

DPI Roundtable Meeting: "Keeping dialogue alive -How to get a process back on track in the aftermath of a major crisis?"

The Irish experience from a gendered perspective



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DPI Roundtable Meeting: "Keeping dialogue alive -How to get a process back on track in the aftermath of a major crisis?" The Irish experience from a gendered perspective

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7-11 October 2016, Dublin, Dundalk and Belfast

Summary Report

Foreword

The following is a summary of the discussions that took place during DPI's recent roundtable meeting in Ireland, which comprised a series of talks that took place in Dublin, Dundalk and Belfast from 7 to 11 October 2016. The visit focussed on addressing the topic of 'How to get a process back on track in the aftermath of a major crisis?' It explored this question in the context of the Irish experience of conflict resolution, and from a gendered perspective.

This meeting followed on from DPI's last event, which took place in Kızılcahamam, Ankara, on the weekend of the 15-17 July 2016, addressing the topic of women's incorporation and integration in peace processes and conflict resolution. This previous meeting occurred during extraordinary circumstances in Turkey, with the attempted military coup happening on the first night of the activity (15 July) and related events unfolding in the days that followed. Despite this extremely challenging

context, it was unanimously agreed that further exploration of the topic of women's role in maintaining dialogue during challenging times is particularly necessary at this time in Turkey and that a follow up activity should take place on this subject. The roundtable meeting in Ireland fulfils this need to support dialogue in Turkey, and addresses the means through which women can bring a process back on track in the aftermath of a major crisis. The Institute hopes to carry out further activities in the coming months focusing on related topics as part of its Turkey programme.

DPI's activities are consistently held under the Chatham House Rule. In the interest of transparency, a full transcript of the October 2016 roundtable meeting is available to the public. Please contact info@ democraticprogress.org for further information.

DPI has published several papers on some of key topics addressed. These include a research paper on how to get a peace process back on track after a crisis, and a briefing on Northern Ireland's recent Fresh Start Agreement. Other research papers on the subject of conflict resolution, and all previous DPI activity reports, can be found on the Institute's website: www.democraticprogress.org.



DPI Participants visit Ballymascanlon House Hotel, Dundalk, for a roundtable meeting with former Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern

Context: Dialogue and exchange following a major crisis

This activity took place during an extremely challenging time in Turkey's political climate. In the aftermath of a failed military coup, and with the political, economic and social impacts of the Syrian conflict on its border, Turkey faces an uncertain future. Most recently, thousands of individuals have been purged from their positions due to suspected links with Fethullah Gulen, thought to be the main perpetrators behind the attempted military coup. Polarisation throughout society consequently remains high, and there is continued violence in the south-east of the country. Islamic State (IS) has also claimed responsibility for several

deadly attacks in Ankara and Istanbul this year. Amidst this demanding environment, the Kurdish resolution process remains "parked". In order for dialogue to resume there is a need for confidence building measures on both sides.

It is in this context that DPI arranged for a group of female delegates from Turkey to come together in Ireland. Importantly, participants from very different ends of the political spectrum were given the opportunity to meet in a neutral environment, away from the political climate within Turkey, and away from the glare of the media and of parliament. This distance created a "safe space" within which delegates could learn from the many experiences of the Irish conflict and the peace process. It also allowed delegates to express diverging perspectives regarding their own situation in a frank and open manner.

DPI accordingly identified the need for a platform for relevant dialogue and discussion. The meetings that took place during this four day visit to Ireland focused on the ways in which to bring a process 'back on track' when it is facing significant difficulties at extraordinary circumstances. The troubles associated with the Irish peace process, and the continuing post-conflict divisions within society, were recognised and discussed in relation to Turkey's resolution process today.



DPI Participants outside the Northern Ireland Assembly Building in Stormont, Belfast

'I've spent fourteen and a half years going to EU Council meetings and one thing I will say is how pivotal Europe regarded Turkey as being as part of the solution to the conflict that is taking place in the wider region.' – Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs

In addition, this visit maintained a focus on the gendered perspective, analysing the specific challenges and experiences of women in the Northern Ireland conflict, and the subsequent peace process. Issues surrounding gender are central to the work of DPI. The Institute has consistently worked to increase the role of women, and awareness of gendered perspectives in peacebuilding activities. We have held activities in Turkey, Ireland, the Philippines, South Africa, and Colombia, that have concentrated on the gendered effects and experiences of conflict, and the role of women in conflict resolution. These visits complement our ongoing gender focused research on topics such as the implementation of UNSCR 1325, women and DDR processes, and gender and transitional justice, among 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.

