



Elite Bargains and Political Deals Toolkit: A User's Guide to Applying EBPD Theory in Localised Conflict Settings

February 2021

Written by:

Todd Diamond, Daniel Emory, and Jaclyn Grace of Chemonics International

Mr. Diamond was the project director on the Mali AT-PECIC project and has served as a project director and team leader with Chemonics on stabilization and governance projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria.

Mr. Emory was a project manager on the Mali AT-PECIC project and supports other Chemonics' programming in West and Southern Africa.

Ms. Grace was a project manager on the Mali AT-PECIC project and is pursuing her MPhil in Development Studies at the University of Oxford, with a focus on the Sahel.

With technical contributions by Michael Shaw of Chemonics International and Karana Olivier

About the Photos

Cover Photo: Afro-Colombian women rally at the first Autonomous National Afro-Colombian Congress with more than 1,000 community leaders and government of Colombia high-level officials participating in Quibdó, Colombia. A new Afro-Colombian working committee was created to ensure follow-through on agreements made at the Congress as well as developments on the prior consultation process.

Photo by Chemonics International

Part 1 Photo: Actors from different religious and ethnic backgrounds in Cote d'Ivoire gather to practice ahead of a performance to educate communities about civic engagement and the importance of non-violence.

Photo by Kendra Helmer/USAID

Part 2 Photo: Representatives from the Karbala women's provincial council committee discuss with representatives from other provincial councils in Iraq the need to develop legislation to stop violence against women.

Photo by Chemonics International

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank all the individuals whose input and reviews contributed to this toolkit. We would like to give special thanks to Jenny Jones and Mahamane Djitteye from the UK Embassy Mali, CSSF Sahel Advisor Aurélien Tobie, and Chemonics internal reviewers Ruth Citrin, Stacia George, and Simon Vickers. A tremendous amount of research and training assistance was provided by Chemonics' Technical Advisor Josué Kamate. Craig Campbell designed the report's graphics. Chemonics' Project Coordinator Laz Bennett managed the production of the report.

The basis of the toolkit is the [UK Government's Approach to Stabilisation](#) guide and the Stabilisation Unit's Elite Bargains and Political Deals (EBPD) Project, with much of the piloting of the localised training conducted under the UK Embassy Mali-funded *Assistance Technique au Projet Engagement Civique: Identité et Citoyenneté* (AT-PECIC) project. Chemonics International funded the development and preparation of the toolkit. The toolkit's contents are the sole responsibility of Chemonics International. The toolkit's contents and publication lay outside the scope of the AT-PECIC project. The views expressed and information contained in this document are not necessarily those of or endorsed by the UK government.

About Chemonics International

Founded in 1975, Chemonics International is an employee-owned international development consulting firm that works in more than 75 countries around the globe. Our network of approximately 5,000 specialists pursues a higher standard in development every day to help clients, partners, and beneficiary customers achieve results. Our mission is to promote meaningful change around the world to help people live healthier, more productive, and more independent lives.

Rights and Permissions

We encourage organisations to use this toolkit to guide their learning sessions on Elite Bargains and Political Deals at local and national levels. This document will be updated as we receive feedback and learn from organisations' experiences implementing this tool. Please send feedback to UKcomms@chemonics.com.

DISCLAIMER: Nothing contained in this toolkit is to be considered as the rendering of legal advice. This toolkit is intended for educational and informational purposes only.

SUGGESTED CITATION: Diamond, T., Emory, D., Grace, J. 2020. Elite Bargains and Political Deals Toolkit: A User's Guide to Applying EBPD Theory in Localised Conflict Settings (First Edition). London: Chemonics International Inc.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: All materials contained in this toolkit are protected by United States copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, published, or broadcast without the prior written permission of Chemonics International Inc., or in the case of third-party materials, the owner of that content. You may not alter or remove any trademark, copyright or other notice from copies of the content. You may, however, download and print the toolkit from our website for non-commercial purposes only.

© 2021 Chemonics International Inc. All rights reserved.

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
About Chemonics International	i
Contents	ii
Acronyms	iii
Toolkit at a Glance	iv
Abstract.....	iv
The Toolkit: Step by Step	v
PART ONE: Introducing the Toolkit	1
How Should You Use this Toolkit?	2
The Genesis of the Elite Bargains and Political Deals Toolkit.....	2
Summarising Elite Bargains and Political Deals Theory.....	3
The Rationale for ‘Localising’ EBPD Theory in a Practical Exercise	5
Incorporating the Entire Community into Localised Conflict Analysis	6
How Does the Toolkit Relate to Other Conflict Analysis Approaches?	7
PART TWO: How to Conduct a Localised EBPD Workshop	9
Planning and Running the Workshop	10
Setting Yourself Up for Success	10
Starting the Workshop: Introductions and Overview	14
Step One: Identify the Conflict Narrative	15
Step Two: Develop a Methodology to Verify the Conflict Narrative.....	24
Step Three: Strategy and Theory of Change.....	31
Step Four: Develop Activities Supporting the Theory of Change	34
Conclusion and Post-Training.....	36
PART THREE: Annexes	40
ANNEX I: Visual Trainers’ Guide	41
ANNEX II: Sample EBPD Training Outline and Agenda	51
ANNEX III: Companion Tools and Training Materials	68
ANNEX IV: References and Additional Resources	74

Acronyms

AT-PECIC	Assistance Technique à l'Engagement Civique: Projet d'Identité et de Citoyenneté
EBPD	Elite Bargains and Political Deals
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
PEA	Political Economy Analysis
SoW	Scope of Work
ToC	Theory of Change

Toolkit at a Glance

Abstract

This toolkit provides development organisations with a practical guide to applying the UK Stabilisation Unit's Elite Bargains and Political Deals (EBPD) theory to conflict resolution, mitigation, and prevention programming at the community level. It is a hands-on guide to addressing localised conflict, offering suppliers and their local counterparts practical tools that incorporate the most applicable elements of EBPD.

This toolkit will help practitioners better understand the informal structures of localised power held by 'elites,' and the 'elite bargains' that are key to both resolving conflict and preventing the outbreak of violence at local and regional levels, or across borders. It builds on EBPD theory, which recognises that an expansive definition of 'elites' is necessary to strengthen political deals and settlements, especially at the community level. We hope to highlight the depth and value of EBPD theory in a variety of localised contexts not considered in the original research and demonstrate the importance of community-level programming that considers the relationship between elite bargaining processes and transitions out of conflict.

To achieve this aim, the toolkit outlines a self-contained two-to-four-day workshop that helps organisations and partners identify and address the proximate causes of conflict in their communities. It also includes customisable course materials so that trainers can adapt the workshop to their needs.

We envision that the EBPD toolkit can be used at three different levels:

1. Donors and Aid Agencies

Programme designers at donors and aid agencies can use the toolkit to outline opportunities for integrating EBPD theory into future stabilisation programming at the sub-national level, even in cross-border conflicts. Understanding the localised nature of many conflicts and the roles played by local elites and elite bargains — along with their connection to regional or national-level political processes — can improve conflict prevention and mitigation programme design.

2. Development Implementers and Local NGOs

Once incorporated into programme design, the toolkit can serve as a user's guide to complement the approaches of development partners — commercial suppliers as well as international and local NGOs — to implement stabilisation activities. The workshop content includes training modules on how to develop a localised 'conflict narrative' that focuses on the relationship between the context, key actors (notably elites and their supporters), relevant agreements amongst them, and expressions of violence. The toolkit also shows how to move from this research-based conflict narrative to devise a theory of change (ToC) that articulates which attitudinal or behavioural changes amongst local actors, particularly elites, remain critical to resolving the identified conflict. To translate the ToC into direct project implementation — i.e. to practically apply EBPD theory to a localised setting — the toolkit then outlines a strategy for developing community-level conflict resolution, mitigation, and prevention activities and other interventions.

3. Grassroots Actors

Lastly, the toolkit could be taken one level further and used to train the full breadth of influential, if informal, grassroots actors in their respective communities. This could involve a training-of-trainers model, where international or local development organisations first participate in a workshop focused on applying the toolkit, and proceed to use its material to engage with community actors. Grassroots participants could include members of civil society organisations, such as youth or women's groups, religious associations, or local peace committees; municipal and regional political representatives; and other local or traditional leaders. In this context, international or local partners can support these key actors to develop a ToC that outlines a strategy for their own individual set of activities. Applying the toolkit's methodology to a specific set of local or regional issues would strengthen the ability of these influencers to analyse ongoing conflict, and to work towards identifying activities or other interventions that effectively respond to its proximate causes.

Below is a high-level summary of the key steps, outlined in Part Two, to prepare for and conduct the workshop. Detailed guidance and course materials for each step are also found in Part Two and the annexes.

The Toolkit: Step by Step

Preparing for the Workshop

Facilitators must ensure that the content is appropriately tailored to the local context and is both inclusive and conflict-sensitive. Reviewing training materials with local staff or partners can help ensure that concepts and terminology make sense to the audience. For this workshop, terminology and definitions are especially important, as words such as 'elite' and 'elite bargains' may not be easily translated from English or quickly understood by local participants. Attendees should come prepared with a conflict case study to explore through the lens of EBPD theory.

Starting the Workshop

Facilitators should conduct icebreaker activities that incorporate community standards and norms to familiarise the participants with each other and introduce workshop objectives.

Workshop Step One: Identify the Conflict Narrative

The first part of the workshop guides participants through a process of developing a conflict narrative or hypothesis (i.e. an understanding of why a conflict is happening). After introducing EBPD theory and its key definitions, the facilitator should work with participants to develop a narrative. A conflict narrative should consider the roles of different actors, particularly elites; any established bargains or settlements between these actors; and the contextual factors that play a role in the conflict.

Workshop Step Two: Develop a Methodology to Verify the Conflict Narrative

The workshop then helps participants design a data-collection methodology to verify the different elements of their conflict narrative, particularly relationships between actors. The facilitator takes participants through an exercise of mapping out the type of data to collect (i.e. qualitative or quantitative), and potential data sources to verify the different components of the conflict narrative identified in Workshop Step One. After verifying the conflict narrative, participants will be prepared to develop stabilisation interventions.

Workshop Step Three: Strategy and Theory of Change

This part of the workshop uses the conflict narrative identified in Workshop Step One to develop a ToC that articulates which attitudinal or behavioural changes by actors, particularly elites, are necessary to resolve a specific conflict. This ToC should consider the role of elites and elite bargains, as well as the contextual factors that drive or constrain elite behaviour.

Workshop Step Four: Develop Activities Supporting the Theory of Change

Participants can now start developing activities and interventions that meet the requirements identified in the ToC to either resolve or prevent the outbreak of violent conflict. While planning activities, participants should take into consideration which actor is best placed to influence a specific elite to change their behaviour (leveraging the relationships identified in Workshop Step One) and assess the ability of their own organisation to affect this.

Conclusion and Post-Training

As a concluding activity, participants will go through the entire process of conflict narrative development, applying the ideas to their own case studies and designing activities by themselves. Following the workshop, facilitators should plan to provide ongoing assistance to participants to help them actively apply the lessons from the workshop to their activities and programming. A key element of this support includes assisting participants to develop a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) framework that measures the impact of their activities.

PART ONE:

Introducing the Toolkit

- Genesis of the Elite Bargains and Political Deals Toolkit
 - Summary of Elite Bargains and Political Deals (EBPD) Theory
 - The Rationale for 'Localising' EBPD Theory in a Practical Exercise
 - Incorporating the Entire Community into Localised Conflict Analysis
 - How Does the Toolkit Relate to Other Conflict Analysis Approaches?
-

How Should You Use this Toolkit?

This toolkit provides a step-by-step guide for local and international suppliers, practitioners, and other conflict and stabilisation advisors to apply the UK Stabilisation Unit’s Elite Bargains and Political Deals (EBPD) theory to localised conflict resolution, mitigation, and prevention activities.

Designed as a standalone resource, the toolkit includes a summary of EBPD theory and an explanation of its applicability at the local level. The toolkit provides readers with the background and rationale for practical incorporation of EBPD into conflict analysis, as well as information on training local stakeholders to apply it to their own contexts.

Inside you will find a guide to planning and running a self-contained two-to-four-day workshop intended for any organisation — host country ministries or local government entities, civil society organisations, private sector enterprises, or others — interested in addressing the proximate causes of localised conflict in their communities.

The Genesis of the Elite Bargains and Political Deals Toolkit

In October 2019, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) invited Chemonics International to assist the UK embassy’s mediation activities that sought to prevent conflict in southern Mali. Chemonics supported local partners to embed the findings from EBPD research and the UK government’s [UK Government’s Approach to Stabilisation](#) guide into their approach to conflict analysis and data collection to produce measurable outcomes and impacts. In March 2020, Chemonics conducted a workshop for four FCO-funded Malian NGOs that focused on applying the UK stabilisation research and EBPD theory to project work plans, M&E concepts, and guidance on practical field-based results frameworks.

In conducting the training, we realised that significant elements of this methodology could apply to localised conflicts in other regions of the world. Acting on feedback from those training sessions and



encouragement from the CSSF Sahel team, Chemonics used the material developed for the workshop to design a general guide to applying EBPD theory to relevant projects. While every conflict narrative is unique to its context, this toolkit provides a hands-on guide to addressing localised conflict by offering suppliers and their local counterparts practical tools that incorporate the relevant elements of EBPD.

Summarising Elite Bargains and Political Deals Theory

The UK Stabilisation Unit's Elite Bargains and Political Deals (EBPD) [Synthesis Paper](#) and [case studies](#) emphasise the role that 'elites' and 'elite bargains' play in reducing and resolving violent conflicts. While many existing conflict resolution strategies focus on negotiating formal peace agreements to end conflict, the EBPD paper posits that a peace agreement is likely to fail if it does not reflect the informal structures of power and resource allocation established between elites — referred to as 'elite bargains' (Cheng, Goodhand, and Meehan 2018, p. 11). Elite bargains help encourage elites to cooperate rather than resort to physical violence to pursue their interests. Through an analysis of 21 country case studies, the EBPD paper finds that conflict mitigation approaches must effectively understand and engage with elites and elite bargaining processes to successfully transition areas out of conflict.

The Synthesis Paper establishes an overarching theory for analysing and understanding the role that elite bargaining plays in stabilising violent conflict. The key components of this theory that apply to a localised conflict are:

Drivers of Elite Behaviour. Elites operate within a broader set of structures and institutions that shape their behaviour and constrain their actions. These drivers can be categorised into:

- *Structures:* Longstanding, slow-changing factors that shape the wider environment in which violent conflict is taking place.
- *Institutions:* The frameworks elites operate within that have been codified through a formal system such as laws, decrees, and regulations. This category includes formal and informal institutions that determine the 'rules of the game' governing elite behaviour and interests.
- *Agents:* The interests and actions of individuals. Within the context of elite bargains, this focuses on the actions of elites.

Characteristics of Elite Bargaining. The processes of elite bargaining are shaped by the following characteristics:

- Types of violence (competitive, embedded, or permissive) employed in the elite bargaining process.
- How resources or rents are allocated between elites.
- Who is included and excluded from elite bargains. Inclusion is considered in two ways: 'horizontal inclusion' between different elites and 'vertical inclusion' between elites and those they represent.

These characteristics help determine the feasibility of an elite bargain to reduce violent conflict within a given setting.

Outcomes of Elite Bargaining. Elite bargaining processes tend to result in three conclusions to conflicts:

- 1) *Return to violence*: political deals do not hold, and there is a return to competitive violence.
- 2) *Elite capture*: political deals hold and successfully secure a reduction in levels of violence, but elites control the benefits of peace and can generally prevent sustained change.
- 3) *Developmental peace*: political deals sustain and facilitate a move towards a more stable and inclusive political settlement.

In addition to the characteristics of elite bargaining explained above, the outcome may also be affected by whether there is alignment between elite bargains (i.e. allocation of resources, broadly defined); the political settlement (i.e. distribution of power); and the formal peace agreement (if applicable). Stabilisation of violent conflict only occurs when 'the allocation of benefits, opportunities and resources (such as political positions, business prospects) is consistent with how power is distributed in society' (Cheng, Goodhand, and Meehan 2018, p. 1).

The image below represents our interpretation of how the different components relate with each other.



The Rationale for ‘Localising’ EBPD Theory in a Practical Exercise

While EBPD focuses primarily on elite bargaining vis-à-vis the effects of external interventions on the bargaining process, this conceptual understanding can also serve as a critical tool for organisations designing and implementing programmes that seek to reduce community-level conflict and violence. Organisations supporting local peacebuilding and conflict mediation can use the theory to improve their analysis of informal community power structures and understand why local actors have decided to pursue their interests through violent conflict instead of other means.

Some of the theory’s components most applicable to analysing local and community-level conflicts, and designing programming to reduce them, include the following:

- EBPD highlights the importance of focusing on informal structures of power in addition to formal institutions when analysing conflicts. To end violent conflict, mediation programming must identify and support bargaining processes amongst key identified elites that lead to an initial settlement which reduces competitive violence. Many elites, however, often garner their support from the very communities that are already in conflict or those at risk of outbreaks of violence. By recognising the links between local conflict dynamics and broader peace initiatives, EBPD theory can help inform practitioners how to strengthen existing political settlements and nonviolent bargaining processes. This theory can also guide national-level negotiators on what to avoid if they want their efforts to succeed at local or regional levels, as well as across borders.
- EBPD establishes a broader definition of ‘elite’ that includes any person who has power and influence over a group of constituents, rather than simply those with recognised political power or wealth. By identifying the breadth of power brokers within a community, one can develop a more accurate understanding of whom to target within informal power structures to consider engaging in conflict mediation (see text box below). This definition is particularly necessary in areas suffering from conflicts related to cross-border trade and identity-based tensions, where elites that hold power and influence are more likely outside of the formal state structures and institutions allocating power.
- This expansive notion of ‘elites’ may include groups that peacebuilding organisations are not allowed to work with, such as those linked with terrorism, human-rights abuses, or crime. Although this is often necessary to comply with legal requirements of donors and governments, the exclusion of certain elites may weaken political settlements, since not all powerful interests are represented. Thus, a community-based conflict mediation process should still consider the interests of those groups and how they could achieve their interests through nonviolent means.

In summary, EBPD research demonstrates the importance of incorporating the drivers of elite behaviour and interests as part of a larger conflict analysis. By better understanding the motivations of elites pursuing their interests, organisations can design more targeted programming that addresses those drivers and allows elites to maintain their influence through nonviolent means. In a localised context where people or groups with de facto power and influence may not be recognised by formal structures or institutions, EBPD can help organisations better address the interests of those whose support is critical for peacebuilding and stabilisation efforts in a given community. The next section provides an outline for organisations to train staff or partners to apply EBPD theory to analysing community-level conflicts and to use that analysis to design targeted conflict-related programming.

Who Is an Elite?

EBPD theory considers elites to be individuals or groups within a society who can assemble supporters to defend their interests. These influencers are usually easy to identify in a state-centric model, but in an informal context, they are often harder to recognise.

Example 1: In Colombian communities formerly occupied by the Popular Liberation Army and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army, the government has been unable to provide meaningful services to fill the power vacuum left by these groups. This vacuum has led to the rise of illegal economies that fund additional armed groups and allow them to garner political will within communities. In some of these areas, farmers sought the protection and support of these groups in response to government-led coca eradication efforts. These armed groups’ influence and ability to mobilise supporters confirm their role as local elites.

Example 2: Although the Yemen Civil War is often characterised as a proxy war by international actors, the conflict is driven by a different set of dynamics and actors at the community level. While tribal leaders and mediators continue to play a primary role resolving conflicts in Yemen, other sets of influential elites include women and youth groups who initiate dialogues and act as mediators. In addition, the private sector engages in economic policy, humanitarian and development efforts, and recovery and reconstruction. In city of Taizz, for example, the Hayel Saeed Group helped mediate to build consensus amongst conflicting parties to improve access to goods and services for the local population.

