

S-CAR News

A PUBLICATION OF THE
SCHOOL FOR
CONFLICT ANALYSIS
AND RESOLUTION
George Mason University

The Islamic State: An Experiment in Self-Fulfilling Dynamics

By Dennis J.D. Sandole, Professor of Conflict Resolution and International Relations, dsandole@gmu.edu

In 1928, the American sociologist W.I. Thomas uttered the words, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." This gave rise to the *Thomas Theorem* and, through the reframing of sociologist Robert K. Merton (1948), the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (SFP):

The self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a false definition

of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the original false conception come true. This specious validity of the self-fulfilling prophecy perpetuates a reign of error. For the prophet will cite the actual course of events as proof that he was right from the very beginning (ibid.).

Philosopher Sir Karl Popper (1976) converged on the same ontological territory covered by the SFP with his concept of the Oedipus effect (OE):

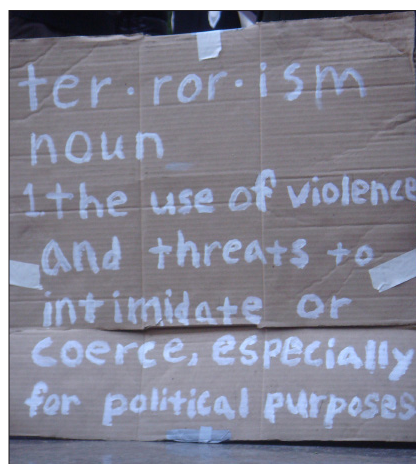


Photo: Flickr user Jagz Mario.

One of the ideas I had discussed in The Poverty of Historicism was the influence of a prediction upon the event predicted. I had called this the "Oedipus effect", because the oracle played a most important role in the sequence of events which led to the fulfilment of its prophecy. ... For a time I thought that the existence of the Oedipus effect distinguished the social from the natural sciences. But in biology, too — even in molecular biology — expectations often play a role in bringing about what has been expected (ibid.).

Whether we prefer "self-fulfilling prophecy" or "Oedipus effect," the emergence of the brutal and barbaric system known as the Islamic State is — more and more — the result of such nuanced dynamics. For instance, one of the reasons used by American neoconservatives to justify the invasion of Iraq on March 20, 2003, was that the terrorist group al Qaeda — architect of the 9/11 attacks — was collaborating operationally with Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and, indeed, was physically present in Iraq.

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Commentary

Conflict Resolution in Indigenous Communities of Oaxaca, Mexico

By Martha A. Galicia Osorio, MS student, mgalicia@masonlive.gmu.edu

In the summer of 2015, I spent two months practicing conflict analysis and resolution in two communities in Oaxaca, Mexico: Zimatlán de Lázaro Cárdenas and San Sebastián Nopalera. These neighboring communities are part of an “ejido”- a community dotation of land granted by the Mexican Federal Government. Zimatlán has plain and humid lands where several tropical fruits can be grown while Nopalera is located in mountain lands.

Zimatlán and Nopalera have always had relations and even some family ties; however due to the limitation of land in the region, these communities finally had an armed confrontation in 2010. As a result, nine people died and others were injured on both sides. This resulted in the organization representing Zimatlán, CEDHAPI, and the organization representing Nopalera, Comuna Oaxaca, attempting to resolve the conflict between the parties, at the request of the communities themselves. Eventually, the communities signed an agreement at the Organization of American States (OAS) office in Washington D.C., and this is where I first met the representatives of parties to the conflict. The agreement they signed included the division of the “ejido,” but, it was not established with new physical and legal land limits.

Unfortunately, five years after the process of dividing the “ejido,” both parties are still afraid of aggression by the other, and this is why I felt compelled to help them resolve their issues.

I decided to assist these communities by way of designing and facilitating workshops, to try to help them resolve their conflict. My main objective for the two communities was emotional recovery, since according to the reconciliation theories, it is a requisite for long term peaceful relationships. Thus, I started this process by conducted workshops with approximately 30 teenagers, 200 women, and 100 men from Zimatlán and Nopalera. The teenagers' workshops were dedicated to grasping knowledge from the participants about the conflict and its consequence for them and their communities. After hearing from them about their reservations of the “other,” I introduced some “good communication” strategies to them to prevent misconceptions, which could lead to further violent conflict. In the case of the men of the communities, I went directly to the recognition of the causes of the conflict and then we practiced some problem solving exercises. With the women, the starting point was emotional healing. The women manifested their need to reach an agreement with the other community even as they expressed their disappointment on not being part of the initial agreement.

After the workshops, I attempted to analyze and

understand the causes of the conflict from the various groups' points of view and then tried to replace their insecurity and fears with their understanding of their conflict, thus creating a sense of control and agency.

In designing these workshops, I used the knowledge and experience I obtained in the Reflective Practice in Interpersonal-Multiparty Conflicts course and the Conflict Analysis and Resolution Advanced Skills course taught at S-CAR. The emotional recovery workshops were taken from the Psychosocial Trauma and Healing course, also taught at S-CAR. I also had to carry out many activities that did not appear in my planning stage but later proved to be fundamental for the success of this project. This was a very important lesson that I learned. Before this internship, I did not understand why people said that most of the time spent for a facilitation or peace building project was dedicated to the planning stage. Now through this experience, I have a better grasp of its importance. In addition, this was a good opportunity to practice in a real setting many of the principles, theories, activities, and techniques I am learning at S-CAR. With regard to personal challenges, the skills that I acquired were those related to self-control. It was also very difficult for me to adapt to a very different context, including the people, food, and staying in small villages. In addition to that, I felt that my personal security was at stake as I was afraid that one group would consider me to be a spy. All of these experiences have me currently reflecting on whether working with communities is what I want to do in the future. Although part of the answer is yes, circumstances would have to be different. In retrospect, I consider that the work that I tried to implement has to be done by people living in the geographical and cultural context they are working in. Through this, they can be in a better position to dedicate more time to the conflict. In any case, this experience was a turning point for me as elements that I initially discarded, such as government involvement, cooperation from representatives, mistrust among people, as well as lack of time and resources all proved to be essential for any lasting peace process.

In conclusion, I learned a lot about the practical applications of conflict analysis and resolution skills to indigenous communities, as well as my own personal abilities and boundaries. I realize that working with indigenous communities could lead to a double challenge since aside from the material conflicts they may be experiencing, elements such as an identity conflict, economic development and modernization and even just keeping one's language, religion and ancient traditions are equally important. My experiences in the field and at S-CAR have helped me put into perspective any future resolution of the conflict between Zimatlán and Nopalera. ■



Martha Osorio.

Photo: Martha Osorio.

Celebrating the Power of Art that Builds Peace in Tunisia

By Sarah Kincaid, MS Alumna, smclewin@gmu.edu

In fall 2015, the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict (CRDC) hosted an art contest titled *Imagine Tunisia*. The goal of the contest was to support the creation of imaginative art that promotes peace and nonviolence. The winner of the contest, Ghassen Elhani, is a 30-year-old photographer who lives in Monastir, Tunisia and his submission focused on the role of Tunisian women in building Tunisia's future. "Tunisian women are part of our future," Elhani says. "Their struggle for equality, peace, freedom, and the hope to fulfill their dreams, are what I'm trying to show with this series of photos."

Elhani, who is originally from Maamoura, a small town in Tunisia, started taking photos three years ago. He used free photo tutorials from the Internet to teach himself. Today, he photographs for events, families, and private businesses. Elhani believes that artistic activities can help "citizens to understand different points of view" and how prejudice mentalities can divide communities.

Tunisia, a small country in North Africa, became famous in 2011 as the starting place of the *Arab Uprisings* - a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests in the Arab world. Tunisia is also one of the most progressive Islamic countries for women's rights and today, Tunisia has more women serving in parliament than the U.S. or France. But it is not just women on the rise in post-authoritarian Tunisia. There has also been an increase in public art.

I first traveled to Tunisia in 2010 to do a creative writing project on Tunisian hospitality to counter the Islamophobic ideas that were being perpetuated in the



Sarah Kincaid.
Photo: Mason Creative Services.

wake of 9/11. As a tourist, I noticed huge pictures of Ben Ali plastered onto the sides of buildings and hovering over public squares. One can even say that the Ben Ali regime had established a sort of artistic omnipresence.

Janine DeFeo argues in *How Art Reflects Dictatorships and Revolutions* that "totalitarian art is not just propaganda." Rather, creating and displaying art is an exercise of power. In post-authoritarian contexts, there is also often a ritualistic destruction of symbols of the old powers. Tearing down statues of dictators is a common example. DeFeo argues that these attacks aren't "symbolic" but are actual moments of political change.

Likewise in Tunisia, after the revolution there was an increase of public art, such as an international mural contest in Djerba. Another project, *Artocracy in Tunisia* replaced photos of former president Ben Ali with playful portraits of young boys, laughing sisters, and produce sellers. Public spaces were returned to the people—not just through the right to assembly, but through the right to creativity.

The increase of public art in Tunisia is a platform for sustained peacebuilding. In *Appreciative Inquiry in Peacebuilding: Imagining the Possible*, Claudia Liebler and Cynthia Sampson point out that "our actions are linked to our image of the future." The *Imagine Tunisia* contest sought to support peacebuilding through the creation of images that depict hope for Tunisia's future. Liebler and Sampson point out that images of the future penetrate the mind on the subconscious level, shaping our responses to threats and perceptions of self and other.

It is my joy to cordially applaud Elhani's work, which emphasizes the role of women in Tunisia, on behalf of the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict. ■



Women taking part of a debate on the relationship between Tunisian writers and publishers in Tunis.
Photo: Ghassen Elhani.



A woman taking part of a march for doctors rights in Tunis.
Photo: Ghassen Elhani.

initiatives

Barbarism v Civilization? Paris, Beirut, and Beyond

By Sarah Federman, PhD Alumna, sfederma@masonlive.gmu.edu

Events

In November 2015, the Center for Narrative and Conflict Resolution hosted an event titled, *Barbarism v Civilization? – Paris, Beirut, and Beyond*. This event was framed around the question of whether recent attacks represent not a clash of civilizations as Samuel Huntington posited, but rather a clash between what John Rawls calls the Society of Peoples versus Rogue States. The barbaric acts target Arab and Western Civilization alike so clearly the battle is not so simple as one between the Muslim and Non-Muslim world. The following introduces some of the contributions of the group.

Professor Sara Cobb agreed that this was not a simple battle between these two-civilizations. She cited an exploration she undertook of ISIS propaganda, noting that this preliminary narrative analysis of ISIS materials (English-only) talked about the group's desire for the return of the caliphate. The caliphate is a form of Islamic government directed by a successor of Muhammad — the Muslim Prophet. They believe a return of the Caliph would help realign Islam, which they believe is now corrupted by

"shirkers." They believe the majority of the Islamic world is shirking their responsibilities to the faith. Their frustrations with secularism and free choice promoted by the Western world are seen as a threat to pure Islam. That said, destruction of democratic regimes only seem to be part of the overall plan. They want to raise their children in their own system and not have them exposed to or influenced by outsiders.

This moved us into a discussion about voice and legibility. ISIS, at this point, has no legitimate voice on the global stage.



Sarah Federman.
Photo: S-CAR.

Their acts of violence are their voice. Their suicide attackers are killing without saying a word. Violence is how they become visible if not legible. A possible form of praxis would be creating a space for legitimate speech, though this is quite difficult given that engaging with ISIS is considered a crime. We are left with the question: "If speech is required to provide other modes of visibility beyond violence, how can we do this if they do not speak and we cannot speak to them?"

Other participants highlighted the Western world's attempts to position itself as only capable of "clean war" or legitimized violence while considering the violence of others extremism or terrorism.

A number of students expressed concern that national conversations circulated around the Paris attacks, neglecting those in Beirut, Baghdad, and even India. There was a feeling that all countries needed to come together in order to face this violence.

There was an activist agenda in the room as well with students wanting to have a voice on a national and international stage. Buzz McClain – who provides this intersection between George Mason University and the media – was in attendance and provided some insight on how to make voices heard.

A few individuals felt the discussion was too intellectual and did not speak to the pain in their hearts or the general confusion they felt. In response, the Center for Narrative hosted an *ISIS: World Café*.

The Narrative Center staff both present and former, organized an evening of candlelight and café music where students and community members could come in and have informal, café-style conversations that enabled people to share opinions as well as feelings. The World Café style event created "shifting conversations" by having participants change tables after fifteen minutes of conversation. The format not only generated a different tone of discussion, it also helped people interact with one another in more connected ways.

The World Café concluded with participants requesting that more cafés be held with a wider community group. If anyone is interested in participating in or organizing such a group please contact cnrc@gmu.edu. More information of this event can be found at www.languageofconflict.com

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, February 4, 2016

Development of Reconciliation and Civic

Equality Approaches in Georgia - Paata

Zakareishvili

3:00am-4:15pm

Thursday, February 4, 2016

Legacy and Influence of Martin Luther King Jr.

12:30pm-2:00pm

Wednesday, February 10, 2016

SPIGIA / S-CAR Graduate Career and

Internship Fair

2:00pm-5:00pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

Opinion: Building Resilience in the Middle-East Amidst Terror

By Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah, Adjunct Professor and President and Managing Director of Kommon Denominator, Inc.,
A.jadallah@kdconsult.org

Many people would argue that the Arab world is facing unprecedented waves of violent extremism. Victims and targets have included ordinary people of all ages – men and women, girls and boys, civil and military personnel and institutions, and foreigners residing in or visiting the region.

In 2015, Syria's on-going crisis escalated, resulting in a large-scale exodus of Syrians. In addition, countless violent confrontations between religious and ideologically motivated extremist groups, the Syrian Government of Bashar al Assad, and the Syrian Free Army continued.

