

- Meanwhile, in South Africa, gradual increases in political inclusion helped the country to navigate long-held structural and racial divides (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
- In Tunisia, the national dialogue forum that helped Islamists and the secular government to overcome an increasingly violent stalemate and agree on a roadmap going forward also served as a platform for compromise, including a new constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights for the entire population irrespective of gender, political conviction, or religious beliefs (Norwegian Nobel Committee 2015; Steven and Sucuoglu 2017). Islamist leaders reached out to the secular camp to strike compromises on difficult issues such as the role of Shari'ah in the constitution and gender equality.

Both Burkina Faso and Tunisia also demonstrated inclusion by explicitly including past politicians, even from rival groups, in politics rather than excluding or prosecuting them (Pichler Fong 2017; Toska 2017). For Tunisia, this broadened accountability for a peaceful political transition, while giving the transition team access to institutional memory and a wealth of prior experience (Toska 2017). In Burkina Faso, although not popular with civil society leaders, the move to

include moderate elements of the former ruling party meant that the Charter of the Transition was more inclusive and that the reconciliation process had broader buy-in (Pichler Fong 2017).

One of the factors that has helped Niger to maintain relative stability in a region beset by security crises has been the move to institutionalize greater political inclusion at the national level. The transition from a military regime to an inclusive civilian-led regime in 2011 saw a change in Niger's fortunes and helped to maintain stability in the face of various internal and external threats (Pérouse de Montclos 2017). The new president, Mahamadou Issoufou, ushered in a parliamentary regime that extended political inclusion to a range of groups and parties, including naming various opposition leaders to government posts and appointing a Tuareg, Brigi Rafini, to the post of prime minister in 2011 (Pérouse de Montclos 2017). The inclusion offered by the new government helped it to maintain an elite pact and also helped Niger to address specific grievances among the population and to develop greater accountability (box 6.5).

To be meaningful, inclusion needs to go deeper than mere participation. It should lead to an increased focus on the core issues that are central to managing risks and that

BOX 6.5 Niger: An Example of Resilience in a Troubled Neighborhood

Niger faces the threat of extremist groups on its border with Mali, is exposed to the lawless Sahara interior through its border with Libya and northern Mali, and has seen repeated incursions by Boko Haram into its territory from Nigeria in the south. Internally too, it has experienced two military coups in recent years, tensions with its Toubou and Tuareg populations have exacerbated internal divides in the past, and its battle with Boko Haram in

the southeast and with armed groups from Mali in the southwest have stoked intercommunal tensions and deepened tensions over access to resources. Despite these risks, Niger has managed to remain stable over the last decade. The following factors help to explain how the country has managed to avoid sliding into open, violent conflict.

Fostering a sense of national unity. Niger has a robust national narrative regarding social cohesion. A grassroots

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BOX 6.5 Niger: An Example of Resilience in a Troubled Neighborhood *(continued)*

rural development program fostered by President Mahamadou Issoufou has strengthened the state's relationship with communities and increased its legitimacy. The separation of the church and state during colonial times helped to give rise to a secular state and a context that has partially contained the emergence of radical Islamist ideology. The state supports secularism but also engages in an active dialogue with religious authorities, with Islam playing a central role in Niger. The religious community has supported conflict mitigation activities in the southwest since 2011; today, most religious actors in the southeast reject the Islamist narrative of Boko Haram. However, this rejection has not entirely mitigated the risk of radicalization toward violent extremism among the youth. Overall, the combination of historical, economic, and religious factors in Niger has helped to contain a further polarization of groups along the north-south divide and diluted the appeal of extremist ideologies. The leadership has used these factors to build a narrative of peace and tolerance. At the local level, the wide dispersal of Niger's Tuareg population across the country, living and intermarrying with different communities, has also contributed to cohesive social dynamics.

Forging a development, security, and diplomacy nexus. Niger has engaged in a major push to forge a strong nexus between development, security, and diplomacy. The army in Niger is well trained and, on the whole, has a positive relationship with the population. It has made efforts to work with civilian authorities, especially with structures such as the Haute Autorité à la Consolidation de la Paix (HACP). The comprehensive economic and social development plan includes components on security and conflict resolution. A US\$2.5 billion strategy for the Sahara-Sahel region proposes an integrated approach to security and development and includes issues like pastoralism development and management of local conflicts related

to transhumance activities. Finally, a recovery plan for the Diffa region, which has suffered the effects of Boko Haram attacks, is currently being drafted and contains elements related to security, humanitarian assistance, and longer-term development.