The roundtable in Ireland expanded the scope for dialogue on issues and challenges relevant to Turkey today. In order to understand how to get a process back on track in the aftermath of a major crisis, lessons were learnt from the Irish experience of conflict resolution. Significantly, politicians who were actively involved in peace negotiations, including former Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Bertie Ahern and former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs Dermot Ahern, were consulted to recount the ways in which obstacles had been overcome in Ireland, and the peace process – which at the time seemed intractable – sustained, despite difficulties such as spoilers and renewed violence.

Delegates also met with various academics and practitioners from areas of gender and conflict, gender and transitional justice, and gender and international law. Notably, participants met with two key actors who were actively involved in the resolution process in Northern Ireland: Bronagh Hinds and Jane Morrice of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. Both Bronagh and Jane were early members of the Coalition, and they spoke of the imperative role played by women in bringing the peace process back on track, and of involving civil society in conflict resolution efforts. Participants were therefore able to ascertain what the Irish experience from a gendered perspective entailed, and used the valuable lessons and insights shared as a basis for further discussion and reflection throughout the visit.



Bronwyn McGahan, former prisoner, Sinn Fein politician and MLA of the Northern Ireland Assembly, meeting with DPI participants in Belfast

In order to allow our delegates a community-level perspective of the effects of the Irish conflict and peace process, roundtable meetings were also arranged with former women political prisoners and a former British Army soldier. These speakers provided our participants with a more encompassing understanding of how different levels of society responded to, and were impacted by, both the conflict and the post-conflict political and social environment. These meetings highlighted to our participants that a peace process necessitates the sustained participation of various different kinds of actors within a society to succeed.

Themes

Key themes addressed throughout the visit include the incorporation of women into a peace process and the post-conflict transition process; the role of women as mediators and backchannels within the choreography of a peace process (examining in particular the experiences and architecture of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition); gender-specific provisions within international law and the role of UNSCR 1325 in Ireland's National Action Plan; the role of civil society (including business representatives) and the media in supporting a peace process and postconflict reconciliation; DDR and SSR (including the role of international third parties in overseeing decommissioning and verification processes); and legislative and constitutional reform (including questions relating to governance and power sharing).

Participants

The meeting was attended by Turkish and Kurdish participants from different parts of Turkey. Their positions encompassed Members of Parliament from each of the main parties (AK Party, CHP and HDP); senior advisors including the chief advisor to the President; well known media representatives; human rights lawyers; civil society representatives including former members of Turkey's wise persons commission; renowned academics; and prominent members of the business community. In addition, a number of international Ambassadors and diplomatic guests kindly attended a dinner reception with our participants in support of the visit, and DPI's work. Other topics discussed include questions of identity and culture; women's political representation in Ireland; and the roles and relationship of the British and Irish governments both in the context of the Northern Ireland peace process, and today. Significantly, given the results of the recent referendum in the United Kingdom, the potential implications of 'Brexit' on the Northern Irish peace agreement were also discussed in the context of borders, security and identity.

Lessons learned - the Irish experience

In keeping with the theme of the visit, a great deal of attention was given to understanding how to get a process back on track, specifically in the aftermath of a major crisis. The Canary Wharf bombing of 1996 was discussed as an example of this in the Irish context, with speakers sharing on the importance of continuing the process in spite of attempts to derail it by the breaking of a ceasefire. Bertie Ahern, former Taoiseach of Ireland, emphasised to our participants that in order to establish a new ceasefire in 1997, the terms of agreement were consequently laid down in clearer and more comprehensive terms by the Irish and British governments. Significantly, these 'ground rules' built a stronger foundation upon which the peace process remained intact. The need to be as *inclusive* as possible in terms of the parties to the negotiations was underlined: if those who are involved in the conflict are not involved in the negotiations, they will not feel themselves bound to the final agreement. The importance of dialogue and understanding of the motivations of other parties was therefore considered fundamental to the successful resolution of conflict.

