Beyond Political Transitions: Promoting Peaceful Democratic Openings Through Strategic Foresight

NOVEMBER 2022
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INTRODUCTION

Political transitions are not only a cornerstone of peaceful and democratic societies but are also inherently vulnerable to conflict and instability. During a transitional moment in a country’s trajectory, systemic political challenges and unresolved grievances collide with rising public expectations, which leaders and transition processes often fail to meet. In unstable environments where governing authority is contested, elites, politicians, and even armed actors can be incentivized to fill the power vacuum with their own political agendas by widening nationalist or intercommunal divides, sometimes resulting in extreme polarization and violence.

Fragile and conflict-affected states are particularly susceptible to pitfalls associated with political transitions as they already suffer from a host of preexisting challenges, including low social cohesion, institutionalized violence, economic deprivation, and weak state structures. As a political transition unfolds, countries may fail to unify a fragmented national identity and instead reinforce marginalization through political reform. In these circumstances, the risk of a return to authoritarianism and conflict is heightened. Nevertheless, a transition offers an unparalleled opportunity to transform political and conflict dynamics in a positive way, despite the profound challenges facing fragile contexts.

Anticipating and mitigating conflict associated with a transitional period is critical to ensuring that democracy can flourish rather than be caught in cycles of conflict. Even after a political transition takes place, consolidating gains, delivering on expectations, and strengthening political processes are essential to ensuring democratic norms take hold. Research has shown that citizen-centered governance reduces the risk of conflict recurrence. Given that executive overreach is often a key determinant of whether countries get caught in the conflict after civil war, building strong democratic institutions is a key priority for stakeholders in fragile contexts that are emerging from a political transition.

The Purpose of this Toolkit

This toolkit was developed by the International Republican Institute (IRI) to equip local democratic actors with the tools and resources to forecast, diagnose, and mitigate flashpoints for conflict during a political transition. Importantly, this resource is future-oriented, combining contextual conflict analysis with potential scenarios in order to help democratic actors develop more context-aware interventions. The goal of this toolkit is to facilitate a coordinated whole-of-society response in which democratic actors can elaborate a roadmap that details actions to push a transition in a more democratic and peaceful direction. The expectation is that these actions will be responsive to current and future political developments in the relevant transitional context. This toolkit is based off lessons learned from pilot activities in Colombia, Guinea, and Sudan.

The toolkit is divided into two main parts:

- **Module 1:** Understanding the Conflict Context. This module will enable workshop participants to frame and analyze conflict. By understanding historical conflict triggers, it will then be possible to anticipate future potential flashpoints.
- **Module 2:** Strategic Foresight Planning. This module will help participants identify flashpoints and indicators of conflict. Participants will then develop strategies to mitigate conflict and support a peaceful transition.

**How to Use this Toolkit**

The toolkit includes a series of workshop exercises that are expected to take two to three days, depending on how many exercises are included when the toolkit is deployed in practice. The sections below provide an overview of how the toolkit is designed to be used, including details on what kind of scenarios this toolkit applies to, participant selection, how long the workshops are expected to take, and other questions.

**When and Where to Use this Toolkit?**

This toolkit is intended to be used in countries or locations undergoing a political transition and which are at risk of fragility or conflict. The term ‘political transition’ is broad, but it can be understood as a shifting political environment within a state in which new institutions, norms, and stakeholders appear to play increasingly decisive roles, growing to shape a new political order. Because the goal of this toolkit is to support civil society actors to advance democracy and prevent violent conflict, it should be deployed in countries or locations that are at risk of conflict, experiencing ongoing conflict, or emerging from conflict. In many cases, while there might not be conflict at the national level, it would be appropriate to use this toolkit on a subnational level or region that is at higher risk than the rest of the country. However, this toolkit is not intended to be used in contexts where there is minimal risk of conflict or fragility.

At the end of the toolkit there is an annex that includes an illustrative agenda. It is highly recommended that the workshop take place on consecutive days to maximize knowledge retention and facilitate relationship-building among participants.

**Workshop Audience**

It is important to have a broad coalition of actors participating in these workshops, not only to maximize the collective knowledge and resources of a broad spectrum of society but also so workshop participants can benefit from the various perspectives of actors implicated in the transition. A vital consideration is to invite participants who represent a range of locally legitimate civil society organizations, political and government actors as well as community and religious leaders and activists. To the greatest degree possible, organizers should ensure that there is gender parity and ethnic, racial, and religious differences included among invited participants.

Certain actors may not be appropriate to include in these settings; however, determining who those actors are often requires a great deal of discretion. For example, in situations where security sector actors are most likely to inflict violence during a political transition, it would not be beneficial to include these individuals. Not only could they use their knowledge of civil society actors’ plans and strategies to disrupt a political transition, but in many cases their very presence could have a substantial chilling effect on the participation of other participants. Because of the large room for interpretation in this guidance, the importance of well-informed research as a foundation for this activity cannot be stressed enough.
KEY TERMS

The following key terms are integral to understanding the ideas presented in the following exercises. They provide a basis of common knowledge that allows for thoughtful engagement and fruitful discussion. Ensure that you understand them fully and decide which terms are important to discuss in the plenary. Reference these terms as needed throughout the workshop. However, this list is non-exhaustive, and throughout the toolkit there are terms and phrases that may be referenced or even defined at length but are not included in this list.

- **Conflict analysis**: identifies the causes, trends, and key actors involved in a conflict in order to identify potential opportunities for peace.4

- **Drivers of conflict**: elements of the system or context that promote or encourage conflict.

- **Flashpoint**: specific triggers of conflict that occur which lead to physical or violent manifestations of conflict.