In Tunisia, the attacks against tourists resulted in a national state of emergency with a huge adverse impact on tourism.

In Egypt, the confrontations between the government and militias in the Sinai are ongoing.

In Lebanon, citizens continue to feel the threat of violent incidents, which highlights the tensions emanating from sectarian politics.

Iraq continues to experience strong waves of ethnic and sectarian violence, and confrontations with Daesh (ISIS) continue over territorial control. More concerning is the treatment of minority groups and attacks on the Azidi and Christian communities which resulted in world condemnation. Little has been done regarding their safety and well being.

In Bahrain, confrontations between the government and segments of the Shiite community over reforms continue and are framed in purely sectarian language. Jordanians feel daily challenges with the competition over jobs and resources from the huge influx of Syrian refugees as well as other Arab nationals escaping violence or seeking economic opportunities.

Yemen is suffering from a dire humanitarian crisis and political divisions including confrontations with and among extremist groups and militias.

In 2015, the bombing of mosques in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen are examples of sectarian attacks that perhaps mask underlying political agendas. In Israel and Palestine, violent extremist attacks from both Israeli and Palestinian populations are on the rise.

Regardless of the sources of the violence, questions continue to be raised as to why it seems to be readily accepted and adopted by certain individuals and or groups. Such acts continue to draw attention to causes that often feel very difficult to understand. The perpetrators are often demanding change in governments and governance models, or arguing for a renunciation of social values perceived to be mostly Western. The general consensus is that the so-called extremists believe that carrying out such violent acts would further their goals and agendas.

Scholars who adopt the "Devoted Actor Hypothesis of Conflict" argue that extreme acts take place when sacred values become embedded and strongly infused in a group's identity. Members of this identity group become willing to collectively defend and or advance their values through costly sacrifices and extreme violence. Their actions are shaped by a non-negotiable worldview and in defense of such values at any cost.

Though violent means often result in condemnation and resentment by the public, many are interpreted as representing real grievances tied to a genuine sense of discontent in the current state of affairs.

According to a recent study by the World Bank titled *Inequalities, Uprisings and Conflict in the Arab World*, the major factor for discontent in the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) was not economic inequality. Rather, the report identified the continued frustration by the general public regarding their inability to attain equality and happiness in society. The study further cites dissatisfaction with the way things are run, corruption, and the inability of individuals to fulfill their aspirations as the primary mobilizers in the pre-and post-Arab Spring context.

Recent S-CAR Media

How a Monk-Turned-street artist sees New York City's Homeless

Roi Ben-Yehuda, S-CAR PhD Student, and Terence Cantarella
tricycle 1/11/16

Working for World Peace Here at Home

David J. Smith, Part-Time Faculty
Baltimore Sun 1/9/16

If You Want Revenge for 9/11, Don't Look to the Kids Who Lost a Parent

Sarah Federman, S-CAR PhD Alumna
The Language of Conflict with Sarah Federman
1/07/16

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 31 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>



Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah.
Photo: Alma Abdul-Hadi Jadallah.

press

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Alice Peck, MS Alumna

By Buzz McClain, Communications Manager, Strategic Communications, GMU, bmcclai@gmu.edu

When Alice Peck came to the United States two years ago from England to work on her master's degree in conflict analysis and resolution, she had visions of using those skills at the United Nations or at a peace-building outpost in an exotic locale.

One afternoon on Washington, D.C.'s Metro changed all that.

"I was coming out of Union Station and was struck by all the people who are homeless right outside of the station," she said. "And I was thinking, 'Here I am in the capital of the world's wealthiest, most powerful nation and yet...'"

"How is this acceptable?" she wondered.

So Peck, who graduated in December with a Master of Science from George Mason University's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, decided to study homelessness. She applied her conflict expertise to the subject, framing the condition as a form of "structural violence."

"I wanted to find out how certain individuals experiencing homelessness understand and make meaning of their situation," she said. She also wanted to understand "how their experiences relate to the broader structures of society, and the social, economic and political organization of Washington and the United States in general."

In other words, "Alice's thesis draws attention to the ways our structuring of space can be harmful to those who live on the margins of society," said Peck's

advisor Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, a professor at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

To do her study, Peck, 25, immersed herself in the world of people who are homeless. Peck, who was raised in a forest in East Sussex, educated at



Alice Peck.

Photo: Alice Peck.

private schools and graduated from the University of Bristol, found herself several days a week at a therapeutic day center for the homeless in Northwest Washington, D.C. operated by the non-profit So Others Might Eat.

She often ran the 8 a.m. meetings, helped serve meals, hosted a meditation group, played cards and assisted the 50 members typically on hand with the fussy details—such as filling out paperwork—of living in a capitalistic culture with no capital. She even took part in a protest to save a government-subsidized apartment building.

"The form of research I'm doing—ethnography—is 'participant observation.' You are there, and you are part of it, but just enough so that you can step back

and observe and think about it from a theoretical point of view academically."

Her blue sky dream is to "end homelessness, preserve affordable housing in the city and to find housing for all the people I am working with."

In the meantime, Peck has been offered a part-time position at the day center, where she will provide case management, operate therapeutic groups, and perform administrative work.

Said Lopez Bunyasi: "Alice's project has important implications for urban planning in that she is

describing, among other things, the great need for the creation and protection of public space where people can simply 'be.'"

Future urban planners might consider maximizing public space where sitting down and resting cannot be criminalized as well as making available public restrooms for the fulfillment of basic needs, Lopez Bunyasi said.

Gone now for Peck, without regret, are the

dreams of the United Nations or exotic outposts.

"Academically, I hope whatever I write will have some value," Peck said. "But personally, this [experience] has profoundly changed me." ■



Shelter.

Photo: Flickr user scribbletaylor.

The Islamic State: An Experiment in Self-Fulfilling Dynamics

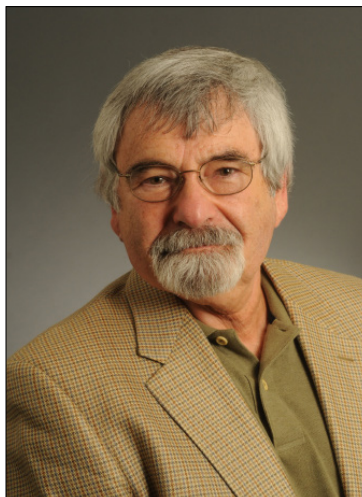
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When Provisional Coalition Authority leader, J. Paul Bremer eliminated the Iraqi Army and Ba'ath Party, disenfranchising thousands of Sunni Muslims in the process, he incentivized the formerly empowered Sunnis to fight back any way they could. One way was to establish al Qaeda in Mesopotamia with Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi in charge. Once the American and other Coalition Authority forces withdrew from Iraq, al Qaeda in Mesopotamia morphed into the Islamic State for Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or, simply, the Islamic State.

The insidious operation of the self-fulfilling prophecy or Oedipus effect is clear in the case of the Iraq invasion and occupation: American, British and other political leaders entertained the originally false assumption that Islamic extremists – i.e., al Qaeda – were in Iraq. Their subsequent behavior, based on that false assumption, brought about the reality of that definition of the situation.

With the murderous attacks in Paris on “Friday the 13th,” 2015, the SFP/OE is destined for greater ontological alchemy: The discovery that at least one of the attackers may have entered Europe through Greece and then into France, disguised as a refugee, has given rise to the narrative that ISIS, al Qaeda, and/or other extremists are among the tens of thousands of Syrian refugees entering Europe, with some eventually destined for the United States. The assumption now being entertained by many is that these “faux” refugees will become part of sleeper cells, poised to commit acts of terrorism in the host countries that have given them sanctuary.

Not surprisingly, some European and American political leaders, sensing an opportunity to exploit the Syrian refugee crisis for personal gain, have advanced the argument that acceptance of Syrian refugees incurs the risk that terrorist Trojan horses will enter their communities, integrate themselves within their host countries as ticking time bombs, and then wait to be detonated by command of ISIS Central. This is precisely how some populist politicians have framed the ISIS-inspired San Bernardino attacks which occurred roughly two weeks after the Paris assault. Tens of thousands of Muslim refugees are now being dehumanized, demonized, and delegitimized simply because they are Muslim. By being excluded from social, political, economic, and other institutions – exclusion being a primary cause of violent conflict (Philips, 2014) – these desperate souls will be pushed



Dennis J.D. Sandole.
Photo: Mason Creative Services.

into a frustration-aggression/violent conflict mode. As if to ensure such an outcome, David Bowers, the mayor of Roanoke, Virginia – a Democrat – has even invoked the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War 2 as one model of a possible response to this combustible enemy-image narrative (Weiner, 2015). In addition, at least 30 Republican governors have refused to accept any Muslim refugees for re-settlement in their states (BBC, 2015). And then there is Republican frontrunner Donald Trump's populist call “for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on” (CNN, 2015).

Edward Luce of the Financial Times is justifiably concerned that either Donald Trump or his ideological equivalent, Ted Cruz, will emerge as the Republican nominee to go up against Hillary Clinton in the race for the U.S. Presidency: “Then,” against that background, “the election is upended by a Paris-style terror attack – that dreaded ‘October surprise’” (Luce, 2016). In the meantime, the self-fulfilling dynamic is in full play, ensuring that a catastrophic overreaction will occur:

The right worries that US Muslims are a fifth column. By goading such fears they make law-abiding citizens feel unwelcome and fuel the alienation that breeds terrorists. This is what ISIS wants (ibid.).

What did Pogo say all those years ago? “We have met the enemy and he is us!” ■

Recent S-CAR Books

Peace Jobs: A Student's Guide to Starting a Career Working for Peace

David J. Smith

Practical Approaches to peacebuilding: Putting Theory to Work

Pamina Firchow and Harry Anastasio, editors

Libya's Displacement Crisis: Uprooted by Revolution and Civil

Ibrahim Fraihat, Megan Bradley, and Houda Mzioudet

Deconstructing Women, Peace and Security

Sandra Cheldelin and Martha Mutisi

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/books-roster

Building Resilience in the Middle-East Amidst Terror

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According to the study, measures of wellbeing show discontent with the availability of opportunities between the middle class and the poor and confirm their inability to have equal access to resources and opportunities. More importantly, this discontent is exacerbated when it comes to ethnic and sectarian divisions creating fertile ground for recruitment of individuals by extremists. Though there are no immediate remedies to such violent acts, I offer some thoughts for our shared consideration:

Most responses require the intervention of law enforcement and the engagement of the international community through technical and security support. The latest bombings in Beirut and Paris and the spill-over to other European countries demonstrate the clear links between local, regional, and global politics. It is important to call for immediate and long-term responses that respect international human rights law.

Partnering and working with religious institutions is imperative to promote interfaith understanding and collaboration on countering violent extremism. Divisions among the diversity of schools of thought in the Arab world make it difficult for such institutions to run a unified message of peace and acceptance, let alone collaboration. The lack of advancement on youth development and gender equality in the Arab world is uncontested and well documented. As a result, men and women of all ages are falling victim to recruitment by militias, extremists, and human and drug traffickers. In addition, the flow of arms is exponentially on the rise and the economy of war is clashing and getting in the way of any serious resolution to these issues.

Internationally coordinated actions are a must as the combination of arms and vulnerable populations seems to create the right recipe for extremist recruitment.

Violence in the Arab world, though rooted in context, is also tied to external factors. Conflict drivers that are leveraged by extremists include past and current traumas, as well as anger and resentment about the on-going demonization and dehumanization of Arab culture by outside actors.

Social cohesion is achieved when all segments of society manage to address intra and inter group conflicts responsibly and when society is able to demonstrate resilience in the face of adversity. Peace engines are effective in addressing drivers of conflict when all members of a society feel valued and acknowledged and when they find venues to participate in shaping their own future. Inclusionary politics are key to countering feelings of alienation.

People in the Arab world are looking for more meaning and for opportunities to dream of a better future in which they can realize their aspirations, feel respect for their traditions and culture, and reaffirm that their identity is valued by others. Theories of change that build on sources of resilience in Arab societies, with all their diversity, may offer and help address internal as well as external factors including structural and cultural sources of violence. Hopefully, future attempts to address violent extremism will build on such sources of resilience, especially those rooted in the values of the various traditions that make the rich mosaic of the region, i.e. those that promote peace, acceptance and inclusion. ■



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George Mason University

Harold H. (Hal) Saunders (1930-2016)

By Kevin Avruch, Dean and Henry Hart Rice Professor of Conflict Resolution, kavruch@gmu.edu

"Governments cannot do the whole job themselves. Increasingly, change comes from the bottom up and not from the top down. Increasingly governments find themselves paralyzed to do what they ought to do. And the Arab-Israeli peace process is a very good example of a conflict in which political authorities seem paralyzed and unable to do what they need to do. Small wonder then that groups (of citizens increasingly) gather. . . to attempt to change that relationship from the inside out."

Hal Saunders died peacefully at home, on the morning of March 6, 2016. Since the 1980s, in what was then ICAR, Hal was a devoted friend and supporter. He taught for us, mentored students, graced our conferences, and in general lent to us his considerable reputation and gravitas.

Hal worked under six U.S. presidents. He joined the

National Security Council staff in 1961, serving through the Johnson and Nixon administrations as the Council's Mideast expert. During the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars he accompanied Henry Kissinger on the famous shuttles. He was appointed deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs in 1974, and in 1978, under President Carter, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. He was the principle



Harold (Hal) Saunders.
Photo: Kevin Avruch.

architect of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and, with Carter at Camp David, of the Camp David Accords. According to the obituary released by the Kettering Foundation (where he had recently retired as Director of International Affairs), "In the early morning hours of November 4, 1979, a call was patched through to his home from Tehran, and over the next two hours he listened to the overrun of the American Embassy. For the next 444 days, Saunders worked tirelessly to free the American hostages, culminating in their release on January 20, 1981."

