the role of international third parties. The Irish case is seen as a strong example within which a relatively successful peace process has been maintained despite significant challenges.

Each group and party will brief their respective constituencies on the visit in detail, ensuring that learnings are diffused directly and usefully at the grass roots level.

This activity builds on the work already carried out as part of DPI's Turkey programme, by providing a more detailed presentation and exploration of the key topics of relevance to Turkey today. The fact that the Northern Ireland peace process is ongoing and continuing to address issues arising in relation to dealing with the legacy of the past, and implementation, as well as in relation to power sharing, also allows for observation of the various stages involved in conflict resolution and post conflict transition processes. DPI shall continue to build on this visit through its ongoing work in the area of gender and conflict resolution, and will continue to draw on the ever relevant and valuable case of the Northern Ireland process in relation to the Institute's Turkey programme.



DPI Participants at Iveagh House in Dublin following their meeting with the Irish Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade

'Bringing together the different political attitudes can be very difficult, but DPI does this very well.' – DPI Participant.

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Annex 1: Participants

Turkey based participants

Name	Position	Affiliation
Mr Eren Buğlalılar	Interpreter	
Ms Esra Elmas	İstanbul Bilgi University Centre for Conflict Resolution Studies and Research, and Senior Advisor, DPI	Democratic Progress Institute
Ms Kezban Hatemi	Lawyer and Member of Turkey's Wise Persons Com- mittee	Wise Persons Committee
Ms Ayşe Koytak	Advisor	Prime Minister Davutoğlu's Office
Bejan Matur	Poet	
Ms Gülseren Onanç	Member of Party Assembly	Republican People's Party (CHP)
Ms Melda Onur	Former Member of Parlia- ment and Peace Activist	Republican People's Party (CHP)
Ms Fadime Özkan	Journalist, Member of the Wise Person's Committee	Star Daily Newspaper
Ms Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu	Member of Parliament for Erzurum	Justice and Development Party (AK Party)
Sevtap Yokuş	Professor of Law	Kemerburgaz University
Ms Özlem Zengin	Chief Advisor	President Erdoğan's Office

Speakers and Guests

Name	Position	Affiliation
Mr Dermot Ahern	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs	Irish Government
Ms Kate Beggs	Head of the Political Liaison Unit	Northern Ireland Office, British Government
Ms Paula Bradley	Member of Legislative Assembly, Democratic Unionists Party	Democratic Unio- nists Party
Ms Breige Brownlee	Former Sinn Féin Councillor and member of Coiste	Coiste n n-larchimí, ex-prisoners network
His Excellency Ambassador Dominick Chilcott	Ambassador to Ireland	British Government
Professor Vincent Comerford	Professor Emeritus of History	Maynooth University
Mr Michael Culbert	Director	Coiste n n-larchimí, ex-prisoners network
His Excellency, Ambassador Necip Egüz	Ambassador to Ireland	Turkish Government
Mr Zeki Güler	Councillor of Turkish Embassy in Dublin	Turkish Government
Ms Eleanor Johnson	Director of Programmes	Democratic Progress Institute

Mr James Kelly	Desk Officer for Women Peace and Security, Conflict Resolution Unit	Irish Department of Foreign Affairs
Mr Kevin Kelly	Director of the Con- flict Resolution Unit	Irish Department of Foreign Affairs
Ms Avila Kilmurray	Founding member of Northern Ireland Women's Coalition and Director	Community Foun- dation for Northern Ireland
Ms Caroline Kirby	Desk Officer, Conflict Resolution Unit	Irish Department of Foreign Affairs
Ms Katelyn Kunzman	Programmes Team	Democratic Progress Institute
Mr Noel Large	Tour Guide (former Loyalist political prisoner)	
Ms Susan McEwan	Head of Programmes	Corrymeela
Ms Sarah McGrath	Northern Ireland, the UK and the Americas Division	Irish Department of Foreign Affairs
Ms Paula McIlwane	Development Officer	Northern Ireland Council for Integra- ted Education
Ms Tina Merron	Chief Executive	Northern Ireland Integrated Educati- on Fund