- **Fragile state**: a state that suffers from weak authority, capacity, and legitimacy; a state that is at an increased risk of failing, marked by a lack of government monopoly on the use of force, decreasing legitimacy, absence of public services, increasing corruption, and systemic inequality and discrimination, among other factors.6

- **Governance**: the myriad ways in which people make and enforce rules to solve public policy problems, and/or collective action problems, whether at a community, national or global level. This entails interactions between the traditions and institutions by which authority is exercised and mediated. Governance can be provided by formal institutions of the state or a host of informal actors who enjoy local legitimacy, such as religious, customary leaders, civil society, or sometimes, armed groups.7

- **Indicator**: a signpost that helps to demonstrate or measure a condition; in this toolkit it is used to identify when a flashpoint for conflict is going to occur or is already happening.8

- **Legitimacy**: the idea that the actors charged with policy-making are widely perceived as having the appropriate rights and authority to make decisions on behalf of the collective community.9 Legitimacy can be understood as the quality of having a moral right to govern or to make decisions on behalf of the community.10 It is important to take into account both conflict and gender-sensitive lenses when examining legitimacy, because often gendered dynamics impact decision-making and governance authority. Further, in conflict-affected contexts, the experience of trauma can impact who is seen as a legitimate actor based off their lived experiences.

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5 Ibid.
9 International Republican Institute, Conflict, Governance, and Legitimacy Assessment Framework.
- **Political Transition**: a shifting political environment within a state in which new institutions, norms, and stakeholders appear to play increasingly decisive roles, potentially growing to shape a new political order.

- **Spoilers**: leaders and parties who perceive an emerging peace as a threat to their power or interests, and who encourage conflict to undermine attempts to achieve it; individuals or groups who benefit from conflict, either economically or politically, and therefore want to block its resolution. Spoilers can be categorized as limited, greedy, or total.\(^{11}\)

- **Strategic foresight**: the technique of considering a range of possible future events and the impact of those events on the broader political context. This technique can be used to develop specific action plans that actors can use to achieve a desired policy goal or end point.

- **Violent conflict**: a situation where a range of groups (even if loose or informal) intentionally use violence as a tool to promote a political agenda. Violent conflict can take many forms, including interpersonal, criminal, communal, and political. It can be used to achieve compliance (with the intent of governing people who are targets of violence) or extermination (to eliminate rivals, defectors, or deserters), or both.\(^{12}\)

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\(^{12}\) International Republican Institute. Conflict, Governance, and Legitimacy Assessment Framework.
The first two exercises will focus on relationships between the participants. Discussion is an integral part of a successful workshop, so it is important that the participants feel welcomed, respected, and comfortable. Exercises 1 and 2 help the participants meet one another and build the structures needed for fruitful and educational dialogue.

These exercises are particularly important as a baseline to understand whether there are socioeconomic, generational, or gender dynamics to be considered throughout the remainder of the workshop. Depending on such dynamics, some participants may be more reluctant to contribute than others. Similarly, biased perceptions could potentially be shared during workshop discussions. It is important to create an environment in which every participant’s voice is heard. To overcome these obstacles, identify ways in which disadvantaged groups could feel comfortable participating. This may involve smaller groups or pairings that allow time for equal contribution. It may also entail ensuring that all participants have an opportunity to present or speak during plenary discussions. Finally, it may be useful to identify openings in discussions where the facilitator can challenge certain notions and promote the importance of inclusion in conflict mitigation efforts. As a facilitator, it is your job to make sure that everyone gets a chance to offer their perspective.

Some participants may have faced traumatic experiences which can trigger various responses. To apply a trauma-informed lens to the training, the facilitator should consider participants’ backgrounds and the workshop’s potential impact on them. It is key to prepare participants for what to expect from a certain exercise or session, including whether it could cover sensitive information, as well as let them know that some discussions are optional. Use the do-no-harm principle to avoid unintentionally creating negative impacts during the training.

**Exercise 1: Meeting the Participants**

The purpose of this exercise is to break the ice and build listening skills and empathy (which are critical to peace and democratization processes). Ask the participants to pair up with someone they haven’t met before to introduce themselves. Interview your partner using the questions below. Be sure to use active listening skills, as you will have to introduce your partner later. After each partner has been interviewed, ask participants to introduce their partner in groups of four.

**Introductory Questions**
- What is your name?
  - Where do you call home?
- What is a cultural tradition you cherish/value?
- What particular skill do you feel you possess that can aid a democratic or peace process/project?
- What is your first impression of the person you spoke to?
Exercise 2: Agree-Disagree

The purpose of this exercise is to allow participants to bond while getting to know each other’s views in a creative way. Ask all the participants to stand in the middle of the room. Read out the list of statements below and invite participants to move to either the right side or the left side of the room, depending on whether they agree (right) or disagree (left) side of the room. Participants must choose one. After each round, ask participants to share why they chose to agree or disagree.

- I make decisions with my gut.
- I like competition.
- I prefer to confront conflict and find solutions.
- I prefer to ignore conflict and hope it goes away on its own.
- I express my feelings whether they are happiness or sorrow.
- I do not like to be surprised.
- I can control my reactions to events.

Group Questions

Module One: Understanding the Conflict Context

A conflict analysis identifies the causes, trends, and key actors involved in a conflict in order to identify potential opportunities for peace. This module will cover several key components to help actors understand conflict contexts. First, participants identify and analyze the actors involved in a political transition. This involves examining their roles, strategies, and the sources of their legitimacy. The second step includes conducting a conflict tree exercise that identifies drivers of conflict. This helps to analyze core problems within a political transition, the root causes that drive conflict, and how these play out during a transition. Lastly, participants will analyze the gendered effects of conflict during a political transition.