Incorporating the Entire Community into Localised Conflict Analysis

As the examples above illustrate, an elite can be anyone with the influence to mobilise the population at the community level, even if they are not themselves an elite in the political or administrative sense. Groups that typically might be excluded by these other elites may have the social capital to increase the likelihood of a more durable peace — or ensure the continuation of violence — and the very act of inclusion can be a key priority as a peace process progresses (Yousuf 2018, p. 4).

Leaders of marginalised groups who are often not considered elites in a state-centric model may in fact have a higher degree of influence in informal or local settings. As a result, efforts to exclude community-based groups defined by gender, ethnicity, religious identity, lifestyle choices, or even livelihood can often have more significance than formal discrimination by the state. This dynamic highlights the importance of accounting for and including such groups at the community level. As noted in Conciliation Resources’ report ‘Navigating Inclusion in Peace Transitions’, analysis that disaggregates identity by gender and other excluded groups can help identify informal and formal barriers to inclusion, which groups require particular support, and the influential local actors who can champion or resist change (Yousuf 2018, p. 5).

The Stabilisation Unit’s paper titled ‘Gender and Conflict: Making Elite Bargaining Processes More Inclusive’ notes the lack of gender sensitivity in the EBPD Synthesis Paper. Amongst other crucial contributions, the Gender and Conflict paper suggests entry points for gender-responsiveness, which offer opportunities to open up the elite bargaining process in ways that increase sustainability and promote gender equality (True 2020, pp. 3, 21-24). At the community level, this may be easier to achieve. Often, community-based women leaders or leaders of marginalised groups, who are traditionally not seen as elites in the national power structure, may have already captured the elite space within their communities and possess the social capital to make change possible. Thus, in a communal context, where a ‘political deal’ can be anything that changes the norms or behaviour of a specific set of local actors, localising EBPD forces participants to look at the full spectrum of influence that all parties to a conflict bring to any potential negotiation. Nevertheless, analysing conflicts through

a localised EBPD lens must still consider the views of marginalised groups and populations, as they may have different understandings of the most influential local actors in a given context.

Below is a case study on how EBPD principles and terminology can be applied to understanding a community-level conflict.

Case Study: Who Really Controls the Local Economy?

In the early 2010s, the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo sought to undermine armed rebel groups by suspending mining activities in the country's eastern region that were financing the rebels. The central government exercised the authority to do this and effectively curbed the supply of conflict minerals. Unfortunately, the policy led to a precipitous downturn in mineral exports and artisanal miners' livelihoods in several provinces, including the volatile Kivu region. The ban made the artisans more susceptible to the influence of local business elites who controlled the shrinking economy.

When new regulatory policies were introduced following the lifting of the yearlong suspension, winners and losers were determined by the type of mineral they mined. Gold and the '3 T's' — tantalum, tin, and tungsten — were all considered conflict minerals in eastern Congo. However, gold was an industrial enterprise, while the 3 T's were primarily produced by small-scale miners. Because multiple steps are required to process the 3 T's, efforts to trace the provenance of the minerals could focus on middlemen such as smelters. In the Katanga region, for example, mining-site validation and mineral traceability systems contributed to better-regulated supply chains for artisanal miners, helping them connect with legitimate international buyers and reducing the likelihood that their product would finance conflict. Gold, however, continued to require minimal processing to acquire value, which made it easier for industrial mine operators to maintain their influence over the market and for armed groups in the Kivus and elsewhere to continue to earn incomes through illicit trade. The resulting informal settlement, driven by pressure from national and international actors to improve regulation, created an asymmetrical distribution of revenue at the local level. As enforcement of mining regulations increased, earnings were more equally distributed along the supply chain of the 3 T sector. In contrast, the profits of the gold sector continued to skew towards local business elites and illicit actors.

This issue can be viewed through the EBPD lens as follows:

- *Who are the elites?* In this example, both the business leaders who controlled the local mineral sectors and the rebel groups could be considered elites. They were both in positions to deliver on the demands of the respective constituencies or interests they represented.
- *What were the elite bargains?* The business leaders established agreements with the rebel groups to share mineral industry profits in exchange for security around mining activities.
- *Why did funding of armed groups in the gold sector continue?* The government attempted to impose a new political settlement through regulations targeting artisanal or small-scale miners. However, this political settlement did not align with the established elite bargains in the gold sector, where artisanal miners were less involved in the supply chain and the business leaders and rebel groups maintained outsized influence over the market. Thus, the elites in this example, including armed groups, were still able to capture the profits from gold mines.

How Does the Toolkit Relate to Other Conflict Analysis Approaches?

Much has been written elsewhere about the importance of conflict sensitivity and political economy analyses in implementing mediation, mitigation, and prevention programming at the national and local levels. The existing literature includes 'The Beginner's Guide to Political Economy Analysis', by the National School of Government International, which includes a reference to elite bargains as helpful to understanding difficult questions posed by political economy analysis (PEA) (Whaites, 2017 pp. 5-6). We recognise that the EBPD research referenced in this document contains elements of other frameworks and methodologies, including PEA and the Local Systems Framework. Our purpose with this toolkit is not to further the discussion on where EBPD fits in that continuum. Rather, our goal is to

incorporate EBPD into analyses being implemented or designed specifically for the local level. Our hope is that we fully demonstrate the depth and value of EBPD theory in a variety of localised contexts not considered in the original research. Below is an illustrative case study from Mali.

Applying EBPD to Analyse Local Conflicts in Southern Mali

In Mali, Chemonics provided technical assistance to a consortium of local NGOs in Bamako and Sikasso to foster grassroots application of EBPD in peacebuilding and conflict mediation programming. The goal was to use adapted EBPD theory to analyse local conflicts in southern Mali. Through their programme funded through the UK's Conflict, Stability and Security Fund, the Malian consortium aims to promote dialogue amongst local elites and key conflict actors in Mali's southern region of Sikasso. As the programme involves mediation activities to prevent the region from falling into outright violent conflict, Chemonics adapted EBPD to reflect a need to strengthen existing political settlements and the elite bargaining processes that support them.

To support project objectives, Chemonics designed and delivered a capacity building workshop in Sikasso to enable the local consortium to apply EBPD towards analysing and mapping local conflicts. The workshop taught Malian participants how to develop a 'conflict narrative' using the EBPD lens by identifying key actors, especially influential elites, and important contextual factors that play a role in conflict — including pressure from political deals or settlements, legal frameworks, and local customs. The four organisations then learned data-collection techniques that would allow them to test the established conflict narrative, namely, the fraught relationship between the identified actors. Lastly, the workshop supported the local consortium to develop a ToC to articulate which attitudes or behavioural changes among these actors would be critical to resolving the conflict, along with ideas for potential activities.

Chemonics further supported participants to incorporate their new understanding of EBPD into a revised scope of work for the programme's conflict analysis and data-collection phase. Preliminary results from the programme's deliverables and direct feedback on the workshop indicated that consortium members particularly benefitted from learning how to design a conflict narrative, which they could then apply to ongoing land disputes such as those at the communal and even the household levels. Participants were also better able to incorporate the lessons into their approach to data collection.

What remains to be seen is how well these skills can be applied to wider conflict analysis, especially when multiple actors are working toward the same peacebuilding objectives. Given that the participants represented different organisations with a mandate to collaborate in conducting a comprehensive conflict analysis, the willingness of each organisation to incorporate the set of tools presented in the workshop varied depending on how the organisations thought the tools would benefit their objectives.

PART TWO:

How to Conduct a Localised EBPD Workshop

- Setting Yourself Up for Success
- Starting the Workshop: Introductions and Overview
- Workshop Step One: Identify the Conflict Narrative
- Workshop Step Two: Develop a Methodology to Verify the Conflict Narrative
- Workshop Step Three: Strategy and Theory of Change
- Workshop Step Four: Develop Activities Supporting the Theory of Change
- Conclusion and Post-Training

Planning and Running the Workshop

This section provides a how-to guide for incorporating Elite Bargains and Political Deals theory into localised conflict analysis. The goal is to help workshop participants develop community-level programming that considers the relationship between elite bargaining processes and transitions out of conflict.

Setting Yourself Up for Success

The first part of the how-to manual focuses on key aspects to consider when designing a localised EBPD workshop and adapting training materials to your context. It contains recommendations for pre-training activities such as preparatory design sessions, tailoring the materials to the local environment, and logistical planning. It will also discuss overarching concepts and potential challenges that may arise during the training.

Adapting the Workshop to its Context

Holding a design workshop with relevant local staff or partners will help you to adapt workshop content to your local context. We recommend spending one to two days reviewing the draft workshop materials with a local partner organisation or individuals and using their feedback to tailor your content. Run your partners through the full training agenda and any participant materials, ensuring that the content is:

- locally contextualised;
- conflict-sensitive and trauma-informed;
- appropriate for your participants' knowledge level; and
- informed by the gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) perspective of political deals.



Below are some guiding questions during this process:

Conflict sensitivity

- Is your training designed with conflict sensitivity and '[Do No Harm principles](#)'¹ in mind?
- Could any discussions exacerbate existing conflicts or create tensions amongst participants?
- Would knowledge that an attendee participated (or that others were not selected to participate) in the exercise potentially put them in danger?
- Could any of the course materials unintentionally force a participant to experience trauma?
- Are case studies and examples articulated in a neutral way? Do the case studies convey, intentionally or unintentionally, an opinion on the conflict?

Contextualisation

- Is your training — including any group activities, written materials, teaching aids, or case studies — contextualised according to local ethnic, religious, and cultural considerations?
- Does it consider local behaviour norms for interpersonal interactions in group settings?
- Have you given considered to the terminology and language you employ throughout your workshop, beginning with the term 'elite' (more detail on this below)?

Power dynamics and systemic inequality

- Do your training materials include a critical analysis of power dynamics and how people from differing social backgrounds (considering gender, ethnicity, and nationality) may have disproportionate access to and control over resources, benefits, and opportunities?
- Have you considered how the conflict might be shaped by structural and systemic inequalities? Have you considered inequalities codified in law as well as those stemming from norms and beliefs? Have you thought about the role of dominant and marginalised identities on groups' narratives and self-perceptions of exclusion and inclusion?

Marginalised groups

- Do your training materials consider or suggest programming that caters to the different needs of women, youth, and members of other marginalised groups in the given locality?
- Do they consider the intersection of gender with other identities while maintaining 'Do No Harm' principles?

Accessibility

- Have you thought about how to ensure your workshop event will be accessible to all? Have you considered the needs of underrepresented groups and people with disabilities? What reasonable accommodations can be made in these cases? Have you thought about the accessibility of the physical location and the time of day the session will take place?

¹ 'Do No Harm' is a tool first developed by Mary Anderson and published by the organisation CDA Practical Learning for International Action. This approach refers to an organisation's capacity to find ways to address human needs in developing contexts without worsening local dynamics.

Participation

- Who should take part in your local training or workshops? Have you considered instances when women and other underrepresented social groups may not be inclusively represented? How can you mitigate such gaps?
- Will you strive to achieve gender balance or parity across other social groupings?
- Sometimes, single-sex or single-identity spaces may be more appropriate to support marginalised people to feel more comfortable speaking out (for example, survivors of gender-based violence). Have you determined the right accommodations to make in such cases?
- Have you considered who should *not* participate in this workshop because their presence may hinder self-expression? Are representatives of socially unequal statuses invited? How could one group stop members of another from freely expressing themselves?
- Who should participate in the process of analysing local conflict? Remember that training participants as well as facilitators are local actors as well and may be involved in the conflict. Are these individuals or organisations (i.e. your participants) representative of diverse voices of the social groups relevant to the conflict? If not, have you considered how to incorporate these perspectives into your training?

The answers to these questions can significantly influence both the content of the training and how the workshop is received. Incorporating local perspectives in the process is crucial.

It is important to remember that the local context, cultural norms, and political situation will continually shape participants' reactions to, and understanding of, the theories communicated during the workshop. Not only must you adapt the training materials to the local context, but you must also anticipate how participants' varying backgrounds might inform how they respond to discussions. Consider these issues ahead of time so that you are prepared to address them as they come up during the training.

For example, in some socio-cultural settings, tensions exist between educated and uneducated groups. Higher-educated individuals working in conflict prevention may dismiss the perspectives of less well-educated people, especially those participating in violence. EBPD theory, however, requires identifying the actions and motivations of local grassroots actors involved in elite bargains to preserve or defend their interests. It is crucial to consider the perspectives of relevant actors, who may be from uneducated groups, to understand why they are participating in conflict and recognise that their reasons may be legitimate, which is not the same as validating the violence itself. From there, you can work to identify a nonviolent solution through programme implementation. Groups and individuals will naturally still pursue their interests, but rather than opposing that pursuit, consider what incentives can encourage actors to do so without violence.

Selecting the Right Terminology

One of the key aspects of teaching this approach in local settings is choosing the correct interpretation of EBPD terms. Terminology is especially important if the training is being delivered in a language other than English, or a sociocultural context where the EBPD theory might not be readily understood.

The local reality of who might be considered an elite and how that term is interpreted is shaped by social norms. The understanding of what constitutes an elite could revolve around those in government or other formal positions of power — wealthy individuals, politicians, chiefs, etc. Localising EBPD naturally involves looking at the definition of elites more broadly: to include a diverse set of community-level actors who create their own space or defend their interests through violence or other means — and who otherwise might not be considered within larger political deals.

Anyone with the right means could mobilise a local population in favour of their interests, even if they are not considered an 'elite' in the political or administrative sense. In this situation, facilitators may need to use a locally appropriate synonym for 'elite' that better describes what these actors are doing or develop other frames of reference that apply in the local language and context.

For example, using a phrase such as 'interest-dealer' may provide a more literal explanation of the role elites play in conflict and thus eliminate ambiguity. You may also need to adopt new terminology for the phrase 'elite bargains,' especially if confusion already exists about who is considered an elite. It could be helpful to use a word like local 'pacts' (which this how-to guide does in several locations) to reinforce the idea of 'elite bargains'.

Speaking the Same Language

In Mali, Chemonics' team identified terminology as a key obstacle to helping participants apply and understand the EBPD model. In particular, EBPD theory uses the word 'elite' in a way that was confusing to Malian partners.

Making EBPD Relevant to Participants

It might be challenging for workshop participants to understand how to apply EBPD to their existing work. Some may view EBPD as a useful theoretical tool, but one separate from or unrelated to their ongoing activities, especially if incorporating EBPD is not included in the scope of their project. To mitigate this, we suggest having participants arrive at the session with a case study to analyse during the workshop. This could include:

- A past or present project that participants have designed or funded (in the case of those coming from donor organisations).
- A past or present project or community activity that they have helped implement or manage (for participants who are members of NGOs or other community-based organisations).
- A specific local phenomenon or context, i.e. illicit gold mining in the Sikasso region of Mali (for participants from non-development backgrounds).

Having participants come to the workshop with their own case study — and using the training as an opportunity to view their current situation and work from a different perspective — will help ground the content of the workshop in reality and help with any perceived disconnect between this and EBPD theory.

Taking a context that participants know well and have experience in, and using this to learn about EBPD, will also allow them to understand better how it relates to their own conflict or stabilisation work. Examples will make the training more relevant and less abstract. Ideally, it will encourage participants to understand their work, including existing narratives or theories of change, in the context of EBPD, and to assess their own activities within this framework. This will give participants tools to frame their existing conflict analysis or prevention work with a new paradigm.

Other Preparation and Logistics

Ensure that you have the necessary supplies for participant learning and any group activities. These could include markers, printer paper, pens, notepads, tape, activity sheets, handouts, and maps of

locations that will be discussed. We also suggest writing out any useful definitions relating to EBPD ahead of time (see section 'Step One, Sub-Step 1B' on understanding definitions), and placing them on the walls in the room where the workshop will take place. Materials that you can adapt and use in individual workshops are included in the following Annexes:

- **Annex I: Visual Trainers' Guide:** This short companion booklet for facilitators includes graphics designed to help facilitators remember key EBPD concepts they should communicate to participants. It also summarises other training content described in the sections below.
- **Annex II: Sample EBPD Training Outline and Agenda:** These example materials, based on those used in Chemonics' AT-PECIC workshop in Mali, serve as a training plan facilitators can tailor to their specific needs and context.
- **Annex III: Companion Tools and Training Materials:** Facilitators can use these resources 'off the shelf' to help deliver their own workshop or training (this includes workshop materials such as activity sheets, participant handouts, and EBPD terms definitions). This annex also includes helpful resources to support participants with their actual project implementation after the workshop.

Lastly, carefully consider the scheduled time of your training and the space you will use, and how these logistics need to support effective communication and learning. It is important to be attentive to GESI considerations, as noted previously. For example, are you holding the session at times that will be accessible to different social or gender groups? Think about arranging the seating in a semicircle so that all participants can see each other, and no one has their back to anyone. Set up separate tables to cater to small-group discussions.

Starting the Workshop: Introductions and Overview

Begin the workshop with some preparatory steps for participants. These include introductions, 'get-to-know-you' activities (also called icebreakers), and setting community standards and norms. Here are some icebreaker ideas:

- Have participants open a pre-sealed envelope, included in their training packets, containing keywords to be used in the workshop (such as bargains, elites, or deals), and find partners to form a definition for each term. The purpose of this is for participants to understand and own the terminology. If the terms themselves are confusing, provide phrases that define each term and have participants come up with their own wording.
- Introductions via one-on-one interviews. Have participants interview their neighbours about the following topics: name, association, where they are from, and their experience in conflict resolution (both work and personal experience).
- Have participants write answers to the following questions on notecards, then discuss answers in small groups:
 - The most threatening conflict in their locality today.
 - The animal they identify with most.
 - The element they identify with most (fire, water, earth, air).
 - The most popular form of conflict resolution in the world.

These notecards can then be used during group exercises and to explain foundational concepts.

Afterwards, take some time to briefly outline the content of the workshop. Explain that EBPD is a holistic way of approaching conflict analysis and management that examines both formal and informal systems which underpin conflict and violence.

Let participants know that they will:

- Develop practical skills applicable to conflict and contextual analysis.
- Develop practical skills in data collection to provide evidence-based analysis.
- Build practical approaches to measure change.

By learning how to:

- Understand what is happening according to their conflict analysis and research.
- Verify if their hypotheses about why violence is occurring are correct.
- Suggest a strategy to help solve the problem (through local activities or other initiatives).

Lastly, invite participants to decide on rules for group engagement throughout the workshop. Depending on local norms, rules could include: timing for breaks, phones on 'silent mode', no stepping out to take phone calls, being fully present in workshop activities (not running in and out to support other work), limiting distractions, or practicing active listening.

Step One: Identify the Conflict Narrative

The objective of the first session of the workshop is to teach participants the EBPD perspective of conflict analysis. Begin with learning relevant terminology and understanding the roles of the different elements discussed in the EBPD research. Encourage participants to put their conflict narrative (their understanding of why a conflict is happening) into a larger context — one that considers pressures that might stem from wider political deals and settlements and identifies structural factors in local conflicts.

Getting the Full Picture

The 'conflict narrative' is an explanation or 'hypothesis' for why the conflict is occurring. It explains the underlying factors that drive or characterise a specific conflict.

Sub-Step 1A) Introduction of EBPD

Start this part of the workshop by introducing the core principles of EBPD. We suggest first having participants close their eyes, presuming that a 'safe space' for this was established in the workshop introduction, and telling them a story. This story should:

- Have local relevance, i.e. a situation that participants are familiar with or have already encountered themselves.
- Contain plot points that will help to illustrate EBPD theory.
- Be simple enough that participants can easily assess and discuss it.

An example story is included in the Sample EBPD Training Outline and Agenda in Annex II. This story can feature in later activities throughout the workshop, so ensure that it is well-developed and thoughtful.