Dr David Mitchell	Author, Politics and Peace in Northern Ire- land: Political Parties and the Implementati- on of the 1998 Agree- ment, and Assistant Professor	The Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College, Dublin
Ms Sacha Moreira	Director of Grants and Funding	Democratic Progress Insitute
Ms Jane Morrice	Deputy Speaker of the first Northern Ireland Assembly, Member of the Northern Ireland Wo- men's Coalition, and Vice President of the European Economic and Social Committee	Northern Ireland Government
Ms Carál Ní Chuilín	Member of Legisla- tive Assembly, Sinn Féin and Sinn Féin Minister for Culture Arts and Leisure.	Sinn Féin
Dr Catherine O'Rourke	Gender Research Coordinator	Transitional Justice Institute, Ulster Uni- versity, Belfast
Mr Paedar Whelan	Tour Guide (former Republican political prisoner)	Coiste n n-larchimí, ex-prisoners network
Mr Kerim Yildiz	Chief Executive Officer	Democratic Progress Institute

Annex 2: DPI Briefing Note: A Fresh Start for Northern Ireland

Annex 3: The Good Friday Agreement – An Overview

Annex 4: A Study into the Ways to Better Incorporate Women into Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution through the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

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DPI Board Members



Kerim Yildiz (Director):

Kerim Yildiz is Chief Executive Officer of DPI. He is an expert in international human rights law and minority rights, and has written extensively on international human rights mechanisms and international humanitarian law. Kerim is the recipient of a number of awards, including from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights for his services to protect human rights and promote the rule of law in 1996, the Sigrid Rausing Trust's Human Rights Award for Leadership in Indigenous and Minority Rights in 2005, and the Gruber Prize for Justice in 2011.



Nick Stewart QC (Chair):

Nicholas Stewart, QC, is a barrister and Deputy High Court Judge (Chancery and Queen's Bench Divisions) in the United Kingdom. He is the former Chair of the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales and Former President of Union Internationale des Avocats.



Prof. Penny Green (Secretary):

Professor Penny Green is Professor of Law and Globalisation at Queen Mary University of London, UK, and Director of the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI), UK. She joined Queen Mary University in September 2014 following seven years as Professor of Law and Criminology at King's College London, UK. Professor Green has published widely on state crime, state-corporate crime, natural disasters, Turkish criminal justice and politics, transnational crime and asylum and forced migration.



Priscilla Hayner:

Priscilla Hayner is co-founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice. She is a global expert on truth commissions and transitional justice initiatives and has authored several books on these topics. She is former consultant to the Ford Foundation, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and numerous other organisations.



Arild Humlen:

Arild Humlen is a lawyer and Director of the Norwegian Bar Association's Legal Committee. He is widely published within a number of jurisdictions, with emphasis on international civil law and human rights, and he has lectured at the law faculty of several universities in Norway. Arild is the recipient of the Honor Prize of the Bar Association of Oslo for his work on the rule of law and in 2015 he was awarded the Honor Prize from the international organisation Save the Children for his efforts to strengthen the legal rights of children.



Jacki Muirhead:

Jacki Muirhead was appointed Chambers Administrator at Devereux Chambers, London, UK, in November 2015. Her previous roles include Practice Director at FJ Cleveland LLP, Business Manager at Counsels' Chambers Limited and Deputy Advocates Clerk at the Faculty of Advocates, UK.



Prof. David Petrasek:

Professor David Petrasek is Associate Professor at Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa, Canada. He is former Special Adviser to the Secretary-General of Amnesty International. He has worked extensively on human rights, humanitarian and conflict resolution issues, including for Amnesty International (1990-96), for the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (1997-98), for the International Council on Human Rights Policy (1998-02) and as Director of Policy at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2003-07).



Antonia Potter:

Antonia Potter Prentice has wide ranging experience а range of humanitarian, development, on peacemaking and peacebuilding issues. She has lived and worked extensively in, and on, conflict and post-war environments; increasingly specialised in women's empowerment she has worked directly with women and peace process actors in countries including Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Libya, Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal and Philippines, South Sudan, Timor-Leste, Yemen, and at the global policy level. She has also published widely on these topics. Antonia cofounded the Athena Consortium as part of which she acts as Senior Manager on Mediation Support, Gender and Inclusion for the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) and as Senior Adviser to the European Institute for Peace (EIP).