Hal left government service soon thereafter and worked for a number of institutes and foundations, including Kettering. But Hal saw his work there as beyond analysis and consultancy.

Like John Burton and John McDonald, also important figures in our School's history, Hal was among a number of high government officials who followed a distinguished career in Track One diplomacy with an equally vital one in Track Two.

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Colombia's Protracted Social Conflict: Is it Time We Listened to the Fighters?

By Philip K. Abbot, MS Student, pabbot2@masonlive.gmu.edu

For over fifty years the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército Popular) or FARC-EP, have been locked in a vicious cycle of violence, mixed with sporadic negotiations. As the March 23rd deadline for a peace deal quickly approaches, Colombians seem poised for peace. Even a recent Washington Post article praises *Plan Colombia* - a United States military and diplomatic aid initiative aimed at combating Colombian drug cartels and left-wing insurgent groups with the goals of ending the Colombian armed conflict and creating an anti-cocaine strategy - for opening the way toward a peace settlement. And yet, this fractured society remains challenged by exclusionism, absolutism, and a persistent threat to human security. With this in mind, simply signing a peace agreement is not the same as building peace.

Regrettably, in developing a peacebuilding strategy, there were two questions that were routinely overlooked. The first is why does Colombia's protracted social conflict defy resolution and the second, what can be done to reverse this vicious pattern? Part of the answer can be learned by listening to all the voices from history. Thus, instead of trying to resolve this conflict using a dominant narrative backed by coercion, perhaps harmonizing differences through a multi-level dialogue may be the path to transformational change. As I listen to former FARC members and wounded Colombian soldiers tell their stories, it is not *Plan Colombia* that brings hope to Colombia, but rather cognitive change that succumbs to moral imagination.

In 2011, I was appointed by Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta as the Defense Attaché/Senior Defense Official at the U.S. Embassy in Bogota. This allowed me the unique opportunity to sit down and talk with hundreds of wounded Colombian soldiers and voluntarily demobilized FARC soldiers. After listening for hours to their fascinating stories, what struck me most about these two identity groups was how very similar they actually were in nearly every aspect of life. Indeed, these two groups come from the same socio-economic background with the same dreams of raising a family, aspirations of finding a dependable job, the hope of one day really being able to fully integrate into Colombian society as productive citizens,



Left to right: Colonel Philip K. Abbott, U.S. Army (Retired), Jhon Jairo Solórzano, and Jose Ilver Anacona Ortiz (Colombian Soldiers wounded by FARC improvised explosive devices).

Photo: Lic. Nancy Liliana Bello Quintero.

and finally with the same wishes or assurances of someday being able to enjoy life happily ever after.

There is a striking consistency in the demographic profile of these two identity groups. Besides growing up in similarly impoverished and socially marginalized villages, their life's major decisions were influenced by social humiliation and rejection. In both cases, their futures would be sealed based on a decision made at a very young age. Their choices were simple; to join the Colombian military, FARC or one of the many Criminal Bands (Bandas Criminales – BACRIM) that are involved in some form of illicit activity. Their options were limited as they contemplated which career path they would pursue.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the recruitment strategies for the Colombian military, FARC, and BACRIM could easily persuade an individual to join their organization. But because many of these would-be recruits were still too young to officially join the military, this left them with few alternatives.

I met Fidelia Arevelo Velandia, alias “La Garza,” at one of the individual demobilization sites in the outskirts of Cali. Located in southwestern Colombia in Valle de Cauca Department, there are actually five demobilization centers managed by the Colombian Joint Command in different geographical locations throughout Colombia. Demobilization centers are permanent structures used to house and process former FARC members who escaped the guerrilla organization and through local contractors, the Joint Command processes individuals in three phases. The first phase is the voluntarily demobilization and disarmament of the individual, and this is followed by a psychological evaluation and basic education phase done in one of the demobilization centers. The final phase is the actual reintegration into civilian life and in theory, this is when individuals are supposed to become productive members of Colombian society, but reality suggests a less positive outcome.

Unlike the uniqueness of this all-female demobilization center Fidelia was transitioning through, her story was anything but unique. In fact, it was very similar to hundreds of other stories I heard previously. She was poor, had little education, and she came from a village left behind by the Colombian government.

Continued online at: scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-article/colombias-protracted-social-conflict-it-time-we-listened-fighters

The Shia Sentinel: Fighting for a Democratic Dream

By Mustafa Akhwand, MS Student, makhwand@masonlive.gmu.edu

Many years of authoritarian rule and grievances in Tunisia ignited a popular wave of protests demanding social and political change. These efforts, which later became known as the *Arab Spring*, quickly spread to other countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

Spring usually renews, rebuilds, and brings a renewed sense of purpose. This was the case in Tunisia and Egypt, where long-time dictators resigned from their posts and the people achieved a sense of reclaiming their democracy.

However, not all such actions across the region proved to be joyous as the years progressed. It became clear that even spring could be categorized under discriminatory vocabulary. While the struggle for freedom (or democracy) was internationally proclaimed for nations such as Libya, for others the struggle for freedom was labeled under "terrorism."

Like Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco, the citizens of Bahrain also asked for democracy and equal representation, but their struggle was not recognized. Bahrain holds a majority Shia population that is ruled by a monarchy. The Khalifa monarchy has ruled the archipelago of Bahrain since 1783, with power passing from father to son, and for centuries, the citizens of Bahrain have been denied the right to make decisions on their government. Those who have expressed dissent have been detained unjustly, and many have even had their Bahraini citizenship revoked. As with the citizens of Egypt, Bahrain's people also rose in anger and asked for change but lacked sufficient representation and their efforts led to even more oppression and resentment.

At the time of the Arab Spring, I was working for a non-violent organization called *Freemuslim Association Inc.*, that was operating in Iraq to bring peace and counter extremism in the Middle East by educating families against radicalism as a response to grievance. As I was following the events in Bahrain, I realized that their plight did not make the news like elsewhere. Bahrain is one of the numerous Shia majority nations around the world and I became interested in the situation because, although geographically small, Bahrain has a long standing trade history with western powers such as the United States and United Kingdom, yet it seemed their plight was not internationally recognized. Even before these wave of protests



Mustafa Akhwand (on the right) visiting Kuwait explosion victims.

Photo: Mustafa Akhwand.

started, the many human rights violations being committed in the country remained unaddressed by world powers.

In fact, it seemed as though whenever the Shia were involved, there was no action. Thus, the apparent media bias towards the Shia minority not only undermined the Bahraini struggle for democracy, but also minimized the fact that extremist groups were systematically targeting this population.

Shia Muslims worldwide constitute about 10-13% of the Muslim population, representing a multi-cultural

faith, independent from any geographical and political region. Historically, Shia Muslims have been vocal in their criticism of injustice, which has led to them being widely persecuted.

I could not stand idly by as these atrocities were being perpetrated against Shia Muslims and that prompted me to start Shia Rights Watch (SRW), an independent organization dedicated to define and protect the rights of Shia Muslims around the world. SRW mainly conducts research in different countries, documents minority oppression, and formulates grassroots and government recommendations to ease and minimize these conditions. To date, we have issued more than twelve research publications in different countries analyzing the situation and shedding light on the violence endured. Examples of such reports are *The Lost Generation*, in which the over 550 Bahraini minors detained were disclosed, the *Untold Stories* of Pakistan, which investigated the lack of media coverage on Shia targeting. In addition, we also work with the United Nations, specifically ECOSOC, which granted SRW special consultative status, allowing us to highlight oppression towards minorities and promote change on an international level.

Currently, I believe that in order for SRW to continue to grow and be effective in its work, further education in the areas of non-violence, genocide prevention, gender, and conflict resolution is needed. I believe the mission of the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) is similar to that of SRW, and this is why I chose to further my education here. My goal is to learn about different concepts to analyze conflicts, find ways of resolving different conflicting issues, and to be able not only to report minority rights violations, but also to work as a mediator in resolving matters of contention. ■

initiatives

South Caucasus Conflict Resolution

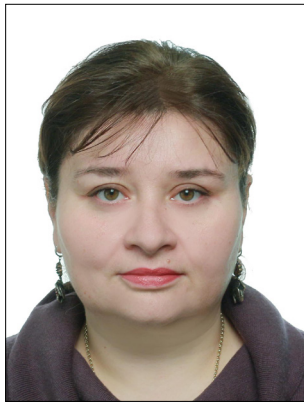
By Charles Crawford, MS Student, ccrawf14@masonlive.gmu.edu

S-CAR welcomed a new Visiting Fellow for the Spring semester, Ms. Dina Alborova, a Professor at the South Ossetian State University's Department of Political Science and Sociology. Dina is working with an APT Team on South Caucasus conflict resolution, learning about the pedagogy of conflict resolution and about religion and conflict resolution. According to Dina, she is the first person in many decades to have left South Ossetia for a fellowship in the United States.

S-CAR has a long history working with Georgians and South Ossetians in support of conflict resolution and reconciliation in the region. In August 2008, the Georgian, South Ossetian, and Russian militaries fought over the territory of South Ossetia. Georgia lost that war and continues to claim South Ossetia is part of Georgia, and most countries recognize Georgia's claim for territorial integrity. But Russia, Venezuela, and Nicaragua recognize South Ossetia as an independent country, and South Ossetia continues to seek broader international recognition. With Dina's help, S-CAR is planning a conference on the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict.

Barely four weeks into Dina's visit to S-CAR, I had the privilege of interviewing her. Dina expressed her profound thanks and appreciation to Christopher Joyce, UK Regional Advisor for the Caucasus on Conflicts and post-Conflict Issues, for graciously arranging UK sponsorship of her visit to S-CAR. She also lauded S-CAR for warmly welcoming her and for supporting the ongoing Georgian-South Ossetian reconciliation process. She said, "South Ossetians cherish S-CAR's peace initiatives and view the school's peacebuilding methodology as an opportunity to discuss issues between the two countries – Georgia and South Ossetia."

Dina is clearly a patriotic South Ossetian. In her opening comments of gratitude, she referred immediately to Georgia and South Ossetia as separate countries. Most Georgians would refer to South Ossetia as part of Georgia. This question of sovereignty is at the heart of the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict.



Dina Alborova.
Photo: Dina Alborova.

Charles: What is the conference you are preparing?

Dina: The Cost of Conflict conference will be in Europe in April. It will bring together participants from Georgia, South Ossetia, Russia, the United States, and other European countries that will discuss this South Caucasus conflict, and recommend a road map for peace. I am writing an article that will be part of the collection I am co-editing on Cost of Conflict.

Charles: What do you see as constructive approaches to the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict?

Dina: One of the successful ways to end the Georgia-South Ossetia conflict is to give due recognition to the existence of South Ossetia as a nation state. The recognition of South Ossetia's statehood will eventually provide avenues for South Ossetia's representation in international organizations, and also set the stage for its participation in international conferences to discuss the issues and problems affecting the country and its people. South Ossetians exist and must be accorded all of the basic humans rights enshrined in international protocols.

Charles: What do you want Americans to know about South Ossetia?

Dina: I want to tell Americans that the small, beautiful country of South Ossetia wants to live in peace with everyone. Its unique traditions, culture, and history have been marred by bloodshed and destruction during the last 10 years of the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict. Secondly, South Ossetia needs access to the international community through such institutions as the UN, OSCE, Council of Europe, etc. This is most important when the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict is discussed, including such issues as refugees, human rights, missing persons, etc. At these forums, there are only Georgian voices, and Georgian versions of events. There is no presentation of South Ossetian views. The argument that is offered to explain why South Ossetians are not invited to such forums, even when the forums are about issues that directly involve us, is that we are not recognized. So, when we want to discuss the problems of partial recognition, we cannot get to the forums to have that discussion because we are not recognized. These same problems can be seen in our lack of freedom of movement and lack of access to international mechanisms for the protection of human rights.

Charles: What has surprised you during your first few weeks at S-CAR?

Dina: I have culture shock. I was so surprised to see tax added onto the price of an item. At home, the price includes the tax. During my first week I wanted to visit a class, but I got lost and was 10 minutes late to the class. The professor was so surprised to learn that I sat outside the classroom for two hours, waiting for a class break so that I could enter the classroom without being disrespectful. Also, I've enjoyed seeing how classes are structured. The interactive classroom here makes students think critically and increases mutual respect between teachers and students.

Thank you to SCAR's PhD candidate Margarita Tadevosyan, who interpreted for the interview. ■

Upcoming S-CAR

Community Events

Wednesday, March 23, 2016

Speaker Series on Peacebuilding

Around the World

6:30pm-8:30pm

Thursday, March 31, 2016

Annual Lynch Lecture: Implications for
the Arts and Conflict Intervention

5:30pm - 9:30pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

Charles: What do you hope to accomplish during your time at S-CAR?

Dina: I will write about the conflict and meet with experts on the South Caucasus, the Middle East, Russia, and also prepare for the upcoming conference scheduled for April 2016. I am also excited to understand new approaches to pedagogy. Teaching methodologies here have a different teacher-student relationship. Experiencing the S-CAR ways of teaching will help me in my teaching at home.

Student Opinion: What Next After the Oslo Accords Collapse?

By Robert C. Vaughan IV, MS Student, rvaugh4@masonlive.gmu.edu

At the UN General Assembly meeting, Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas declared that in light of Israeli breaches, Palestine would no longer be bound by the Oslo Accords - a series of agreements between Israel and Palestine. The intent of the Accords was not to directly establish peace between Israel and Palestine, but rather to create a framework and process which would build trust and eventually lead to a permanent settlement, with final talks to occur in 1999.