After telling the story, have participants open their eyes and begin with a broad discussion of what they have just heard. Potential questions include:

- What did you think of this story?
- What lessons can we take from this story, in your opinion?
- Did you recognise any elements from this story that apply to the situation in your own country and local community?

Then, transition into a presentation about EBPD and the rationale for the workshop. Start by providing some context for the theory. See an example below.

Example Introduction to EBPD

War has been the most widely used form of conflict resolution throughout history. Only since the Cold War has the international community begun to promote mediation and peace agreements, but with little success. The UK government has noticed that too many attempts at mediation and peace deals are unsustainable. They do not last, not because the actors who signed the agreement then jeopardize it, but for other reasons. These peace agreements can sometimes exclude key groups, create unexpected conditions for certain populations, or have unforeseen effects on the interests of actors who have the means to protect their interests. These people are called elites.

The story you just heard is an example of a situation where a signed peace agreement threatened the interests of elites. These elites had the means to create new conditions to maintain their interests despite the peace agreement. The elites did so by creating a pact — known as an elite bargain — at the local level. In the example, this local pact between elites challenged the terms of the peace agreement, but this was not its main objective. Nor did those who made the pact have any interest in obtaining a seat at the national peace negotiations. However, these kinds of ‘local pacts’ can be the main reason that peace agreements fail.

Often, conflict resolution methods — especially national ones through high-level peace agreements — ignore the informal power structures that may resist their newly created legal texts or institutions. As a result, another form of conflict emerges and slowly destabilizes the agreement or comprehensive peace settlement. The elites — the people who have the influence, power, and supporters necessary to defend their interests — have found themselves at odds with this new peace agreement or settlement. They need to create space for themselves to ensure that they maintain power at their own (often local) level. The means by which they acquire this space is sometimes violent, but it can also be nonviolent. We call this process ‘elite bargaining.’

Remind participants of the various ways that the broader political structure can impact those at the local level. These include the following:

- Politically motivated regulations might take the form of laws that appear oppressive.
- Political deals can translate into structural or institutional reforms, which might side-line a population that feels they no longer have the power or space to operate.
- Political deals can manifest as economic exclusion of specific groups from certain markets.
- Political deals can present as social or cultural marginalisation for some populations (particularly minority groups).

To conclude this section, it is important to have participants broaden their perspective of how they view various conflict actors. If they cannot reasonably or objectively understand why a given actor would use violence to defend their interests, then they have little hope of encouraging that actor to do so via nonviolent means. It can help to discuss with participants that conflict is a natural part of life. The instinct to fight for survival is natural. Violence can otherwise be seen as an expression of a

willingness to resolve a conflict related to one's interests. Stress to participants that this workshop will emphasise understanding the motivations behind elite bargains (local pacts between certain actors) to facilitate the identification of peaceful means to resolve conflict.

Given the instruction-heavy nature and subject matter intensity of the first session, it is helpful to plan a group activity that has participants use different sensory functions or interact in a new environment. Bring participants into a different space, or even outside, and guide them through a group activity that illustrates some of the concepts discussed thus far. Use the exercise to explain how to structure a conflict analysis, understand who contributes to conflict, and recognise the difference between proximate and root causes of conflict. Explain the implications of each subject. Doing this will set participants up for the next phase of the workshop and prepare them to see conflict in a different light. See an example exercise in the box below.

You could also take participants through a series of role-playing activities using concise scenarios that are familiar to them and contain elements of conflict resolution. Focus on creating characters who represent elites and plot points that include local pacts between different actors. Start with a straightforward story such as an interpersonal conflict between friends and build to more complex cases that involve an increasing number of actors. For example, a conflict about being taxed to sell goods in the local market. Then, move to a conflict about artisanal and large-scale mining in a given geographic zone. Focus on dynamic cases, ones that show relationships between different conflict actors and how these change over time. It is essential to present detailed roles that raise difficult issues. See Annex II for several examples. These stories (particularly the latter two) can feature in later activities throughout the workshop, so ensure that they are well-developed and thoughtful.

The Roots and Branches of Conflict

In Mali, we took the group outside and gathered around a tree, which became an analogy for conflict analysis (the top leaves are the national peace agreement, the roots could represent different elites, and the branches might be the elite bargains).

Participants discussed their understanding of how trees grow and what makes them strong and difficult to knock over once they reach a certain size. Each participant told their own story of a conflict using the tree to illustrate different elements of the story.

Guiding questions to ask participants during discussions include:

- What was the local pact (the elite bargain) in this story?
- What new agreements compete with the existing local pact?
- What is the immediate driving force behind this conflict? What are other local drivers of this conflict?
- What is the larger context (including structural forces) that affects this situation? Did it change any pre-existing arrangement or local pact?
- Who is seeking to maintain the previous arrangement? What kind of investment are they making to ensure the arrangement is upheld at the local level? Are these investments costly?
- What are the potential effects of their actions on the wider structural situation?
- What were the intentions behind using violence in this example? What are the alternatives to violence for either party? Are these alternatives more or less costly than investing in violence?

Lastly, during a break either between these group activities or afterwards, have a person that has not thus far been included in the workshop enter the room and ask about a car that is blocking theirs in the road or parking area. This interruption will come up again in a later part of the workshop, as

means to illustrate to participants the limitations of human memory when trying to verify information (see section 'Step Two, Sub-Step 2A' below on how to verify a conflict narrative).

Sub-Step 1B) Understanding Definitions

Follow the EBPD overview session with a detailed 'break-down' discussion of important definitions and terminology. Key terms to explain are listed below. Remember to adapt this terminology to use language that will resonate with your participants, given their respective backgrounds (education level, vocations) and cultural context (linguistic, political or religious). It may be necessary to use different words, particularly when working in non-English settings, to effectively communicate these foundational concepts. It is also helpful to write definitions on large sheets of paper and display them in the rooms where the workshop is taking place. Signage allows participants to easily reference useful vocabulary throughout the following sessions.

- **Actors:** The various individuals or groups who are relevant to, or involved in, a given conflict.
- **Political Deal:** A formal or semi-formal understanding or arrangement between parties in conflict for the cessation of hostilities or competition.
- **Settlement:** A distribution of resources between parties, often following a political deal.
- **Context:** The conditions under which the conflict is taking place. These may be longstanding, slow-to-change structural factors that shape the environment. Structural conditions include:
 - *Informal factors* such as traditions, customs, social norms.
 - *Formal and institutional factors*, which are entities codified through an official system such as laws, decrees, or regulations.
- **Elites:** Individuals with the means to mobilise supporters in defence of their interests, which may be threatened by an agreement or settlement between other actors.
- **Elite Bargains:** The means used by elites to defend their interests. These could include formal or informal alliances between elites that allocate political power, control of economic opportunities, or command over means of violence.
- **Supporters:** People who follow elites, often because their interests align.
- **Violence:** Different forms of violence arise in such a context, which include:
 - *Competitive:* Violence whose objective is to defend access to a resource against other actors competing for the same resources.
 - *Embedded:* Violence by one actor against another that is not punished under the terms of a given settlement.
 - *Permissive:* A form of violence that according to social norms is accepted in the absence of state control.
 - *Structural:* A pressure linked to a law, tradition, or other constraint which is felt as a form of violence against a specific people or social group.

When discussing these definitions and forms of violence, it is helpful to place the use of violence in a larger context (i.e. that violence exists in multiple forms and is not always physical, as is the case with structural violence). Context can help explain the reasons for the use of a physical form of violence — maybe in response to structural violence, for example — which otherwise might seem to arise independently. This information prompts participants to understand relationships between forms of violence and the physical outbreak of violence and examine assumptions about why violence occurs in specific contexts.

Sub-Step 1C) How to Develop a Conflict Narrative

This part of the workshop teaches participants to demonstrate their understanding of EBPD application to real conflicts. Once participants have a solid grasp of EBPD and key terminology, introduce to them the idea of identifying and constructing a conflict narrative — an explanation for why the given conflict is occurring. Elements of the conflict narrative, without which the conflict might not exist, include:

- Key actors, especially influential elites.
- Relevant or existing agreements, both formal and informal, that have been adopted, opposed, ignored, or overlooked by the various actors. These include both national political deals or settlements as well as local elite bargains.
- Critical contextual factors that play a role in the conflict, including any specific actions or events that provoked the conflict, and pressure from formal structures such as legal frameworks and informal structures such as customs or traditions.

When considering these elements, it is important to encourage participants to incorporate a GESI lens. Discuss with participants the meaning of gender and gender inclusion. Depending on their backgrounds, participants may conflate the term ‘gender’ with women. Make it clear that when trying to understand or explain a conflict dynamically, gender should be assigned to all actors, a process called ‘gendering in a situational analysis’.

When applying GESI to the EBPD model, it is important to create gender and identity-sensitive narratives about who is affected by political deals along with their respective roles in that society. Emphasise gendering the analysis to make sure participants fully understand the ways in which political deals might distinctly affect those of different genders in a community, given the traditional roles of these genders in this context. Doing so helps develop a clear vision of why people react to political deals in particular ways.

It is not helpful to say ‘these are the people’ — say *which* people. Are women disproportionately affected? Are men? What are the identities of the different actors in a given conflict? Specificity enables the ‘inclusion’ component of GESI: Inclusion is not just gender-based but is also based on ethnic identity or other identities. Are people excluded by their choice of religion, lifestyle, or livelihood in the local environment? Explain that by adding a gender and inclusion lens to conflict analysis, participants will gain the ability to better discern motivations that lead to violence-inducing decisions or other means to secure individual interests.

Guiding questions for participants developing a conflict narrative include:

- Who are the actors? Who are the elites and the supporters?
- What are the interests of the actors?
- What is the context provoking the conflict?
 - *Informal structures*: traditions, customs, and social norms.
 - *Formal/institutional structures*: laws and regulations.
- Where is the conflict taking place? Is it limited to one location?
- What form or forms of violence are occurring (i.e. competitive, embedded, permissive, or structural)?
- What agreements (alliances between actors) have been established?
 - *Political deals*, including peace agreements.

- *Settlements*: resource distribution between actors.
- *Elite bargains*: alliances between elites that allocate political power, control of economic opportunities, or command over means of violence. What bargains have elites made or agreed on, and with which other actors?

Using the Conflict Narrative Development Tool

A useful way to guide participants through this process is by using the Conflict Narrative Development Tool to identify elements of the conflict and construct the conflict narrative or hypothesis. The graphic on the next page illustrates how to use the Conflict Narrative Development Tool to complement this discussion, with a case study. A copy of the tool is also included in Annex III. Provide participants with whichever example is appropriate and relevant to the local context, and then discuss developing a conflict narrative using this tool. Regardless of the case that you use, remember to clearly frame the scenario around elites and bargains involving elites. Illustrate using an example of an elite making a bargain in the local political environment. Start with a summary of the situation, examine its elements with participants to identify the elites, why they are elites, and what they are bargaining over to clearly relate the case to EBPD.

User Tip



When thinking about presenting examples, it is helpful to vary how you communicate information to participants for different learning styles (auditory, visual, kinaesthetic).

Alternate between written and visual materials, auditory elements (pre-recorded scenarios), or group activities that involve moving around such as acting or role-playing. During workshops, memory is stimulated by emotion and sensory inputs — the more activities that involve emotion and the senses (hearing, sight, smell, and feeling) the easier it is to keep participants focused and engaged and help them retain what they've learned.

Conflict Narrative Development Tool

Identify the Narrative: What's Happening?

Conflict Summary:

[Provide a general summary of the conflict. Write several detailed sentences describing the situation and its context(s).]

Actor(s)	Fruit sellers
Actor(s)	Farmers
Actor(s)	Truckers who have stopped transporting logs
Actor(s)	Truckers who have experienced attacks
Local Pact	Arrangement between first group of truckers and the fruit sellers to stop transporting logged trees
Local Pact	Sabotage of trucks and attacks against two truck drivers
Local Pact	Ethnic solidarity between fruit sellers and first group of truckers
Context	2015 law that allowed for logging in the area is the primary political deal that provokes the reaction
Context	

EXAMPLE

Two groups are fighting over logging in the area. A timber company is offering a large amount of money to cut and harvest trees, but a small group of fruit sellers from this forest area is opposed. A 2015 law authorised logging in this zone, and other farmers are in favour of allowing them to establish the business here.

Logging trucks have been out of circulation for two weeks. The truckers have reportedly agreed to stop transporting logged trees in solidarity with the fruit growers because they come from the same ethnic group.

Other truck drivers have recently started transporting logged trees again, but found their trucks sabotaged. Two drivers were reportedly assaulted.

- Briefly describe the main conflict actors, including elites and supporters. Discuss one actor or group of actors per line.
- Describe the relevant arrangements between local actors that have been adopted, opposed, ignored, or overlooked. What bargains, or local pacts, have elites made or agreed upon — and with which other actors? Discuss one per line.
- Break down the context of the conflict, with one aspect per line. What context (including specific actions or events) provoked the conflict? What wider political deals or settlements relate to the local conflict? How did this context prompt the need for or shape the local pacts (elite bargains) made between the different actors identified?

After an initial large-group discussion of the tool, it can be helpful to organise participants in small groups to practise using it. Have each group develop their ‘narrative’ for a chosen conflict — ideally using the case study they brought to the workshop. Ask them to fill in the Conflict Narrative Development Tool for their chosen conflict. Then, use what they have completed to answer the key questions below of ‘what, where, why, who, and how’ to inform their presentation to the wider group:

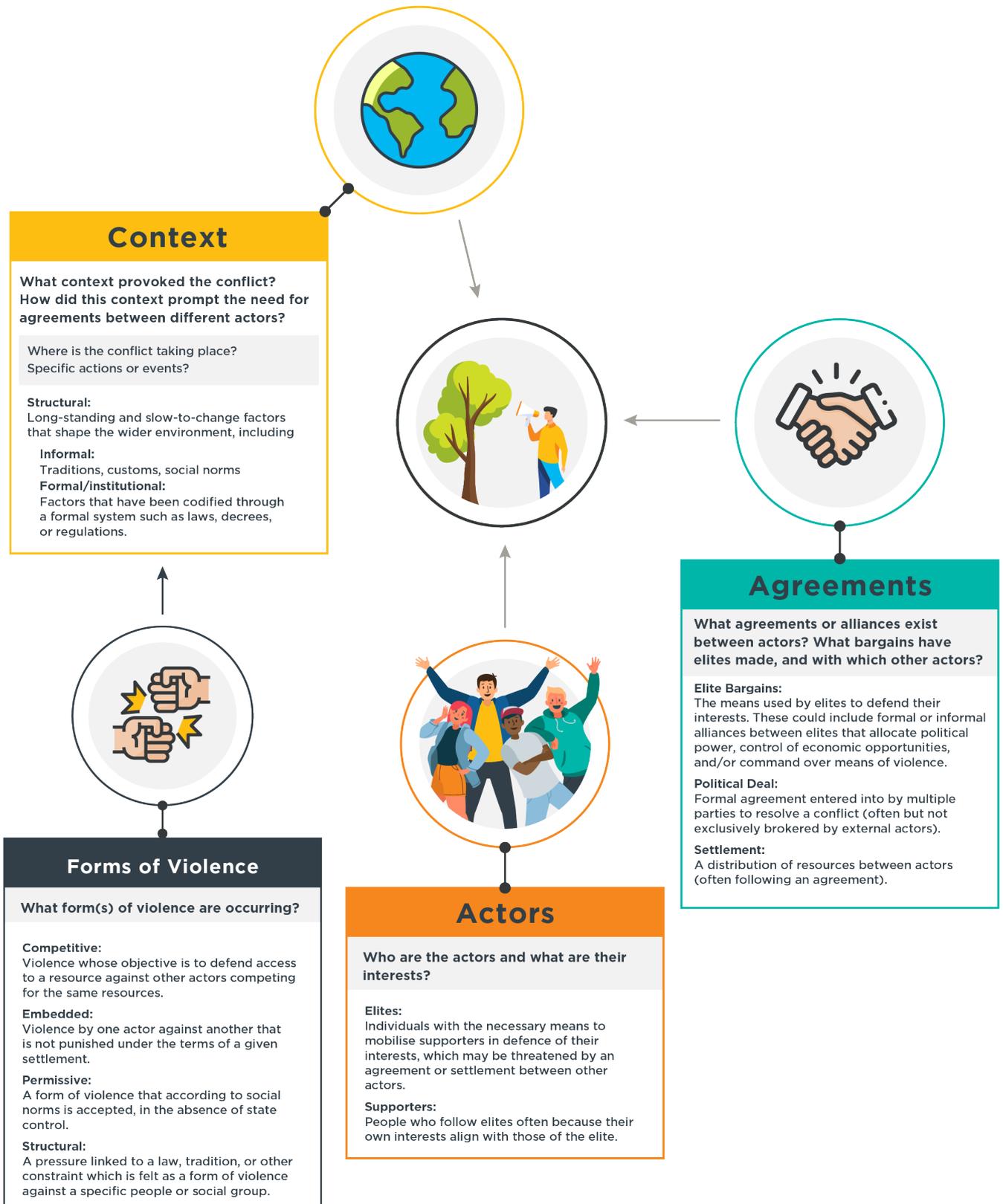
- **What:** What is the general summary of the conflict, and how does this conflict fit into a larger context (structural, institutional, ethnic, religious, or political)?
- **Where:** Does the conflict affect a specific location, or is it more widespread?
- **Why:** What is the main driving force for the manifestation of this conflict at the local level? Have national agreements shaped this phenomenon of local elite bargains or pacts?
- **Who:** Which elites feed this conflict? What supporters enable and benefit from it? Have you explicitly defined the actors, naming their respective identities (gender, ethnicity, age), accounting for GESI principles?
- **How:** How do actors use violence to achieve the desired goal?
 - Is the goal to accumulate power?
 - Is violence used to fight contenders for power (competitive violence)?
 - Is the objective to maintain formal institutions?
 - Is the violence an integral part of the functioning of informal and formal structures (embedded violence)?
 - Is the goal to achieve peace and order?
 - Is violence a necessary means to maintain order in state absence (permissive violence)?
 - What is the cost of violence?

Have each group present their conflict and related details. Ask them to specify the source of the information that they are presenting, including indicating where their information is unclear or based on hearsay.

The graphic on the next page represents the thought process of creating a conflict narrative using EBPD theory. It shows the elements of establishing a conflict narrative, or ‘hypothesis’, about why a conflict is happening. This resource visually reminds people of:

- The conflict elements they need to consider.
- The definitions of these terms, especially ‘elite’ and ‘elite bargains’.
- The types of questions to examine each element and the relationships between them to ultimately construct the conflict narrative.

Visualising the Conflict Narrative



Step Two: Develop a Methodology to Verify the Conflict Narrative

The objective of the second part of the workshop is to help participants understand how to verify the elements contained in their conflict narrative (the hypothesis). Step Two will support participants to develop a data-collection methodology that tests the conflict narrative (i.e. verify the hypothesis) — namely the relationship between actors. Participants will rely on their written conflict narratives from the preceding session to apply EBPD theory to data-collection methodologies.

Sub-Step 2A) Determine Which Elements to Verify

Start with a large-group discussion or activity centred on data sources and veracity of information. Test the reliability of first-hand knowledge with a short exercise on eyewitness experience. Ask participants to describe the person who came to ask about the blocked car in ‘Workshop Step One, Sub-Step 1A’. Use the lack of detail that they can provide to highlight that memory is not always reliable and that key informants — often designated to represent an entire community or gender — are not necessarily the best source of information about events. Conclude that collecting a diverse set of views is always recommended.

Next, revisit either the story you told participants at the start of the workshop or one of the role-playing scenarios they explored to learn about EBPD concepts. It is often easier to introduce new ways of thinking through a fictional situation you have presented, rather than one they already know and about which have likely drawn conclusions. Bring up one of those examples and have participants use it to explore the following:

- How do we know that our understanding and analysis of the conflict is correct?
- Where are gaps or unclear information, such as information based on hearsay or public knowledge?
- The idea that information is never neutral; it is the product of lived experience.
- What information do we require to verify our understanding of the given conflict?