Together, these steps create a thorough understanding of conflict that will allow participants to develop a more effective strategic foresight roadmap. In order to understand the trajectory of a conflict and subsequent political transition, it is first critical to understand current conflict drivers and triggers. This lays the foundation for designing the roadmap, but the primary activity of this workshop is to map out scenarios where conflict may escalate (encapsulated in Module 2). If actors participating in these exercises feel that the activities are focusing too much on negative aspects of past grievances and conflict histories, this could sideline the purpose of the workshop, which is to ensure that there are paths for peacebuilding and conflict resolution on the road toward democracy. Therefore, these conflict analysis exercises should be framed as understanding the past in order to create peaceful democratic openings in the future.
Exercise 3: Key Concepts: Violent Conflict, Positive Peace, and Political Transitions

The purpose of this session is to ensure participants understand key concepts that will be utilized throughout the workshops. The facilitator will present the definitions, ensure that participants engage with the terminology and remain open for questions about how to define these issues.

What is Violent Conflict?
There are many working definitions of conflict, making it difficult to define in concrete terms. In plenary, present the IRI definition of violent conflict (below) and encourage participants to keep it in mind for the remainder of the workshop.

**Key Concept | Violent Conflict**

IRI defines violent conflict as: “a situation where a range of groups (even if loose or informal) intentionally use violence as a tool to promote a political agenda.…. Violent conflict can take a range of forms, including interpersonal, criminal, communal, and political violence.”

Individuals or groups may deploy violence, or threaten to engage in violent conflict, to govern the people who are (or would be) the targets of this violence to eliminate rivals, defectors, deserters, or all of the aforementioned. Violence can take the form of intensified competition, oftentimes over issues of control, autonomy, or resources, and also over diverging positions and needs. Across the world, the greatest risks of violence are rooted in perceptions of exclusion, inequality, and frustration over unmet expectations for governance and autonomy. This can manifest itself through the lack, or denial, of opportunity, unequal or inadequate access to decision-making, service delivery, land, water, and natural resources, as well as justice.

What is Positive Peace?
Peace is more than the absence of violence. To build lasting peace, it is important to foster attitudes, structures, and institutions that underpin stability. In plenary, present the following concept of positive peace (below), and how it represents an ideal societal end state:

**Key Concept | Positive Peace**

Positive peace is more than just the absence of violence. Positive peace is a societal attribute that encompasses that society’s resilience and its capacity to withstand triggers without falling back into conflict. It ensures prosperity, national security, and human security, leading to a full realization of human potential. Under conditions of positive peace, competition and conflict can be addressed equitably through non-violent means.

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17 Ibid.
**What is a Political Transition?**

Throughout this workshop, we focus on conflict that could emerge or escalate during a political transition. However, the term “political transition” can encapsulate a wide range of situations. During this session, the concept of a political transition will be applied to the participants’ context.

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**Key Concept | Political Transition**

IRI defines a political transition as a shifting political environment within a state in which new political institutions, norms, and stakeholders appear to play increasingly decisive roles, growing to shape a new form of political order.

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The definition in the text box above is intentionally broad, encompassing a variety of contexts and circumstances. As such, political transitions can include post-coup transitions, transitions from autocracy to democracy, post-conflict transitions, and the political consequences of peace agreements. Political transitions are not inherently good nor bad. Rather, the term describes a set of circumstances in which a new political order appears to be emerging because of a shifting political environment.

Why are political transitions important? The nature of political transitions suggests an unstable political status quo. This political instability is important because it opens a new set of political possibilities as the emerging political order takes place. The shifting political environment produces a window of opportunity that democratic actors can use to ensure the new political order develops in such a way that institutions become more inclusive and that new actors are engaged, which then leads to an expanded democratic space. However, political transitions also include significant risks, which include the closing of democratic space and violent conflict, since political entrepreneurs may see uncertainty as their chance to seize what they want by force. Key risk factors that could lead to the emergence or escalation of conflict during a transition include the following:

- Systematic marginalization—which is a key root cause of conflict—can be heightened during a political transition due to politicization, exploitation, or divisions widened by elites.
- Failure to expand inclusive and responsive governance in conflict areas where armed actors have demobilized can lead to a surge in violent conflict.
- The failure of new political arrangements to address foundational issues can increase incentives for spoilers to exacerbate the drivers of instability or take part in extreme political competition.

In plenary, ask participants to discuss in a group how their current context fits the definition of political transition as defined in the text box above. When do they pinpoint the start of the transition? What are the central themes of the transition?

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**Exercise 4: Actor Mapping**

For this exercise, participants will analyze the legitimacy, interests, needs, positions, and levels of support of actors during a political transition and the role they play in perpetuating peace or conflict.

In plenary, ask the participants to list the different actors that are relevant to the current transition in your context. Be sure to think inclusively, labeling both the most obvious actors as well as those who are less obvious. It is important to note that different groups might consider different actors as ‘legitimate’ in the context of a transition. Not everyone in the group will necessarily agree on the legitimacy or importance of certain actors. Use the questions below to guide the discussion:

**Discussion Questions**

- Who are the groups and individuals involved in the political transition?
- Who are the groups and individuals perpetuating violence?
- Who are the groups and individuals serving as catalysts of peace?

Try to also differentiate between the relevance of the actors, noting which are the most important, which are still involved but not as central, and which are on the periphery. If you cannot think of an actor for each transition category, that is okay.

**Step 1: Charting the Actors**

In this next session, we will map out and assess the roles of influential actors in the political transition. This involves identifying the goals of each actor, as well as understanding whether they are regarded as legitimate. By analyzing these issues, it will then be possible to identify entry points for negotiation and points of collaboration. The following key concepts are relevant:

- **Positions:** the stated demands that actors let everyone see and hear.
- **Interests:** what the actor wants to achieve in a conflict situation; refers to concerns, fears, and goals that drive a position.
- **Needs:** what actors truly want or must have, and what must be fulfilled in order for conflicting parties to be satisfied with a final resolution or outcome; including basic human rights which are required to live and prosper and can also include social and cultural elements.
- **Legitimacy:** when the actors involved in policymaking have the appropriate authority and are understood by their community as having a moral right to govern or to make decisions on behalf of the community.