'How did we resolve [the conflict]? It took patience. It was 99% perseverance and 1% inspiration.' – Bertie Ahern, former Taoiseach of Ireland and chief negotiator of the Good Friday Agreement



Bertie Ahern, former Taoiseach, meets with DPI participants for a roundtable meeting in his former constituency Drumcondra

In addition, Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs reaffirmed to our participants that courage, determination and persistence is crucial to the success of a peace process. He discussed the importance of <u>confidence building measures</u> to build trust between parties, and to keep them engaged in a peace process. A founding principles of the GFA; 'nothing is agreed until everything is agreed', was also discussed at the negotiating table. This allowed for greater honesty and discussion between parties, and strengthened the sustainability of the peace agreement. 'No matter how bad our peace process got, the one thing we learned was that rather than recoiling from it, you have to redouble your efforts and swallow very hard.' – Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs

DPI's roundtable meeting had an intended focus on the Irish conflict from a gendered perspective. The *role of women in negotiations and in* maintaining a peace process was therefore a prominent and reoccurring theme throughout the visit, with a particular emphasis on 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. Jane Morrice and Bronagh Hinds, founding members of the NIWC, spoke of the necessity of the NIWC's position at the negotiating table for the inclusion of women in the peace process. Importantly, the founding principles of the NIWC – equality, inclusion, and support for human rights - enabled the Coalition to bridge the political divide. As a result, the Coalition was able to serve as a channel of communication between the different parties to the conflict during difficult periods. Consequently, the NIWC was recognised as a force capable of building consensus on political issues as well as issues important to civil society (including the development of local communities, the role of women, human rights, integrated education, and victims).

'They called us the lesbian party. They put labels on us, it was not easy. At the beginning they didn't take us seriously, at the end when they realised we were serious, they made sure we didn't get re-elected.' – Jane Morrice, member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition



Jane Morrice, member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, at a meeting with DPI participants in Belfast

'As women we decided to challenge the type of politics, demonization and hateful language that was going on in the political process. NIWC deliberately went out to address that kind of message.' – Bronagh Hinds, founding member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, and Senior Associate of DemocraShe



DPI participants with former political prisoners and Sinn Fein MLAs, Bronwyn McGahan and Rosie McCorley at Stormont

'We were like a microcosm of what was happening at the peace negotiations. But we were all women. And we were more prepared to compromise and build consensus, because we cared about different things.' – Jane Morrice, member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition

<u>UN Security Council Resolution 1325</u> was discussed to illustrate the Irish conflict from a gendered perspective. It was also addressed in the context of the Irish government's work to incorporate the resolution in today's post-conflict environment. Participants learned about the Irish government's second National Action Plan (2015-2018) from John Gilroy, a representative from the Conflict Resolution Unit in the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs. The NAP was established in Ireland for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and it's commitments to women's peace and security has so far been distinct in its focus on women at home *and* abroad. In addition, the NAP recognises the shrinking space available to civil society on issues related to UNSCR 1325, and utilises their reach by integrating over 100 civil society and academic participants into the monitoring and implementation of the plan. Significantly, the NAP provides coherence and consistency to the government's implementation of UNSCR 1325. Questions were answered pertaining to the creation of the NAP by stressing the importance of strong political will.



DPI participants at a dinner reception at the Shelbourne Hotel with diplomatic guests, including John Gilroy of the Irish Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade

'It is striking how much consensus there is around women's equality and the empowerment of women and girls today. These aren't the divisive issues they may have been a few years ago.' – John Gilroy, Conflict Resolution Unit, Irish Department of Foreign Affairs

Participants recognised the diverse <u>roles played by civil society</u> in supporting the peace process in Northern Ireland, with a particular focus on former prisoners, the media, and prominent business leaders. The importance of public ownership over a peace process was emphasised by examining the role played by public consultations across Northern Ireland. In particular, the Community Dialogue publications were analysed as a mechanism for building trust between divided communities and encouraging support for peace. Former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern highlighted the significance of the role played by civil society by indicating that their efforts influenced politicians to make the necessary compromises. Speakers from exprisoners network Coiste were also met with, including Mary Ellen Campbell, Deputy Lord Mayor of Belfast, and Lee Davis, a former British Army soldier, who spoke about their roles during the conflict, and their efforts to encourage post-conflict reconciliation.

For both of these individuals to speak to our participants together about their opposing roles during the conflict was highly significant. These peace activists demonstrated to our participants the ability of bottom-up civil society initiatives to contribute to the peace process and post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In addition, the transition of Mary Ellen Campbell from political prisoner to local government representative illustrates the changing role of women in the Northern Irish context. Examining the role played by civil society ultimately underscored the necessity of having complementing interventions at different levels in order to achieve peace.