When discussing the most relevant elements of the conflict narrative, focus on having participants verify:

- Whether their conflict narrative or hypothesis reflects reality.
- The relationship between the actors — in particular, relations between elites.
- The social status of the elites. Are they revered or feared?
- The presence of elite bargains, formal political deals, and settlements.
- The existence of formal and informal structures.
- The impact of the chosen political deals, settlements, and structures on the actors, and especially on elites and elite bargains.
- Is the impact felt only in one place or by one group, or in several locations amongst one or more groups? Is the effect felt differently in other locations? Are conflicts experienced with the same intensity everywhere?
- Is there violence? If so, what forms of violence? Competitive, embedded, permissive, or structural violence?

Using the Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet

A helpful way to talk participants through this process is by using the following “Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet” to identify which elements of the conflict require verification and how. See the graphic below for an explanation of how to use the worksheet to complement this discussion, building from the previous example included in the ‘Conflict Narrative Development Tool’ graphic on page 21. A copy of this worksheet is also included in Annex III.

Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet How to Verify the Conflict Narrative			
Element of Conflict Narrative •Actors, and specifically elites •Pacts between actors (elite bargains) •Context (existing political deals and settlements, structural and institutional factors, relationships between actors, etc.)	Evidence and Sources	Proposed Data Collection Approach	
		Qualitative	Quantitative

Types of questions to ask to determine these elements:

- Is there really a **conflict between fruit sellers and farmers** over the use of forest land?
- Have **truckers** really **refused to transport logged wood**?
- Does the **2015 Law** apply to the conflict and if so, how?
- What is the impact of the law on the village?

If you already have evidence to verify these elements, write “Yes” and describe the source.

If you are using a mixed-methods approach, use both of these fields.

Sub-Step 2B) Decide on a Data-Collection Methodology

Once you have completed the worksheet, encourage participants to think about what types of information they must research and verify. It is important to discuss key principles of data collection. In particular, focus on representative sampling and types of data to be collected (qualitative and quantitative), as well as the tools for each method and their relative strengths and limitations.

Sampling: How to Collect Data from the Right People

Explain to participants that when you research a group of people (the population), it is rarely possible to collect data from every person in that group. Instead, you select a sample. The sample is the group of individuals who will participate in the research. To be a good sample, the group of individuals selected to participate in the study should be representative of the overall population as much as possible. For example, if half of the population are women, half of the sample should also be women.

Two main types of data collection, quantitative and qualitative, can be used in parallel. This is called ‘mixed-methods’ research and is best practice. Each is briefly introduced below, with links to additional resources for further reading. Suppose the participants are facing budget constraints or

time pressure to collect their data. In that case, it may not be feasible for them to use quantitative research methods, which can be more expensive and time-intensive than qualitative data collection methods. Qualitative data alone can provide important insights, although it will never be as helpful on its own as when combined with quantitative data. As the UK Stabilisation Unit's guide to M&E in conflict settings notes, 'it is important to be pragmatic and recognise that sometimes "good enough" data and its collection will suffice. Data collection should focus on data that is easy to collect as well as continuously/consistently available' (Stabilisation Unit, p. 18, 2014).

Quantitative Data Collection

Quantitative data collection methods typically involve direct measurement and the collection of numerical information for later statistical analysis. Data is often analysed with a spreadsheet or database and presented in the form of graphs, charts, and tables to show trends and patterns. Surveys are the most common tool that researchers use to collect quantitative data — for example, through a mobile phone survey, social media survey, or through field researchers visiting households within a particular community to ask for their views and opinions. Using this toolkit, help workshop participants consider two types of quantitative sampling and which may be more practical or feasible for their situation: probability sampling or non-probability sampling.

Quantitative probability sampling involves the random selection of research participants who evenly represent the entire population, allowing a researcher to make statistical inferences about the whole group. The method is used to determine how a given problem affects a wide range of community profiles: age groups, genders, educational levels, ethnic groups, for example. Understanding the range of views, attitudes, and experiences within a community will help guide the approach to mitigate a problem. To conduct probability sampling, key features of the overall population should be known or estimated. For example, what proportion of the population are women, are in each age bracket, or live in rural or urban areas.

To be representative, a sample should include research participants in the same proportion present in the overall population. It is also important that each research participant is selected at random, by applying random sampling methods that you can read more about using the link below. Probability mathematics demonstrates that, for any population size, there is a maximum sample size that is helpful to represent the views of that population evenly. Depending on how confident you want to be that your sample represents the views of the population (confidence level), and how much of the population's views you want to be represented (confidence interval), different formulas can be used to decide the optimal sample size. It is more costly to collect data with a larger sample. The standard sample size for most international development research seeks to achieve a 95% confidence level, +/- 5% confidence interval. Mathematical calculators such as those found at the [Australian Government's Bureau of Statistics](#) can help you to identify the sample size needed.

Quantitative non-probability sampling involves non-random selection of research participants based on convenience or other criteria. For example, you can interview people you know have attended a workshop or received a certain service, or experienced a certain conflict, and whose contact details you have. Another common method, particularly with mobile-phone surveys in sensitive, conflict-affected environments, is 'snowball sampling', in which researchers start with a group of participants they can contact, and ask that group for two more recommendations, repeating the process until a full sample set has been surveyed. Non-probability sampling provides the same type of quantitative information as probability sampling, but only among the group you have interviewed. It does not necessarily represent a larger population. If the number of people in the population (i.e. the group you want to research using non-probability sampling) is too large to survey them all, use a random selection method such as a numbered list of people and a random number generator to select a smaller sample.

You can find more information on simple approaches to quantitative data collection [in this guide](#), and a guide to random sampling methods [here](#).

Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data collection methods involve descriptive, in-depth questions and responses between a researcher and research participants. This type of data collection allows respondents to explain their ideas or reactions to questions with more detail and complexity than quantitative analysis. Qualitative methods can record attitudes, feelings, and behaviours in detail and can sometimes encourage more openness in conversation, as people can expand on their responses. Respondents can also bring up new topics not initially prompted by the researcher. Qualitative research is beneficial when a researcher doesn't have all of the information about a population or the context in which the research is being conducted, or when research is in an initial investigatory phase. It can also help uncover *why* quantitative research may have generated certain results. This method of data collection includes face-to-face interviews or organised focus-group discussions. Care should still be taken that the people invited to participate in the research are somewhat representative of the population of interest to the research, i.e. proportional numbers of men and women, youth and adults, and rural and urban respondents. Unlike for quantitative research, no mathematical formula or 'rule of thumb' determines how many people should be in a qualitative sample. The idea is to collect an amount of information that provides useful insight into the question being examined and to consider different viewpoints.

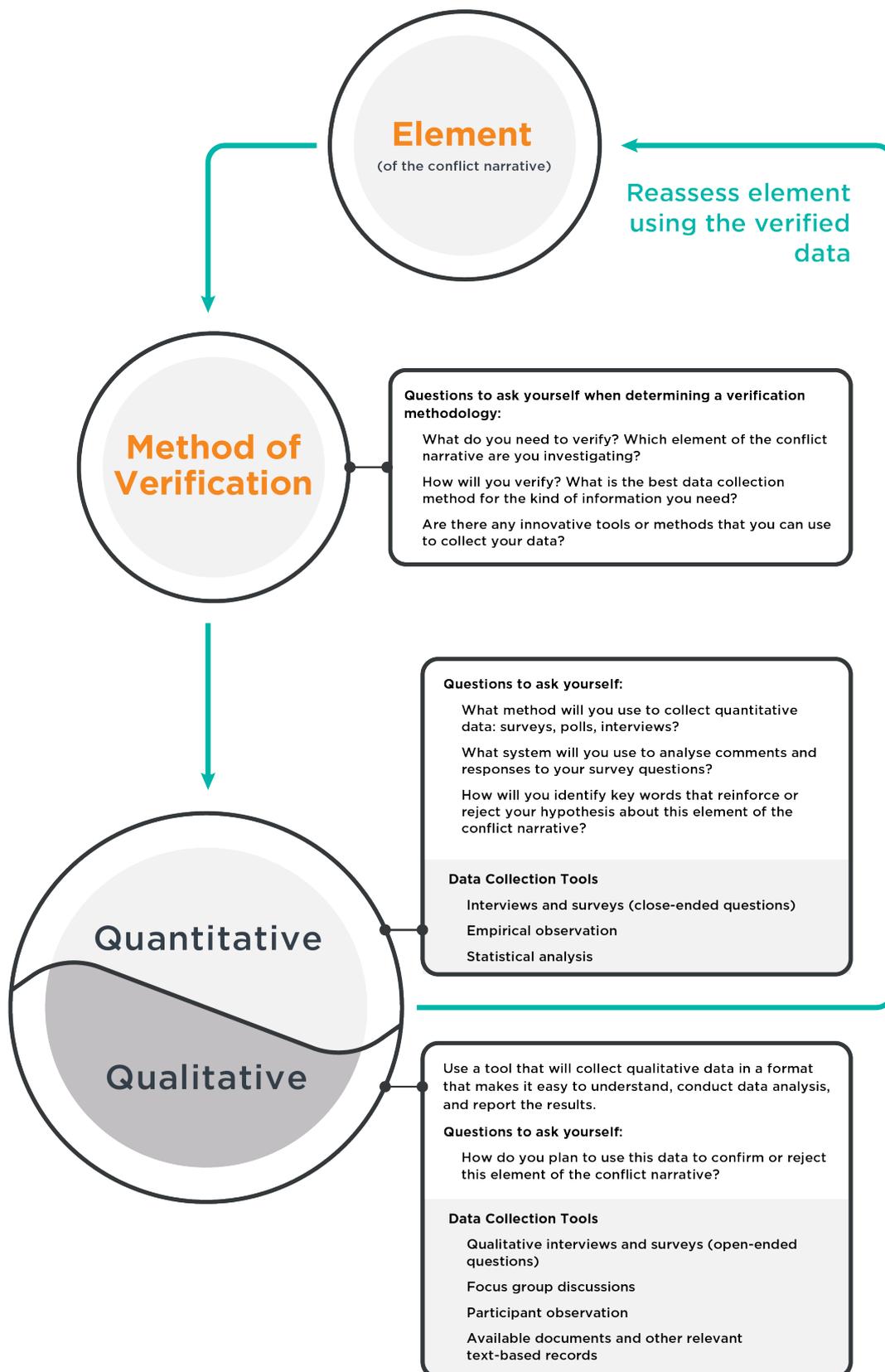
You can read more about simple approaches to qualitative research methodologies [here](#).

Reminder: Sampling is Essential

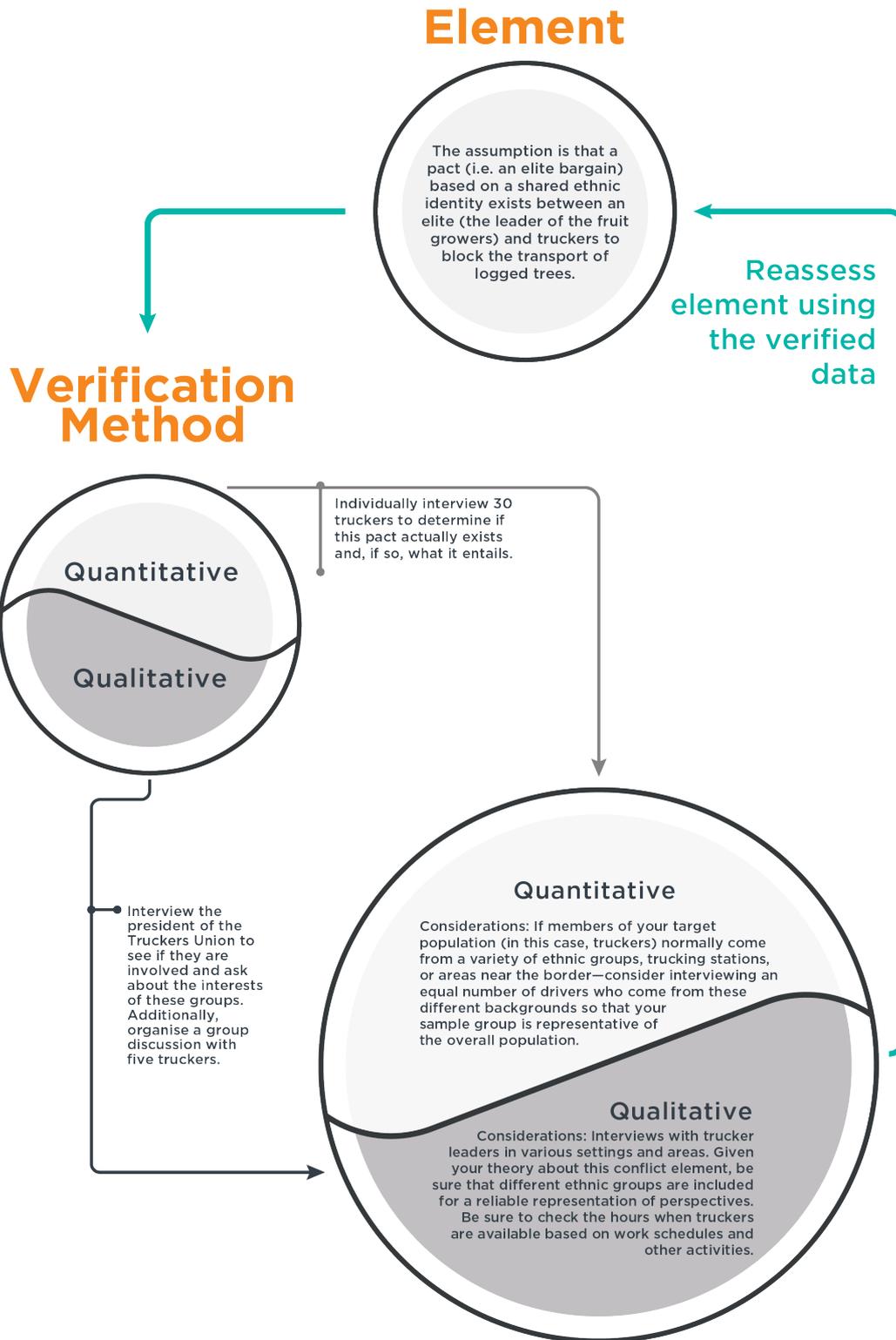
Conclude the conversation by returning to the principles of sampling. Explain that properly choosing a sample group ensures that everyone in a given population is represented. A poorly chosen sample, on the other hand, will privilege or exclude certain views in the community — skewing conflict analysis and likely leaving out critical information. Another important factor to consider is the possible biases researchers may hold towards the people they are surveying or interviewing, and the biases that respondents have about the topics being studied. For example, a researcher or respondent recently affected by conflict may have very strong views about the group or people they think are responsible for the conflict — views unlikely to be neutral. Wherever possible, it is important to collect information from different viewpoints and note where bias may be present in the research.

Discuss with participants the factors they need to consider when identifying a sample. For example, you must schedule data collection to include times and places where women, men, and those from all social strata are available. Otherwise, your data will be distorted to favour, for example, those who did not go to work in their fields or those who only live in a neighbourhood where one ethnic group predominates. Have participants think about the gender dynamics of their chosen conflict, and make sure a sample reflects this reality. Bring up practical cases: 'If in the end your survey has a sample of 35 people, and you interviewed the president of the women's association and 34 men, you do not have a representative sample.' The president of the women's association alone cannot speak for all the women in the community, just as a youth leader cannot speak for all young people. It helps to tailor your content to the local realities of workshop participants' communities. Bring in statistics about the population structure in target zones, to help them think about who their sample groups need to represent. In the Malian context, you could say: 'If women represent 51% of the population, your survey should, too. If the population is made up of 70% Bambara, 15% Senufo, and 15% Malinké — your survey sample should also reflect this breakdown of ethnic groups.' If applicable, you could refer to the icebreaker activity with the four-notecards (see 'Starting the Workshop' section on p. 14). Use the different views expressed on the notecards to help explain how to conduct sampling and demonstrate that a smaller number of people will show more diverse views than a larger group.

Included below are two graphics to help illustrate this process visually. Explain that participants need to establish a methodology to verify that each phenomenon recorded in their 'Conflict Narrative Development Tool' reflects reality. The method should show that they have considered marginalised or minority populations (GESI considerations). The graphic below shows how to take an element of the conflict narrative where verification is needed, how to determine data-collection tools available, and finally, what questions to consider for this method.



The next graphic builds on the first using an example situation. It takes the logging conflict included in the earlier 'Conflict Narrative Development Tool' and the 'Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet' graphic and shows how to design a data-collection methodology for one of the conflict elements.



Practicing Data Sampling

Because the preceding sessions mainly consisted of listening-heavy information dissemination, a short series of activity-based exercises could help participants practise what they have learned. You could revisit either the story you told participants at the start of the workshop or one of the role-playing scenarios they explored in the introduction to EBPD concepts. Have participants focus on the methods they would use to collect data that could help answer the following key questions, and have someone write answers on a piece of paper or whiteboard for the whole room to see:

- What are the different ways that X, Y, Z actors are treated by their communities, thus shaping their actions?
- What social attitudes exist about X actors or groups of people (ethnicity, gender, or social grouping)?
- Who are the potential supporters of X, Y, Z actors *[list them]*. Are they all supporters?
- The conflict is between which actors? What provoked it?
- What institutions (such as government laws or regulations) have roles in this situation?
- What structural influences (both formal and informal) shape the situation?
- Who are the elites in this scenario? How do you know?

After this, you could have participants return to the same small groups that completed the 'Conflict Narrative Development Tool' and 'Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet' for the case studies that they brought with them to the workshop. Use the conflict narratives that they created for their case studies to further apply their learning to the problem at hand and what their organisation does in practice. Participants should demonstrate how they would determine which evidence-based data-collection method to use to verify their conflict narrative. Using their chosen method, they should be able to identify who the elites are, what local pacts/elite bargains exist, the type of violence, and the context (political agreements and settlements and structural and institutional influences). Ask them to visualise how they could find a sufficiently representative sample size of people to interview — at a local market, church or mosque, or cultural event — and what quantitative and qualitative questions they would ask.

You should now be able to conclude this stage of the session with presentations from each group. As participants explain their data-collection methodology, invite other workshop participants to confirm their approach or suggest alternatives. In each case, participants should understand what methodology will be used and how final data will look to create a factual conflict narrative, free from hearsay or unvalidated assumptions.

Step Three: Strategy and Theory of Change

The objective of the third part of the workshop is to help participants develop a ToC that articulates which attitudinal or behavioural changes amongst these actors, and particularly elites, remain critical to resolving the conflict. Encourage participants to make connections between actors, issues, and theories of change. They will need to understand the dynamic links between actors (elites and supporters), structural factors, and agreements — and most notably, local pacts (elite bargains) — to identify what needs to change and how to strategically focus program efforts.

Sub-Step 3A) Understanding Dynamic Links Between Conflict Elements

Begin by teaching participants to map out the connections between types of violence, which actors are using violence, and which actors are affected, and the relationships between those actors. Take participants through an activity to assess the types of violence associated with specific groups in their identified conflict scenarios. Push participants to establish links between the actors and illustrate how they influence one another. Drawing these links helps identify where the work is most needed to address the use of violence to defend actors' interests — and thus can have the greatest impact.

As a practical exercise, have participants take the key points of conflict they noted in their own case studies and put them into the following categories. Ask them to list the type of violence that is involved.

- Elites
- Political Deals
- Institutions/Structures
- Supporters

Sub-Step 3B) Developing a Theory of Change

Now bring participants into a discussion about developing a ToC. The expectation is that participants will already be familiar with the concept from their day-to-day work. If not, the facilitator will have to preface this sub-step with an explanation of the importance of articulating how and why a given set of interventions will lead to a specific change, along with an associated series of questions that identify the role each intervention would play in achieving the overall goal.