The facilitator should note that even though interests can be negotiated, needs are usually non-negotiable. It may be difficult to set different dynamics aside and for conflicting parties to understand the non-negotiable core needs and the needs of other actors. Before starting this exercise, participants should know that:

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21 For a more in depth look at assessing legitimacy, please see: International Republican Institute. Conflict, Governance, and Legitimacy Assessment Framework.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 International Republican Institute, Conflict Governance and Legitimacy Assessment Framework.
All parties have interests and needs that are valid and important to them.

- Remember there is more than one way to solve a problem, and more than one solution to a problem.
- Any conflict involves not only clashing interests but compatible interests as well.

**Figure 1 Sample onion actor analysis - actors’ positions, interests, and needs in Chiapas, Mexico**

**INDEGENOUS PEASANT ORGANISATIONS**

Against militarization: demand for a free press, equal opportunities and the investigation of assassinations and human rights violations

Land redistribution, respect for human rights, alliances with other social forces and democracy

Land, well-being and justice

**BOSSES AND LANDOWNERS**

Against subversion: protection by the security forces and a denial of the rights of indigenous people

Political and economic control, access to cheap manual labour, building alliances with municipal and state government

Land and money
Divide participants into groups of 4-6, assigning each group roughly 2-3 actors based on the plenary discussion (more or fewer, depending on the number of actors and the number of groups). Ask the participants to complete the mapping exercise (below) with their assigned actors.

1. With your assigned actors, use the chart below to analyze their role in a conflict. Begin by brainstorming what their roles are and who their supporters are. This is representative of how they gain legitimacy within a transitional situation. Think about sources of legitimacy in terms of the following categories: local population, local political elites, or groups, and/or external actors or institutions.

2. Once you have these categories, discuss why these groups support your actors. This can help you to better understand why these actors have legitimacy and why. Consider whether they win their legitimacy through formal authority, granted from legal organizational roles, or from positions of real authority, where they are selected as social leaders because of their ability to garner support.

3. Think about the relationships between different actors, both those assigned to you and those mentioned in the larger group, and how they are related within this transitional context. Write your findings in the chart below.

4. When you are finished with the chart, come together as a group and share with workshop participants.

Figure 2: Actor Mapping Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Interests, Needs, and Positions</th>
<th>Who Supports Them</th>
<th>Why They Have Support</th>
<th>Legitimacy</th>
<th>Willingness to Negotiate and Work with Other Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who is the actor involved in the political transition?</td>
<td>What is this actor’s role in the transition? Are they a catalyst for peace, supporting a transition to democracy? Are they perpetuating violence? Label them as either a spoiler or a peacebuilder, keeping in mind that they may change roles based on context.</td>
<td>What are the interests, needs, and positions of the actor in terms of their role in the transition? These may change based on context.</td>
<td>Which groups in society support this actor? People from a rural area of the country? A marginalized or indigenous community? A group of economic elites?</td>
<td>What is the reason that the identified groups support these actors? What are the interests, needs, and positions of the people that support them? What does this actor have to offer the populations of society that support them?</td>
<td>What kind of legitimacy do they have? How do they use it? What service or leadership roles do they fulfill? Do they have formal authority or real authority?</td>
<td>Who does this actor typically form alliances with? Who are they willing to negotiate with and how likely are they to negotiate?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Ibid.
Once the exercise is done, ask each group to present on the actors they have identified in the plenary. Allow participants to react to the presentations and provide their insights. Ask the group which strategy for engagement is most important and compile a list of those strategies. Use the following questions to guide the discussion:

**Discussion Questions**

- What is the impact of each actor’s positions, interests, and needs on the transition in your country?
- Can this actor be influenced or engaged?
  - If so, how? What strategies were successful before that you can now build upon?
  - If not, how do you mitigate an actor’s negative influence?
  - Why do you think these strategies will work? What are the potential risks? Offer your justifications for each strategy, as well as the risks and corresponding mitigation factors that accompany the strategy.

**Step 2: Spoiler Identification**

Competing interests are an issue that often arises when finding solutions to conflict. To map out and forecast how two actors might respond in a situation, it is important to understand the specific interests and behaviors they will exhibit in a certain situation. The following exercise will help you to develop strategies to deal with different spoilers.

**Key Term: Spoiler**

IRI defines a spoiler as an actor – either a leader or party who perceives an emerging peace as a threat to their power or interests, and who encourages conflict to undermine attempts to achieve it; individuals or groups who benefit from conflict, either economically or politically, and therefore want to block its resolution.

It is important to recognize spoilers as a broad category containing individuals with unique and potentially divergent positions, interests, and needs that may require specialized management methods rather than a singular, inflexible approach.30

Based on the spoilers identified in Step 1: Charting the Actors, determine if any of the actors identified are spoilers. Then divide the participants into groups and assign them approximately one spoiler (or more, if more spoilers have been identified). Refer to the actor chart to review your assigned spoiler’s positions, interests, needs, and sources of legitimacy. Use this information to label them as limited, greedy, or total. Once finished, return to plenary and ask the groups to present their spoiler’s characteristics and label. If there is time, allow the participants to discuss these categorizations.

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30 Stedman. “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes.”
31 Ibid.
### Three Categories of Spoilers: Limited, Greedy, and Total

1. **Limited spoilers** have goals limited in scope; however, these goals may “be nonnegotiable” and thus challenging to accommodate.\(^{31}\)

2. **Greedy spoilers** have “goals that expand or contract based on calculations of cost and risk.”\(^ {32}\)

3. **Total spoilers** are the most extreme form, as they “pursue total power and exclusive recognition of authority” and “their goals are not subject to change.”\(^ {33}\)