Mary Ellen Campbell, former political prisoner and now first woman Deputy Lord Mayor of Belfast, and Lee Lavis, former British army soldier now working in cross community initiatives, meet with DPI participants in Belfast for a roundtable meeting

'On my release [from prison] I became re-involved in Republican activities and have spent the last few years working to maintain the peace process on the ground. This includes working with young people and telling them what prison is really like, because many Republican prisoners will tell you prison is a good place.' – Mary Ellen Campbell, former Republican prisoner, city councillor for North Belfast, deputy Lord Mayor of Belfast

<u>The role of international third parties</u>, 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 with regards to their influence on

<u>DDR</u>. Discussion centred on the criteria necessary to selecting a third party and the ways in which third parties can assist in providing structure to a peace process, as well as in relation to accountability and verification. Importantly, Dermot Ahern highlighted how the role of third parties in the Irish context internationalised the peace process, which made it a priority on the global stage. This internationalisation by the US and the EU not only encouraged peace negotiations, but also provided the necessary funding to allow for sustainable peace in Northern Ireland.



DPI participants with Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in Dundalk

'One of the big issues that we had to try and resolve were the arms. As part of the agreement there was an international commission set up with a Canadian army general in charge. His job was to go to the paramilitary groups and negotiate where their arms were in order to verify them. There was no man, English or Irish, alive or dead, that could have done that job... The only person who could fill this role was an international figure. It's not a question of ego when needing outside help, it's a question of practicalities.' – Bertie Ahern, former Taoiseach of Ireland

Legislative and constitutional aspects of the process were discussed at length with a number of speakers, including Lyndon Hughes-Jennett of the British Government's Northern Ireland Office, and Professor Rick Willard of Queen's University, Belfast at the George Mitchell Institute. The principles of power sharing and devolution were identified as the cornerstones of Northern Ireland's political dispensation. Participants discussed the positive impact of these principles on the Northern Irish peace process, and discussed the complexities of the contemporary relationship between the Northern Ireland Assembly and Westminster. Post-conflict legal processes and reform were discussed with regards to equality and discrimination, including questions of policing and <u>SSR</u> (security sector reform). Significantly, these aspects were analysed from a gendered perspective, and it was noted that female representation in Northern Ireland is still lacking. For example, our speakers illustrated how the entire senior leadership of the police in Northern Ireland is male. In addition, many of our speakers recognised that segregation is still a pertinent issue in Northern Ireland. The importance of legislative reform to create mixed housing and integrated education is regarded as fundamental to overcoming the persistent divisions in society. The absence of a truth and reconciliation process in Northern Ireland is another obstacle to establishing sustainable peace. Finally, the significance of the 1998 referendum was emphasised, and its technicalities were covered at length.

'One of the reasons the Good Friday Agreement was successful was that it was voted on by the people, and this was the first time that all of the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland had voted on an agreement. That gave supremacy to the agreement. The agreement was now no longer the government's agreement, but the people's agreement. The Good Friday Agreement was the most read agreement in the whole of Ireland.' – Former Taoiseach of Ireland, Bertie Ahern



DPI participants with Professor Rick Willard of Queen's University Belfast, and Bronagh Hinds, senior associate at DemocraShe, and former member of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition following a roundtable meeting hosted by the George Mitchell Institute at Queen's University

'Participative democracy is so important. The referendum held in 1998 was a watershed moment in the peace process... The Good Friday Agreement is all about relationships and all about equality.' - Professor Rick Willard, Queen's University, Belfast

Meetings took place on the significance of *language, identity and culture* in conflict and conflict resolution processes. 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. Participants engaged with the perspectives offered by both communities, and subsequently discussed

ongoing questions on role of identity in the conflict resolution process. This dialogue allowed for a deeper understanding of the issues still affecting the people of Northern Ireland today, including economic factors, commemorative events, anniversaries and parades.



