



Transformation of marginalised through inclusion

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07 August 2018

Questions

Provide global examples or case studies where externally supported interventions have been able to strengthen the commitments of public authorities (the state) towards extremely marginalised and disadvantaged groups in fragile states.

Contents

- 1. Overview**
- 2. Processes of Exclusion and Inclusion**
- 3. Case Studies**
- 4. Recommendations**
- 5. References**

The K4D helpdesk service provides brief summaries of current research, evidence, and lessons learned. Helpdesk reports are not rigorous or systematic reviews; they are intended to provide an introduction to the most important evidence related to a research question. They draw on a rapid desk-based review of published literature and consultation with subject specialists.

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1. Overview

This rapid review synthesises literature from academic, policy and non-government organisational (NGO) sources on the process of including excluded groups in the decision-making process or wider political system. Excluded groups refers to all groups that are marginalised, whether exclusion is based on race, sexual orientation, age, disability, gender, etc.. The review provides a number of examples of methods used towards the inclusion of marginalised communities, which are further highlighted through case studies. The focus is on examples where external support is a significant factor in success. Finally, the review highlights a number of recommendations that have been put forward in order to facilitate the inclusion of excluded groups.

Although the literature is fairly strong on pathways toward inclusion for marginalised groups, it is limited when it comes to evaluations of donor/external support. For this reason this review includes a number of case studies where external/donor support was a factor, without going into much detail of the role they played.

Key findings are as follows:

- It is important to understand the multiple axes of difference that lead to exclusion in order to ensure the most marginalised are also part of the inclusion process.
- Through understanding the various axes of difference that lead to exclusion, inclusion campaigns can focus on different inclusionary markers.
- If mechanisms for inclusion threaten the power of political parties in control, they are less likely to succeed, thus mechanisms that work within the existing political system are more successful.
- Holistic approaches to inclusion are important as it takes into account the multiple axes of difference that lead to exclusion and that political reform needs to take into account all these factors.
- In Cameroon, increased inclusion was gained through implementing participatory neighbourhood structures that cooperated with local governments and other state actors. This allowed young people and women to access the political decision-making process.
- When campaigns for inclusion are united under one marker of exclusion and have a clear vision they are more successful.
- Minorities can be excluded from accessing the judiciary system and it is important that efforts are made to facilitate their access – examples are shuttle services to and from courts, court liaison officers for ethnic groups to facilitate access to courts, etc..
- Inclusion reforms need to be implemented at the local, district, provincial, national, and potentially even at the international level in order to be successful.
- It is important that mediation happens in safe spaces so that excluded groups feel more comfortable in participating.
- Well-coordinated collective action via networking and alliance building is important in overcoming deeply entrenched divisions.
- Successful implementation of inclusion has often involved strengthening civil society's support for marginalised groups through formal organising into coordinated structures.

- Programmes for inclusion should develop leadership skills for marginalised group members through confidence-building measures and should aim to gain the support of community leaders and the local community.
- It is important that excluded groups play a leading role in research on exclusion and needs for inclusion so that they have ownership of the process.
- Research should also understand that many subgroups with different issues and needs exist and therefore results should be disaggregated across a range of demographic characteristics in order to account for differences.
- In Somaliland an NGO, Nagaad, has increased women's participation through its strong network, credibility, and research-led advocacy, which all fed into a successful campaign featuring progressive interpretations of women's rights in the Qur'an and the Hadiths.
- The media can play an important role in campaigns towards inclusion and marginalised groups, and through building positive relations with the media, marginalised groups can sway public and political opinion in support of inclusion.
- International actors can play an important role in areas where human rights advocacy is highly sensitive by placing a spotlight on human rights injustices and political exclusion on an international, national, and regional scale.
- Nonetheless, external support should be built on local initiatives and should support locals in undertaking their advocacy in more methodical ways, whilst also understanding the local dynamics and institutional structures.
- In Bougainville, successful inclusion policies utilised local cultural beliefs and principles of inclusion were integrated into the discourse on local culture so that training was seen as a home-grown solution rather than an externally introduced one.
- Transitional periods create space for marginalised groups to assume decision-making and leadership positions and processes that are set up often continue functioning afterwards.
- Institutions based on local culture can also bring marginalised communities into the decision-making process, which was the case with the Community Auxiliary Police (CAP) scheme in Bougainville, which is based on traditional customs and involves village chiefs.
- Linking inclusion policies to poverty alleviation helps to provide impetus for change.
- Study trips to see the implementation of inclusion policies first hand in similar countries, rather than just hearing about it from experts, can help to push forward reforms.