DPI Council of Experts



Dermot Ahern

Dermot Ahern is a former Irish Member of Parliament and Government Minister and was a key figure for more than 20 years in the Irish peace process, including in negotiations for the Good Friday Agreement and the St Andrews Agreement. He also has extensive experience at EU Council level, including as a key negotiator and signatory to the Constitutional and Lisbon Treaties. In 2005, he was appointed by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to be a Special Envoy on the issue of UN Reform.



Dr Mehmet Asutay

Professor Mehmet Asutay is a Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic Political Economy & Finance at the Durham University Business School, UK. He researches, teaches and supervises research on Islamic political economy and finance, Middle Eastern economic development and finance, the political economy of Middle East, including Turkish and Kurdish political economies.



Ali Bayramoğlu:

Ali Bayramoğlu is a writer and political commentator. He is a columnist for the Turkish daily newspaper *Yeni Safak*. He is a member of the former Wise Persons Commission in Turkey, established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan.



Prof. Christine Bell:

Professor Christine Bell is a legal expert based in Edinburgh, Scotland. She is Professor of Constitutional Law and Assistant Principal (Global Justice) at the University of Edinburgh and a Fellow of the British Academy. She is an expert on transitional justice, peace negotiations, constitutional law and human rights law. She regularly conducts training on these topics for diplomats, mediators and lawyers, and has been involved as a legal advisor in a number of peace negotiations.



Cengiz Çandar:

Cengiz Çandar is a senior journalist and columnist for Turkish newspaper Radikal Daily News. He is an expert on the Middle East and former war correspondent. He served as special adviser to former Turkish president Turgut Ozal.



Yılmaz Ensaroğlu:

Yılmaz Ensaroğlu is the former Director of Law and Human Rights Studies at SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research in Ankara, Turkey. He is a member of the Executive Board of the Joint Platform for Human Rights, the Human Rights Agenda Association (İHGD) and Human Rights Research Association (İHAD). He is also Chief Editor of the Journal of the Human Rights Dialogue and member of the former Wise Persons Commission in Turkey, established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan.



Prof. Mervyn Frost:

Mervyn Frost is Professor of International Relations in the Department of War Studies at King's College London, UK. He was previously Chair of Politics at the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa and was President of the South African Political Studies Association. He is an expert on human rights in international relations, humanitarian intervention, justice in world politics, democratising global governance, the just war tradition in an era of New Wars, and, ethics in a globalising world.



Martin Griffiths:

Martin Griffiths is a senior international mediator and Executive Director of the European Institute of Peace (EIP). From 1999 to 2010 he was the founding Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva where he specialised in developing political dialogue between governments and insurgents in a range of countries across Asia, Africa and Europe. He is a co-founder of Inter Mediate, a London based NGO devoted to conflict resolution, and has worked for international organisations including UNICEF, Save the Children and Action Aid. Martin has also worked in the British Diplomatic Service and for the UN, including as Director of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (Geneva), Deputy to the Emergency Relief Coordinator (New York), Regional Humanitarian Coordinator for the Great Lakes, Regional Coordinator in the Balkans and Deputy Head of the Supervisory Mission in Syria (UNSMIS).



Kezban Hatemi:

Kezban Hatemi holds an LL.B. from Istanbul University and is registered with the Istanbul Bar Association. She has worked as a self employed lawyer, with Turkey's National Commission to UNESCO as well as a campaigner and advocate during the Bosnian War. She was involved in drafting the Turkish Civil Code and Law of Foundations as well as in preparing the legal groundwork for the chapters on Religious Freedoms, Minorities and Community Foundations within the Framework Law of Harmonization prepared by Turkey in preparation for EU accession. She has published articles on human rights, women's rights, minority rights, children's rights, animal rights and the fight against drugs. She is a member of the former Wise Persons Commission in Turkey, established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan, and sits on the Board of Trustees of the Technical University and the Darulacaze Foundation.



Dr. Edel Hughes:

Dr Edel Hughes is Senior Lecturer at University of East London, UK. Prior to joining the University of East London, Edel was awarded an LL.M. and a PhD in International Human Rights Law from the National University of Ireland, Galway, in 2003 and 2009, respectively. Between 2006 and 2011 she was a Lecturer in Law at the School of Law, University of Limerick, Ireland.