### Exercise 5: Identifying Conflict Drivers

You are now going to conduct an exercise to identify the root causes of conflict during a political transition, using a problem tree. This is a graphic tool that you will use to examine the root causes and the consequences of these issues. The tree trunk and the roots are the causes of the problem, and the effects, or consequences, are depicted in the branches and leaves. The driver of conflict is the main problem in the transition, where conflict is likely to manifest. The problem tree helps clearly visualize how different conflict factors interact, lead to social fractures in society, and then ultimately develop into conflict scenarios. Understanding the causes and effects of conflict during a transition is critical to identifying mitigation and potential solutions using scenarios you will run through later. Furthermore, understanding conflict drivers can help identify the structural and systemic causes of changes that will shape the nature of conflict.\(^ {34}\) Note that, while there may be a range of conflict drivers and effects in a context, this exercise should focus explicitly on conflict that sparks during a transition. Divide the participants into the same groups as before and have them draw their own problem tree (see example below) on sheets of paper. Using the questions above, please identify the root causes and effects of conflict during a political transition. You may identify singular or multiple core problems. If multiple problems are identified, draw one tree per problem. This exercise is the basis for later scenario planning exercises as it helps to identify local patterns and perspectives of conflict.\(^ {35}\)

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31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
36 Adapted from Herbert, Sian. Core Elements of Conflict Analysis.
Ask the groups to complete their own problem trees while considering some of the following concepts and questions:

**Key Concepts and Discussion Questions**

- **Root causes:** the underlying factors that exist in a society that might ultimately lead to conflict. Consider what the root causes of violent conflict or tension are that have manifested during the transition? To identify these, review the following questions:
  - What are the grievances that lead to individuals or groups taking action during a transition that leads to conflict?
  - What motivations lead actors, in a transition, to take actions that exacerbate conflict?
  - What changes may result from the transition, and how could they exacerbate conflict?
  - Which factors reinforce or intersect with one another?

- **Core problems:** the key problems in a political transition that could lead to conflict or adverse consequences.

- **Effects:** the consequences of how a conflict plays out in practice. The effects of conflict are often the consequences of root causes and core problems. For example, political favoritism (root cause) might lead to societal fragmentation and polarization (main problem) which leads to cycles of violence and revenge (consequences). Consider the following questions:
  - How does conflict manifest itself as a result of these root causes?
  - Are there political and economic consequences?
  - Are there changes in social patterns or gender roles as a result?
  - Are there changes in the justice sector, human rights, or accessibility of services to citizens as a result?
  - Are there new and imposed restrictions on civil society?
  - Are certain actors no longer able to freely express themselves as a result?
  - Do some effects interact with some root causes or main problems? If so, how?

**Exercise 6: Gender Analysis**

Inclusivity during political transitions is critical to ensure that peace is long-lasting and represents all segments of society. This is especially important if there is buy-in from a range of stakeholders, including women. In many fragile contexts, women face barriers to participation in decision-making due to systemic gendered divisions of labor, social and cultural stereotypes, power politics, and historic marginalization. A political transition is a moment of change that can provide a gateway for gender inclusion in both formal and informal decision-making institutions.\(^\text{37}\)

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There is also a wealth of evidence that gender inclusion in political transitions can increase the longevity of peace. For example, women’s participation in peace processes increases the likelihood, by 20 percent, that an agreement will last by at least two years and the likelihood it will last 15 years by 35 percent.38 Conducting a gender analysis can help identify points of entry for women’s inclusion in transitional moments and inclusion in future political institutions.

**Step 1: Women’s Participation and Gendered Effects**

Divide participants into groups and assign one group discussion questions related to women’s participation. Assign another group questions related to the gendered effects of the transition. This should take 20 minutes.

**Women’s Participation**

It is important to understand the current situation of women during a transition, with a focus on whether they are included in decision-making processes. Assign one group to discuss and answer the questions below:

### Discussion Questions

- What roles do women currently perform in the transition?
- Are their views and voices typically heard and accepted in the transition? In what ways?
- What institutions are women excluded from or dismissed? Within these institutions, do women take on the same roles as men?

**Gendered Effects**

Men and women are affected by conflict differently. Referring back to the problem trees in Exercise 5, assign the other group to discuss and answer the questions below:

### Discussion Questions

- How does conflict impact men, women, and/or other genders differently?
- What are the gender dimensions of conflict? i.e., how do gender issues drive conflict?
- Are gender relations different before the transition than now?39
- What power dynamics shape who is involved in the transition?40 What barriers prevent the involvement of certain groups? Think about factors such as ethnicity, class, ability, sexual identity, and geographic location.

Come back to the plenary and have each group present their answers to these questions. Allow a few minutes for reflection and discussion in the plenary.

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Step 2: Opportunities for Inclusion

It is important to now identify windows of opportunity and policy changes that will ensure women’s inclusion in a transitional moment and in conflict prevention. Combine what you have discussed previously to look for opportunities in the future. Use the questions below to guide and develop solutions or strategies to improve inclusion.

Discussion Questions

- Based off the list of situations where women are excluded or not listened to, how can you address gender-based discrimination and increase women’s inclusion?
- Where women are included, how can you ensure that their voices are heard in policy discussions?
- What opportunities or initiatives are needed for both women and men to increase gender inclusion in decision-making processes in the identified institutions? (This is important because capacity and inclusion go hand in hand. Increasing the number of women involved isn’t enough, one must provide them with equal opportunities for education and participation in policy discussions and boost buy-in from other stakeholders who might dismiss their inclusion).

The identified gendered themes should be noted throughout the course of the workshop, and gender inclusion should be part of the scenario development and the identification of policy actions.

MODULE TWO: STRATEGIC FORESIGHT PLANNING

Now that you have analyzed the current conflict context by understanding the relevant actors, conflict drivers, and gender roles, you can now map out future scenarios. Political transitions in fragile and conflict-affected states can sometimes lead to an escalation of conflict, depending on the scenario. It is critical to connect current contexts with various potential trajectories in order to identify conflict flashpoints that can escalate in the future and identify at what points interventions are needed. The following exercises focus on the future and anticipating scenarios, their causes, and their consequences.

Exercise 7: What is Strategic Foresight and Why Use it?

Strategic foresight is the technique of considering a range of possible future events and the impact of those events on the broader political context. This technique can be used to develop specific action plans that actors can use to achieve a desired policy goal or end point.