2. Processes of Exclusion and Inclusion

Intersectionality¹

Htun and Ossa (2013) argue the importance of taking an intersectional approach when examining exclusion, as for them, some communities have more than one way of organising towards inclusion. For instance indigenous women in Bolivia witnessed two forms of exclusion, one for being indigenous and one for being women. In the Bolivian example, women's organising was more successful than indigenous organising.

Intra-group dynamics, institutional factors and party interests impact the chance of success towards inclusion. Excluded groups demand different institutional changes to promote their inclusion, which can impact political parties in different ways. Political parties favour inclusion mechanisms that either further or at the very least do not jeopardise their interests in gaining and maintaining power. Therefore, the electoral inclusion mechanism of quotas is preferred over reserved seats, as they can install quotas within their own parties and thus maintain control of the candidates. Whereas reserved seats allow groups to gain access to power independently of existing parties (Htun and Ossa, 2013). In Bolivia women mobilised across class and ethnic lines and succeeded in gaining parity in participation whereas indigenous movements failed. The different outcomes is firstly because women put aside their differences over other issues and united behind the cause of gender parity whilst the indigenous movement was split with different proposals for inclusion and reserved seats. Secondly, gender parity did not impact on party power, whereas indigenous autonomy was a challenge to the party's control of political power (Htun & Ossa, 2013). An additional factor is that if the groups seeking inclusion are minorities they are more likely to be seen as potential political challengers than other groups. Ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, for example, commonly form political parties, whereas women, persons with disabilities or people living with HIV do not (UNDP, 2010).

Judiciary System

Minorities can also be excluded from accessing the judiciary system because of discrimination, language barriers, low confidence in the process, financial barriers, and the lack of judicial facilities in regions where they live. In Kosovo, efforts were made to rectify judiciary exclusion through the promotion of a professional, independent, impartial and multi-ethnic judiciary and prosecution service, and the Judicial Integration Section (JIS) was created to ensure this. The JIS also ensures access to justice for minorities and tracks the treatment of minorities by the justice system. JIS launched shuttle services to and from courts in order to overcome restrictions on freedom of movement; court liaison officers to facilitate access to courts by providing advice to different ethnic groups; oversight bodies to monitor investigations, court processes and judges to ensure impartiality; and victim assistance units to provide comprehensive assistance including legal services, shelter services, psycho-social support, medical assistance, education, income generation and compensation (UNDP, 2010).

¹ Intersectionality examines how interlocking systems of power impact those who are most marginalised in society. It considers that various forms of social stratification, such as class, race, sexual orientation, age, disability and gender, do not exist separately from each other but are interwoven together to form multiple layers of exclusion.

Coordination

Hedström and Smith (2013) argue that in order to successfully implement inclusion reforms, they need to be implemented at the local, district, provincial, national, and potentially even at the international level. Reforms that only target one or two levels are more likely to fail; for instance, the introduction of constitutional and legislative reforms in Uganda addressing discrimination and political exclusion of people with disabilities has increased political participation but has not changed the provision of services to people with disabilities. Although laws now exist, at the local level not much has been done to change people's attitudes or ensure the implementation of policies. Constitutional and legislative reforms need to be paired with community education initiatives promoting attitudinal change to overcome systemic obstacles to the inclusion of marginalised groups. Prejudice and discrimination will never be legislated out of existence and governments also have to provide adequate resources for education and campaigns to address relations between communities.

Well-coordinated collective action via networking and alliance building is also extremely important in overcoming the challenges posed by long-standing and deeply entrenched ethnic, religious, gender and other divisions. Previous successes in inclusion (as seen in the case studies below) have demonstrated that strengthening civil society's support for marginalised groups through formal organising into coordinated structures assists campaigns. A key part of this is preventing fragmentation and disorganisation, which leads to politically weak marginalised groups. For example, in Ecuador indigenous people overcame political and social exclusion through forming an alliance, the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), which played an important role in campaigning for indigenous people to achieve greater democratic inclusion. CONAIE became the most important change agent in Ecuador between 1990 and 2002 and was a pivotal actor in pushing through a new constitution for Ecuador, facilitating the state's decentralisation and democratisation, whilst leading to the recognition of the rights of the indigenous population. CONAIE was able to lead such change due to the success of its social mobilisation and the strength of its member organisations (Hedström & Smith, 2013).