DPI participants sign the peace wall in Belfast's interface area on Shankill Road

'The morality of any peace is complex. Everybody that's wounded sees their pain in a black and white way... Those tensions still continue. Some people still believe that the peace here is fundamentally wrong. We try to answer that by trying to have complex truths come out, and we try to complicate things like identity and morality.' – Riuri de Burca, Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, Belfast



DPI participant with a Republican former political prisoner and community worker in front of a mural depicting Bobby Sands on the Falls Road in Belfast

Governmental relations between the United Kingdom 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 that have contributed to the continuation of the peace process despite challenges. Issues pertaining to trade and migration, public policy, the role of the EU, and acknowledging the past, were all identified, and Brexit raised fears of the political and economic implications of the recent referendum to leave the European Union on the peace agreement and the post-conflict environment in Northern Ireland. The uncertainty surrounding 'Brexit' has brought up the question of borders and culture in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and hate crime has increased since the referendum. This insecurity arguably puts the peace agreement at risk, and increases the possibility of further violence. In addition, speakers shared that negotiations on Brexit between the British and Northern Irish government are limited, which has increased feelings of exclusion in Northern Ireland.



Lyndon Hughes-Jennett of the Northern Ireland Office speaks to DPI participants at Stormont House

'What we fear from Brexit is that there will be some element of a hard border back here.' – Dermot Ahern, former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking about the impact of Brexit

Creating a platform for continued dialogue

Despite the challenging circumstances in Turkey, this roundtable meeting was still attended by participants from across Turkey's diverse political spectrum. Participants were engaged in learning about the Irish experiences of conflict and its peaceful resolution, and the integral role played by women in assisting peace efforts. Such high levels of attendance clearly demonstrate DPI's unique ability to convene individuals and groups for a positive learning experience.

The roundtable meeting took place over four 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; international diplomats; and former Taoiseach of Ireland, Bertie Ahern. The delegation then travelled to Dundalk, to meet with former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dermot Ahern, before spending the second half of the visit in Belfast. In Belfast participants met with renowned historians and political experts from Irish universities; two founding members of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; female political representatives from Sinn Fein; 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; a former British Army soldier; and experts in gender and transitional justice.

'I have learned many things, and it has helped us get rid of many prejudices and incorrect history, and we managed to get rid of our blindfolds. So we have a healthier perspective now.' – DPI Participant



DPI participants with DPI Chief Executive Officer, Kerim Yildiz, at an internal evaluation meeting in Dublin

The roundtable consisted of an internal evaluation meeting, in which all of the participants shared their learnings and perspectives on the visit, and their plans for further developing and sharing the lessons learned. There was great interest in the role of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, and it was recognised as a hugely successful political party that supported the peace process during difficult times and stalemates.

Many questions focussed on the technicalities and the challenges faced by the NIWC, 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 clarified how the principles of the coalition – inclusion, equality and human rights – allowed it to play an objective role, and to focus on bringing key issues relating to women's rights and human rights to the negotiating table during the peace process.

'I would like to thank DPI for giving this inspiration to us. If we didn't come here, we wouldn't have this perception that there could be such common understanding between women.' – DPI Participant

Other topics of particular interest include the integration of civil society into the peace process. Participants discussed the need to engage with business leaders, NGOs, and media representatives within Turkey, in order to increase public support for conflict resolution. Finally, there was considerable interest in the National Action Plan, which implemented UNSCR 1325 across Ireland. Participants recognised the advantages provided by the NAP as it allowed a framework in which relevant issues pertaining to the role of women in conflict and conflict resolution could be adequately addressed.

'I think there is a practical mind with women, they are results-oriented and they look for the right things to do. That's why our meetings have become continuous meetings.' – DPI Participant

Outcomes of the visit

This visit has had a significant impact in Turkey, and it has been deemed a success by all the participants. This is largely due to the relevance of the issues at play within the Irish experience and their similarities with Turkey's current situation. In particular, the peace process in Ireland exemplifies the challenges associated with sustaining dialogue between conflicting parties, and bringing negotiations back on track following a time of major crisis. In addition, the role of women across all levels of society is demonstrated to be of the utmost importance in maintaining dialogue at all levels of society. This visit underlines the necessity of providing a "safe space" for participants from different views and backgrounds to come together, to converse, and to build valuable relationships across the political spectrum, in a way that might not usually be possible in the conflict environment.

'DPI is an important initiative, and an important NGO, and in the future it will become even more important.' - DPI Participant

The positive effects of this roundtable meeting are also visible through the publicity it has received. Participants actively reported the visit on social media, and a number of Turkish articles have also been published. Significantly, the case of Ireland remains a rich source of knowledge and experience in Turkey, and it is frequently referred to when discussing issues of timing and choreography in a peace process, questions of DDR and SSR, 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. Consequently, upon their return participants will brief their respective parties and constituencies on the meeting in detail, ensuring that learnings are disseminated directly, and in a useful manner, to others. We hope that this understanding and publicity will continue to engender further dialogue on key topics, beyond the visit and among Turkey's public in general.