Strategic foresight is an important tool for democratic actors including politicians, policymakers, activists, and civil society leaders. No one can predict the future. However, thinking critically about how different scenarios could unfold and how certain events could push a political context in new directions enables actors to weigh the merits of the different policy options available to them in a variety of situations. This allows democratic actors to be proactive as their political context evolves and helps them navigate potential conflict flashpoints as they appear.
In peacebuilding, strategic foresight is typically applied through early warning systems. These systems assess different indicators to anticipate conflict escalation. Key stakeholders and decision-makers use this information to respond to conflict situations. It is critical that stakeholders have a deep understanding of conflict indicators, and that decision-makers have the will and capacity to mitigate or respond to a surge in conflict for early warning systems to be effective.

Anticipating the future can be challenging. A good way to think about this is to consider how the transitional context of the present day would be unexpected even a few years ago. In plenary, discuss for five minutes which aspects of today’s current events that would have surprised you a few years ago.

**Exercise 8: Future Scenarios**

Understanding how a conflict could evolve in the future helps participants consider and develop relevant and timely responses to potential conflict triggers. The following archetypes are useful to consider when understanding different potential peace and conflict trajectories.41

**Four Types of Scenarios**

1. **Baseline:** the situation is a continuation of the present with no new significant developments.
2. **Reversal:** a backsliding into the past as it existed before the current disruptive state; a return to the status quo ante.
3. **Transformation:** a positive change into a more optimal, peaceful, and stable situation; this is marked by actors working together, negotiating, and mitigating future conflict flashpoints. It builds on existing sources of resilience. This situation might fit best within a peacebuilding ladder rather than a conflict escalation ladder.
4. **Collapse:** the worst-case scenario; an inability to keep pace with a destructive factor (a spoiler, for example) and an inability to mitigate conflict risks.

These scenario types can be used to assess a political transition and conflict dynamics from differing perspectives; develop strategies based on a range of scenarios, from disruption to the optimal future state; and to challenge deeply held perspectives and norms.

During this session, divide participants into groups and ask them to come up with potential future events or end states that correspond to the four scenarios above. Ask them to discuss, for approximately 15 to 20 minutes, which factors could lead to escalating conflict. This session should focus specifically on how a transition will unfold and affect existing conflict dynamics.

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Consider the following questions:

- Based on a transition’s history, what key grievances remain unresolved? Do they still pose a threat to peace and security? If yes, how?
- Looking at the root causes identified previously, are there specific triggers that could lead to conflict outbreaks in the future? Triggers may include specific events like elections, or longer-term issues like climate change.
- What threats, both external and internal, could derail a transition? How might these issues create the potential for conflict?
- What factors could lead to a resurgence of conflict in the future?
- Examine situations where a transition is slow to implement or it stalls. What effects will this have on the conflict situation?

Return to the plenary once participants have finished discussing and ask each group to provide an overview of a future scenario based on their discussions. At this stage, the scenario can be descriptive in nature, as it will be fleshed out in future sessions. This will likely take around 5-10 minutes per group presentation.

Exercise 9: Conflict Escalation Ladder

The next step in this process is understanding the specific factors that could lead to the escalation of conflict in the future. This will develop into a ladder with specific flashpoints and indicators that can be used to signal whether conflict could surge in the future. This will help you identify potential future conflict by highlighting the earliest signals and the most at-risk events and flashpoints.

In the same groups as before, ask the participants to plot future potential events or factors (using sticky notes) on a conflict escalation ladder (example below). The conflict ladder can be understood as a timeline into the future. The participants should start with the present day and the timeline should conclude in the sometime in the future. Risks could vary from imminent to medium- or long-term, depending on the volatility of the situation. For example, if a transition is continuing to unfold and its trajectory could vary, it may be more useful to map out one to five years in the future.

The bottom step of the ladder should list current community grievances. Above that goes the effects of those grievances, as well as the hypothetical way conflict develops in this scenario. Ask participants to use specific examples of actors, causes, and effects, such as “Group X pulls out of the peace process” or “restrictions on civil society imposed on Group A by Group B” when plotting a timeline. This is critical for the following exercises where interventions and de-escalation strategies will be designed.

Conduct this exercise in any order. Sometimes it might be easiest to start at the top of the ladder, which represents how a conflict situation could surge or culminate. Although conflict is not always linear, this exercise intends to simulate how a situation can escalate in a particular scenario, understanding that it may ebb and flow. Furthermore, the example offered below is simply a template that can and should be shaped to fit each conflict scenario. Other ladders may have more or fewer steps; use the diagram below as a guide and make sure it fits the needs of each scenario.
Once each ladder is complete, ask the participants to reflect on their work in the plenary. Are the scenarios missing pieces? Does each scenario reflect potential avenues for conflict escalation? Are there any missing scenarios that are important to discuss, based on previously outlined conflict drivers? Discuss within the large group and provide feedback on each other’s ladders to develop a more complete picture.

**Exercise 10: Identifying Early Warning Indicators**

Identifying indicators that signal the early warning signs of conflict is critical for anticipating how conflict may escalate. This can lead to more context-specific and tailored interventions. An indicator is a signpost that helps demonstrate or measure a condition. In this context, an indicator identifies a flashpoint for conflict which is going to occur or is already happening.\(^{43}\)

Indicator data can shed light on changes in a conflict environment and provide an early warning that a situation may deteriorate. This allows policymakers, civil society, community leaders, or other relevant stakeholders to respond quickly.

This approach combines the context analysis conducted under module one with indicators that can help monitor current updates. Depending on the timelines laid out in previous sessions, indicators should be tailored to immediate, medium- or long-term risks, which will then shape the future intervention types. Factors known to influence conflict can help to serve as early warning indicators that demonstrate conflict trends and help anticipate conflict escalation.