Research

Research on areas of exclusion and needs for inclusion are an important part of campaigns towards inclusion. Hedström and Smith (2013) argue of the importance of engaging excluded groups in the planning, conducting, and analysis of research to ensure they own the process and its outcomes. Thus allowing excluded groups to transfer the outcomes into advocacy gains. However, research also has to take into account the intersectionality of marginalised groups and understand that many subgroups with different issues and needs may exist. Thus research needs to disaggregate results across a range of demographic characteristics in order to account for inter- and intra-group differences. Moreover, the research process needs to ensure that it is inclusive and does not exclude members within the excluded group. Therefore there cannot be a reliance on public meetings or key informant interviews as these tend to exclude voices on the margins and are dominated by older men.

Media

The media can play both a positive and a negative role in campaigns towards inclusion. It is therefore important that marginalised groups build and maintain positive relations with the media. Used successfully the media can be instrumental in swaying public and political opinion in the

process of overcoming exclusion. In Malawi the Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP) successfully utilised the media in campaigning for inclusive policies for the LGBTQI community. Although the media was initially hostile, inroads were made through sensitisation and awareness-raising media training on LGBTQI issues. CEDEP developed personal relationships with journalists and this helped create a regular media space for LGBTQI issues. This allowed CEDEP to contribute weekly articles in a column in a leading newspaper, which contributed to a shift in the population's attitude towards LGBTQI people (Hedström & Smith, 2013).

In Albania the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) launched a media campaign to promote social inclusion in the country. The aim was to create awareness and to promote a sense of multiculturalism within the country. The programme used the media to provide a platform for minorities to share their culture and express their rights and values, which in turn helped to overcome stereotypes and discriminatory practices. UNDP also paired each issue discussed in the programme (such as registration, child protection, health, and vocational training) with an advocacy activity (UNDP, 2010).

External actors

External actors providing humanitarian and political assistance can play a crucial role in changes leading to inclusion reform, however their actions can also compromise progress. In areas where human rights advocacy is highly sensitive, links with international actors who can place a spotlight on these issues can prove vital to success. International organisations can play an important role in highlighting human rights injustices and political exclusion on an international, national, and regional scale. International debates, such as on gender equality, can also play a critical role in people questioning their lack of rights and inclusion (Hedström & Smith, 2013). However, Hedström and Smith (2013) argue that external support should be built on local initiatives in order for them to be successful. Sometimes the greatest help can be supporting locals in undertaking their advocacy in more methodical ways, drawing on past lessons from other successful campaigns. Thus, external actors can help local partners identify political and security strategies and tactics that the local actors may not have had access to. However, external actors must understand the local dynamics and institutional structures or the models they introduce may do more harm than good.

External actors should also ensure they take a holistic approach to reform in order to ensure inclusion. Successful strategies involve whole communities in the designing and implementing solutions, as systems and attitudes need to be changed across the board. Holistic approaches also take into account that experiences of exclusion are often intersectional and multiple axes of difference can lead to exclusion, thus political reform needs to take into account all the elements that lead to marginalisation (Hedström & Smith, 2013).

3. Case Studies

Somalia

Somali society is based on patriarchal systems that impact women's access to, and agency in, decision-making at both the local and national level. The DFID funded *Implementation and*

Analysis in Action of Accountability Programme (IAAAP) in Somalia found it difficult to challenge male dominance and encourage female participation. IAAAP partners have implemented inclusionary research practices where female researchers engage with women who are normally excluded from spaces where information is exchanged and discussed. They have also discussed inclusive engagement with local authorities, which in turn reduced resistance to the inclusion of women, youth and clan minorities. Through facilitating discussions about gender with communities early on women are encouraged to express their views and to participate. Through mediation in safe spaces participation of excluded groups is increased. Holding meetings in traditional and informal settings gives people the freedom to participate as and when they wish, which is important for the inclusion of women who have to work around their domestic responsibilities (IAAAP, 2017).