Rather than providing a detailed explanation of developing a ToC, this guide will focus on how to adapt a ToC by incorporating EBPD theory through an analysis of the relationships between conflict actors (notably, elites) and the pacts between them (specifically, elite bargains). It also considers how wider contextual factors such as political deals and settlements; informal structures (social norms, customs); or laws (institutions) place pressure on elites and the elite bargains they have made locally.

In many cultural settings, conflict resolution is a role restricted to village chiefs or other actors. This means it will sometimes be necessary to explain to participants the process of making links between what is causing violence and the actions needed to satisfy key interests in a nonviolent manner. Participants might still suggest that elites must adopt nonviolence out of respect for the wishes of the local chief. A ToC using EBPD theory addresses both the local context, including political deals and settlements, and the conditions that created local pacts (elite bargains) in its presentation of proposed activities to address them. Other general conflict-resolution approaches can prioritise nonviolence in the community without necessarily addressing what drove people to violence in the first place.

Reconciling Conflict Narratives

Start by guiding participants through a discussion about how to reconcile a conflict narrative that has been developed (make sure the narrative has been verified through the data-collection methodology designed in Step Two of the workshop) with the activities an organisation might support to address the conflict. To frame the session, you can also use one of the introductory examples such as the story you told participants at the start of the workshop or one of the role-playing scenarios participants used to explore EBPD concepts. Stress that participants should think about the goal (resolution of conflict) and then the different ways to achieve it. Remember: According to EBPD theory, the focus should be on the elites and elite bargains.

What needs to change in the current environment to support these actors to pursue their interests via nonviolent means? Key guiding questions for this session are as follows:

- What is the ideal change in this scenario? How will this change occur?
- Are you looking to change the behaviour of the entire system or simply that of a few key individuals?
- Are you seeking to change social norms (informal structures) or codified laws (formal institutions)?

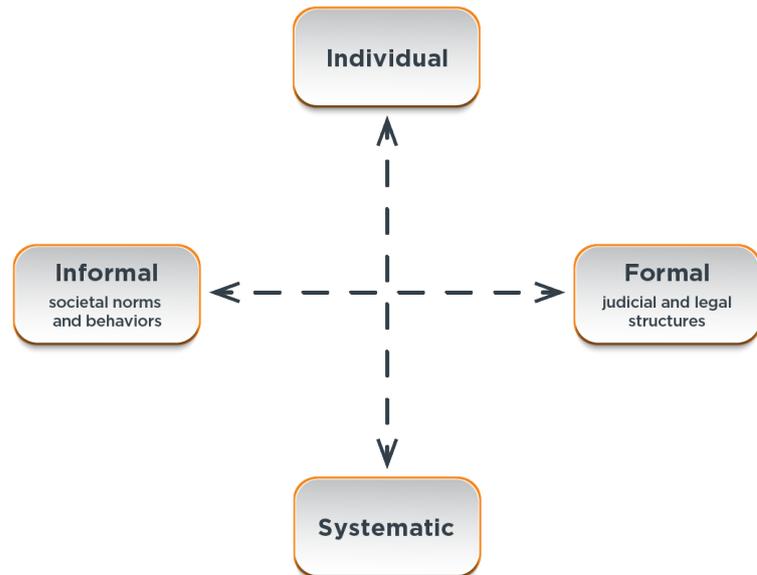
This graphic illustrates the axes along which work can take place: “individual-systematic” and “informal-formal.”

Once you are satisfied that the concepts are understood, it would be helpful to divide participants into their small groups. Ask each group to design a ToC based on their case. Instruct them to use the questions from the large-group discussion to guide their thinking. Participants should focus on the elites and their local pacts (elite bargains) that they have already identified as elements of their conflict

narrative. Push them to think about the most strategic places to focus program efforts to achieve the desired changes that will enable a return to nonviolence. Remind them to reference their ‘Conflict Narrative Development Tool’ and ‘Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet’ to see what elements of the conflict narrative they have already identified. They should assume that they have been able to verify other elements of the conflict narrative. Instruct participants to think about how these elements relate to each other (and how those relations change over time) — and where program activities could change or shape these elements.

Then have groups present their work and allow all participants (including the facilitator) to offer suggestions and feedback. If necessary, push participants to go further in their analysis to consider:

- Are there viable alternatives to the proposed actions? Emphasize the term ‘viable’ — these are not just desirable alternatives in the interest of peace but must be feasible within the existing context of the political deals.
- What, or who, are the obstacles to these alternatives? How do GESI factors shape these obstacles for certain groups?
- What have different groups, including both women and men (consider GESI), tried in the past? Did it work? For how long? If not, why did it fail?
- How much is being invested to maintain the conflict? How much investment is required to support a solution instead? You can link these two terms back to the tree exercise. Conflicts are maintained through a great deal of investment. They do not sustain themselves without constant investment — just as a tree cannot grow strong without constant investment of



sunlight, water, and other resources. Keep in mind that investment can appear in the form of actors ignoring the problem, allowing conflict to develop.

- Who is best placed to change the conflict narrative and influence local actors?
- Who (consider GESI) or what suffers most from the ongoing conflict?

Lastly, stress that developing a ToC is an iterative process, that it takes time and should evolve as participants seek and obtain new inputs and feedback. At this stage, each group should have a working ToC for their individual case studies.

Step Four: Develop Activities Supporting the Theory of Change

This fourth and final part of the workshop should seamlessly follow Step Three. The objective is to help participants use their ToC to develop a Scope of Work (SoW) for activities that they could support locally.

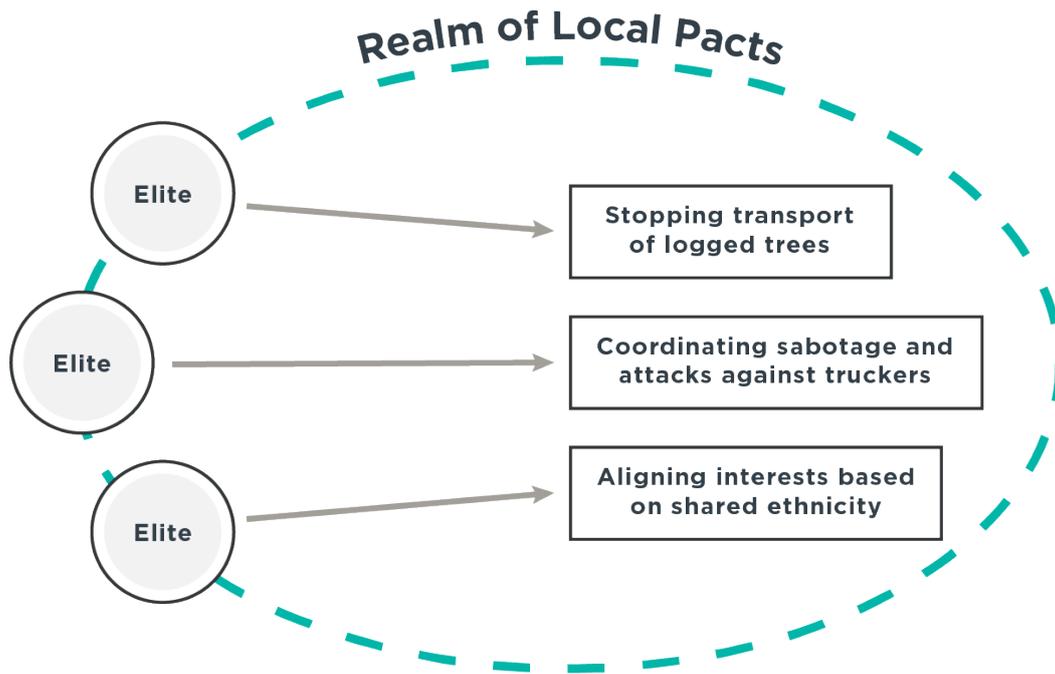
Explain to participants that once they can answer the questions about the desired change and how to achieve it (at the individual, systematic, informal, or formal levels), they must then define their sphere of influence. Break this down by first concentrating on the term 'sphere of influence'. As with preceding exercises, we suggest that you first discuss each step together as a large group using the existing example cases. Then, you can invite participants to re-join their small groups to practise the same activities with their own case studies.

Sub-Step 4A) Identify Which Actors Have the Greatest Influence on the Desired Change

Have participants start with the range of local pacts amongst all the actors that they have been able to identify in the given conflict narrative. In the example of the logging conflict used in graphics throughout this toolkit, illustrative pacts would include:

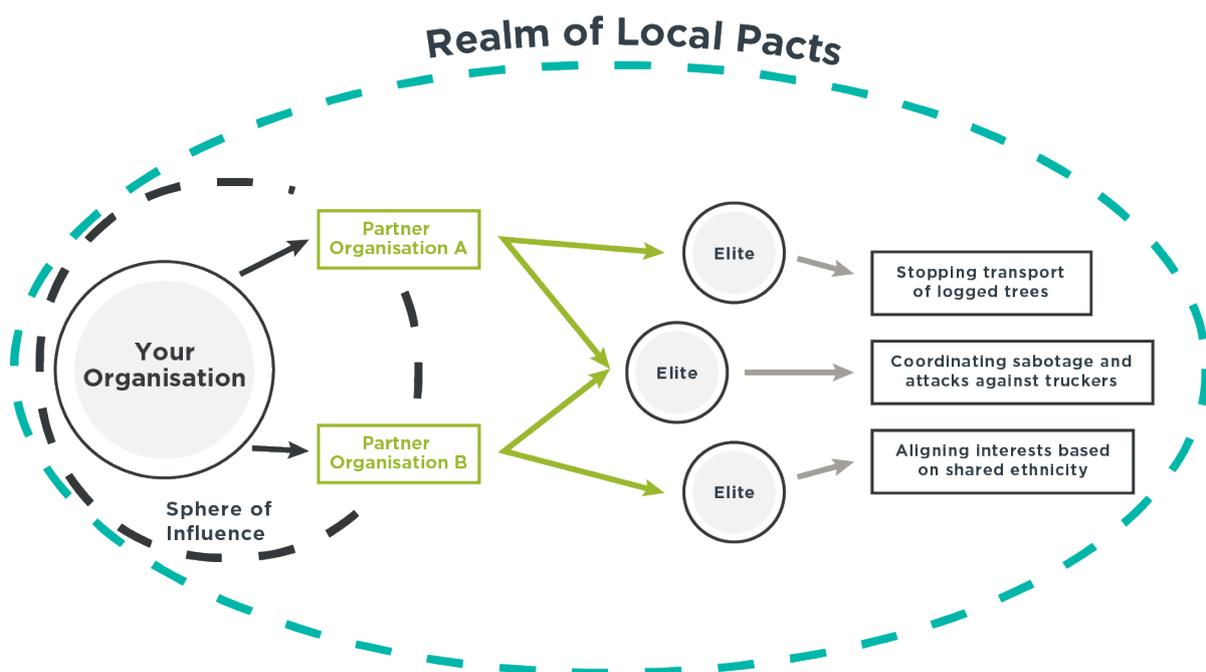
- An arrangement between the first group of truckers and fruit sellers to stop transporting logged trees.
- Sabotage of trucks and attacks against the second group of truck drivers (to defend the interests of fruit sellers).
- Ethnic solidarity (the choice to align one's interests based on ethnicity) between fruit sellers and the first group of truckers.

Next, guide participants to consider the role of elites in creating, maintaining, or challenging any of these identified local pacts between actors. Remind them that elites directly create or maintain pacts (elite bargains) because they have vested interests in their continued existence.



Sub-Step 4B) Identify the Sphere of Influence of Your Own Organisation

Now, have participants consider the relationship of their own organisation to the matrix of local pacts, and the elites who shape them. Discuss the limits of an organisation's sphere of influence — namely, physical distance, knowledge, length of experience in a given setting, and informal and formal relationships with local actors including elites. Then consider whether close working relationships with other parties (civil society organisations, religious groups, and local associations) make it possible to affect the behaviour of elites whom they could not otherwise directly reach.



In our ongoing example, 'your organisation' could be an NGO on good terms with the fruit-seller association (a 'partner organisation'), which is at the limit of your sphere of influence. The association would then be a key partner that could influence the behaviour of elites: the fruit sellers themselves.

Two Levels of Intervention

Now transition the conversation to focus on possible 'points of intervention' for organisations. Using the graphics, discuss with participants that local interventions can be done in two ways:

- *Direct reach:* To be as effective as possible, organisations should target the elites with whom they have direct influence through formal or informal relationships in a specific location. Activities at this proximity maximize influence and should be priorities.
- *Indirect reach:* If it seems logical and possible, organisations may try to influence the behaviour of elites through a close third party that can directly influence the elites in question.

As mentioned previously, to conclude this part of the workshop, the facilitator should invite participants to practise 'influence mapping' with their own conflict case studies and organisations. This exercise would involve:

- Delineating the realm of local pacts/elite bargains pertaining to their chosen conflict case study.
- Connecting pacts with the elites who shape them.
- Considering which other actors in the community have influence over the behaviours of those elites.
- Determining how their organisation can use their own sphere of influence (through direct or indirect reach) to intervene in this web of existing elites and elite bargains.
- Designing activities to encourage behaviour change(s) amongst these actors to support a decrease in violence (i.e. to pursue their interests via nonviolent means instead of using violence).

Participants can complete this activity in their small groups and present and discuss their work in the larger group. Remind participants to consider the actors who will have the greatest influence on the desired change, the organisation's sphere of influence, and whether the intervention should be done via direct or indirect reach.

Conclusion and Post-Training

The workshop should conclude with a group presentation of participants' planned concepts and programmes. The objective is for participants to display their ability to follow EBPD logic throughout the conflict analysis and mapping process, and to use the taught model to develop programme interventions that cover three areas:

- Using EBPD to establish a conflict narrative (a hypothesis for why the conflict is happening).
- Developing a plan for verifying the narrative (data collection).
- Formulating the ToC for how to address the conflict.

Closing Activity

Ask participants to take their case studies and complete the following steps without facilitator intervention. The steps are as follows:

- Identify the conflict narrative, including:
 - Actors — elites and supporters (remember GESI considerations).
 - Actions — local pacts, types of violence that are occurring.
 - Context — political agreements and settlements, structural and institutional pressures.
- Identify the relationships between the actors who maintain or seek to change the conflict narrative.
- Establish a mandate for your activities that centres on these actors and their expected behaviour changes.

Provide participants instructions for the concluding activity such as:

- Use the conflict case study you brought to the workshop.
- Use the 'Conflict Narrative Development Tool' to guide your conflict narrative.
- Use the 'Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet' to help determine what elements of the conflict narrative you need to verify and how (data collection methodology and tools).
- You have three hours to do your best; you are encouraged to divide the work amongst your group.

Remember to close the workshop with enough time for participants to ask questions, provide feedback, or discuss any remaining topics.

Supporting Participants Post-Training

After the workshop, additional support can help participants successfully apply EBPD to their work.

Potential assistance could include:

- Helping participants understand and develop a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) framework aligned with the ToC and activities developed during the workshop (see more information next page).
- Facilitating a shorter workshop or event with the participants several months after the initial training to review any successes and challenges the participants have had applying EBPD to their work.
- Developing a strategy to implement programming following EBPD analysis.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Helping participants focus on monitoring and evaluation (M&E) for activities they developed to support their ToC provides key assistance after training. Work with participants to take a SoW for programme activities — based on the EBPD concepts learned in the workshop — and develop a simplified M&E framework to identify measurable changes based on the identified conflict narrative. In this brief overview, we suggest how to introduce the need for M&E and key aspects of an M&E framework and leave in-depth elements to other M&E-specific resources.

In beginning to construct an M&E framework, the following steps are helpful:

- 1) **Future vision (ideal situation)** → In the medium term (5 years), what is the desired political, social, or environmental situation? Will this involve systematic, individual, formal, or informal changes?
- 2) **Mission (your contribution)** → What is your contribution to achieving this vision? What changes in behaviour amongst local actors, especially elites, are targeted to achieve the vision?
- 3) **Anticipated supporting partners** → Which other parties do you have a close relationship with who have direct influence on the elites in question?
- 4) **Targeted goals and impacts** → Describe behavioural changes as they will appear once you have completed your programme.
- 5) **Progress markers** → What are your indicators of progress towards targeted goals?
- 6) **Stages of change** → Describe the activities required to meet progress markers.
- 7) **Develop organisational activities and practices** → What does your organisation need to conduct these activities (i.e. staff, supplies)?
- 8) **Methods and priorities for activity monitoring** → How will you monitor activities (i.e. via regular reporting, focus-groups discussions)?
- 9) **Monitoring inputs and outputs** → Based on progress markers, include a score system for measuring outputs (your organisations' activities) and a methodology to adapt activities to result in the desired outcomes (what you want to achieve).
- 10) **Measuring change** → Based on observed outputs, determine the degree of achievement of anticipated outcomes.
- 11) **Impact evaluation** → Assess the outcomes to determine the level of overall programme impact (behavioural change among local actors) attained.
- 12) **Final assessment** → At the end of your programme, what have you accomplished to fulfil your mission and achieve your future vision?

We have included a graphic on the next page to visualise these steps. This relational diagram highlights the connections between 'defining your intentions' (i.e. the strategy and ToC); designing project activities; monitoring performance and impact; and performing planning and evaluation (which then re-informs initial project design).



Lessons Learned

Although this toolkit is designed as a standalone training exercise, it is important to keep in mind how its tools can and should be applied as part of wider peacebuilding and conflict resolution programming. During the pilot activity in Mali, we discovered a key takeaway that the local EBPD workshop was perceived by participants to be isolated from their respective programmatic activities. Therefore, applying EBPD theory to conflict resolution, mitigation, and prevention activities at the community level — this toolkit’s purpose — is likely to be most effective when incorporated into a broader stabilisation portfolio, possibly as part of a programme’s inception phase. Using this method, activities would target the full spectrum of organisations and individuals — not only those in state-centric stabilisation programmes, but also those aiming to engage with elites and elite bargaining processes in a localised conflict setting.

PART THREE:

Annexes

- Annex I. Visual Trainers' Guide
 - Annex II. Sample EBPD Training Outline and Agenda
 - Annex III. Companion Tools and Training Materials
 - Annex IV. References and Additional Resources
-

ANNEX I:

Visual Trainers' Guide



Facilitators of the EBPD workshop should use this guide as a reference for the critical concepts and tools introduced throughout the workshop. These resources are not intended to be participant-facing.

Step 1 – Identify the Conflict Narrative

In this part of the workshop, the facilitator will help participants to develop a conflict narrative or hypothesis that considers the roles of different actors, particularly elites; any established bargains or settlements between these actors; and the contextual factors that play a role in the conflict.

Key EBPD Terminology and Definitions

- **Actors:** The individuals or groups who are relevant to, or involved in, a given conflict.
- **Political Deal:** A formal or semi-formal understanding or arrangement between parties in conflict for the cessation of hostilities or competition.
- **Settlement:** A distribution of resources between parties (often following a political deal).
- **Context:** The conditions in which the conflict is taking place. These may be longstanding, slow-to-change structural factors that shape the wider environment. Types of structural conditions include:
 - *Informal factors* such as traditions, customs, or social norms.
 - *Formal and institutional factors* such as laws, decrees, or regulations that have been codified through an official system.
- **Elites:** Individuals with the necessary means to mobilise supporters in defence of their interests, which may be threatened by an agreement or settlement between other actors.
- **Elite Bargains:** The means used by elites to defend their interests. These could include formal or informal alliances between elites that allocate political power, control of economic opportunities, or command over means of violence.
- **Supporters:** People who follow elites often because their interests align.
- **Violence:** Different forms of violence arise in such a context, which include:
 - *Competitive violence:* Violence whose objective is to defend access to a resource against other actors competing for the same resources.