Different types of indicators measure different types of changes. Some might be related to measuring abstract concepts, such as changes in perceptions or personal and community transformation. Other indicators include numeric and quantitative changes, such as the number of violent clashes or number of confrontations.

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When developing indicators for early warning signs it is also important to look at the drivers of conflict you have identified in your community. For example, a disagreement over the peace process/framework can serve as an early warning indicator. The below list includes examples of indicators that are most commonly used to monitor conflict trends; they include a combination of categories.

**Illustrative list of Indicators**

- **Peace and Security Indicators:**
  - Increased tolerance between groups.
  - Increased polarization between groups.
  - Increased number of violent incidents.
  - Increased number of protests/demonstrations.
  - Rise in hate speech online or on traditional platforms.
  - Increased volume of misogynistic language in the media.
  - Increased threats and intimidation (particularly against women and marginalized groups).
  - Public perception of violence as a legitimate means of resolving conflict.
  - Public trust in state institutions.
  - Perception of credibility of legitimate avenues for seeking justice.
  - Perceived credibility of the justice system.

- **Sociopolitical Indicators:**
  - New laws that bar or prohibit participation.
  - Creation of unofficial dialogue forums.
  - Creation of an oversight body.
  - New laws that reduce barriers to participation.
  - Number of corruption cases.
  - Minority community representation in politics, media, and state institutions.

- **Demographic Indicators:**
  - Displacement/movements of people.
  - Interactions with cross-border communities.

Ask the participants to identify specific conflict triggers and corresponding indicators that can be used to note when a flashpoint can erupt. Using the conflict escalation ladder, note the most-at-risk events and whether they may spark violence. Then participants should identify which factors should be considered that signal that these events will take place. If one of the warning steps along the ladder is “dialogue between two groups stops,” ask the participants to consider the indicators that could help signal that the event will occur.

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**Discussion Questions**

- What factors indicate that a situation is changing (i.e., becoming more violent or unstable, or becoming more peaceful)?
- How do you know this change has occurred? How can you measure this change?

Each participant should spend 20 minutes brainstorming these factors on their own. Then they should come together as a group and each participant can walk through their indicators. Populate a joint chart on a large piece of paper or screen in front of the group, so that all ideas are incorporated and can be seen by everyone.

**Exercise 11: Peacebuilding Ladder**

Although political transitions are inherently vulnerable to conflict and instability, they also offer an unparalleled opportunity to transform political and conflict dynamics in a positive way. In the previous exercises you identified avenues wherein conflict could escalate; during this session, participants will assess how best to anticipate, intervene, and manage conflict triggers.

This exercise builds on the conflict escalation ladder. **In plenary, ask participants to identify opportunities for peacebuilding.** Refer to the “transformation” points identified under the Archetypal Scenarios, and consider the following questions:

- How could the scenario be de-escalated and stabilized?
- What resilience factors help key actors to mitigate, resolve, or withstand violence? How could these be strengthened in the future?
- Looking to the future, what opportunities for peace may arise? What outcomes from the transition may result in an opening to transform conflict and governance?
- Which peacebuilding actors or groups could be supported in the future to strengthen conflict mitigation efforts?

For example, one peacebuilding scenario could be, “conflict early warning system integrated into government.” If it is easier, you can work backward or forward from this outcome. What are the necessary steps to achieve this peacebuilding scenario?

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Once done the ladder should read from bottom up: conflict scenario, then steps to de-escalation. Evaluate the feasibility of this scenario – does this peacebuilding scenario fit into the current transitional situation in this context?

**Exercise 12: Spoiler Management**

Now that you have identified clear pathways for peace, it is important to understand how to mitigate the negative effects of spoilers on the peace process and political transition. Ask the participants to recall the types of spoilers they identified in Exercise 3. As a group they will consider management strategies for each type of spoiler to mitigate and minimize their impact on the peace process. Each strategy is described below.

**Spoiler Management Strategies: Inducement, Socialization, and Coercion**

- **Inducement**: this spoiler management technique involves proactive measures to resolve the grievances of the actor (group or individual) that is an impediment to peace. Inducement focuses on acknowledging and validating a spoiler’s view by offering tangible rewards or protections. For example, if the spoiler has a grievance that the peace process is not fair nor just, the peace process would need to address aspects of recognition or legitimacy; or, when a spoiler says they have a fear of participation, security will need to be provided.\(^{47}\)

- **Socialization**: this strategy establishes a standard of behaviors required for parties that commit to peace or seek to join a peace process. Through carrots and sticks, socialization grants material, tangible consequences to encourage good, or peacebuilding, behavior and discourage bad, or spoiling, behavior. Socialization can go further by reiterating the importance of certain norms through language and inclusion. It focuses on communicating and encouraging the growth of norms such as “the rules of democratic competition and adherence to the protection of human rights” by making them commonplace and widely understood.\(^ {48}\)

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\(^{46}\) Adapted from: Vestergaard, et. al. “Conflict Resolution – working with conflicts.

\(^{47}\) Stedman. “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes.”

\(^{48}\) Ibid.
Coercion: this strategy uses (the threat of) punishment to dissuade spoiler behavior or render the spoiler incapable of undermining an accord. Besides the use or threat of punishment, there are two other pathways for persuasion that focus on the peace process. The first, known as the departing train strategy, emphasizes that the peace process will continue, without the spoiler if necessary, and thus encourages the spoiler to participate in good faith so as to see their inputs reflected. The withdrawal strategy involves threatening to withdraw international actors from the process if the spoiler does not accede to demands. This requires the spoiler have an interest in a continued international presence. With the coercion strategy, it is important to note that threats are only useful if they imply a credible action that can, and will, be enforced.49

Ask the participants to return to their groups and assign each group a spoiler (or more than one). Have them consider at least one management strategy (from above) for each of their assigned spoilers. One spoiler can have more than one management strategy, so include all the strategies you think will be useful for each spoiler. Be prepared to explain why each strategy was selected. After you have identified a strategy for a spoiler, try to create a specific plan for that spoiler that relies on the strategy you have selected. Consider negotiation tactics, policy choices, public messaging strategies, and any other specific and tangible spoiler management actions. Note that total spoilers may not be able to be accommodated, but rather "must be defeated or so marginalized that they can do little damage."50 Greedy spoilers can be included in the peace process with an appropriate risk and reward environment. A limited spoiler can be included when their demands are met. It is important to accurately understand your spoilers so you can apply the correct management strategy. Take care to evaluate each of your spoilers accurately and develop realistic management strategies based on the type of spoiler you’re addressing.