Prof Dr Ahmet İnsel:

Professor Ahmet İnsel is a former faculty member of Galatasaray University in Istanbul, Turkey and Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne University, France. He is Managing Editor of the Turkish editing house Iletisim and member of the editorial board of monthly review Birikim. He is a regular columnist at Cumhuriyet newspaper and an author who published several books and articles in Turkish and French languages.



Avila Kilmurray: A founder member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition and was part of the Coalition's negotiating team for the Good Friday Agreement. She has written extensively on community action, the women's movement and conflict transformation. Serves on the Board of Conciliation Resources (UK); the Global Fund for Community Foundations; Conflict Resolution Services Ireland and the Institute for British Irish Studies. Avila was the first Women's Officer for the Transport & General Workers Union for Ireland (1990-1994) and became Director of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland in 1994. Avila was awarded the Raymond Georis Prize for Innovative Philanthropy through the European Foundation Centre.



Joost Lagendijk:

Joost Lagendijk is a columnist for the Turkish dailies Zaman and Today's Zaman and a lecturer at the Suleyman Shah University, Istanbul, Turkey. He has authored and edited a number of books on the EU, European policies and modern Turkey. From 1998 to 2009 he was a member of the European Parliament (EP) for the Dutch Green-Left party. In the EP he focused on foreign policy and EU enlargement and served as the chairman of the parliaments' Turkey Delegation and as rapporteur for the parliament on the Balkans and Kosovo. From 2009 to 2012 he worked as a senior adviser at the Istanbul Policy Center in Istanbul, Turkey.



Dr Salomón Lerner Febres: Professor Salomón Lerner Febres holds a PhD in Philosophy from Université Catholique de Louvain. He is Executive President of the Center for Democracy and Human Rights at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and Rector Emeritus of Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. He is former President of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru. Professor Lerner has given many talks and speeches about the role and the nature of the university, the problems of scholar research in higher education and about ethics and public culture. Furthermore, he has participated in numerous conferences in Peru and other countries about violence and pacification. In addition, he has been a speaker and panellist in multiple workshops and symposiums about the work and findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru.



Prof. Ram Manikkalingam:

Professor Ram Manikkalingam is Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands. He served as Senior Advisor to the President of Sri Lanka. He is an expert on issues pertaining to conflict, multiculturalism and democracy, and has authored multiple works on these topics. He is founding board member of the Laksham Kadirgamar Institute for Strategic Studies and International Relations, Colombo, Sri Lanka.



Bejan Matur:

Bejan Matur is a renowned Turkey-based author and poet. She has published ten works of poetry and prose. In her writing she focuses mainly on Kurdish politics, the Armenian issue, minority issues, prison literature and women's rights. She has won several literary prizes and her work has been translated into over 28 languages. She was formerly Director of the Diyarbakır Cultural Art Foundation (DKSV).



Monica McWilliams: Professor of Women's Studies. based in the Transitional Justice Institute at the University of Ulster. Was the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission from 2005 2011 and responsible for delivering the advice on a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. Cofounder of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition political party and was elected to a seat at the Multi-Party Peace Negotiations, which led to the Belfast (Good Friday) Peace Agreement in 1998. Served as a member of the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly from 1998-2003 and the Northern Ireland Forum for Dialogue and Understanding from 1996-1998. Publications focus on domestic violence, human security and the role of women in peace processes.



Mark Muller QC:

Mark Muller QC is a senior advocate at Doughty Street Chambers (London) and the Scottish Faculty of Advocates (Edinburgh). He specialises in public international law and human rights. He has many years' experience of advising on conflict resolution, mediation, ceasefire and power-sharing and first-hand experience of a number of conflict zones, including Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq and Syria. Since 2005 he is Senior Advisor to the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Beyond Conflict and Inter Mediate. He is also a Harvard Law School Fellow and former Chair of the Bar Human Rights Committee and Head of Rule of Law for the Bar Council. He is the founder of Beyond Borders a Scottish initiative dedicated to fostering peace and international understanding through cultural dialogue. He currently acts as Senior Mediation Expert for the Standby Team of Mediators of the UN Department of Political Affairs.