- *Embedded violence*: Violence by one actor against another that is not punished under the terms of a given settlement.
- *Permissive violence*: A form of violence that according to social norms is accepted, in the absence of state control.
- *Structural violence*: A pressure linked to a law, tradition, or other constraint which is felt as a form of violence against a specific people or social group.

Conflict Narrative Development Tool

Participants will complete the “Conflict Narrative Development Tool” (explained in the graphic below) to help identify the different elements of a conflict and construct a conflict narrative, focusing on elites and elite bargains. After completing the tool, participants should be prepared to answer the following questions about a conflict:

- **What**: What is the general summary of the conflict? How does this conflict fit into a larger structural, institutional, ethnic, religious, and political context?
- **Where**: Where does the conflict occur? Does it affect a specific location? Or is it more widespread?
- **Why**: What is the main driving force for the manifestation of this conflict at the local level? Have national agreements shaped this phenomenon of local elite bargains/pacts?
- **Who**: Who feeds this conflict (elites)? Who enables and benefits from it (supporters)? Have you explicitly defined the actors, naming their respective identities (gender, ethnicity, age), accounting for GESI principles?
- **How**: How do actors use violence to achieve the desired goal?
 - Is the goal to accumulate power?
 - Is violence used to fight contenders for power? (competitive violence)
 - Is the objective to maintain formal institutions?
 - Is the violence an integral part of informal and formal structures? (embedded violence)
 - Is the goal to achieve peace and order?
 - Is violence a necessary means to maintain order in state absence? (permissive violence)
 - At what price?

On the next page is an example of a completed tool.

Conflict Narrative Development Tool Identify the Narrative: What's Happening?	
Conflict Summary: [Provide a general summary of the conflict. Write several detailed sentences describing the situation and its context(s).]	
Actor(s)	Fruit sellers
Actor(s)	Farmers
Actor(s)	Truckers who have stopped transporting logs
Actor(s)	Truckers who have experienced attacks
Local Pact	Arrangement between first group of truckers and the fruit sellers to stop transporting logged trees
Local Pact	Sabotage of trucks and attacks against two truck drivers
Local Pact	Ethnic solidarity between fruit sellers and first group of truckers
Context	2015 law that allowed for logging in the area is the primary political deal that provokes the reaction
Context	

EXAMPLE

Two groups are fighting over logging in the area. A timber company is offering a large amount of money to cut and harvest trees, but a small group of fruit sellers from this forest area is opposed. A 2015 law authorised logging in this zone, and other farmers are in favour of allowing them to establish the business here.

Logging trucks have been out of circulation for two weeks. The truckers have reportedly agreed to stop transporting logged trees in solidarity with the fruit growers because they come from the same ethnic group.

Other truck drivers have recently started transporting logged trees again, but found their trucks sabotaged. Two drivers were reportedly assaulted.

- Briefly describe the main conflict actors, including elites and supporters. Discuss one actor or group of actors per line.
- Describe the relevant arrangements between local actors that have been adopted, opposed, ignored, or overlooked. What bargains, or local pacts, have elites made or agreed upon – and with which other actors? Discuss one per line.
- Break down the context of the conflict, with one aspect per line. What context (including specific actions or events) provoked the conflict? What wider political deals or settlements relate to the local conflict? How did this context prompt the need for or shape the local pacts (elite bargains) made between the different actors identified?

Additionally, this next graphic represents the process of creating a conflict narrative using EBPD theory. It shows the elements to consider when establishing a conflict narrative, or 'hypothesis', about why a conflict is happening. It is a helpful resource to visually remind people of:

- Important conflict elements.
- Definitions of terms, especially 'elite' and 'elite bargains'.
- Types of questions that they need to ask themselves to think about each of these elements and the relationship between them to ultimately construct the conflict narrative.

Visualising the Conflict Narrative



Step 2 – Develop Methodology to Verify the Conflict Narrative

After developing their conflict narrative, participants focus on designing a data collection methodology to help verify different elements of their conflict narrative, including:

- Does the conflict narrative or hypothesis reflect reality?
- The relationship among the various actors, particularly elites.
- What is the status of elites in society? Are they revered or feared?
- The presence of elite bargains.
- Existence of formal political deals and settlements.
- Existence of formal and informal structures.
- Impact of these political deals, settlements, and structures on the actors — and especially the elites and elite bargains.
- Is the impact felt only in one place or by one group? Or in several locations amongst one or more groups? Is the impact felt differently in other locations? Are conflicts experienced with the same intensity everywhere?
- Is there violence? What forms of violence (competitive, embedded, permissive, structural)?

Using the Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet

For important elements of their conflict narrative identified through the ‘Conflict Narrative Development Tool,’ participants should use the ‘Conflict Narrative Verification Tool’ (see graphic below) to outline how they will research and investigate these elements.

Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet How to Verify the Conflict Narrative			
Element of Conflict Narrative •Actors, and specifically elites •Pacts between actors (elite bargains) •Context (existing political deals and settlements, structural and institutional factors, relationships between actors, etc.)	Evidence and Sources	Proposed Data Collection Approach	
		Qualitative	Quantitative

Types of questions to ask to determine these elements:

Is there really a **conflict between fruit sellers and farmers** over the use of forest land?

Have **truckers** really refused to transport **logged wood**?

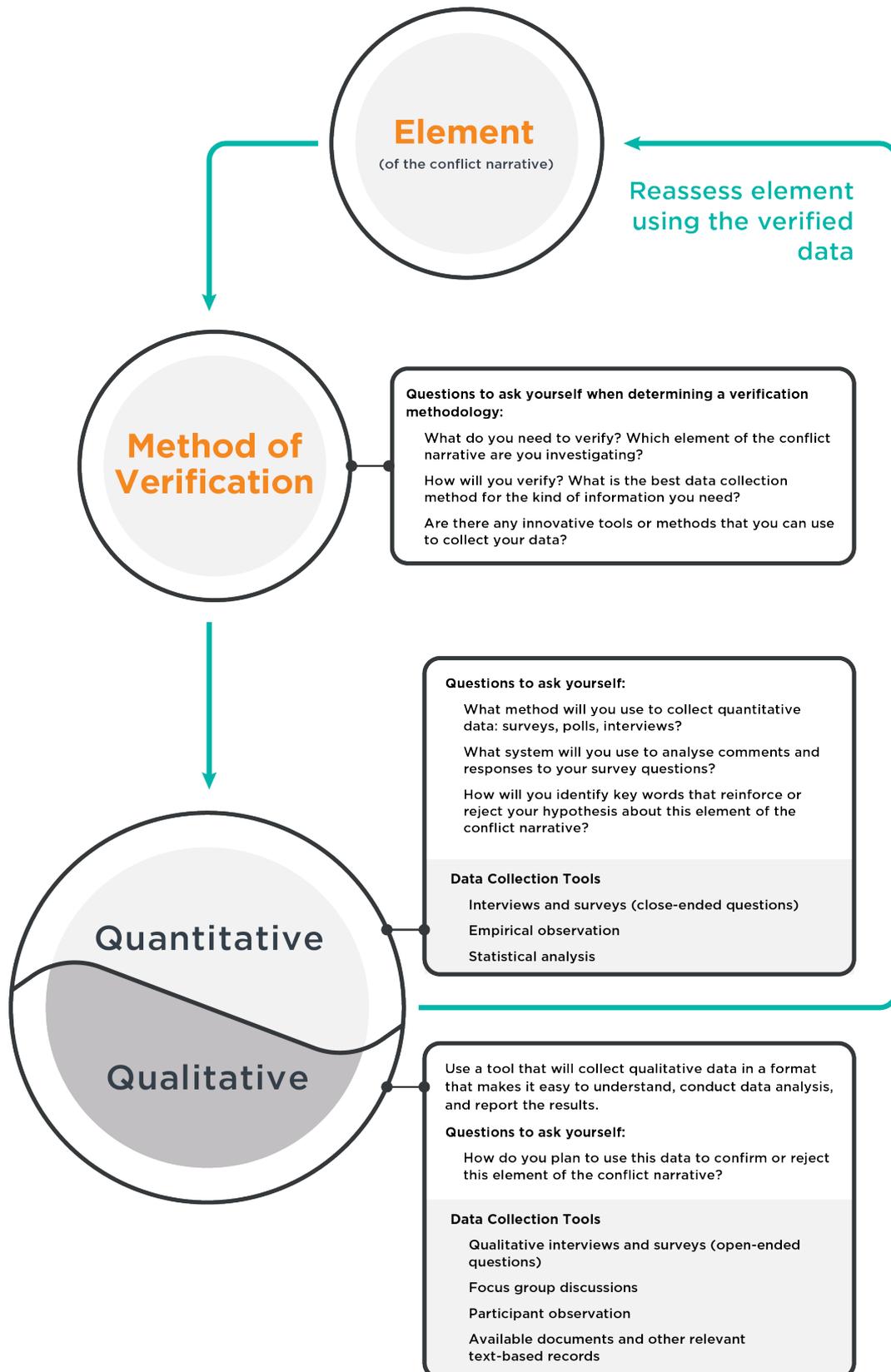
Does the **2015 Law** apply to the conflict and if so, how?

What is the impact of the law on the village?

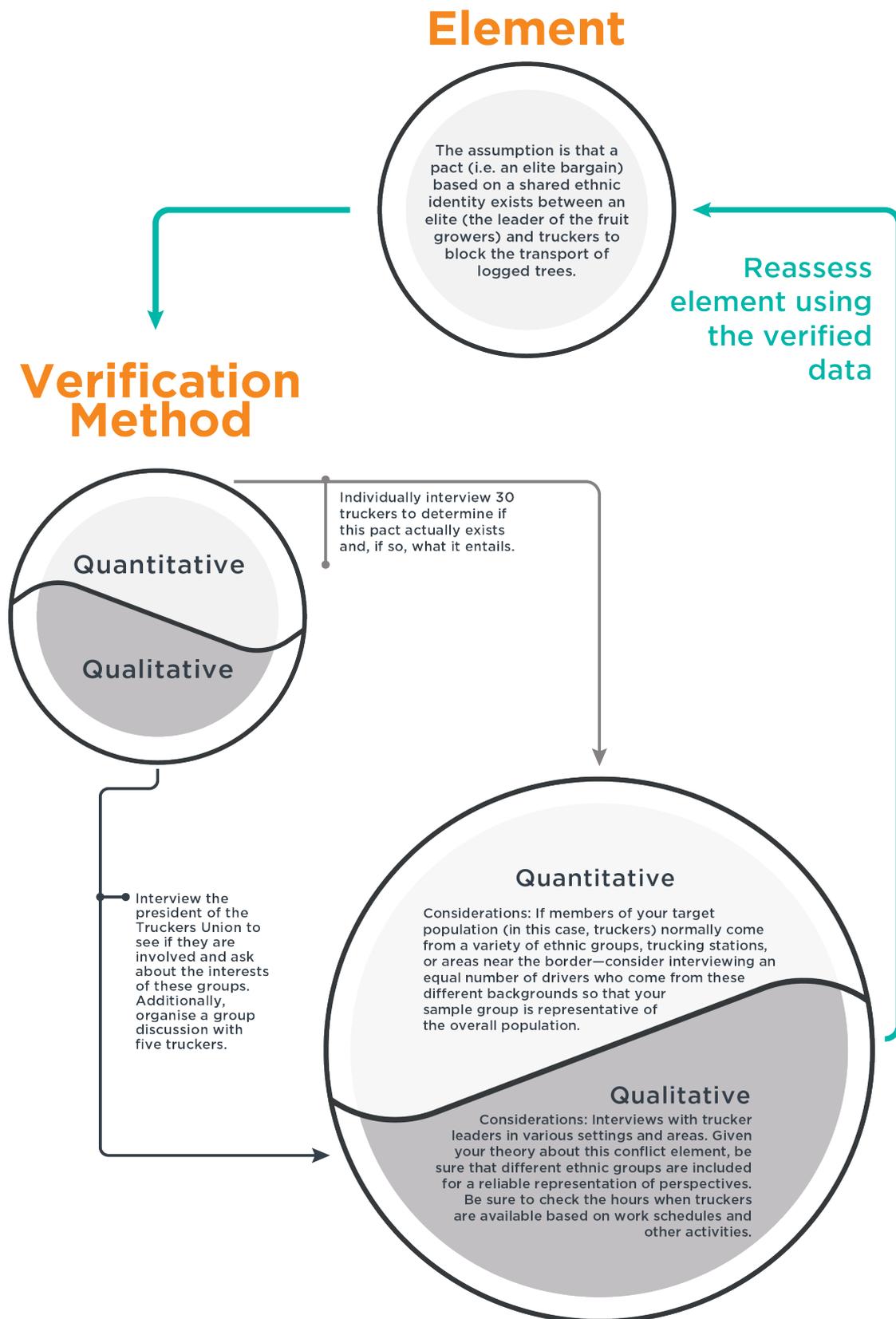
If you already have evidence to verify these elements, write “Yes” and describe the source.

If you are using a mixed-methods approach, use both of these fields.

The graphic below shows critical questions to determine proper verification methods for an individual element of the conflict narrative.



The graphic below provides an example of designing a data-collection method to verify the existence of an elite bargain.



Step 3: Strategy and Theory of Change

Using the conflict narrative developed in Step One, participants should work on articulating a ToC that identifies the attitudinal or behavioural changes by actors, particularly elites, necessary to resolve a conflict.

Understanding dynamic links between conflict elements

The first step in this exercise involves mapping different actors in a conflict, the connections and relationships between them, and the types of violence actors use and are affected by. Participants should label the actors and linkages into the following categories, and list the type of violence the actor employs (if applicable):

- Elites
- Political Deals
- Institutions/Structures
- Supporters

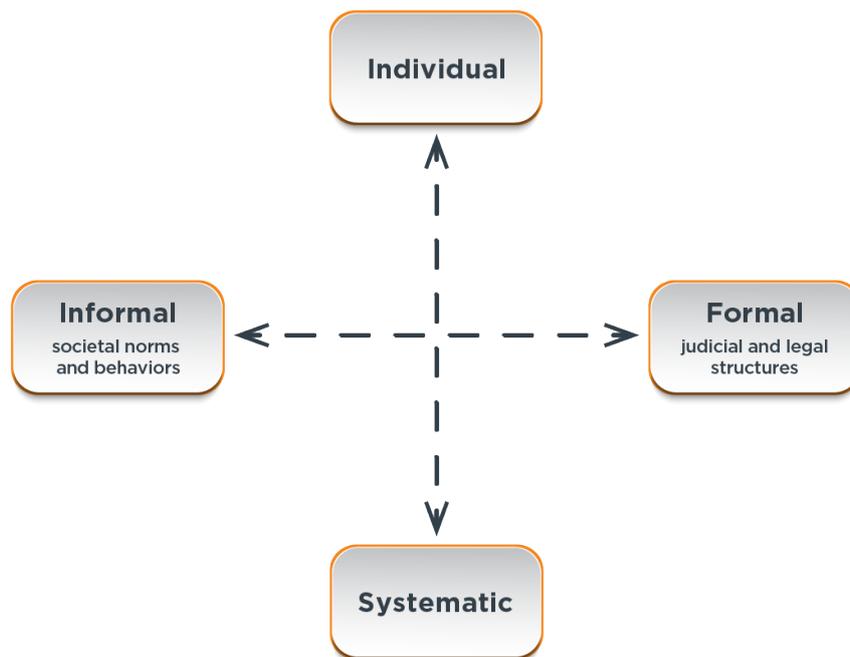
By establishing the linkages between actors, participants are better able to identify where interventions can be most effective to help actors use nonviolent means to achieve their interests.

Developing a Theory of Change

Building on the conflict narrative developed in Step One and the identified relationships among conflict actors, participants can develop a ToC that focuses on the relationships between conflict actors (notably, elites) and the pacts between them (specifically, elite bargains). Participants should use the following guiding questions to help think through a ToC:

- What needs to change in the current environment to support actors to pursue their interests via nonviolent means?
- What is the ideal change you are looking for, and how will this change occur?
- Are you looking to change the behaviour of how the entire system functions? Or simply that of a few key individuals?
- Are you seeking to change social norms (informal structures)? Or codified laws (formal institutions)?

The desired changes can be mapped according to the axes in the following graphic:



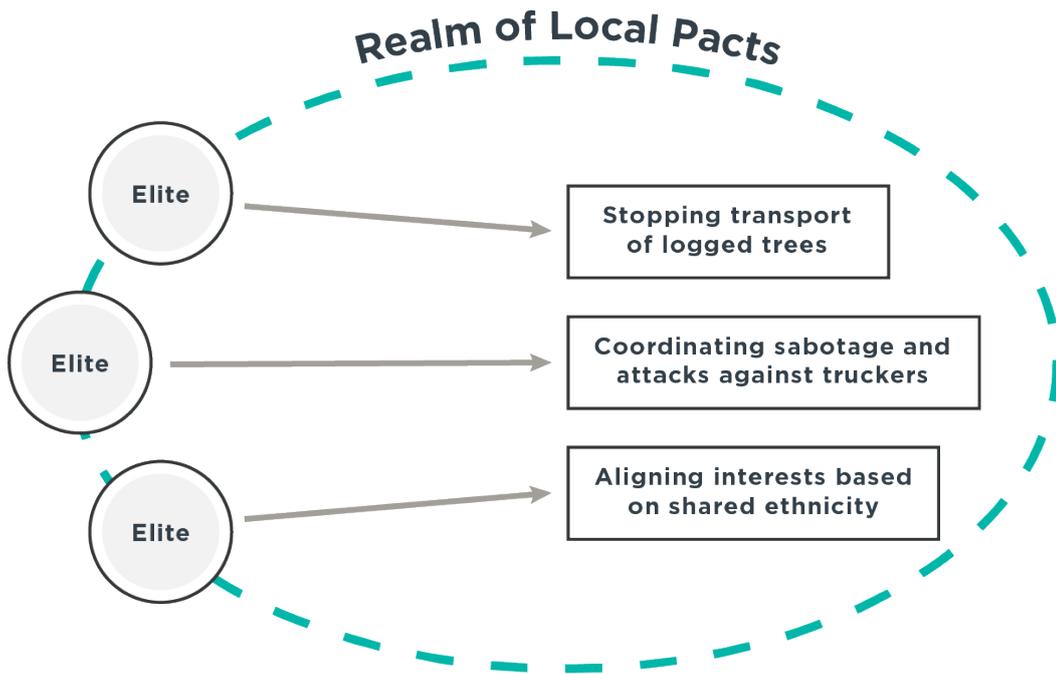
Other questions for participants when developing ToCs include:

- Are there viable alternatives to the proposed actions? Emphasize the term ‘viable’ — these are not just desirable alternatives in the interest of peace but must be feasible within the existing context of the political deals.
- What, or who, are the obstacles to these alternatives? How do GESI factors shape these obstacles for certain groups?
- What have different groups, including both women and men (consider GESI), tried in the past? Did it work? For how long? If not, why did it fail?
- How much is being invested to maintain the conflict? How much investment is required to support a solution instead? You can link these two terms back to the tree exercise. Conflicts are maintained through a great deal of investment. They do not sustain themselves without constant investment — just as a tree cannot grow strong without constant investment of sunlight, water, and other resources. Keep in mind that investment can appear in the form of actors ignoring the problem, allowing conflict to develop.
- Who is best placed to change the conflict narrative and influence local actors?
- Who (consider GESI) or what suffers most from the ongoing conflict?