'We had a conflict for thirty years, we know how far we've come, but nobody is learning our lessons. We think the European Union should create some sort of protectorate for Northern Ireland and launch a new peacebuilding programme in Northern Ireland that teaches the lessons of peacebuilding.' – Jane Morrice, founding member of Northern Ireland Women's Coalition



DPI participants in front of the Assembly Building, Stormont, Belfast

This is the fifth visit carried out by DPI with a particular focus on gender and conflict. All of the participants who attended were women, and all of them saw this as an opportunity to learn about the experiences of women in Ireland, in relation to the conflict and its resolution. Much inspiration and technical knowledge was gained through meeting with women actors involved in the peace process in particular, and this has led to discussion taking place among the group, on ways in which to continue the dialogue following the group's return to Turkey. Participants are keen to explore the possibility of working together across parties and political perspectives, and to continue in their pursuit to take part in other platforms for dialogue. DPI will endeavour to support these steps as much as possible.

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 relevant to Turkey today. The fact that the Northern Ireland peace process is ongoing, and that it continues to address issues related to implementation, dealing with the legacy of the past, and power sharing, is significant in that it 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. It will also continue to draw on the ever relevant and valuable case of the Northern Ireland peace process in relation to the Institute's Turkey programme.

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Annex 1: Participants

Turkey based participants

| Name | Position | Affiliation |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| Mr Eren Buğlalılar | Interpreter | |
| Ms Esra Elmas | İstanbul Bilgi Univer- sity 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 Committee | Wise Persons Committee |
| Ms Balçiçek İlter | TV Programmer | Habertürk |
| Ms Filiz Bedirhanoğlu | Deputy Chairwoman of DİSİAD | |
| Ms Gülseren Onanç | Member of Party As- sembly | Republican People's Party (CHP) |
| Ms Şenal Sarıhan | Member of Parliament for Ankara | Republican People's Party (CHP) |
| Ms Çağlar Demirel | Member of Parliament for Diyarbakir | People's Democratic Party (HDP) |
| Ms Zeynep Alkış | Deputy Director of Political and Legal Affairs and Member of CDAC | Justice and Develop- ment Party (AK Party) |

| Sevtap Yokuş | | Kemerburgaz University |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| Ms Özlem Zengin | Chief Advisor and Former Head, AK Party Women Istanbul Branch | President Erdoğan's Office |

Speakers and Guests

| Name | Position | Affiliation |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Mr Dermot Ahern | Former Minister for Foreign Affairs | Irish Government |
| Mr Lyndon Hughes-Jennett | Engagement Group | Northern Ireland Office, British Government |
| Mr Bertie Ahern | Former Taoiseach (Prime Minister) | Irish Government |
| Ms Bronagh Hinds | Senior Associate at DemocraShe, former member of Northern Ireland Women's Coali- tion | Northern Ireland Government |
| Ms Brownyn McGahan | Former prisoner, MLA at Northern Ireland As- sembly | Sinn Fein Party |
| Ms Rosie Mc- Corley | Former prisoner, MLA at Northern Ireland As- sembly | Sinn Fein Party |
| Mr Michael Culbert | Director | Coiste n n-larchimí, ex-prisoners network |
| Mr Ciaran Buyrne | | Irish Department of Foreign Affairs |

| Mr Zeki Güler | Councillor of Turkish Embassy in Dublin | Turkish Government |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Ms Eleanor Johnson | Deputy Director | Democratic Progress Institute |
| Mr Riuri de Burca | | Irish Department of Foreign Affairs |
| Mr John Gilroy | Conflict Resolution Unit | Irish Department of Foreign Affairs |
| Ms Mary Ellen Campbell | Former prisoner, Deputy Lord Mayor of Belfast | Northern Ireland Go- vernment |
| Mr Lee Davis | Former British Army soldier | |
| Prof. Rick Willard | Professor of Politics | Queen's University, Belfast |
| Mr Tom Kluck | Deputy Head of Mis- sion | Netherlands Embassy |
| Ms 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 | Northern Ireland Go- vernment |
| Mr Kerim Yildiz | Chief Executive Officer | Democratic Progress Institute |

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

Annex 3: The Good Friday Agreement - An Overview Download here.

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

Annex 5: Getting a Peace Process Back on Track After a Crisis

Download here.
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 a 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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