Abbas's declaration is only the most recent major blow to the long-suffering Oslo Accords, but we can hope it may be the last. The truth is that the peace process in Israel/Palestine, as designed by the Oslo Accords, has been deeply flawed, even untenable from the start. Those events which have been perceived as blows, or setbacks to the process are in fact only symptomatic of deeper flaws, most notably, the failure of the Accords to account for intraparty conflict amongst both the Israelis and the Palestinians.

The first sign of this failure came in 1995, when Prime Minister Rabin was assassinated by a Jewish extremist. The assassination showed that Israel is far from a fully unified entity, and exposed the failure of Rabin and the Labour party to effectively sell the agreement to the Israeli populace. The loss of the accord's chief Israeli sponsor was significant and magnified by a combination of missteps by Israeli President Shimon Peres and a series of attacks by Palestinian militant group Hamas.

Peres's first mistake was his misjudgment of the widespread support following the assassination. Peres appears to have believed that this support was both stronger and more durable than it proved to be. Instead of scheduling snap elections to quickly establish a new government, probably with a stronger parliamentary majority than before, Peres delayed elections and attempted to restart controversial peace talks with Syria. Complicating matters further, during Peres's interim government, he was given, and took, the opportunity to assassinate a major leader of Hamas. He likely hoped the assassination would cripple Hamas, and would restore faith in security ser-

vices shaken by their failure to prevent Rabin's assassination. However, Hamas responded with a series of crippling attacks which shattered Israeli confidence in both Peres's leadership and in the Accords. The combined effect was that the Labour Party that appeared unbeatable - at least one poll showed them with 76% approval to Likud's 22% - ultimately lost power to Likud in the next elections. The practical result was that Likud leadership was able to creatively reinterpret the Accords so that, while technically remaining within the letter of the agreements, they came to be used not as a means for Israeli withdrawal and trust building as originally intended, but rather as a means for consolidating control and expanding settlements.

Hindsight is 20/20, and while it may not have been possible to prevent the collapse of the Oslo Accords, we may be able to learn from their mistakes and increase the possibility of success for future efforts in the region. Most importantly, future agreements need to address intraparty conflict. Within Israel, efforts must be made to ensure that future agreements enjoy broad support, not merely the support of a leading party or coalition. As the events in 1995 and 1996 demonstrate, democracies are unstable and public opinion can be fickle. The success of any future agreement will be contingent on the ability and enthusiasm of its support from a substantial majority of Israel's political and civic leaders. The same is true of the Palestinians. The first step of the Oslo Accords involved an agreement wherein the Palestine Liberation Organization renounced violence and recognized Israel's right to exist in exchange for being recognized as the sole representative of the Palestinians. This extraordinary claim that Israel has the power to determine who represents Palestine, was inadequately contested, given, in part, that the UN had already taken the same step. The problems, however, were myriad.

First, the PLO had already split several times during its history, and would even split again as a result of these Accords. That Arafat proved unrepresentative of his whole organization was an ominous sign for his ability to lead an emerging Palestinian state.

Recent S-CAR Media

We can only hope that the cerebral will get the better of the visceral

Dennis Sandole, S-CAR Faculty

Financial Times 02/16/16

Interview with Oded Adomi Leshem, S-CAR PhD Candidate, and expert on hope

Americans for PEACE NOW 02/17/16

How Nevada affects Sanders

Solon Simmons, S-CAR Faculty

CTV 02/20/16

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 22 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>



Robert C. Vaughan IV.
Photo: Robert Vaughan.

press

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Linda Kryvoruka, Graduate Certificate Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Newsletter editor, kdegraft@masonlive.gmu.edu

Linda Kryvoruka, a soon-to-be retired nurse anesthetist, is currently enrolled in the World Religions, Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution certificate program at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR). "The prospect of becoming a student in this field will fulfill my lifelong mission of always serving others, endlessly learning, and broadening my understanding of different religions, and cultures in regards to solving conflicts." Linda describes this change not as an end to her nursing career, but rather "a blank canvas of opportunities for her to apply the experiences and training she has learned, and to build upon it to better help others."

Linda started her nursing career in an open heart surgery unit in Philadelphia, where she worked with patients from many socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, who suffered from very serious and life threatening illnesses. She attributes her decision to pursue this career path to her inher-



Linda Kryvoruka.
Photo: Linda Kryvoruka.

ent personality trait of caring for people, which has been her drive to work tirelessly through many intense situations. Her love for her work led her to attain three degrees, the last one being a Master's Degree in Anesthesia in 1990. "My favorite aspect of being a nurse anesthetist was the care and level of trust that people who were deeply afraid of having surgery place in me. It is difficult at times knowing that you are the last person that a patient speaks to before they go to sleep, especially for a very serious surgery."

Linda also credits her caring nature and value system to the role that religion played in her upbringing. As a life long Catholic schooler, she chose a Jesuit University with its emphasis on religion, philosophy, and moral ethics, because their philosophy was "men and women for others."

While working as a nurse anesthetic, Linda noted how much the stories patients shared with her also helped to shape her life. "My 43 years in healthcare introduced me to many cultures and religions, most memorable were the many Holocaust survivors that I cared for that were willing to tell me their stories. This led to a lifelong interest in genocide, and other acts of violence on a race of people. My healthcare background gives me a unique perspective because all religions and cultures have one common denominator - they all have the same bodies and illnesses which require the same care, and they are all scared and grateful to the person who provides that care."

Linda is also keen on social justice for all, especially with an emphasis on the sort of world that would be left for future generations. "I am passionate about the idea of embracing an education that emphasizes problem solving on a global scale and breaking barriers among adversity."

For Linda, the graduate certificate program will be the perfect opportunity for her to combine her experiences in life and death situations in the operating room with the knowledge of political, religious, and historical contexts, to effectively resolve conflicts. "It is the top goal of mine to be able to combine all of my unique experiences, passions and skills to become an effective, open-minded, and expertly trained professional to continue my life's mission of helping others in the setting of conflict resolution." ■

Announcement: Grand Opening and dedication of Point of View, an international retreat and research center on Wednesday, April 6, 2016 12:00 – 2:00 p.m. To RSVP please email povevent@gmu.edu or call (703) 993-8615 by Friday, April 1, 2016.



Harold H. (Hal) Saunders (1930-2016)

Continued from page 1

In Hal's case, this involved "citizen diplomacy." Since 1981, for example, he served as co-chair of the Dartmouth Conference, the longest continuing dialogue between American and Soviet, now Russian, citizens. Early work – literally "in the field" – took him to Tajikistan in the immediate aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union, where his continuing mediated dialogues were credited with averting the level of violence that bedeviled other former republics. He returned to his work in the Middle East when he participated in several of Herb Kelman's and Nadim Rouhana's Israeli-Palestinian workshops in the early 1990s, in parallel with the formal Madrid and informal Oslo processes. He also worked domestically, on race relations in Baton Rouge. Like all true "scholar-practitioners," he used his experience of practice to write, theorize, and publish, to contribute to the intellectual and conceptual growth of our field. In time, he came to theorize his sort of mediation and third party work as sustained dialogue, and building on this, he founded the Sustained Dialogue Institute, which is active around the world and on many college campuses. Meanwhile, the books testify to his evolving interests. *The Other Walls: The Arab-Israeli Peace Process in a Global Perspective* (1985) reflects his work, mostly Track One, in the 1970s and 1980s. *A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflict* (1999), draws on case studies to begin developing a paradigm of conflict resolution that might address the sorts of wicked problems that were beyond the grasp (if not also the ken) of Track One approaches: racial, religious, ethnic ones – so called identity conflicts. These seemed to elude both simple interest-based (cost-benefit) and coercive solutions. Further developing his ideas of what dialogue can deliver, he wrote *Politics is About Relationships: A Blueprint for Citizen Diplomacy* (2005). We teach this book to remind our students that "politics" is about more than power and leverages that, in effect, "national security" is also very much about "human security." His final book, *Sustained Dialogue in Conflicts: Transformation and Change* (2011) is a mature statement of the theory and practice of sustained dialogue. "Resolution" is deepened to become "transformation," and peace is understood to necessitate change.

According to the New York Times (March 8, 2016, p. A19), Hal is credited by many with coining the phrase "peace process." The phrase has entered the vernacular of diplomacy, in both Track One and Two varieties. It has also entered the academic study of peace and conflict; for many years, Prof. Chris Mitchell researched and taught a popular course called "Comparative Peace Processes," which built on Hal's work as well as others'. What became clear to Hal, as the epigraph to this article indicates, is that whatever the process of attaining peace entails, it does not begin and end with top-down and government-only efforts.

I want to end on a note of personal pride, speaking as S-CAR's dean. Hal was a distinguished graduate of two preeminent American institutions of higher education,

Princeton and Yale. He served on the Board of Trustees at Princeton. When he decided to donate his personal papers, including notebooks and diaries from the first Camp David, he chose Mason's library and School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution as the repository. Hal told me he felt a special connection to S-CAR and the work we do. We certainly felt a special connection to him. In the future, we will strive to find ways to honor this connection and Hal's legacy. Meanwhile, I am using this gift as the cornerstone for a dedicated Special Collection in Peace and Conflict, archiving and highlighting the lifework of scholar-practitioners particularly. ■

Remembering Harold H. (Hal) Saunders

By Joe Montville, Director, Program on Healing Historical Memory at S-CAR, jmontvi1@gmu.edu

I was happy to see that the New York Times obituary on Hal quoted Henry Kissinger saying Hal was "an indispensable member of the Middle East team" who was "especially important in emphasizing the psychological and moral dimensions of problems." I worked for Hal as regional policy adviser in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and one of my jobs was congressional relations. When President Carter nominated Hal for the post of assistant secretary of state in that bureau, I accompanied him for his hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and did a briefing memo for him recommending that at an appropriate point in the questioning, he express a strong personal moral commitment to Israel's security and survival.

In Secretary of State's Henry Kissinger's "reassessment" policy designed to exert pressure on Israel over the settlements issue, before 1976, Hal had been used to launch a trial policy balloon that was shot down immediately by Israel and its strong supporters in Congress. I knew that he would face a tough grilling by the committee which met in the quaint, small hearing room off the Capitol. It was remarkable that when Hal pledged his personal commitment to Israel's security how the tense postures of senators went into immediate relax mode when he made his commitment. The hearing glided to a happy ending after that. I worked closely for Hal as chief of the Near East division of the bureau of intelligence and research throughout his period as assistant secretary, and when he retired in 1981, I confess to having induced him into my work in Track Two Diplomacy while I was in active duty in the Department of State.

I invited Hal and Carol to Esalen Institute for a seminar with Erik Erikson on the psychology of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. And I invited him to come to an Egyptian-Israeli-Palestinian workshop in Austria organized by the American Psychiatric Association on ways to further the Camp David peace process. He even joined the International Society of Political Psychology of which I was a founder and won its prestigious Nevitt Sanford Award for "distinguished professional contribution to political psychology."

Throughout his post-government career, Hal Saunders pursued his mission of saving lives in political conflicts by using sustained dialogue to induce fellow human beings to pool their moral instincts to solve problems. He was my model in public service and my hero. I will be indebted to him until I see him again. ■

What Next After the Oslo Accords Collapse

Continued from page 5

Further complicating matters, Arafat, Abbas, and others in the PLO leadership were living in exile and had been for quite some time. The disconnect between the concerns of the PLO leadership and ordinary Palestinians was summed up by Edward Said in an article for the London Review of Books in October of 1993:

Neither Arafat nor any of his Palestinian partners...has ever seen an Israeli settlement. There are now over two hundred of them, principally on hills, promontories and strategic points throughout the West Bank and Gaza. ... An independent system of roads connects them to Israel, and creates a disabling discontinuity between the main centres of Palestinian population. ... In addition, Israel has tapped into every aquifer on the West Bank, and now uses about 80 per cent of the water there for the settlements and for Israel proper.

As Said observes, the Oslo Accords were largely silent on these issues. This silence is what ultimately enabled Likud and other Israeli factions to disregard

the intent of the agreement and convert it into one for expanded Israeli occupation. If the Palestinians had not been represented only by a single organization, operating from exile, it is possible that the Accords would have addressed some of these crucial Palestinian concerns, which the PLO seems, at best, to have undervalued. This disconnect between the PLO leadership and Palestinian concerns, and the exclusion of other Palestinian organizations from the negotiations likely also contributed to the previously mentioned attacks launched by Hamas, as they had no stake in the agreement. It is also possible that, with the engagement of a broader swath of the Palestinian population, Peres may have felt that he had more choices beyond the assassination of the Hamas leader which prompted those attacks. At this point, we are dealing with hypotheticals and counterfactuals. There is nothing this discussion can do to alter the unfortunate events of the last 20 years, but we can hope that their consideration will lead to more effective solutions in the future. ■



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S-CAR News

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End Poverty, Protect the Planet, and Ensure Prosperity for All - Part 1

By Michael Shank, PhD Alumnus and Adjunct Faculty, mshank@gmu.edu

The United Nations recently brokered two historic agreements applicable to every person on the planet. In September 2015, 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were launched to guide the U.N.'s work over the next 15 years, and in December, the U.N. created a roadmap in Paris for reducing global greenhouse gas emissions and responding to their devastating impacts. The world in 2030 will look very different if we get these goals right. The hope is that we will have



Michael Shank.
Photo: Michael Shank.

agreement are clearly interconnected and any effort to tackle one without immediate consideration of the other will do serious disservice to both. (It is not unlike the lack of coordination between the UN's Security Council and the UN's Economic and Social Council when dealing with global violence; the former body, which is predominantly reactive to conflict, would do well to prioritize preventive approaches in direct conversation with the latter body.)