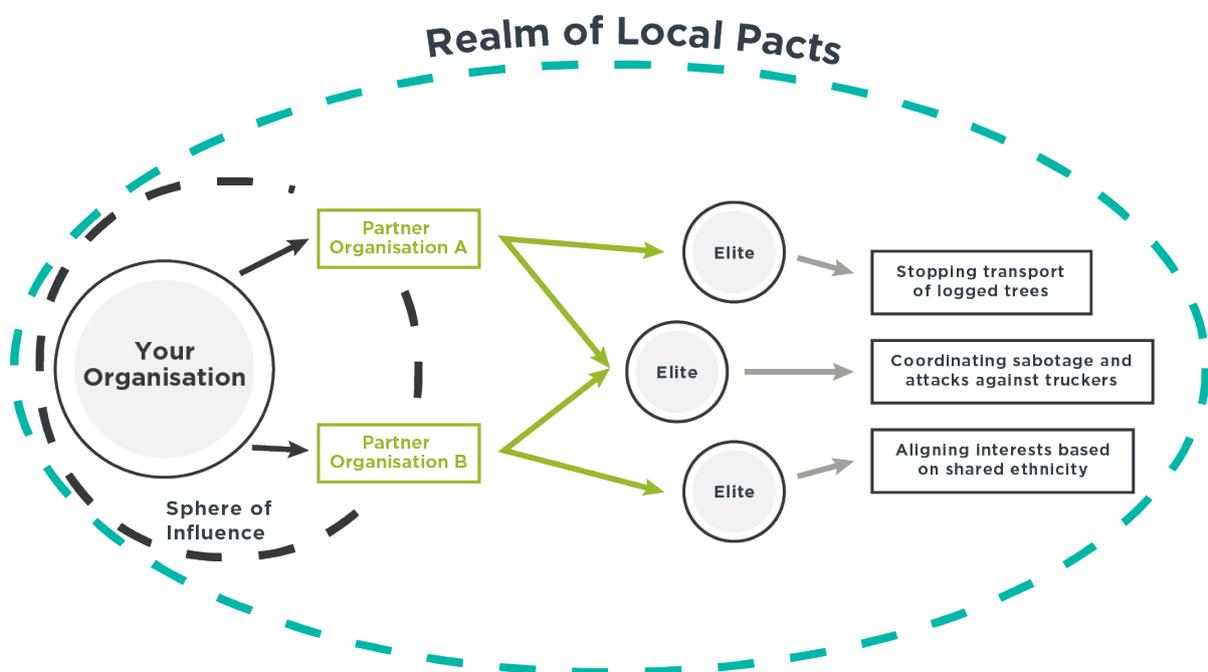
Step 4: Develop Activities Supporting the Theory of Change

After developing their ToC, participants are ready to start developing interventions and activities aligned with their ToC. See below for a helpful framework that participants can follow to ensure their activities are targeting the relevant elites and elite bargains:

- 1) Delineate the realm of local pacts/elite bargains pertaining to their chosen conflict case study.
- 2) Connect the pacts with the elites who shape them. See the graphic below for an example of this mapping.



- 3) Consider which other actors in the community have influence over the behaviours of those elites.
- 4) Determine how their organisation can use their sphere of influence (through direct or indirect reach) to intervene in this existing web of elites and elite bargains. See the graphic below for an example of how to consider an organisation's sphere of influence.



- 5) Design activities to encourage behaviour change(s) among these actors to support a decrease in violence (i.e. to pursue their interests via nonviolent means).

ANNEX II:

Sample EBPD Training Outline and Agenda

Training Objectives

- Introduce the Elite Bargains and Political Deals methodology, a holistic approach to conflict management that examines formal and informal systems in conflict management
- Develop practical analytical skills for conflict and contextual analysis
- Develop practical skills in data collection to provide evidence-based analysis
- Build practical approaches to measuring change

Equipment/Materials

- Markers
- Paper
- Notepads
- Tape
- Index Cards
- String
- One roll of paper

Workshop Room Layout

Arrange seats in a semicircle so everyone can see each other and no one faces another participant's back. Also, have available four or five tables to conduct small-group sessions. Seek about 20 participants.

Day One

Getting Started

Time: Approximately an hour and a half

30 minutes	Icebreaker exercise – Have participants open a piece of paper in their training packages and find the name of their partner to form a phrase (keywords that define the workshop themes)
30 minutes	Introductions – Ask participants to interview their neighbour: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Name, organisation• Where are you from?• Experience in conflict resolution in real life and in professional settings Then ask participants to write on four different cards: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The most threatening conflict in their region at the moment – Card A

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Animal you identify with the most – Card B • The element you identify with the most: fire, water, earth, or air – Card C • The most widespread form of conflict resolution in the world – Card D
20 minutes	<p>Setting up objectives for this workshop</p> <p>The objective of the workshop is to teach participants the EBPD perspective of conflict analysis. The workshop begins with learning relevant terminology and understanding EBPD roles and elements according to research. You will learn to put your conflict narrative (an understanding of why a conflict is happening) into a larger context — one that considers pressures that stem from wider political deals and settlements and identifies structural factors in local conflicts.</p> <p>The workshop features three main objectives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop practical competencies in conflict analysis and in contextual analysis. 2. Develop practical skills in data collection to provide an evidence-based analysis. 3. Build practical approaches to measure change.
15 minutes	<p>Setting up rules for the workshop (timed pauses, silence phones, no urgent calls, managing distractions)</p>
<p>Pause – Refreshments</p>	

Session One: Plenary Presentation: Conflict analysis, PEA concepts, and community data collection

Time: Approximately three hours

Objectives:

- Learn the relevant terminology and understand the roles of the different elements discussed in EBPD research
- Locate conflict narratives in a broader context and consider pressures that might stem from wider political deals and settlements
- Identify structural pressures to local conflicts

10 minutes	<p>Introduction to EBPD</p> <p><i>Choose to present EBPD through the story outlined below.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We ask you to put on new glasses. New lenses. We encourage you to see things differently. • For now, close your eyes and open your spirits while we tell you the story of the ‘Great Lady’. <p>The Great Lady</p> <p>[The Ivory Coast is on the verge of a civil war, there are tensions between the North and South of the country. Producers are unable to sell goods in Abidjan and therefore are sending them to Mali.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life is beautiful for us in Mali • Not in the Ivory Coast. They say there is a Civil War, the New Forces against the government in the south, and now producers are desperately looking for markets to sell their goods.
------------	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And therefore they send it here to us, at a low cost. Life is really beautiful. <p><i>1 year later</i></p> <p>[Peace in the Ivory Coast]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One day, we heard that the New Forces and the government signed a peace accord. They will no longer let producers sell their goods without custom control. • Molo Molo, we say. Slowly, slowly; it is coming, it is coming! • But it is not coming. Products are blocked at the border – they call that administrative details... hmhhh • Products come late and the Great Lady starts losing clients, especially the wholesalers. • She tries paying custom officers an administrative bribe to accelerate the procedure. Producers, however, have started finding clients in Abidjan. • She is worried. • She decides to pay truck drivers a bonus if they can find a way to deliver her products very quickly. • Her local pact with truck drivers works out, and products are available on the market again, for a slightly higher price. But it is okay. Everyone is happy. The Great Lady is again on her throne. • 10 months later, the Ivoirian army detects the ‘diversion’ and arrests the truck drivers. She doesn’t have products anymore. • Panic. She panics. • The Great Lady establishes a new local pact. She knows old Ivoirian combatants who did not enter the new army and are looking for work. • She finances a paramilitary assault on the three customs offices to open the borders and allow free trade between the Ivory Coast and Mali. • The population is pleased with this change, and markets in Sikasso and Kayes are very active again. • In Ivory Coast, the New Forces broke the peace agreement. They attacked posts on the borders and threatened to start a new war. • The New Forces claim the attack to exploit the situation and demand more ministerial positions. Mediators do not understand why actors returned to war. • The international community calls for restraint and asks for new negotiations to be organised in Geneva in an attempt to stop the war. <p>End of story</p>
15 minutes	<p>Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open your eyes • What did you think of this story? • In your opinion, what lessons can we take from this story? • Did you recognise any elements from this story that apply to the situation in your own country and local community? <p>Presentation on elite bargaining</p> <p>War has been the most widely used form of conflict resolution throughout history. Only since the Cold War has the international community begun to promote mediation and peace agreements, but with little success. The UK government has noticed that too many attempts at mediation and peace deals are unsustainable. They do not last, not because the actors who signed the agreement then jeopardize it, but for other reasons. These peace agreements can sometimes exclude key groups, create unexpected</p>

	<p>conditions for certain populations, or have unforeseen effects on the interests of actors who have the means to protect their interests. These people are called elites.</p> <p>The story you just heard is an example of a situation where a signed peace agreement threatened the interests of elites. These elites had the means to create new conditions to maintain their interests despite the peace agreement. The elites did so by creating a pact — known as an elite bargain — at the local level. In the example, this local pact between elites challenged the terms of the peace agreement, but this was not its main objective. Nor did those who made the pact have any interest in obtaining a seat at the national peace negotiations. However, these kinds of ‘local pacts’ can be the main reason that peace agreements fail.</p> <p>Often, conflict resolution methods — especially national ones through high-level peace agreements — ignore the informal power structures that may resist their newly created legal texts or institutions. As a result, another form of conflict emerges and slowly destabilizes the agreement or comprehensive peace settlement. The elites — the people who have the influence, power, and supporters necessary to defend their interests — have found themselves at odds with this new peace agreement or settlement. They need to create space for themselves to ensure that they maintain power at their own (often local) level. The means by which they acquire this space is sometimes violent, but it can also be nonviolent. We call this process ‘elite bargaining.’</p> <p>Remind participants of the ways that the broader political structure can affect those at the local level. These include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politically motivated regulations might take the form of laws that appear oppressive. • Political deals can translate into structural or institutional reforms, which might side-line a population that feels they no longer have the power or space to operate. • Political deals can manifest as economic exclusion of specific groups from certain markets. • Political deals can present as social or cultural marginalisation for some populations (particularly minority groups). <p>To conclude this section, it is important to have participants broaden their perspective of how they view conflict actors. If they cannot evaluate why a given actor would use violence to defend their interests, then they have little hope of encouraging that actor to do so via nonviolent means. It can help to discuss with participants that conflict is a natural part of life. The instinct to fight for survival is natural. Violence can otherwise be seen as an expression of a willingness to resolve a conflict related to one’s interests. Stress to participants that this workshop will emphasise understanding the motivations behind elite bargains (local pacts between certain actors) to facilitate the identification of peaceful means of conflict resolution.</p>
20 minutes	<p>Exercise</p> <p>Tree analogy: Take the group outside and have them gather around a tree to start the conflict-analysis session. Understanding the work involved in growing a tree helps develop a more solid conflict analysis. Use this exercise to explain how to structure a</p>

	<p>conflict analysis, understand who contributes to conflict, and recognise the difference between proximate and root causes of conflict, along with the implications for each. Doing this will set participants up for the next phase of the workshop and prepare them to see conflict in a different light. Have participants talk through their understanding of how trees grow and what makes them strong and difficult to topple once they have reached a certain size. Each participant should tell their own story of a conflict, using the tree to illustrate the different elements of the story.</p> <p>Lastly, during a break either between these group activities or afterwards, have a person that has not thus far been included in the workshop enter the room and ask about a car that is blocking theirs in the road or parking area. This interruption will come up again in a later part of the workshop, as a means to illustrate the limitations of human memory when trying to verify information (see Session 3 on how to verify a conflict narrative).</p>
120 minutes	<p>Understand the pacts and their contexts</p> <p>The starting point for analysing violent conflicts is understanding how the system works. Take participants through a series of role-playing scenarios. Recognising that conflict resolution is the goal, ask participants to consider which of the two options (Exercise 1 or Exercise 2) is more likely to lead to that outcome. If they choose the first exercise, lead them through that discussion, then try the same with second exercise.</p> <p><u>Exercise 1:</u> Negotiate a resolution to the dispute (approach without data collection).</p> <p><u>Exercise 2:</u> Dig deeper to understand the conflict using the provided discussion questions to see if a different resolution should be recommended.</p> <p>Role-playing Scenario 1 – Two men argue about going out tonight (30 min)</p> <p><u>Scenario:</u> One man, Mr. A, is angry because his friend, Mr. B, will not accept his proposal to go to his favourite restaurant because it is too far from the family home. Mr. A asked the mediators to help him convince his friend to go the favourite restaurant.</p> <p>Conflict details: They used to go out every Thursday night. Mr. B has been married for two years, and Mr. A and Mr. B have rarely seen each other since then. Mr. B. thinks that he has to spend more time with his new family. Mr. A calls Mr. B on the phone almost every day. His wife thinks it's too much and that he has to break ties with his friend.</p> <p><u>Discuss the following questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the deal between them? What new agreements compete with the existing local pact? • What is the immediate driving force behind this conflict? What are other local drivers of this conflict? • What is the larger context (including structural forces) affecting this situation? Did it change any pre-existing arrangement or local pacts? • Who is seeking to maintain the previous arrangement? What kind of investment are they making to ensure it is maintained, at least at the local level? Are these investments costly? What are the potential effects of their actions on the wider structural situation? • What were the intentions behind using violence in this example? What are the alternatives to violence for either party? Are these alternatives more or less costly than investing in violence?

- Will Mr. A be able to negotiate a change in Mr. B's habits that will allow him to continue to see his friend as before?

Role-playing Scenario 2 – Market sellers complain about the obligation to pay a new tax to renovate the market (30 mins)

Scenario – The market president, a leading merchant, asks all sellers to pay an additional fee for the renovation of the market. The leader of the group of street vendors refuses to pay. She says it's not fair they pay because they sell on the street. The incident intensifies and culminates in a fire in a section of the market, which injures some of the interior vendors. The market association looks to you, the mediators, to find a way forward to charge the market tax so that the market can be renovated. If you can't help her, the market president will turn to the police to force the street vendors to pay for and repair the damage in the market.

Conflict details: Market vendors are divided into two categories, street vendors and interior saleswomen. Street selling is often denigrated and despised by the authorities. Sometimes it is completely criminalized. In Patriam Concordia, it is a criminal offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment for the buyer and seller. The law prohibiting street selling was renewed and popularised last year. And yet it is one of the only means to earn money for many women. Although formally illegal, street vendors pay stall fees like everyone else, and they also pay an extra tax to the police. They are also more exposed to theft by passers-by. Street vending is illegal, but it also offers a better chance to get the customers before their entry into the market, so it is sometimes even more profitable, especially in front of the large market. Street vendors want to join the market association, which can offer them better protection against harassment, police, and theft, but they are not allowed to join. There is an underlying feeling that it is because they are women and Soninke that market associations prevent them from associating with them. According to the leader of the street vendors, men selling charcoal on the streets right next to them have had no difficulties joining. But they are Bambara, and the market is run by an old Bambara family. They say they do not know who set the fire, but they think it is God's will, a divine punishment to challenge laws that make them think they are less than the women inside. They have little to lose. They will continue to use all means necessary to defend their position.

Discuss the following questions:

- What is the political agreement regarding the market sellers? What are the local drivers of this conflict?
- What is the larger context (including structural forces) affecting this situation? Did it change any pre-existing arrangement or local pacts?
- Who benefits most from the existing narrative? What kind of investment is the leader making to change or maintain the narrative at least at the local level? Are these investments costly? What is the potential effect of their actions on the overall structural situation?
- How would you qualify the intentions of using violence by street vendors? (Was it intended to compete with the authority of women in the domestic market?)
- Both groups either use or threaten to resort to violence. What are the best alternatives to violence for either party? Are these alternatives more or less expensive than investing in violence?

Role-playing Scenario 3 – Tomboloma's conflict with Dozo security forces (30 mins)

Scenario: The local Tomboloma is fighting very publicly with a Dozo for the latter's extreme handling in a case of theft in one of the mines. This Dozo's violent reaction resulted in the deaths of two young people (including a woman) and serious injuries to another woman, who was hospitalised. The Tomboloma is seeking community support to condemn the Dozo's actions as unforgivable. The women's mining association took the initiative to criticise the deaths and supported the Tomboloma's appeal to community members to burn down the Dozo's home and block the entry of all other Dozo to the mining areas. Women miners make up about half of the workforce employed in a typical mine. The government asks you, as the mediators, to intervene and pave the way for the return of the Dozo to patrol for potential terrorist organisations in mining areas. If you fail, they will send the military to lift the blockade, using violence if necessary.

Conflict details – For decades, Tomboloma have provided security for mining sites in southern Mali. They have mystical powers and have won the trust of communities in the artisanal gold industry. They represent the eyes and ears of the traditional chief, and it is also a lucrative business for some Tomboloma who also receive protection money. In recent years, they have reportedly been arrested after disputes with security forces. The artisanal gold mining industry was the domain of local authorities to supervise as they saw fit. But with the threat of armed groups using gold to fund anti-government actions, the Malian government has changed its position. The Malian government nationalized governance of this sector for security reasons and asked the Dozo to increase their role detecting the presence of terrorist operations in and around the mines. However, on the ground, the Dozo sometimes behave more like a private militarized group, operating outside the state's control, with their own mineral resource agenda and enrichment ambitions.

Discuss the following questions:

- **What:** What is the general summary of the conflict, and how does this conflict fit into a larger context (structural, institutional, ethnic, religious, political)?
- **Where:** Where does the conflict occur? In a specific location, or is it more widespread?
- **Why:** What is the driving force behind this conflict at the local level? Have national agreements shaped this phenomenon of local elite bargains/pacts?
- **Who:** Who feeds this conflict (elites)? Who enables and benefits from it (supporters)? Have you explicitly defined the actors, naming their respective identities (gender, ethnicity, age), accounting for GESI principles?
- **How:** How do actors use violence to achieve the desired goal?
 - Is the goal to accumulate power?
 - Is violence used to fight contenders for power? (competitive violence)
 - Is the objective to maintain formal institutions?
 - Is the violence an integral part of the functioning of informal and formal structures? (embedded violence)
 - Is the goal to achieve peace and order?
 - Is violence necessary to maintain order in state absence? (permissive violence)
 - What is the cost of violence?
- To further our analysis, explore questions such as:
 - Are there viable alternatives to the current actions? Emphasise the term 'viable' — these are not just desirable alternatives in the interest of peace but must be viable within the existing context of the political deal.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What, or who, are the obstacles to these alternatives? (And how do GESI factors shape these obstacles for certain groups of people?). ○ What have different groups, including both women and men (consider GESI), tried in the past? Did it work? For how long? If not, why did it fail? ○ How much is being invested to maintain the conflict? How much investment is required to instead support a solution? You can link these two terms back to the tree exercise. Conflicts are maintained through a great deal of investment. They do not sustain themselves without constant investment — just as a tree doesn't grow strong without constant investment — which may be various actors ignoring the problem, allowing it to develop. ○ Who is best placed to change the conflict narrative and influence the local actors? ○ Who (consider GESI) or what suffers most from the ongoing conflict?
--	---

Session 2: Introduction to EBPD approach for local programming

Time: Approximately two and a half hours

Objectives:

- Demonstrate how to apply the EBPD theory to real conflicts participants have studied
- Identify and construct a conflict narrative (an explanation for why the conflict is occurring) for their given issue/situation

Prep work for facilitators:

- Ensure participants have easy access to definitions of elites, supporters, political agreements, political settlements, institutions, and structures (e.g. handout, definitions posted on wall)
- Organise participants into small groups which will focus on conflicts they are familiar with

60 minutes	<p>Group work</p> <p>Each group agrees on a conflict with which they are familiar. They then develop the story of each conflict by responding to the following main questions from the role-playing scenarios in Session 1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are the actors? Who are the elites and the supporters? • What are the interests of the actors? • What is the context provoking the conflict? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Informal structures:</i> traditions, customs, social norms. ○ <i>Formal or institutional structures:</i> laws, regulations. • Where is the conflict taking place? Is it limited to one location? • What form or forms of violence are occurring (i.e. competitive, embedded, permissive, or structural violence)? • What agreements (alliances between actors) have been established? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Political deals, including peace agreements. ○ Settlements: resource distribution between actors. ○ Elite bargains: alliances between elites that allocate political power, control of economic opportunities, or command over means of violence. What bargains have elites made or agreed on, and with which other actors?
90 minutes	<p>Presentations</p> <p>Each group presents their conflict based on details developed in the previous exercise. Plot the conflict with the answers to each question on a separate card and place them on</p>

	<p>the wall for further development on Day Two to examine the relationships between elites, supporters, actions, context (political agreements and regulations), bargains and alternatives.</p> <p>Groups specify the sources of the information they present, identifying when the information is still unclear or based on hearsay when presenting each piece of the narrative.</p>
--	---

Day Two

Session Three: Conflict Analysis and Data Collection

Time: Approximately three and a half hours

Objectives:

- Understand how to verify the elements contained in their conflict narrative (the hypothesis).
- Develop a data-collection methodology that tests the conflict narrative (i.e. verify the hypothesis) — namely, the relationship between actors.
- Use written conflict narratives from the preceding session to apply EBPD theory to data-collection methodologies

30 minutes	<p>Recap of EBPD goal</p> <p>Review phrases, terminology, concepts, and methodology. Answer questions from the day before.</p>
60 minutes	<p>Complete the conflict map</p> <p>Go back to the groups from Day One and review the conflicts on the walls:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do we know that our understanding and analysis of the conflict is correct? • Where is there missing or unclear information, such as information based on hearsay or public knowledge? • Information is never neutral; it is the product of lived experience. • What information do we require to verify our understanding of the conflict? <p>Now, test the reliability of first-hand knowledge with a short exercise on eyewitness experience. Ask participants to describe the person who came to ask about the blocked car in Session 1 after the tree exercise. The level of detail provided will demonstrate the fallibility of memory. Thus, key informants — often designated to represent an entire community or gender — are not necessarily the best sources of information about events. With this in mind, it is important to understand that collecting a diverse set of views is always recommended.</p>
90 minutes	<p>Data gathering tool to build an accurate story.</p> <p>Evidence-based programming:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information from a wide range of perspectives (inclusive) • Stratified sources: all compositions of affected communities • Elites and supporters, women and men, distant and close to the subject <p>Collection methods for different reasons</p> <p>When you conduct research about a group of people (the population), it is rarely possible to collect data from every person in that group. Instead, you select a sample. To</p>

be a good sample, the group of individuals selected to participate in the research should be representative of the overall population as much as possible. For example, if half of the population are women, half of the sample should also be women.