Bougainville²

PEACE Foundation Melanesia

Following the 1990–97 Bougainville civil war conflict resolution, training led to the increase of women's participation as mediators and decision-makers in dispute resolution processes. This significantly helped to facilitate their involvement as leaders in dialogue between conflicting parties and ultimately in challenging discriminatory customary norms. In Bougainville, customary prescriptions excluded marginalised groups, as they were unregulated and lacked accountability and consistency, which makes them more susceptible to bias and elite control. The People and Community Empowerment (PEACE) Foundation Melanesia³ training programme utilised local cultural beliefs and encouraged community discussion around principles of gender equality, power sharing and human rights. Principles of inclusion were integrated into the discourse on local culture so that training was seen as a home-grown solution rather than an externally introduced one. Men and women were trained in conflict mediation and resolution based on principles that were locally recognisable and accepted, thus there was a strong focus on restoring community harmony while empowering individuals. An important part of the process was that PEACE Foundation Melanesia reviewed customary practices in light of underlying customary values and managed to weave human rights within the cultural and customary law fabric (Johnstone, 2013). Johnstone (2013) notes that transitional periods, such as post conflict Bougainville, create space for marginalised groups to assume decision-making and leadership positions. Moreover, institutions or processes set up in transitional phases often continue functioning afterwards, thus initial steps are important for the post-transition and development phases. PEACE Foundation Melanesia trained a wide range of community members as mediators, including traditional chiefs and church leaders. Engaging a wide range of groups through training had a vital alliance-building effect, which was critical in modifying existing power structures. Another vital component was that mediators were able to work with poor and geographically isolated people, which helped increase intra- and inter-community social harmony (Johnstone, 2013).

² Bougainville is an autonomous region in Papua New Guinea.

³ A subregion of Oceania, Melanesia includes the four countries of Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu, and a few other territories of some countries.

Community Auxiliary Police

Dinnen and Peake (2013) argue that it is important that international actors engage with a broader spectrum of local actors and not just with state agencies. They point to the hybridity of peacebuilding, involving a range of actors and often including traditional leaders and customary justice in many countries. Thus, international peacebuilding should not ignore the local dimension and should include the interactions between top-down and bottom-up approaches. A successful example of donor engagement with hybrid local justice and security practices is Bougainville (Dinnen & Peake, 2013). Through New Zealand's support, a Community Auxiliary Police (CAP) scheme that operates throughout rural Bougainville was created, which brings previously marginalised communities into the policing structure. The CAP involves nearly 350 police officers, however their role extends beyond policing and includes mediation, working with traditional leaders, and supporting community governance mechanisms. The CAP links state authority with local beliefs and practices by operating within both the local conception of authority and the local government system. The CAP allows for local culturally-aware mechanisms to manage disputes and reconciliation and enables community-based policing closely aligned to local leadership and governance (Dinnen & Peake, 2013). The CAP is a hybrid institution and its officers are nominated by village chiefs and must be approved by the Council of Elders. The officers are then checked by the Bougainville Police Service (BPS) before being hired, giving these officers a high level of legitimacy. These officers are also held accountable to the Councils of Elders system, and thus the local community, as well as through a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) within the CAP, and finally by the Bougainville Community Policing Project (BCPP) where staff from New Zealand act as the final measure of accountability. This has resulted in the CAP having extremely high standards and as many as 40 CAP officers have been dismissed. The CAP also handles most policing in Bougainville due to their strong community relations and their permanent presence in rural areas where most of the population lives (Dinnen & Peake, 2013).

The strength of the CAP is that it is based on local leadership structures and practices and takes its inspiration from local culture. For this reason there is a significant buy in from the local population and the Bougainville government. This has strengthened the project and helped to ensure its long-term success. Nonetheless, New Zealand also deserves credit for the role they have played, particularly in enabling the growth of CAP and in providing training. New Zealand has provided the support for the CAP to grow organically and has helped to strengthen areas such as recruiting female officers and providing officers for extremely rural locations (Dinnen & Peake, 2013).

Namibia

Women in northern Namibia took advantage of a progressive tribal chief and the need to redeem popular support in negotiating women's inclusion in traditional leadership. Women increased their participation in traditional court meetings, which helped to increase the protection of women's rights. Having a progressive chief to champion women's inclusion and establish a behavioural model for other chiefs to follow was an important factor alongside the fact that traditional authorities needed to increase their legitimacy due to their previous association with the apartheid regime in South Africa. Thus, timing and the need for change was particularly important, especially following Namibia's independence. However, a key factor was that efforts for inclusion were directed at the local, regional and national levels, ensuring that change was not based on the progressive attitudes of one person (Ubink, 2013).