Both SDG and climate commitments bring with them unimaginably hefty, but necessary, workloads. Hefty in that we are still over-reliant on unsustainable systems and must transition to something more socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. Necessary in that we must do it now in order to survive. Done together however, we might actually have a shot at this. But that means that myriad communities committed to the SDGs – e.g. poverty, hunger, health, education, gender, etc. – will need to be in direct and daily conversation with climate organizations. This is not a groundbreaking proposition. Many of my colleagues are already pounding this pavement but it definitely bears repeating as this is going to require an entirely new modus operandi, unlike anything that has been orchestrated before.

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Obada Shtaya, MS Student

Commentary

Nigeria's Former INEC Boss Joins Mason as a Visiting Scholar

By Ernest Ogbozor, PhD Candidate, eogbozor@masonlive.gmu.edu

The former chairman of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Professor Attahiru Jega, has joined George Mason University as a visiting scholar. Professor Jega, a scholar and practitioner of international politics and democracy, previously served as the Vice Chancellor of the Bayero University Kano. He was also a former National President of the Academic Staff Union of Universities in Nigeria.

Among his recent accomplishments, Professor Jega successfully managed and transformed the complex Nigerian electoral system of 69 million registered voters, 155,000 polling booths, and 700,000 staff. The credibility and transparency of Nigeria's 2011 and 2015 elections were attributed to his excellent leadership skills. Professor Jega is also the only chairman of INEC who has organized two national elections, the most recent resulting in Nigeria's first democratic transfer of power to an opposition party.

Since the end of the 2015 election, the former



Left to right: Dr. Barkindo, Professor Jega, Mr. Abubakar, Professor Paden, and Ernest Ogbozor.

Photo: Ernest Ogbozor.

INEC chairman has received many accolades and commendations, including 2015 Elections Commissioner of the Year Award given by the International Center for Parliamentary Studies (ICPS), and winner of the 2015 IFES Democracy Award among others. Before joining Mason, Prof. Jega left INEC in June 2015 at the end of his tenure, to return to

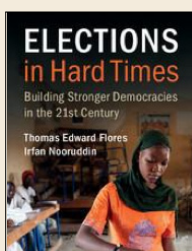
his lecturing job at the Department of Political Science, Bayero University Kano. Now a visiting scholar, Professor Jega will spend six months at Mason working on a book project about his experience in the 2015 election.

The Nigeria team at Mason, led by Professor John Paden, Clarence Robinson Professor of International Studies, facilitated Professor Jega's fellowship. The other members of the Nigeria-Mason team include Dr. Muhammadu Barkindo, newly nominated OPEC Secretary General and also Mason visiting scholar; Ahmad Abubakar, Rice Fellow; and Ernest Ogbozor, PhD Candidate at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. ■

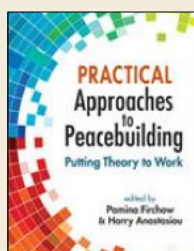
Recent S-CAR Books



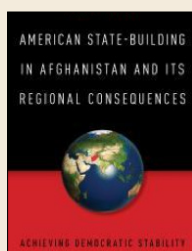
Peace Jobs: A Student's Guide to Starting a Career Working for Peace by David J. Smith.



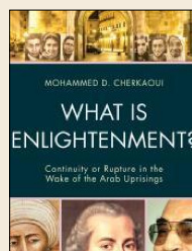
Elections in Hard Times: Building Stronger Democracies in the 21st Century by Thomas Flores and Irfan Nooruddin.



Practical Approaches to Peacebuilding: Putting Theory to Work by Pamela Firschow and Harry Anastasiou, ed.



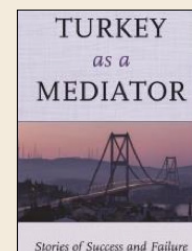
American State-Building in Afghanistan and its Regional Consequences by Neamat Nojumi.



What is Enlightenment? Continuity or Rupture in the Wake of the Arab Uprising by Mohammed Cherkaoui.



Libya's Displacement Crisis: Uprooted by Revolution and Civil War by Megan Bradley, Ibrahim Fraihat, and Houda Mzioudet.



Turkey as a Mediator: Stories of Success and Failure by Doga Ulas Eralp.

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/books-roster

Working with UNHCR to Help Refugees in Africa

By Jackie Finch, Career and Academic Advisor, jfinch4@masonlive.gmu.edu

In May 2004, S-CAR MS student Kofi Goka, left Ghana to further his education in the U.S. He first attended Kutztown University in Pennsylvania and then Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, where he obtained a Master's of Arts in International Affairs degree. Kofi's course work at S-CAR, focuses primarily on conflict resolution and management, relating to violent extremism in West Africa.

In his first year, Kofi worked as a network analyst and research assistant at the Terrorism Transnational Crime and Corruption Center at Mason, analyzing the illegal trade networks for rhino horns and identifying the transnational chains moving them from Africa to other places of the world. In addition Kofi worked as a volunteer at the Genocide Prevention in Africa Initiative (GPAI) at S-CAR.

Kofi is currently back in Ghana, interning at the United Nations High Commission For Refugees (UNHCR) field office in Accra, a position he found through the S-CAR Community Network and Forum. Under the UNHCR field office in Accra, Kofi works with the Durable Solutions Unit, which is tasked with the responsibility of finding long lasting solutions for the resettlement of refugees. The division focuses on three main areas, namely voluntary repatriation – where refugees decide to return to their country voluntarily; local integration – the integration of refugees into the local society; and resettlement – where refugees are relocated to another country. Kofi's primary task is to conduct research on national legislations and policies related to refugees and work with asylum seekers in urban areas to identify their specific protection needs. Kofi also helps with weekly counseling services for refugees and helps them pursue durable solutions to bring closure to their respective situations, a key objective for UNHCR in Africa in 2015.

Kofi's work also has a continental focus. He frequently coordinates with other UNHCR field offices in the region to gather data on best practices. For example, the regional comprehensive solutions strategy for the Democratic Republic of Congo refugee situation being implemented in the Central Africa and Great Lakes sub region, foresees the resettlement of at least 50,000 Congolese refugees between 2012 and 2017. This policy will be complemented by efforts to advocate for better protection and local integration opportunities through enhanced livelihoods and better



Kofi Goka.
Photo: Kofi Goka.

access to social services for refugees. Where conditions for safe return are met, UNHCR will continue to support voluntary repatriation. In Tanzania, UNHCR will strengthen its support for the local integration of more than 162,000 Burundian refugees who have been living in the old settlements since 1972. In September 2014, the Government of Tanzania confirmed its decision to grant citizenship to these long-staying Burundians. UNHCR, together with other partners, will strive to assist their self-reliance and ensure access to basic services.

Conditions in the north of Mali remain generally insecure, unpredictable, and not yet conducive for the promotion of voluntary repatriation. However, UNHCR

will continue to assist the spontaneous return of those willing to do so. UNHCR and the governments of Mali and Niger signed a tripartite agreement for the facilitation of voluntary return was signed in May 2014. It is expected that similar agreements will be concluded with the governments of Burkina Faso and Mauritania, where significant numbers of Malian refugees live.

The UNHCR field office is working together with the governments of Benin and Ghana to develop durable solutions for Togolese refugees. In 2016, the government of Benin issued residence permits for a 10-year period for refugees from Chad, the DRC, Rwanda, and Togo. Opportunities have also begun to emerge for Mauritanian refugees in Mali.

In addition, efforts to achieve local integration of Angolan, Liberian and Rwandan refugees will be pursued. In Zambia, the Government's pledge to locally integrate some 10,000 former Angolan refugees is being implemented. In the DRC, up to 18,000 former Angolan refugees will be assisted to integrate locally. In Namibia, after successful implementation of solutions for the majority of refugees, UNHCR will phase out its presence, while continuing to engage closely with the Government through the Regional Office in South Africa.

Kofi's experiences working with organizations in both Ghana and the U.S. have given him a unique global perspective. For him, all of these efforts should aim to provide a platform for discussions of concerns of governments and the refugee communities, rather than just encouraging repatriation. Kofi will return to the U.S. after this internship to finish his degree at Mason, but he would like to continue working with refugee communities all over the world afterwards. ■

initiatives

An Afternoon with Nadia Murad: A Survivor of ISIS Enslavement and Genocide

By Roj Eli Zalla, PhD Student, rzalla@masonlive.gmu.edu

In August 2014, while many observers believed the Islamic State's (ISIS) focus was on Southern Iraq, the organization suddenly shifted its focus to the Kurdish north. On August 3, 2014, ISIS attacked and captured Shingal, a predominant Yazidi town. The sudden offensive did not allow many families in Shingal and surrounding villages the time to escape. Kocho, a village to the south of Shingal was one of the villages that fell into the hands of ISIS.

ISIS fighters rounded up the residents of the village, killed the men and elderly women, and took the younger women captive as sex slaves. The entire population of the village (approximately 400 men and



Nadia Murad Basee Taha, an Iraqi woman of the Yazidi faith, bows her head after telling her story during the Security Council meeting Maintenance of international peace and security Trafficking in persons in situations of conflict.

Photo: Flickr User UN Photo/ Amanda Voisard.

to escape her captors and reach safety. She is now an activist speaking up for many Yazidi women and children who are still held captive.

I invited her to share her story with the S-CAR community. With the help of a non-profit organization, Yazda, she visited the School, where she met with not only students and faculty at S-CAR, but also human rights activists and journalists. A total of five TV channels attended the talk, one of the TV channels broadcast the event live to its viewers in Kurdistan Region of Iraq, while AlHurra TV recorded the entire session

for later use in a documentary about Nadia Murad.

Nadia Murad, devastated and terrified by what she witnessed, has decided to "not rest until the story of the Yazidi women are heard." Her mission is now to recount the atrocities in order to raise awareness about what is now recognized as genocide against Yazidis. In addition to sharing her story, Nadia shed light on what needs to be done to help survivors like herself and many other Yazidis who have been victimized. In the response to a question on what can one do to help, she replied, "There are many ways to help. We have many women and children who have survived and now live in refugee camps, any help would be appreciated."

Murad said she was glad that the United States government and the European Union have recognized the massacre as genocide, but she will continue to press for "Getting rid of ISIS and restoring safety to the Yazidi community" and putting in place some sort of measures to prevent such atrocities from recurring. "This is not the first time massacres take place against the Yazidis" she said, "And this massacre was not carried out by just a group of ISIS fighters, we saw our neighbors turning against us just because we were Yazidis. We have lost trust."

A link to the event video can be found at: <http://scar.gmu.edu/event/life-under-isis-yazidi-womans-story-of-surviving-enslavement>

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, May 5, 2016

World Café: Braiding Narratives from Syria and Iraq of Achievements

9:00am-12:00pm

Friday, May 6, 2016

Conference: Power Shifters: Changing the Narrative on Violent Extremism

9:00am-5:00pm

Friday, May 27, 2016

The Sixth Annual Graduate Education Symposium in Peace and Conflict Resolution

12:30pm - 5:30pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

1000 women and children) were either killed or enslaved. Witnesses recount the horrific moments when the merciless extremists showed up in the village.

Nadia Murad, a senior high school student, 20 years old at the time of the attack, was one of the many women who witnessed the massacre of the residents. "We heard the gunshots when the fighters were shooting our men," Murad said. The fighters spared Murad's life in the interest of using her as a slave. After spending three months in slavery, she managed

Student Opinion: The Rwandan Genocide 22 Years Later

By Innocent Rugaragu, S-CAR PhD Candidate, irugarag@masonlive.gmu.edu

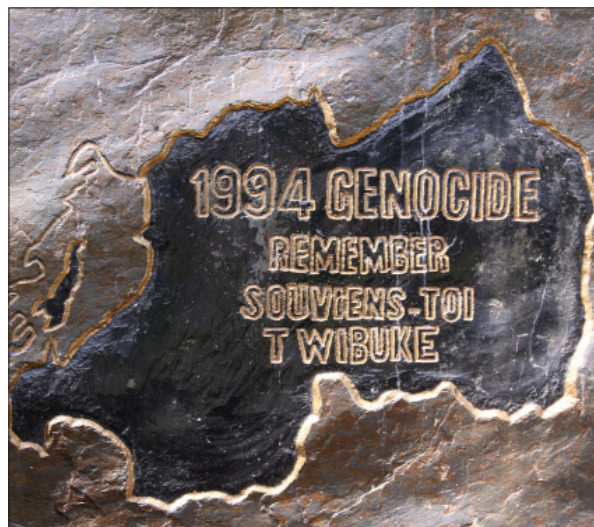
This year marked the 22nd commemoration of the Rwandan genocide that claimed over one million lives. Each year since 1994, *Kwibuka*, meaning “remember,” is held to commemorate the lives lost during the Tutsi genocide. To encourage a commitment to oppose genocidal ideology, this year’s commemoration was held around the world under the theme *Kwibuka 22: Fighting Genocide Ideology*.

As a community, S-CAR had an opportunity to remember the Rwandan genocide at an event held on April 7, 2016. The first part of the evening was dedicated to watching a documentary titled *Ubumuntu* which translates to mean “humanness.” The plot of this movie followed Hutu families and a missionary priest who narrate why they decided to hide and save Tutsis, even at the risk of their own lives. This documentary reminded me of another situation, where students in *Nyange* in northern Rwanda, refused to obey the orders of killers to allow for the killing of Tutsis. These martyred students refused on the grounds that they were “all Rwandans.” Unfortunately their stance was shortlived as the militia attacked and killed many of them. These students still remain an inspiration for me and have even been honored as national heroes in Rwanda. They embody the vision that Rwandans desire and deserve, which is to live and die as Rwandan, and not as an exclusive ethnic group.