Boosting political inclusion. Measures to boost political inclusion include the absorption of Tuaregs into the public sector and into administrative positions. The appointment of Brigi Rafini, a Tuareg leader, as prime minister in Niamey and the placement of a Tuareg as head of the HACP have helped to foster a sense of inclusion that cuts across divides, as have the election and appointment of some Tuareg leaders to local governance positions. The inclusion of dominant local elites and minority representatives at all levels has helped to achieve stability. This stability is a product of both the elite pact that lasted between 2011 and 2015, which ensured a fair distribution of power and rents between elites, as well as a tradition of nationalist sentiment that has helped to keep elites integrated and united. At the national level, Niger introduced multiparty politics in 1991 and returned to a parliamentary system in 2011, following the end of a military hiatus that lasted from 2010 to 2011.

Promoting early warning and mediation. Niger has developed an original mechanism for early warning and mediation that it implements through the HACP, which was created in October 2011 and replaces a previous similar structure. The HACP reports directly to the presidency and administers a range of programs, including intercommunal dialogue, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, and development projects aimed at promoting peace and cohesion. The early warning mechanism supports early mediation through a network of local and community actors—some of whom are hired by the HACP as *chargés de mission*—who report back to the president of the HACP when there are signs of heightened tension in a particular region or community. It is highly dynamic and coordinates activities

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BOX 6.5 Niger: An Example of Resilience in a Troubled Neighborhood *(continued)*

closely with the army as well as with the various sectoral ministries, local administration, and traditional authorities. Despite the informal character of the early warning and early response mechanism, its ability and capacity for rapid intervention and its holistic approach have been key to preventing violence in Niger.

Addressing socioeconomic grievances. The Renaissance socioeconomic plan—a high-level platform of reforms—that was put forward by President Issoufou when he was first elected in 2011 aims to address socioeconomic grievances. Within this, the 3N Initiative (the Nigeriens Nourish the Nigeriens) serves as a framework to enhance the resilience of

those affected by crises, and a warning system has been established to prevent and manage food crises and natural disasters. In 2006, the government passed a law to redistribute 15 percent of revenues from extractive industries back to the communes where the mining takes place. However, this mechanism is contested and has not yet been implemented, mostly because of the lack of capacity to manage resources at the central level and the dwindling of mining resources. The decision by the government not to obstruct the functioning of the informal economy that provides a vital source of livelihoods for many has helped to build resilience and social cohesion across the country, particularly in the border regions.

Sources: Antil and Mokhefi 2014; Guichaoua and Pellerin 2017; ICG 2013, 2017; Pérouse de Montclos 2017; World Bank 2016b.

build confidence for further progress. The pressure for a regime to survive or persist can incentivize temporary mechanisms for inclusion over institutional reform. Inclusion through the redistribution of favors, privileges, or some control of the use of force can reduce tensions and increase incentives to refrain from violence. However, this redistribution can come at the expense of a comprehensive reform of institutions or improved state capacity and, ultimately, lasting prevention:

- For example, the Republic of Yemen's 2013 National Dialogue Conference ultimately failed to bring about much-needed structural changes, despite being hailed as an inclusive and representative process that brought in the political elite, traditional leaders, the Houthis, the southern militant group Al Hiraq, civil society, and women's and youth groups (Steven and Sucuoglu 2017). Although the process agreed on a draft document and wide-ranging recommendations, the decision by a small presidential panel

to divide the Republic of Yemen into a federation of six geographic entities perceived to enjoy unequal access to resources ultimately contributed to an escalation of violence and a full-fledged military conflict (Steven and Sucuoglu 2017).

- In the Democratic Republic of Congo, successive political regimes since the 1970s have relied on alternative strategies for political survival, such as patronage, corruption, aid, and mineral extraction, among others (Bøås et al. 2017).

Ultimately, though, without corresponding improvements in state capability, efficiency, and accountability or efforts to lay the groundwork for a more durable settlement, prevention is unlikely to be sustained. Such arrangements have tended to work only so long as the pool of elites to co-opt is of a manageable size, incentives remain aligned, or the arrangements have the backing of a strong or canny leader. In Côte d'Ivoire, for example, the founding president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, ran an

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