Somaliland

In Somaliland the NGO Nagaad has taken a key role in changing Somaliland men's attitudes towards women's political participation through promoting women's awareness of their political rights under Islam. Nagaad has increased women and girl's access to education, guaranteed their reproductive rights, and improved their economic empowerment, well-being and political participation. Nagaad has a well-coordinated network, which has given it credibility and facilitated its growth. Its success has been due to well co-ordinated networking facilitating the organisation's considerable growth throughout Somaliland while providing it with representative credibility. It has been successful in changing men's attitudes, as women's increased political participation is not seen as a challenge to their own political participation. A key factor in Nagaad's success is its research-led advocacy, which highlighted the key barriers preventing women from participating in Somaliland politics. As a result Nagaad launched its campaign featuring progressive interpretations of women's rights in the Qur'an and the Hadiths. The Somaliland government has also supported Nagaad's work and has implemented advancements in family law, and employment and social reforms supporting women's protection. Civil service reforms have also led to a near parity in women's employment (Walls, 2013).

India

Similar to the above case in Somaliland, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) piloted the Muslim Women's Initiative (MWI), aiming to decrease Muslim women's isolation from the democratic mainstream through community education initiatives. Engaging with around 30,000 people, the programme focused on the rights of women enshrined in the Qur'an and the Indian Constitution and protected under Indian law. The project demonstrated that the Qur'an provides Muslim women with political and legal rights, such as the right to education, choice of marital partner, divorce and participation in politics. It consisted of dissemination workshops (for both men and women), the formation of women's groups linked to both advocacy and income generation, counselling and legal aid services, leadership training, and outreach work. MWI effectively utilised women as peer educators, community theatre, role-play, and information kits demonstrating women's rights in both the Qur'an and under Indian law. IFES used local implementing partners with credibility on the ground, who were also part of the formation of the programme. Mohan and Tabassum (2013) put the success of MWI down to adopting a coordinated, holistic and community-wide approach; developing leadership skills for marginalised group members through confidence-building measures; gaining the support of community leaders; translating this support into a change of orientation towards women and girls' rights as taught in madrassas; gaining community support through improving health and education services among local Muslim communities (Mohan & Tabassum, 2013).

Cameroon

In Cameroon processes facilitating women and young people's inclusion in decision-making utilising national legislative empowerment measures have been successful due to being accompanied by initiatives undertaken at the district and local levels. The Cameroon government passed a decree restructuring councils and creating elected mayors in smaller councils, this helped to overcome the entrenched and undemocratic power structures at the regional and district levels. However, these actions still failed to lead to the inclusion of historically

marginalised groups. A local NGO, the Integrated Development Foundation (IDF), established a system of participation modelled on past structures and processes that enabled all stakeholders to contribute to the development of projects' design and implementation. IDF also helped locals in implementing participatory neighbourhood structures known as 'Quarter Development Associations' (QDAs), which would then cooperate with local governments and other state actors responsible for neighbourhood development issues. It was through the QDAs that young people and women were able to access the political decision making process. In order to guarantee the inclusion of marginalised groups, IDF ensured people were informed about community meetings, engaged in interactive outreach approaches (such as establishing question and answer focal points in common gathering places), hired community mobilisers, used vehicle-mounted loudspeakers and used home visits and word of mouth. IDF targeted women and young people and encouraged them to define their own needs and solutions. They ensured that they went beyond community meetings, that are often dominated by older men, and met with marginalised individuals in spaces they felt safer articulating their needs. They also linked their inclusion policies to poverty alleviation and land reform helping to provide impetus for change. Although the project was supported externally, it was built on existing local structures and implemented through a local NGO, which contributed to its success and sustainability (Lambi & Dameni, 2013).

Liberia

Following the end of Liberia's 14-year civil war in 2003 the post-war context was fragile and there were a number of serious economic and social issues that made peace tenuous. The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) sent a large UN peacekeeping mission to help maintain the peace and increase security. High levels of violence, particularly against women and girls, which the police had often been involved in, needed to be tackled. Due to the desperate situation in Liberia and need for assistance, UNMIL were welcomed and received strong support. As a result the UN was able to take advantage of the strong momentum to affect change. The local dynamics – a women-led peace movement that helped end the conflict, a female president and general of police – paired with gender-sensitive donor nations and a UN mission with a mandate to incorporate gender mainstreaming resulted in gender-sensitive police reforms. There was significant recruitment of female police officers and a new unit to respond to gender-based violence was created (Bacon, 2015).

Beyond recruitment, donors and the Liberian police also invested in awareness-raising initiatives, such as reporting rape, gender-based violence, women's participation, and wider gender-based topics. Government officials were also brought on study trips to see the implementation of gender mainstreaming principles first hand, rather than just hearing about it from gender experts. These trips helped to push forward reforms in Liberia, particularly when officials saw the reforms in countries like Ghana and they become more than just lectures from international actors. Additionally, through women being appointed in high level positions female role models were in the spotlight and the presence of an all-female Indian Formed Police Unit also helped reinforce the image of women leading security efforts. As part of this learning process mentors were also utilised to help institutionalise and implement the new processes, and this also helped UNPOL to better understand the local context (Bacon, 2015).