The *Nyange* students, the subject of *Ubumuntu* among many other living and dead Rwandans, protected each other with great love, radical care, compassion, mercy, patience, and courage. It is my hope that none of us at S-CAR have to make such a sacrifice, but if such an unfortunate situation presents itself as we engage in conflict resolution, management, and transformation work around the world, it is my belief that many of these courageous individuals from Rwanda can inspire us to say no to hatred and the culture of immoral or amoral indifference, and stand by those beliefs.

The second part of S-CAR’s evening of commemoration involved a panel discussion which was uncomfortable, during certain periods, yet very important. The panel featured Dean Kevin Avruch; Rwandan Ambassador, Prof. Mathilde Mukantabana;

Dr. Douglas Irvin-Erickson, Director of the Genocide Prevention Program at Mason; Dr. Zachary D. Kaufman, a fellow at both Harvard and Yale Universities; and myself, who served as the moderator. These distinguished scholars helped the audience discuss the 1994 genocide in light of the past, present, and the future of Rwanda. I extend thanks to all who were able to attend and special thanks to the panelists, who reminded us that our words and our actions or inaction have costs and consequences in the context of genocide. The way we educate our children at school and within the family, construct our history and memory, exercise national and international justice, lead and exercise power nationally and internationally, and finally the way we worship and practice religion all matter in promoting or preventing genocide and genocide ideology.



Rwanda and Uganda: An exceptional journey for lovers of Africa!

Photo: Flickr User Voyages Lambert.

Recent S-CAR Media

We're Fiddling as the Climate Burns

Michael Shank, S-CAR Alumnus
USA Today 04/19/16

Solon Simmons Weighs in on the Crucial New York Primaries

Solon Simmons, S-CAR Faculty
CTV News 04/19/16

To Save his Middle East Legacy, Obama must Recognize a Palestinian State Now

Ibrahim Fraihat, S-CAR Alumnus
Middle East Eye 04/13/16

Healing the Heart of Conflict: Rabbi Yanklowitz Interviews Professor Marc Gopin

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Faculty
Valley Beit Midrash 04/12/16

Conflict Analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 19 occasions since the last newsletter. These 4 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

In the past 22 years and in the process of preparing for *Kwibuka* 22, I have had opportunities to interact with friends, colleagues, fellow Rwandans, and non-Rwandans who either challenge or support “the truth” about remembering the genocide. The major categories that I have encountered are those who believe that surviving the genocide is a privilege and so remembering is a duty; those who believe that remembering the genocide is a must, lest we forget and see a recurrence, as “Genocide Never Again” meaning nothing in Rwanda and many other places around the globe.

press

Continued on Page 8

Kaitlin Conway, MS Alumna

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

After graduating from the Masters program in 2014, Kaitlin Conway joined Training Resources Group (TRG), an organization that provides training, consulting, facilitation, and organizational development services to their clients. "The skills I learned and developed at S-CAR, such as facilitation, reflective practice, and narrative evaluation and praxis, are ever present in my work with our clients who range from large to small corporations, international organizations, federal and state government agencies, as well as non-profit organizations."

Kaitlin Conway, a native of Alabama, attended Troy University, a small yet internationally focused university south of Montgomery. While there, she studied Political Science with a focus on International Politics and Leadership Studies. Kaitlin recalled, "After about a year into my undergraduate degree, I felt that my studies were devoid of an approach that examined international and domestic political trends and historical events in an interdisciplinary manner, especially in a way that I wanted to approach solving some historical conflicts." In addition, Kaitlin was also looking for some level of practice-based curriculum to complement all the theory that she was learning.

For Kaitlin, the "what is next?" question drew her to the program at S-CAR, which promised to bring together the development of theory, research, and practice to address the conflicts of today. "Overall, I think my experiences at S-CAR, especially those focused on practice and field work, showed the impact and applica-



Kaitlin Conway.

Photo: Kaitlin Conway.

tion of a variety of intervention strategies on a variety of levels across vast contexts."

Kaitlin recounts initially feeling anxious when she realized that the World Bank Group, International Monetary Fund, and USAID were some of the clients of TRG. "I remember feeling some pressure when I first started working at TRG. After completing some work for our clients, I came to the realization that my work was just an extension of my S-CAR education, an ongoing process I should add."

Kaitlin recalls Dennis Sandole's Three Pillar approach, an integrative model that encourages a systems approach to both analysis and resolution. It is a model she says informs her

own work, but allows flexibility for interventions in that the model explores different levels of the conflict. She says "In my own work this encourages action, as a change at one level will inevitably affect other levels, with deep and broad analysis to ensure effectiveness." In addition to this, she has done some work that involves tracking conversations at a meeting with government and NGOs about the United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security as well as successfully organizing an internal learning session based on Sara Cobb's Narrative Praxis course. "The content was well received and many trainers at TRG were interested in ways that these principles could be implemented in their own work."

Currently, Kaitlin is enjoying working for TRG but she hopes to do more in the field. "I am learning a lot and would like to be a trainer/facilitator who works more closely with clients in future." ■

Obada Shtaya, MS Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

Obada Shtaya is a current MS student, born and raised in Nablus in the north of the West Bank, Palestine. After earning his undergraduate degree in English literature at An-Najah National University, and working for a while, he decided to move to the U.S. in August 2015, after he received a Fulbright Scholarship to further his education at Mason.

Obada describes his undergrad years as "full of curiosity and exploration" as he sought to better understand the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and identify approaches to resolve it. After graduating, he started to work with the organization OneVoice movement. "I was introduced to OneVoice movement, a grassroots organization that uses conflict resolution lenses to try to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through solution-oriented discourse, and narra-



Obada Shtaya.

Photo: Obada Shtaya.

tive analysis among others."

After working with OneVoice for five years, Obada decided that it was time to complement his practical experiences with a deeper understanding of conflict analysis and resolution theories and approaches.

After graduating from S-CAR, Obada hopes to have gained a better understanding of the use of interdisciplinary approaches in conflict analysis and the dynamics and lifespans of protracted conflicts that have somehow been resolved.

"I believe that there is always a way to achieve a breakthrough, even in such a complicated conflict such as the one being

experienced in Israel-Palestine. We should always strive to find out how this can be achieved and this is one of my biggest drives." ■

Ending Poverty, Protecting the Planet and Ensuring Prosperity for All

Continued from page 1

There is some discussion now, but it must increase tenfold.

If we are to efficiently and effectively tackle what is in store, we will need to come out of the gate strong this year. There is no time to waste, which is why some cities in the US – such as New York City, Baltimore and San Jose – are already adopting urban SDG agendas on top of their climate commitments. They did not want to wait; we should not wait. The agenda begins now, and a first step in that process is ticking through the 17 Sustainable Development Goals and enumerating their climate connection clearly, lest anyone still doubts that these agendas are interrelated.

Eradicating poverty and hunger, the first two SDGs, are perhaps the most obvious in their connection to climate, yet funding streams and workflows are still siloed or marginalized. The anti-poverty and anti-hunger camps, for example, have yet to fully integrate the climate narrative. And yet, climate change is one of the UN's biggest obstacles in its 15-year goal setting on these two fronts. Not only will extreme weather force more people into poverty, disease, and malnutrition, it will destabilize everyone and everything that is already vulnerable. Putting poor populations at the fore of any climate fix will be essential, as will difficult decisions regarding diet. Increasing food production 70 percent by 2050, to feed the nearly 10 billion people that will live on this planet, is going to require a massive uptick in plant-based diets given the carbon intensity of the animal industry. There's no easy way around this and it'd behoove both camps to get on board this train sooner than later, something they have yet to do.

Health is a no-brainer as dirty fossil fuels are killing us. Air pollution alone kills 3.3 million people a year, a deathly figure set to double in 35 years if we don't change course. Hotter temperatures, and the heat records we continue to break, bring all sorts of harmful health impacts. Simply put, that means more strokes, heart attacks, mosquitoes and ticks. Thankfully, the highly reputed Lancet Commission is already addressing this issue, but more needs to be done to engage health practitioners in the telling of the climate story, whether in mobile clinics, emergency rooms, or hospital boardrooms. The climate-health connection needs to be as commonplace in the public's mind as prep for cold season and flu shots are at your local Walgreens and CVS stores.

As you can see from the first three SDGs above, there is an obvious disconnect developing. The gaps should be self-evident. Much of it has to do with communication but also with improved education, which will have a better chance of succeeding if people are out of poverty, healthy, and well fed. Kids can be what they should be – i.e. students – when poverty, which will worsen with global warming, is not



The 17 Sustainable Development Goals Poster.
Image: United Nations.

forcing them to work the fields or the sweatshops. Additionally, any climate change curricula has a much better chance of landing on less-distracted ears if basic human needs – like shelter and food – aren't so out of reach.

Gender equality is another obvious goal despite the fact that many women's rights organizations are not yet fully on board the climate train. With every possible climate impact, women are, without question, the most vulnerable. In most countries, they are still the ones primarily handling the water, food, firewood, and maintenance of household

infrastructure – all of which becomes more onerous and arduous as the planet warms and extreme weather worsens. They are also more likely to die from, and be exploited during, disaster situations. Worse, the unequal distribution of the climate burden undermines every other gender equality target. This fact alone should make this SDG deserving of both camps' attention.

The next goal related to water is arguably the most important. Yet, for some unknown reason, it remains one of the least urgent among advocates. Despite the devastating climate-induced droughts and floods on every continent – from California to the UK, from Sao Paulo to Syria – we have not yet woken up to the reality that fresh water, as we know it, will not be around for the taking much longer. Billions of people are already living in physical water scarcity or water shortages, and these numbers are set to grow substantially with global warming. While talk of water conflict and water wars is rightly on the rise, much more will be needed, including a complete rethink on water-intensive industries, from food and fashion to tech and trade.

Energy is obvious. No need to spend much time talking about this as both camps are already on board, talking about 100 percent (renewable energy) for 100 percent (of the world's population). What is great about the clean energy revolution, if done right, is that it will help accomplish other UN goals: It is good for health, it is good for economic growth, it is good for gender and income equality, and it is good for democracy. In fact, the democratization of energy, enabling and empowering people anywhere and everywhere to harness the sun and the wind, should be front and center for international financial institutions. Mirror what the Internet and mobile technology did for the majority, globally, and similarly free up renewable energy and make it easy for the taking. It's no wonder that Tea Party libertarians in America are already all over this issue. So should every other party.

Part II of this article will be published in the next issue of the S-CAR newsletter. ■

The Rwandan Genocide 22 Years Later

Continued from page 5

In addition, we also have those who believe that remembering prevents genocide victims from forgiving, forgetting, and reconciling; those who believe that remembering is not in the interest of the victims but of politicians, both governmental and opposition, who use commemoration to score political points; and finally those who deny that a Tutsi Genocide took place and believe that it was simply people killing people, with both Tutsis and Hutus killing equally, and as such Tutsis should not monopolize it.

The above positions and conflicts remind me how complex the word “truth” is. No wonder Immanuel Kant had to write three volumes about this concept. Both synthetic and analytic judgments are based on truth, which presupposes fact, reality, and authenticity. Mindful of such complexity of “truth,” I believe that we should not politicize an event such as the April 1994 Tutsi genocide. I hope to continue the conversa-



Innocent Rugagu.

Photo: Innocent Rugagu.

tion with myself, our panelists, and others about the 1994 genocide. Maybe S-CAR, as an academic institution for conflict analysis and resolution, and as the home of faculty such as Dr. Erickson, Director of the Genocide Prevention Program at Mason, and Dr. Stanton Gregory of Genocide Watch, can consider starting a memory center about this genocide, which can help to address and resolve conflicts that have continued for 22 years.

As a member of civil society, witnessing the genocide and its aftermath, losing so many family members and fellow Rwandans, and seeing so many people left traumatized, I have come to believe that a culture of remembering and honoring the memory of the genocide is inextricably linked with a culture of gratitude, hope, and healing. Hence, a culture of “remembering” in “truth” remains important for the future of Rwanda. ■

The views expressed in S-CAR News represent the personal perspectives of each author and do not reflect any institutional position of George Mason University or the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.



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S-CAR News

A PUBLICATION OF THE
SCHOOL FOR
CONFLICT ANALYSIS
AND RESOLUTION

George Mason University

Lessons From Brexit for Our American Friends

By Oliver Ramsbotham, Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution, University of Bradford, o.p.ramsbotham@bradford.ac.uk
and Tom Woodhouse, Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution, University of Bradford, t.woodhouse@bradford.ac.uk

The British 'Brexit' referendum on whether or not to stay in the European Union highlights the perils of democratic and governmental decision making when there is no adequate prior collective strategic thinking and engagement. A strategy gap as vast as this leads to an equally large democracy gap via a dramatic impoverishment of the public



Brexit Protests.
Photo: Flickr user Garon S.

rhaging of votes to the new UK Independent Party (UKIP) at a time when he thought he might lose the 2015 General Election. There was no need for a referendum because there had been no significant changes in the EU, and the UK was in the highly advantageous -

indeed envious - position of being within the single market, but not in the Euro or in the Schengen 'open border' area. David Cameron assumed that he would win the referendum with ease as all the main political parties in Parliament were in favour of staying in the EU. So were the Trade Unions and the Bank of England including financial institutions, and most big business. He had already held a referendum on the British voting system in 2011 and on Scottish independence in 2014 – and got away with both of them.

Former Prime Minister David Cameron decided to hold a referendum on British membership of the European Union in order to placate the right wing of his Conservative party and stem the haemor-

rhaging of votes to the new UK Independent Party (UKIP) at a time when he thought he might lose the 2015 General Election. There was no need for a referendum because there had been no significant changes in the EU, and the UK was in the highly advantageous -

But he lost the EU referendum - together with his premiership, and no doubt the overall judgement of history on his time in office.