Giles Portman:

Giles Portman is an experienced British and EU diplomat, having worked for the UK Foreign Office in Brussels, New York, Prague and as Deputy Head of Mission in Ankara; and for the EU's External Action Service as an Adviser to the High Representative, Head of Division for Turkey and Eastern Neighbourhood strategic communications adviser.



Jonathan Powell: Jonathan Powell is founder and CEO of Inter Mediate, an NGO devoted to conflict resolution working in the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia. He was appointed as the UK Official Envoy to Libya by Prime Minister David Cameron in 2014. Jonathan was Chief of Staff to Tony Blair from 1995 to 2007, and from 1997 he was also Chief British Negotiator on Northern Ireland. From 1978 to 79 he was a broadcast journalist with the BBC and Granada TV, and from 1979 to 1994 a British Diplomat.



Sir Kieran Prendergast: Sir Kieran Prendergast served in the British Foreign Office, including in Cyprus, Turkey, Israel, the Netherlands, Kenya and New York. He was later head of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office dealing with Apartheid and Namibia. He is former UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs. He was also Convenor of the Secretary General's Executive Committee on Peace and Security and engaged in peacemaking efforts in Afghanistan, Burundi, Cyprus, the DRC, East Timor, Guatemala, Iraq, the Middle East, Somalia and Sudan.



Rajesh Rai:

Rajesh Rai was called to the Bar in 1993. His areas of expertise include Human Rights Law, Immigration and Asylum Law and Public Law. He is Founding Director of HIC, a community centred NGO based in Cameroon, and of Human Energy (Uganda) Ltd. He was previously Director of The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI). He lectures on a wide variety of legal issues, both for the Bar Human Rights Council and internationally in India, Africa, Asia and the USA.



Sir David Reddaway:

Sir David Reddaway now works as an adviser, board member and consultant in the private and university sectors. He previously served as British Ambassador to Turkey and to Ireland; High Commissioner to Canada; UK Special Representative for Afghanistan; and Charge d'Affaires in Iran, where he had first worked during the Iranian Revolution. He has also worked in Argentina, India and Spain. He was a Fellow at Harvard University and a volunteer teacher in Ethiopia. He read History at Cambridge and Persian at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.



Prof. Naomi Roht-Arriaza:

Professor Naomi Roht-Arriaza is Distinguished Professor of Law at, San Francisco, USA. She is an expert on transitional justice, human rights violations, international criminal law and global environmental issues, and has authored several works on these issues.



Prof. Dr. Mithat Sancar:

Professor Dr Mithat Sancar was formerly Professor of Law at the University of Ankara, Turkey. He is an expert on constitutional citizenship and transitional justice. He has written extensively on international human rights law and constitutional issues. He is a member of the former Wise Persons Commission in Turkey, established by then Prime Minister Erdoğan. In Turkey's 2015 general election he was elected as an MP for Mardin Province.



Catherine Woollard:

Catherine Woollard is an independent consultant based in Brussels. Previously she served as the Director of the Brussels Office of Independent Diplomat, and from 2008 to 2014 she was the Executive Director of the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) -aBrussels-based network of not-for-profit organisations working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding. She previously held the positions of Director of Policy, Communications and Comparative Learning Conciliation Resources, Senior Programme at Coordinator (South East Europe/CIS/Turkey) at Transparency International and Europe/Central Asia Programme Coordinator at Minority Rights Group International. She has also worked as a consultant advising governments on anti-corruption and governance reform, as a lecturer in political science, teaching and researching on the EU and international politics, and for the UK civil service.



Prof. Dr. Sevtap Yokuş:

Professor Dr Sevtap Yokuş is a Professor of Law at the University of Kemerburgaz, Istanbul, Turkey. She holds a PhD in Public Law from the Faculty of Law, Istanbul University, awarded in 1995 for her thesis which assessed the state of emergency regime in Turkey with reference to the European Convention on Human Rights. She is a widely published expert in the areas of Constitutional Law and Human Rights and has multiple years' experience of working as a university lecturer at undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level. She also has experience of working as a lawyer in the European Court of Human Rights. Since 2009 she has been contributing to the ongoing work to prepare a new constitution in Turkey.



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