4. Recommendations

The Ethno-cultural Diversity Resource Centre organised a regional conference in 2006 on “Good Governance in Multi-Ethnic Communities” and came up with the following recommendations for good governance in multi-ethnic communities based on best practice from Southeast Europe (UNDP, 2010):

- Give minorities a role in decision-making at the local level;
- Do not limit their participation to consultation;
- If small minority groups are underrepresented, then appropriate mechanisms to improve representation should be developed;
- Ensure genuine representation of all groups in the local representative bodies;
- Empower people;
- Do not limit your approach to minority rights;
- Raise awareness of the existing diversity in the community;
- Promote cross-group alliances in order to support each local ethno-cultural community’s interests;
- Monitor the impact of the existing legislation through appropriate indicators;
- Ensure participation of the beneficiaries in all stages of implementation of the legislation;
- Ensure resources at the local level as well, in order to implement the national legislation and to respond to the community’s needs.

The report ‘[Overcoming Political Exclusion](#)’ by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) provides a number of recommendations to help include marginalised communities in the political process (Hedström & Smith, 2013). Below are the most relevant for this report:

1. All segments of marginalised groups should be involved in designing inclusion strategies, including identifying needs and lack of rights, objectives, and monitoring progress. Close consultation with the entire community should be ongoing and results should be reported in a manner that all those affected have easy access to it.
2. Programmes should adopt a comprehensive approach that addresses constitutional and legislative rights gaps, poverty and illiteracy, and confidence-building political leadership training.
3. Initiatives should also address the dominant group’s readiness to accept the inclusion of marginalised groups. Tactics can include community education programmes and the media.
4. Multi-tiered reform interventions should be linked to constitutional and legislative reform and diversity education campaigns. They should also target each level of governance and identify options that appeal to both the dominant and the marginalised groups.

5. Stakeholders involved in inclusion reform campaigns should ensure coordination and prevent fragmentation by building new, or strengthening existing, alliances.
6. Advocacy strategies should be based on research evidence reflecting the negative impact of exclusion and the potential gains of inclusion within political decision-making.
7. Research processes should actively involve excluded groups in gathering, compiling and analysing data.
8. Research methods should ensure that excluded groups' understanding of needs, issues and solutions are prioritised and is disaggregated in order to understand the multiple forms of exclusion.
9. Reform campaigners and activists should understand the profile they need to adopt during the various stages of the campaign. They need to know when to adopt a low profile, high profile and when they need third parties for added impetus.
10. Reform campaigners should also understand the importance of the timing of campaigns and what other developments may lead to attitudinal and behavioural changes taking place within political and social structures and the impact of these on their own reform strategies.
11. There should be an assessment of whether, or when, to use the dominant language and whether, or when, to use the marginalised language in order to gain advantage in the reform process.
12. Reformers navigating intra- and inter-group differences among marginalised groups or between marginalised and dominant groups should consider the unifying potential of common characteristics and the strength of narratives of shared history and common culture.
13. External partners working with marginalised groups should avoid one off or short-term training events and should rather focus on capacity development to help marginalised groups improve their political representation and leadership skills.
14. External partners should attempt to leverage government support for and commitment to capacity development for marginalised groups in order to improve their representation.
15. External partners working with marginalised groups should base their programming on a commitment to building upon existing institutional and community initiatives and structures.
16. They should assist local partners to identify and understand political strategies and tactics tailored to the local context that community-based activists may have had relatively little access to.
17. External partners need to avoid a one-size-fits-all approach using external actors and large-scale resourcing and instead enter into partnerships viewing the excluded population as leaders in the development of their own communities, and using their knowledge and values in the reform process.
18. External partners prioritise the capacity development of the excluded group rather than recruiting external people to meet skills gaps.
19. Donors should ensure that international organisations coordinate with each other and with local partners in their capacity development initiatives to avoid the exclusion of groups on the basis of geography and lack of literacy skills.
20. Donors should ensure the mainstreaming of inclusion issues by promoting excluded groups' participation and leadership through their programmes.

21. Donors should simplify funding proposals and grant management processes to enable excluded groups to lead the project design, implementation and monitoring phases.

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Suggested citation

O'Driscoll, D. (2018). *Transformation of marginalised through inclusion*. K4D Helpdesk. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

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