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Greg Sullivan

Commentary

Arrested for Working for Peace: The Story of Aya Hijazi, Undergrad Alumna

By Chelsea Cowan, Undergraduate Alumna, chelsea.n.cowan@gmail.com

As an undergraduate student at Mason's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, Aya Hijazi had a taste for 'wicked' problems. She was always searching for underlying elements of conflict that are particularly difficult to resolve. Aya brought a nuanced worldview to the classroom, borne from her experiences growing up between Alexandria, Virginia, and Cairo, Egypt. An attentive listener and an assertive debater, she was quick to test theories against current events. After graduating in May 2009, Aya returned to Cairo, a city that would soon be in flux: in 2011, a popular uprising in Egypt unseated a president who had reigned for thirty years.

In Tahrir Square in 2011, Aya met Mohammed Hassanein, the man who would later become her husband. They were inspired and hopeful about change when the revolution began. However, as the spirit of unity emblematic in the early days of the revolution gave way to divisive politics, the pair saw unprecedented acts of hatred rip into the country they loved. Aya and Mohammed soon married, but instead of holding a lavish ceremony, they used their wedding fund to start a nongovernmental organization called *Belady* or my country. The organization's purpose was to foster community – to be an 'island of humanity' – when it was in short supply. *Belady* provided educational services to vulnerable children living in the streets in Cairo, as well as organizing campaigns to promote sanitation, and combat sexual harassment. The organization flourished, as did the children who benefitted from the nurturing and supportive environment that Aya, Mohammed, and volunteers created.

Belady had been operating for less than a year when Aya, her husband, six volunteers and several children were arrested in May 2014. Police alleged that the NGO held children against their will, subjected them to physical and sexual abuse, and paid them to participate in anti-government protests. Reports surrounding Aya's arrest emphasized both the shocking nature of the accusations and her American citizenship, playing into a wider media narrative of subversive foreign influences. Aya and her family have been outspoken in denying the charges, as have 25 local human rights organizations who have called for Aya and her husband's release. In their statement, the organizations called the trial



Aya Hijazi.
Photo: Chelsea Cowan.

"another example of the continued suppression of volunteer action and the quashing of youth and civil society initiatives." Amnesty International estimates that more than 40,000 Egyptians were jailed in a crackdown on youth and civil society organizations since July 2013.

Aya and her family hoped that by not drawing further attention to the case, the U.S. Embassy would quietly exert influence to protect the rights of one of their citizens. Yet after two years, the case and the official efforts to support Aya's release appear stagnant. The case has been brought to trial on seven occasions then hastily deferred by the Egyptian judiciary on dubious pretexts. In an appeal filed to the United Nations Working Group

on Arbitrary Detention, the R.F.K. Center for Human Rights observed, "Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, including the government's own forensic medical report on the minors that found no signs of sexual abuse or torture from their time at *Belady* Foundation, the false charges have been allowed to stand and the case has been referred to trial." Today, Aya remains in pre-trial detention after more than two years, which exceeds the limitations established in Egyptian law.

Aya's is the first case of its kind in which an S-CAR graduate has been falsely accused, arrested, and detained without trial in the course of carrying out the work that she trained to do. It is imperative the school set a precedent in its response. The credibility of our institution and our commitment to working to interrupt cycles of violence will be linked to how we respond when an alumna's rights are being abrogated.

Members of the S-CAR community: On this occasion, when an unprecedented event calls us to action, grasp at the opportunity to effect change as a collective. Our community of practitioners emboldens us to pursue our goals by our bond that those who seek justice never act alone. In this faith, let us do right for our own.

Please sign the petition for Aya on: www.change.org/p/free-american-imprisoned-for-helping-homeless-children ■

Update: Part II of the article *End Poverty, Protect the Planet, and Ensure Prosperity for All* by Michael Shank is available online at: <http://scar.gmu.edu/newsletter-article/end-poverty-protect-planet-and-ensure-prosperity-all-part-2>

The Work We Do in Community Engagement: Working for the Downtown Baltimore Family Alliance (DBFA)

By Jackie Finch, Career and Academic Advisor, jfinch4@masonlive.gmu.edu

The Downtown Baltimore Family Alliance (DBFA) works to empower families and connect communities throughout the city of Baltimore. Established in 2008 in an effort to organize local parents who had made the choice to raise their families in downtown Baltimore and its surrounding neighborhoods, the organization currently advocates for better public educational resources, out-of-school care options, public safety, and access to cultural experiences in downtown Baltimore.

The mission of DBFA states, "Fueled by the belief that cities flourish when families thrive, DBFA's mission is to attract, retain, and support city families, by connecting communities and empowering families to advocate for great schools, safe streets, and vibrant neighborhoods - the three factors that matter most to families when deciding where to live." With that framework in place, DBFA hosts events, workshops, and seminars that connects families in downtown Baltimore to resources for making choices that support education goals, activities for quality family time, and lasting friendships. Through community outreach and engagement, DBFA has empowered more than "5,000 families to push for legislation, private investment, and public initiatives that prioritize the needs of city families."

Elizabeth Mount, a PhD candidate from S-CAR, was recently selected to oversee the major expansion effort designed to increase the organization's visibility and reach in the communities DBFA serves. In order to help accomplish this goal, Elizabeth started an initiative in her office space called Community Blend.

Speaking to Elizabeth recently, she described the Baltimore community space as, "A place where a mother with a baby can get out of her house and rejuvenate her sleep deprivation with a free cup of coffee, all without the stress of wondering if her baby will start crying. A mom can nurse and feel comfortable. A dad can bring his laptop and work from home while his toddler is inter-



Domonique Morris (left), DBFA's Community Outreach Coordinator, and Elizabeth Mount (right), walking in Annapolis, after testifying before the State Senate on the Baltimore City Public School budget shortfall.

Photo: Elizabeth Mount.

acting with other local children in the playroom. You can be a parent and an adult and relax a little. The playgroup provides and assists parents with an opportunity to network and develop supportive relationships. The space can be used for workshops and other private outreach events but the primary focus is for the families."

Elizabeth is also involved in other aspects of DBFA and services that the organization is involved with as she has a natural interest and awareness of her community and the challenges families experience.

While Elizabeth was a PhD student, she served as the Executive Director at the Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict at Mason's School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

In addition to her research and advocacy efforts as part of the center, she served as a consultant for non-profit organizations and government agencies on a range of issues, including gender-based and community violence, gender equity, and women's empowerment initiatives.

"I am thrilled to join DBFA in their vital work of improving opportunities for families to thrive in Baltimore. I am humbled to have the privilege to advocate for great schools, access to vibrant cultural experiences, and safe neighborhoods in the midst of the progressive changes taking place in the city." said Elizabeth. ■

Announcement: George Mason University Alumni Weekend 2016

Join Kevin Avruch on Saturday, October 15, 2016 for a networking and social brunch with fellow School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution alumni!

Ovvio Osteria, Merrifield, VA
11:30am to 1:30pm

We are offering a prix fixe menu of seasonally fresh Italian favorites and mimosas for \$20. Space is limited, contact Maria Seniwi (mсениw@gmu.edu) for registration information.

initiative

Virginia 24-Hour Run for Cancer

By Christina Sumner, MS Student, csumner2@masonlive.gmu.edu



Christina Sumner.
Photo: Christina Sumner.

At 7:00 am on Saturday, April 30, 2016, I heaved a sigh of relief as I took off from the starting line of the Virginia 24-Hour Run for Cancer at Sandy Bottom Nature Park in Hampton, Virginia. With the exception of a two-minute break to change my socks and shoes, I ran for a full day and night and amassed a total of 111 miles.

Running this long has not been the hardest thing I have had to do this year. Rather, finding the time for graduate school while having a full time job, as well as

managing all of the responsibilities that come with being a mother of three kids, all made me feel like I could not compete in this race. But with the support of my three children Mabelli (10), and the twins Mikiyas and Miriam (4), and my wonderful, patient, and supportive husband, Jacob, I managed to find the time to train and be ready to participate in this event.

A typical training run involved packing all three kids in the stroller with dinner-to-go. The twins would doze off, while I would help Mabelli with her homework. Once she was done she would

help me by reading aloud an assignment or jot down notes I wrote for a paper; this process made her well versed in conflict resolution theory!

Since I do not have a treadmill, I run laps around the house in range of the baby monitor during the twins' naptime during bad weather. I also have a portable elliptical under my desk at work and I run the stairs at Founders Hall at George Mason between classes. When I had to sit in class, I would usually hold my feet a few inches off the ground and do swimmer kicks or other stationary exercises in my seat.

For me, all of these unconventional training methods had to add up to the eighty mile per week benchmark I needed to be ready to compete in the race dubbed the *Relay for Life* event that raises funds for the American Cancer Society. Ultimately, aside from being ready to compete in the race, I was also able to come in first place in the women's division and fifth overall, making all these sacrifices worth it.

In addition to the hours that I spend at S-CAR and training for ultramarathons, I serve as Director of Administration & Development at The Arc of Virginia, where I advocate to restore the rights of persons with intellectual and developmental disabilities (I/DD). I work to end the institutionalization of people with disabilities and help the state convert to community-based housing, employment, and support services. What I am currently learning at S-CAR is helping me to come up with strategies to transform Virginia's I/DD system and to end institutional segregation for all.

When I am asked why I take on so much, my answer is because family, work, school, and running are all important to me. Crossing the finish line for this race during finals week felt symbolic for closing the semester. In preparation for the next semester and the next training cycle I can perhaps better reflect on my mantra – "slow and steady." ■



Christina Sumner.
Photo: Christina Sumner.

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, August 25, 2016

S-CAR Fall 2016 New Student Orientation
4:30pm-9:00pm

Wednesday, August 31, 2016

Dissertation Proposal Defense: Lambs of God: The Untold Story of Black Students Who Desegregated Catholic Schools in New Orleans
1:30pm - 3:30pm

Saturday, September 10, 2016

S-CAR Welcome Picnic 2016

Monday, October 21, 2016

S-CAR Internship Showcase
12:00pm - 2:00pm

Wednesday, February 15, 2017

SPGIA / S-CAR Career Fair
2:00pm - 5:00pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

Student Opinion: A Little of Muhammad Ali for the Next U.S. President

By Soolmaz Abooli, PhD Candidate, sabooali@masonlive.gmu.edu

Muhammad Ali is no doubt one of the greatest athletes to have walked this earth, yet throughout the battles that he took on outside the ring, we learned that he was not just that. As a social and political force particularly in one of the most divided times in American history, Ali upheld values that today's policy-makers should take heed as we continue to face conflicts that drive mistrust and violence versus unity that promotes peace and prosperity. As we approach the 2016 Presidential elections, it is vital that we, the voters, begin to pay greater attention to the values that drive actions, particularly when these actions are implemented by people of influence, such as the President of the United States.

New York Times editor David Remnick wrote that Ali led an "outsized life," and indeed he did. From the talkative toddler to the boy who had his red bicycle stolen to the boxer, activist, and family man, he was an individual of skill and character who possessed strong values rooted in humanity, freedom, and equality for all, despite the consequences. In 1967, three years after he had won the heavyweight championship, Ali refused to be conscripted into the U.S. military based on his religious beliefs and opposition to the Vietnam War. He was eventually arrested and found guilty on draft evasion charges; he was stripped of his boxing title, his boxing license was suspended, and he did not fight again for nearly four years while his appeal worked its way up to the U.S. Supreme Court, where Ali's 1967 conviction was reversed.

Upon retirement in 1981, Ali dedicated his time and resources to further act upon his values in the role of an activist for peace, civil rights, cross-cultural understanding, and interfaith relations. His work as an

ambassador for peace began in 1985 when he flew to Lebanon to secure the release of four hostages. He made goodwill missions to Afghanistan and North Korea; delivered over \$1 million in medical aid to Cuba; traveled to Iraq to secure the release of 15 United States hostages during the first Gulf War; and journeyed to South Africa to meet Nelson Mandela upon his release

from prison. Where world hunger was prevalent, Ali provided over 232 million meals; and hand-delivered food and medical supplies to children in countries that include Cote D'Ivoire, Indonesia, Mexico, and Morocco.

To commemorate and continue this work through educational activities, the Muhammad Ali Center was created to "promote respect, hope, and understanding, and to inspire adults and children everywhere to be as great as they can be". I was fortunate to twice present at the Ali Center on the topic of athletes creating social change. Not only was it a moment where I could share my research on a topic that Ali himself embodied, but it was an opportunity to honor my parents who had always identified Ali as a true champion in mind, heart, and soul.

As a champion with the ability to influence, Ali was highly successful in using his global platform to mitigate the effects of conflict. Similarly, policymakers and public servants also share a similar platform on which they can become agents of positive - and negative - change. Issues such as discrimination, poverty, inequality, and lack of education are rampant in today's society and the next POTUS must be equipped to resolve and not exacerbate these situations.

America's president must possess the appropriate temperament, knowledge, experience, and foresight to surround him or herself with a diverse team capable to provide solid advice. Irrespective of party loyalties, he or she must also find a balance between supporting hard and soft powers - such as programs that strengthen our armed forces and economy with those that directly communicate with grassroots communities across the country. Conflict is both complex and multi-faceted and any resolution therefore requires an equally complex and multi-faceted approach.