Discuss what type of spoiler they are, the management strategies selected, and explain why you selected each choice or label. Encourage the group to evaluate each selection and give thoughtful feedback.

Exercise 13: Developing a Strategic Foresight Roadmap

Building on the conflict and peacebuilding ladders, the strategic foresight roadmap aims to identify concrete action items that anticipate and stabilize conflict flashpoints. Consider which factors or steps are most effective in building peace, based on the previous exercises. The purpose is to identify common goals and choose activities that reinforce each other and reach our goals. We will also discuss whether the activities are within our influence and which resources are required. Walk the participants through the below questions and develop an action plan that addresses the following:

? Discussion Questions for Building the Roadmap51

▶ Now, having laid out a pathway for peace, identify a specific goal or vision for the future. How could conflict dynamics evolve, looking ahead?
▶ What are the policy changes or action items needed to achieve this goal or vision? Be specific and identify three to five action items.
▶ Who should be engaged? How should you engage them?
▶ How can you build on previous successes and overcome challenges?

49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
Exercise 14: Reflection

To conclude the workshop, ask the participants to write down a list of actions that they can take both now, and in the future. Listing goals helps generate momentum and increase commitment. Use this exercise as an opportunity to evaluate your peacebuilding role and develop actionable goals that you can accomplish.

As a group, use the next 15 minutes to absorb each of the different aspects of conflict you discussed today. Consider the strategic foresight roadmap you just developed and create a personal plan for yourself. List specific ways you can be involved in immediate, short-term, and long-term responses to conflict. Write down individual goals for what you will commit to do in the next week, the next month, the next three months, the next six months, the next year, and on into the future. After reflecting, ask the participants to share their plans with their groups. Have members offer advice on strategies for developing and accomplishing achievable goals. Goals should be both aspirational and achievable, as this should serve as a guide for next steps, rather than an idealistic vision of how things should happen.

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**Figure 6: Roadmap Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action Item</th>
<th>Actor Involved</th>
<th>Timeline</th>
<th>Desired Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example: Train local leaders on monitoring conflict indicators</td>
<td>Example: Peacebuilding CSO</td>
<td>Example: One month</td>
<td>Example: Local leaders understand the conflict risks and the standard protocol to collect and assess conflict triggers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Annex 1: Suggested Agendas for Strategic Foresight Roundtables

AGENDA FOR THREE-DAY WORKSHOP

**DAY 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00-9:45 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 1 &amp; 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meeting the Participants, Agree-Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45-10:30 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introductions to Political Transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-10:45 am</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45-12:15 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 4</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Part 1: Actor Mapping &amp; Part 2: Spoiler Identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:15-1:45 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Lunch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:45-2:45 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 5</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identifying Conflict Drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:45-3:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00-4:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender Analysis: Women’s Participation and Opportunities for Inclusion</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00-4:30 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Wrap-up</strong></td>
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**DAY 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00-9:30 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Introduction and Recap of Day 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30-10:00 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 7</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why Strategic Foresight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-11:30 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 8</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future Scenarios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30-11:45 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45-1:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 9</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict Escalation Ladder</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:00-2:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Lunch</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00-3:30 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Exercise 10</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Identifying Early Warning Indicators</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Wrap-up</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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**AGENDA FOR TWO-DAY WORKSHOP**

**DAY 1**

9:00-9:45 a.m.  **Exercise 1 & 2**
Meeting the Participants, Agree-Disagree

9:30-10:00 a.m.  **Exercise 3**
Introductions to Political Transition

10:00-11:15 p.m.  **Exercise 4**
Part 1: Actor Mapping & Part 2: Spoiler Identification

11:15-11:30 a.m.  **Break**

11:30-12:45 p.m.  **Exercise 5**
Identifying Conflict Drivers

12:45-1:45 p.m.  **Lunch**

1:45-2:45 p.m.  **Exercise 6**
Gender Analysis: Women's Participation and Opportunities for Inclusion

2:45-3:15 p.m.  **Exercise 7**
Why Strategic Foresight

3:45-4:30 p.m.  **Wrap-up**

**DAY 3**

9:00-9:30 a.m.  **Introduction and Recap of Day 2**

9:30-10:30 a.m.  **Exercise 11**
Peacebuilding Ladder

10:30-10:45 am  **Break**

10:45-12:00 p.m.  **Exercise 12**
Spoiler Management

12:00-1:00 p.m.  **Lunch**

1:00-2:30 p.m.  **Exercise 13**
Developing a Strategic Foresight Roadmap

2:30-2:45 p.m.  **Break**

2:45-3:15 p.m.  **Exercise 14**
Reflection

4:00-4:30 p.m.  **Wrap-up and Evaluation**
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00-9:30 a.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:30-11:15 a.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 8&lt;br&gt;Future Scenarios</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15-11:30 a.m.</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30-12:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 9&lt;br&gt;Conflict Escalation Ladder</td>
</tr>
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<td>12:30-1:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 10&lt;br&gt;Identifying Early Warning Indicators</td>
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<td>2:15-3:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 11&lt;br&gt;Peacebuilding Ladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:15-4:45 p.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 13&lt;br&gt;Developing a Strategic Foresight Roadmap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:45-5:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Exercise 14&lt;br&gt;Reflection, Wrap-up &amp; Evaluation</td>
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</tbody>
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