Two main types of data collection, quantitative and qualitative, can be used in parallel. This is called 'mixed-methods' research and is a best practice. Budget constraints and time pressures can hinder the effective collection of quantitative data, which may make using this method less feasible. Qualitative data collection alone can provide important insights, although it will never be as helpful on its own as when combined with quantitative data collection.

Quantitative – Probability and non-probability

Quantitative probability sampling involves the random selection of research participants who evenly represent the entire population, allowing a researcher to make statistical inferences about the whole group. The method is used to determine how a given problem affects a wide range of different community profiles: age, gender, education, ethnic group, etc. Understanding the range of views, attitudes, and experiences present within a community will help guide the approach to mitigate a problem. To conduct probability sampling, the key features of the overall population should be known or at least estimated. For example, what proportion of the population are women, are in each age bracket, live in rural or urban areas.

To be representative, efforts should then be made to include research participants in the same proportion that they are present in the overall population. It is also important that each research participant is selected at random, by applying random sampling methods that you can read more about at the links in the main section of the toolkit. Probability mathematics has shown that, for any population size, there is a maximum sample size that is helpful to represent the views of that population evenly. Depending on how confident you want to be that your sample represents the views of the population (confidence level), and how much of the population's views you want to be represented (confidence interval), there are different formulas that can be used to decide on the size of the sample that you should collect data from. It is more costly to collect data with a larger sample.

Examples: *(from the note cards in the icebreaker activity)*

- Animal preference (sample sizes 2, 6, and 15)
- Element (fire, earth, air, and water) preference (sample sizes 2, 6, and 15)

Quantitative non-probability sampling involves non-random selection of research participants based on convenience or other criteria. For example, you can interview people you know have attended a workshop or received a certain service, or experienced a certain conflict, and whose contact details you have. Another common method, particularly with mobile-phone surveys in sensitive conflict-affected environments, is 'snowball sampling', where researchers start with a group of research participants they can contact, and ask that group for two more recommendations, and so on and so forth, until a full sample set is surveyed. Non-probability sampling provides the same type of quantitative information as probability sampling, but only in the group you have interviewed. It does not necessarily represent a larger population. If the number of people in the population (i.e., the group you want to research) is too large to survey them all, use a random selection method, such as a numbered list of people and a random number generator to select a smaller sample.

Examples: Show a sample list of participants for an activity; choose every fifth name

Qualitative data collection

Qualitative data collection methods involve descriptive and in-depth questions and responses between a researcher and research participants. This type of data collection allows for respondents to explain their ideas or reactions to questions with more detail and complexity than quantitative analysis. Qualitative methods can record attitudes, feelings, and behaviours in detail and can sometimes encourage more openness in conversation, since people can expand upon their responses. Respondents can also bring up new topics that were not initially prompted by the researcher. Qualitative research is beneficial when a researcher does not have all of the information about a population or the context in which the research is being conducted, or when research is in an initial investigatory phase. It can also be helpful to uncover *why* quantitative research may have generated the results it did.

For this method of data collection, you could conduct face-to-face interviews or organise focus-group discussions. Care should still be taken that the people invited to participate in the research are somewhat representative of the population of interest to the research, i.e. proportional numbers of men and women, youth and adults, rural and urban respondents. Unlike for quantitative research, there is no mathematical formula or 'rule of thumb' in determining how many people should be in a qualitative sample. The idea is to collect an amount of information that provides useful insight to the question being examined, and to consider different viewpoints.

Often, the most popular studies come from a mixed methodology, with the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data.

Reminder: Sampling is essential

Conclude the conversation by circling back to where it began: the principles of sampling. Explain that properly choosing a sample ensures that everyone in a population is represented. A poorly chosen sample, on the other hand, will privilege or exclude certain views in the community — skewing your conflict analysis and likely leaving out critical information. Another important factor to consider is the possible bias researchers may hold towards the people they are surveying or interviewing, and the bias that respondents have about the topics under discussion. For example, a researcher or respondent recently affected by conflict may have very strong views about the group or people they think are responsible for the conflict — and their views are unlikely to be neutral. Wherever possible, it is important to collect information from different viewpoints and to note where bias may be present in the research.

Discuss with participants the factors they need to consider when identifying a sample. For example, you must schedule data collection to include times and places where women, men, and those from all social strata are available. Otherwise, your data will be distorted to favour those who did not go to work in their fields or those who only live in a neighbourhood populated predominately by one ethnic group, for example. Have participants think about the gender dynamics of their chosen conflict, and make sure a sample reflects this reality. Bring up practical cases: 'If in the end your survey has a sample of 35 people, and you interviewed the president of the women's association and 34 men, you do not have a representative sample.' The president of the women's association alone cannot speak for all the women in the community, just like as a youth leader cannot speak for all young people.

30 minutes	<p>Plenary exercise – facilitated discussion</p> <p>Revisit the three role-playing scenarios that we explored to first learn about EBPD concepts. Focus on the methods you would use to collect data that can help identify answers to the following key questions (and have someone write the answers on a piece of paper or whiteboard for the whole room to see):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the different ways that X, Y, Z actors are treated by their communities, thus shaping their actions? • What are the social attitudes towards X actors or groups of people (ethnicity, gender, social grouping)? • Who are the potential supporters of X, Y, Z actors <i>[list them]</i>. Are they all supporters? • The conflict is between which actors? What provoked it? • What institutions (such as government laws or regulations) relate to elements of the conflict? • What structural influences (both formal and informal) are shaping the situation? • Who are the elites in this scenario? How do you know?
------------	--

Session Four: Small groups return and develop conflict maps on the wall

Time: Approximately two and a half hours

Objectives:

- Determine which evidence-based data collection method to use to verify a conflict narrative.
- Using the chosen method, identify who the elites are, what local pacts/elite bargains exist, the type of violence, and the context (political agreements and settlements, structural and institutional influences)

60 minutes	<p>Review data collection</p> <p>Each group will present their findings on how to determine a data-collection methodology. The other workshop participants will be invited to either confirm methods or suggest alternatives. In each case, you should understand what methodology will be used and what the final data will look like to create a conflict narrative that is factual, and not based on hearsay or assumptions.</p>
90 minutes	<p>Brainstorming</p> <p>The groups agree on a second set of conflicts (2 conflicts)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentations will begin with the general narrative and definition of elites, supporters, the structural, institutional, and political influences, and the type of market sought. • Groups will brainstorm with the other two entities to agree on the types of data they will need to complete the conflict narrative. • All work will be posted on the wall and presented to the plenary by the end of the day.

Session Five: Links between actors, issues and theories of change

Time: Approximately 45 minutes

Objectives:

- Begin to develop a theory of change that articulates which attitudinal or behavioural changes

among actors, particularly elites, remain critical to resolving the conflict.

- Understand the dynamic links between actors (elites and supporters), structural factors, and agreements — and most notably local pacts (elite bargains) — to identify what needs to change and how to focus programmatic efforts strategically.

15 minutes	Begin by mapping out the connections between types of violence, which actors are using violence, and which actors are affected, and the different relationships between those actors. Assess the types of violence associated with specific groups in the conflict scenarios you have identified. Establish links between the actors and their influences on one another. Drawing these links helps to identify where the work is most needed to address the use of violence to defend actors' interests — and thus can have the greatest impact.
30 minutes	As a practical exercise, take the key points of conflict noted in your own case studies and put them into the following categories. List the type of violence involved. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elites • Political Agreement • Institution / Structure • Supporters

Session Six: Plenary session on developing a theory of change

Time: Approximately two hours

Objectives:

- Focus on how to adapt a ToC by incorporating EBP theory through an analysis of the relationships between conflict actors (notably elites) and the pacts between them (specifically elite bargains).
- Understand how wider contextual factors such as political deals and settlements; informal structures (social norms, customs); or laws (institutions) place pressure on elites and the elite bargains that they have made locally.

60 minutes	<p>Each group will present a conflict scenario developed previously</p> <p>Theory of Change – What needs to change in the current environment to support these actors to pursue their interests via nonviolent means? Guiding questions include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the ideal change in this scenario, and how will this change occur? • Are you looking to change the behaviour of the entire system (many people) or simply that of a few key individuals? • Are you seeking to change social norms (informal structures) or codified laws (formal institutions)? <p>Once you can answer the questions about the desired change and how to achieve it (at the individual, systematic, informal, or formal levels), you must then define your sphere of influence. Break this down by first concentrating on the term 'sphere of influence'.</p>
------------	--

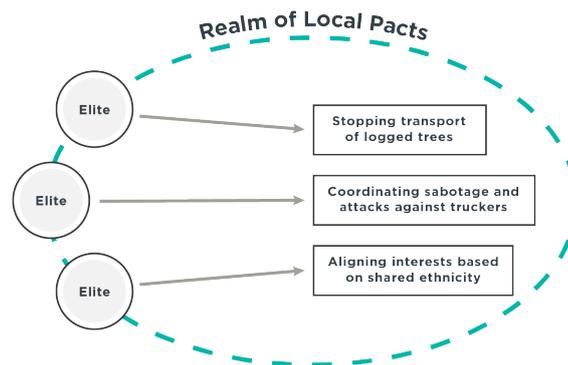
30
minutes

Which actors have the greatest influence on this change?

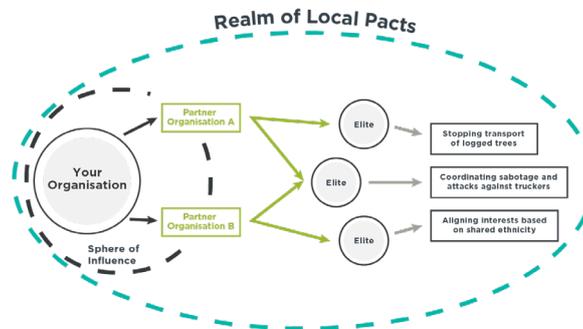
We start with the sphere of pacts:

- Arrangement between first group of truckers and fruit sellers to stop transporting logged trees.
- Sabotage of trucks and attacks against second group of truck drivers (to defend the interests of fruit sellers).
- Ethnic solidarity (the choice to align one's interests based on ethnicity) between fruit sellers and the first group of truckers.

The elites directly create or maintain **the pacts** because they have vested interests in their continued existence.



The sphere of influence of your organisation is limited by several drivers, including physical distance, knowledge, time in the field, and by informal and formal relationships with local actors including **the elites**. However, working relationships with other parties (civil society organisations, religious groups, and local associations) make it possible to affect the behaviour of elites whom you could not otherwise directly reach.



Two levels of intervention

- *Direct Reach*: To be as effective as possible, organisations should target the elites over whom they have a direct influence through their formal or informal relationships in a specific location. Influence at this proximity should be prioritised.
- *Indirect Reach*: If it seems logical and possible, organisations may try to influence the behaviour of elites through a third party with whom they have a close relationship and who has a direct influence on the elites in question.

30 minutes	<p>Here you are usually asked to note the following steps:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Future vision (ideal situation) → In the medium term (5 years), what is the desired political, social, or environmental situation? Will this involve systematic, individual, formal, or informal changes? 2) Mission (your contribution to this situation) → What is your contribution to achieving this vision? What changes in behaviour amongst local actors, especially elites, are targeted to achieve the vision? 3) Anticipated supporting partners → Which other parties do you have a close relationship with who in turn have a direct influence on the elites in question? 4) Targeted goals and impacts → Describe the behavioural changes as they will appear once you have completed your programme. 5) Progress markers → What are your indicators of progress towards your goals? 6) Stages of change → Describe the activities required to meet progress markers. 7) Develop organisational activities and practices → What is needed internally within your organisation to conduct these activities (i.e. staff, supplies)? 8) Methods and priorities for activity monitoring → How will you monitor activities (i.e. via regular reporting, focus-group discussions)? 9) Monitoring inputs and outputs → Based on progress markers, include a scoring system for measuring outputs (your organisation's activities) and a methodology to adapt activities to achieve desired outcomes (what you want to achieve). 10) Measuring change → Based on observed outputs, determine the degree of achievement of anticipated outcomes. 11) Impact evaluation → Assess the outcomes to determine the level of programme impact (behavioural change among local actors). 12) Final assessment → At the end of your programme, what have you ultimately accomplished to fulfil your mission and reach your future vision?
---------------	---



Day Three

Session Seven: Group presentation of planned concepts and programming

Time: Approximately three and a half hours

Objective:

Incorporate EBPD throughout the conflict analysis and mapping process, and use the model to develop programme interventions that cover three areas:

- Using EBPD to establish a conflict narrative (a hypothesis for why the conflict is happening).
- Developing a plan for verifying the narrative (data collection).
- Formulating the ToC for how to address the conflict.

180 minutes	<p>Take your case studies and follow the steps below on your own. The steps are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify the conflict narrative, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Actors — elites, supporters (remember GESI considerations). ○ Actions — local pacts, types of violence. ○ Context — political agreements and settlements, structural/institutional pressures. • Identify the relationships between the actors who maintain or seek to change the conflict narrative. <p>Establish a mandate for your activities that centres on these actors, including expected behaviour changes among these actors.</p> <p>Instructions for the concluding activity include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use your conflict case study that you brought to the workshop.
-------------	--

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use the 'Conflict Narrative Development Tool' to help construct the conflict narrative. • Use the 'Conflict Narrative Verification Worksheet' to help determine what elements of the conflict narrative must be verified and how (data collection methodology and tools). <p>You have three hours to do your best; you are encouraged to divide the work amongst your group.</p>
20 minutes	Seek workshop feedback and address any unresolved questions

ANNEX III:

Companion Tools and Training Materials

Please find below additional materials and resources for facilitators to use when delivering this workshop. These tools should be adapted as necessary to the needs of the specific workshop and to local contexts.

Conflict Narrative Development Tool

Identify the Narrative: What's Happening?

<p>Conflict Summary: [Provide a general summary of the conflict. Write several detailed sentences describing the situation and its context(s).]</p>	
Actor(s)	[Briefly describe the main actors involved in the conflict, including elites and supporters. Discuss one actor (or group of actors, such as a company, organisation, or ethnic group) per line.]
Actor(s)	
Actor(s)	
Actor(s)	
Actor(s)	
Local Pact	[Describe the relevant and existing arrangements between local actors that have been adopted, opposed, ignored, or overlooked. What bargains, or local pacts, have elites made or agreed upon — and with which other actors? Discuss one per line.]
Local Pact	
Context	[Analyse the context of the conflict, with one aspect per line. What context (including specific actions or events) provoked the conflict? What wider political deals or settlements relate to the local conflict? How did this context prompt the need for the elite bargains mentioned above? How did it shape these local pacts made between actors?]
Context	
Context	
Context	
Context	

Definitions of Key Terminology

Note to facilitator: The following are definitions that have proven useful in relating key EBPD terminology to the localised context. These definitions should be adapted and revised as needed to be understood by participants.

Elites

Individuals with the necessary means to mobilise supporters in defence of interests which may be threatened by an agreement or settlement with other actors. They do not have to hold significant wealth or a formal political position, but they are able to deliver on the demands of the constituencies they represent.

Elite Bargains

The means used by elites to defend their interests. These could include formal or informal alliances between elites that allocate political power, control over economic resources or opportunities, or command over the means of violence.

Political Deals

A formal or semi-formal understanding or arrangement between parties in conflict for the cessation of hostilities or competition.

Political Settlements

A distribution of resources between parties (often following a political deal).

Competitive Violence

Violence whose objective is to defend access to a resource against other actors competing for the same resources.

Embedded Violence

Violence by one actor against another that is not punished under the terms of a given settlement.

Permissive Violence

A form of violence that is accepted according to social norms in the absence of state control.

Structural Violence

A pressure linked to a law, tradition, or other social constraint which is felt as a form of violence against a specific people or social group.

Theory of Change Worksheet

	Key Actors	Additional Actors
Changing Behaviours		
Changing Attitudes		

DEFINING YOUR INTENTIONS WORKSHEET: PROGRESS MARKERS

Targeted impact(s):	
We expect that _____ Name of (Partner) Organisation	
1	
2	
3	
4	
We wish/hope that _____ Name of (Partner) Organisation	
5	
6	
7	
8	
We would like, ideally, that _____ Name of (Partner) Organisation	
9	
10	
11	
12	

ANNEX IV:

References and Additional Resources

- Cheng, C., Goodhand, J., and Meehan, P. (2018). 'Synthesis Paper: Securing and Sustaining Elite Bargains that Reduce Violent Conflict.' (UK Government's Stabilisation Unit Elite Bargains and Political Deals Project.) Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/elite-bargains-and-political-deals>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).
- CDA Collaborative Learning Projects. (2020). 'The Do No Harm Program.' Retrieved from <https://www.cdacollaborative.org/cdaproject/the-do-no-harm-project>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).
- Department for International Development. 'Building Peaceful States and Societies: A DFID Practice Paper.' (2010). Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/building-peaceful-states-and-societies-a-dfid-practice-paper>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).
- True, J. (2020). 'Gender and Conflict: Making Elite Bargaining Processes More Inclusive.' UK Government's Stabilisation Unit. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/gender-and-conflict-making-elite-bargaining-processes-more-inclusive>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).
- Whaites, A. (2017). 'The Beginner's Guide to Political Economy Analysis (PEA). UK Government's National School of Government International (NSGI). Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-beginners-guide-to-political-economy-analysis-pea>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).
- Yousuf, Z. (2018). 'Navigating Inclusion in Peace Transitions: Beyond Elite Bargains.' *Accord Spotlight*. (UK Department for International Development's Political Settlements Research Programme [PSRP]). Conciliation Resources. Retrieved from <https://www.politicalsettlements.org/publications-database/navigating-inclusion-in-peace-transitions-spotlight>. (Accessed 6 October 2020).