Setting Aside the ‘Others’: Non-Aligned Minorities in Power Sharing Peace Agreements

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‘Inclusive’ Peace Agreements

- Inclusive political settlements seen as a response to violence in fragile and conflict-affected states by policymakers and practitioners

- Peace agreements a part of political settlement process

- ‘Peace agreements document agreement between warring parties in an attempt to end the conflict and establish politics as an alternative to military violence’ (Bell and O’Rourke, 2010)
Local Minorities Dilemma

‘The moment one community comprises above 50% of the total population, that unit becomes theirs...minority rights might be respected, yet community preference will be the rule rather than the exception. In this respect, ‘minorities’ (nationally) do not ‘behave’ better than the ‘majority’ where they are locally dominant’

(Ragaru, 2008:25)
Minority Provisions in Power-Sharing Peace Agreements

- General/aspirational
- Rights-based institutions
- Rights-based mechanisms/processes
- Promises of effective participation
- Specific inclusion mechanisms

(Lekha Sriram, 2013)
Introducing PA-X

Approx. 1500 agreements across 100 jurisdictions, from 1990-2015

Pre-negotiation, ceasefire, comprehensive, renewal, and implementation

Qualitative team double-coding methodology

Publishing in 2018
Sample and Methodology

- Peace agreements in PA-X are coded along 150 categories, including for power-sharing provisions

- Filtered categories for agreements which provide for territorial power sharing, and sub-state political power sharing, in agreements addressing conflict with a territorial element

- Cross referenced with UCDP conflict dyads and EPR ethnic conflict datasets to identify aligned minorities, with secondary literature

- Dataset of sub-state power sharing provisions in 42 peace agreements from 18 conflicts
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Entity</th>
<th>Elements of sub-state power sharing with explicit reference to non-aligned minorities</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh / Chittagong Hills Tract</td>
<td>Proportionality in legislature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina / Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>Executive coalition, proportionality in legislature</td>
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<td>India / Bodoland</td>
<td>Executive coalition, proportionality in legislature, segmental autonomy</td>
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<td>India / Darjeeling</td>
<td>Proportionality in legislature</td>
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<td>Philippines / Mindanao</td>
<td>Proportionality in legislature</td>
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<td>Somalia / Jubba / Mudug / Galadug</td>
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</table>
Agreement between the National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts, 2\textsuperscript{nd} December 1997

B) (Kha) 3. “Non-tribal permanent residents” shall mean a person who is not a tribal but has legal land in the hill district and generally lives in the hill district at a specific address.

B) (Kha) 4. d)...Whether a person is a non-tribal shall be determined, along with the identity of non-tribal community to which he belongs, by the concerned Circle Chief on the provision of submission of certificate from concerned Headman/Pourasabha chairman/Union Parishad chairman and no person can be a candidate for the office of the non-tribal member without a certificate from the concerned Circle Chief in this regard.
Final Agreement on the Implementation of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front, 2\textsuperscript{nd} September 1996

A. 25. There shall be sectoral representatives in the Legislative Assembly [of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao] whose number shall not exceed 15\% of the total number of elected Members of the Legislative Assembly coming from the labor, disabled, industrial, indigenous cultural communities, youth, women, non-government organizations, agricultural and other such sectors...

Annex on Power-Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, 8\textsuperscript{th} December 2013

Part Two, 2. The Bangsamoro Assembly shall be representative of the Bangsamoro’s constituent political units, as well as non-Moro indigenous communities, women, settler communities and other sectors. The Bangsamoro Basic Law shall ensure that representation in the assembly reflects the diversity of the Bangsamoro.

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Conclusion

• Non-aligned minorities are barely noticeable in power-sharing peace agreements; however, there are some cases where they are explicitly included in sub-state institutions

• Forms early inquiry into broader inclusion of minorities in political settlements – going beyond the text to peace processes and implementation

• How do these agreements address the new/spatial minority dilemma in other ways?

• Descriptive versus substantive inclusion
Thank you for your attention