Ali successfully used his powerful athlete platform to exercise his values of humanity, freedom, and equality for all and through the process he won both hearts and minds. The next leader of the United States will, like Ali, possess a power platform with global reach. It is therefore our responsibility as voters to ensure that our next president is equipped with right mix of experience and values that uphold the country's Constitution. ■

Recent S-CAR Media Appearances

Police should put away the military gear and build connections with young people

Arthur Romano, S-CAR Faculty
Raw Story 07/09/16

My Turkish Airport

Marc Gopin, S-CAR Faculty
Huffington Post 07/01/16

Letter to the editor: A response to "Immigration could swing it for Brexit"

Dennis Sandole, S-CAR Faculty
Financial Times 06/09/16

Conflict analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 49 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>.



Soolmaz Abooli.

Photo: Soolmaz Abooli.

PRESS

Joel Amegboh, Incoming PhD Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

Joel Amegboh, an incoming PhD student, has worked for a number of agencies and departments under the United Nations. These include the Department of Public Information (DPI), Mali Integrated Operational Team of the Africa Division II in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), and the Permanent Mission of Togo to the United Nations. According to Joel, "I loved my duties, especially working with the Counsellor responsible for disarmament, global challenges, and threats to peace that affect the international community. I learnt a lot during this period which bolstered my passion to continue to work for peace."

Originally from Togo, Joel has lived in other countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ghana. "My love for peacebuilding work began when I personally experienced international and regional attempts at resolving conflicts being complemented by local based peacebuilding initiatives," Joel mentioned. Even after moving to the U.S. to further his education, he still focused on peacebuilding and earned his MA in Global Development and Peace from the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut. While there he worked on his thesis titled *Understanding the Scopes, Challenges and Limitations of Two Different Models of Peacekeeping Missions in Africa: An Assessment of UNOSOM and AMISO*;

an attempt on his part to analyze the many challenges and limitations of African Union peacekeeping initiatives in Africa. "I have become enthralled with the large and seemingly impossible tasks that the UN and other regional bodies take upon themselves and I wanted to focus on that, as well as show how a number of these organizations navigate these challenges."

While Joel was with the Educational Outreach of the Department of Public Information, he decided to further his education because, according to him, "I felt there was a theoretical gap in my work, and one of the top programs that could help address this deficiency I discovered, was S-CAR."

Joel Amegboh comes to S-CAR wanting to explore the role of national and international NGOs during peace processes and in post-war peacebuilding; the roles and rights of children, girls, and women in conflict; and the long term implications of post-electoral violence in Africa. ■



Joel Amegboh.
Photo: Joel Amegboh.

Greg Sullivan, Undergraduate Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

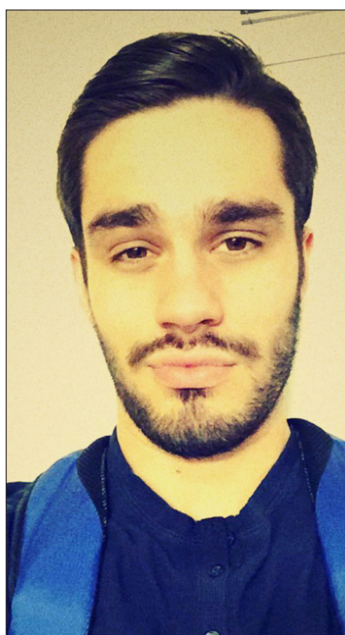
Greg Sullivan, a native of Fairfax, Virginia, is a conflict analysis and resolution major who just completed his sophomore year at Mason. "I chose this field because of the broad perspective it offers in analyzing conflicts from around the world," he said. "For example, the media usually focuses on the political sources of conflict but at S-CAR, there is more of a holistic approach that covers the individual, societal, economic, social, economic issues that are not treated mutually exclusive from one another."

Greg is currently looking to start a project that will involve meeting ambassadors from different countries in Africa, and engage them in discussions to share examples of locally developed initiatives at improving their nation's development. According to Greg, "I think this project

will be very beneficial because it appears that most African nations have been dictated to for a long time by non-African nations on how to improve their country. The current process has not yielded the desired results and I want to start a new approach and see how these nations could benefit from learning from other African nations instead." Greg also believes that this project would lead to an interesting cultural exchange, as many of these nations do not interact with one another despite sharing the same continent.

"If the initial phase of this project is successful, I will like to have similar meetings using representatives from marginalized minority communities within Africa, for example a meeting involving representatives from the Malian Tuaregs, white Zimbabweans, Congolese Twa, Sudanese Nubans, and Nigerian Fula. Such initiatives have been implemented in the US, Canada, Australia and Europe but not Africa," he said.

Greg is hoping to finish his degree and work for a non-profit that has an international focus. According to him, "I am interested in learning more from communities who have engaged with other cultures to work for peace and development. ■



Greg Sullivan.
Photo: Greg Sullivan.

Lessons from Brexit for our American Friends

Continued from page 1

In a phenomenon recognizable across many countries - an alliance between affluent right wing 'little Englanders' and disaffected middle and lower income voters who felt that their standard of living and sense of identity had been eroded by globalization - especially since the 2008 crisis, cut across traditional party lines and confounded the experts. The issue of immigration came to symbolize this otherwise improbable alliance. Inflexible party political representative structures failed to pick up and respond to this growing disaffection - an enormous democratic deficit that underpinned all the others. Referenda on major single topics are dangerous, because they tend to become overall verdicts on governments and elites where accumulated resentments determine the outcome more than the issues ostensibly voted on.

But the most striking feature of the referendum process was the remarkable lack of adequate collective strategic thinking and public strategic engagement with the central issue itself. Instead of informed strategic debate in which the main implications are raised and the likely advantages and disadvantages are argued out, we were treated to private strategic planning within what rapidly became the two main 'camps' together with increasingly divisive and ill-tempered public strategic manipulation. Cheered on by the popular and partisan media - particularly on the 'leave' side (Daily Express headline - One and a Half Million Turks Heading This Way) - attempts by the 'quality' newspapers and the BBC to 'balance' the debate were drowned out as all the advantages were presented as being on one side and all the disadvantages on the other.

So it was that on June 24, 2016, we British lemmings woke up in the morning to discover that we had jumped off a cliff - and had not considered what would happen next. The Prime Minister resigned, the Labour Party was in turmoil, the Brexit leaders knifed each other in the back, and the leader of UKIP parachuted out saying that his 'job was done' (while retaining his large salary as a European Member of Parliament). The main implications had not been argued out. For example, towering over these was the existential question of the future of the UK itself now that (as predicted) Scotland and Northern Ireland had voted to stay in the EU. In our view this will lead to the break up of the UK as we have known it - an outcome on which 92% of the UK electorate (the UK minus Scotland) have so far had no vote at all. If so, 'UKIP' will have been shown from the outset to have been a contradiction in terms. In Ireland the re-activation of the border between Northern Ireland and Eire as the new border between the UK and the EU is likely to have a dangerous and unpredictably destabilizing effect on the delicately calibrated



Tom Woodhouse.

Photo: Tom Woodhouse..

and balanced peace process. There had been no proper debate on difficult trade-offs such as those between continued open access to the single market and the demand for drastic constraints on the free movement of people, or between a lowering of tariffs and taxes in order to make Britain competitive outside the EU and demands for a severe curb on excessive profits for the rich and massive new public investment in which all would share. In the 2-5 year period of instability now widely expected, it is hard to see how the hitherto high levels of inward investment into the UK and relatively low levels of unemployment (the lowest in the EU) can be sustained. If they are not, then the electors of Sunderland, whose 60% vote to leave the EU

was the first clear indication of the outcome on the evening of June 23, 2016, thinking that they were voting mainly on immigration, may have helped to call in doubt the future of their own chief employer - Nissan. Nobody knows what the eventual economic outcome will be. Perhaps with a lower pound, a reasonable industrial strategy, and a slice of luck in the complex negotiations ahead, although Britain may in the short term become poorer, it may succeed in the longer term in achieving a much needed rebalancing of its economy outside the EU. If things go wrong, however, as usual it will be the more vulnerable members of society who will suffer most.

These are examples of some of the wider issues that would have been raised by adequate strategic engagement, but went by default in the prevailing distortion, simplified reductionism, and mounting bitterness of the private strategic planning and public manipulation that replaced it. Political leaders, especially in the 'leave' camp, put personal ambition above arguing out implications. 'Brexiters' had no plans for what would happen if they won. The main party political system, particularly in London, had lost touch with large sections of the electorate, so that instead of resentments being recognized early, taken seriously by the political establishment, argued out properly and as a result acted upon responsibly, they were ignored, suppressed, and allowed to fester.

What can our American friends learn from this? Far be it from British commentators to interfere in the US Presidential election, but the impression given on this side of the Atlantic is that so far the level of public discussion is not much higher in the US than it was in our own Brexit debate. Slogans like 'we want our country back' and 'make America strong again' seem to resonate powerfully with sections of the electorate, as did 'take back control' in the UK. But what do they mean? This is where only a capacity for genuine public strategic thinking and strategic engagement - where are we? Where do we want to go? How do we get there? What are the pros and cons of the various alternatives? - can adequately fill this debilitating and dangerous democracy gap.

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Lessons from Brexit for Our American Friends

Continued from page 7

For S-CAR readers we conclude with what we suggest are two lessons from all this for our conflict resolution (CR) field.

First, in terms of principle, in chapter 18 of *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (fourth edition 2016) we and Hugh Miall suggest that in intractable conflicts, traditional approaches should be enhanced by a prior strategic engagement capability that can access areas where so far CR cannot reach. We call this 'extended conflict resolution.' Here we suggest that this can also play a wider role in relation, not only to specific conflicts, but more generally to the promotion of the public ability to conduct collective strategic thinking so evidently lacking in the Brexit campaign. This carries further what have always been CR's commitments to enlarging possibility space for creative futures, and to building capacity for second order social learning. These are the strategic prerequisites upon which democracy itself depends.

Second, in terms of substance, the Brexit debate in the UK released and exploited a nationalist little England outlook, which, by removing the UK from the EU, threatens to damage the future well-being of UK citizens - especially the young who voted decisively to stay in the EU - by restricting free movement, constraining cultural exchange, and choking creative research and development. British universities already fear that their work is suffering because of their impending exclusion from dynamic and collaborative European research funds and networks such as Horizon 2020. Although opposition



Oliver Ramsbotham.
Photo: Oliver Ramsbotham.

to an 'ever closer' European Union and insistence on more stringent immigration controls are understandable and legitimate, it seems shaming that a self-proclaimed internationally responsible country can betray its allies and partners (having arrived late on the scene in the first place) and threaten what is, for all its faults, the greatest international institutional achievement of recent times for overcoming division, hatred, and violence in Europe with such ill-thought through insouciance. Leaving the EU might lead to wider and more open internationalism. But the evidence of heightened racism and xenophobia released by the campaign suggests otherwise. Membership in

the EU conferred on the UK a role in cosmopolitan culture which is outward looking, inclusive, collaborative, and committed to peacebuilding – a set of values which we argue in *Towards Cosmopolitan Conflict Resolution* (chapter 11 of our book) is the normative essence of work in our field.

Oliver Ramsbotham is Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford. He has co-authored *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Polity Press 4th ed 2016) with Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall. His new book, *When Conflict Resolution Fails*, also with Polity, is due out in October. Oliver is President of the Conflict Research Society. Tom Woodhouse is also Emeritus Professor of Conflict Resolution at the University of Bradford. His new book, *Adam Curle: Radical Peacemaker*, published by Hawthorn Press, and co-authored with John Paul Lederach, is due out in September. Tom is on the Council of the Conflict Research Society. ■



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S-CAR News

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Community Justice and Policing: The Role of Conflict Analysis and Resolution Skills

By Lisa Schirch, Professor of Peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University and S-CAR PhD Alumna, schirch@emu.edu

Conflict analysis and resolution brings an important lens to the challenge of policing in the US and abroad. How do we begin to heal the fractured relationships between police and communities? Do we need more “law and order” or do we need to address root causes and prepare police with conflict resolution skills to engage communities in collaborative processes to improve security?

Security is a public good. In an ideal world, communities view police as protectors, not predators. One of the most critical indicators of legitimate state-society relations is that local residents

in communities view security forces as protecting all civilians equally and not targeting particular groups based on race, class, or ethnicity.

Peacebuilding skills and processes are essential for multi-stakeholder coordination to improve policing. Security forces, including police, can best provide security when they coordinate with and are fully accountable to communities, including religious groups, educational institutes, NGOs,

women’s groups, youth groups, and other representatives of community interests. Facilitated dialogue, negotiation, and mediation between community groups, police, and government can significantly improve public safety.

A traditional “law and order” approach to policing focuses on bad behaviors and broken laws. Individuals are assumed to make decisions to commit crimes based on personal flaws or individual corruption. In contrast, community-based approaches to justice and policing focus on pattern analysis. They put a single crime in context with similar crimes to understand the larger context in which the breeches are occurring.



Police Officers using tear gas during Ferguson Protest in 2014.
Photo: Wikipedia user Loavesofbread.

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Citizen Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution: The Mandela Washington Fellowship

By Vandy Kanyako, Assistant Professor at Portland State University and PhD Alumnus, vkanyako@pdx.edu

Early this year I became the Director of the Mandela Washington fellowship at Portland State University in Portland, Oregon. This came about when I applied and won a State Department grant to host young professionals from sub-Saharan Africa. With my research interests in youth empowerment, civil society, human security, institutions of governance, and conflict management in sub-Saharan Africa, this undertaking was a natural fit as it involved working with innovative young people to tackle some of the most protracted issues in their communities.

The Mandela Washington fellowship, named after the iconic Nelson Mandela, started in 2014 as a citizen diplomacy program that aims to reset the proverbial diplomatic and cultural button between the U.S. and Africa by investing in the latter's young professionals. It is the flagship program of President Obama's Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) that empowers young people aged between 25-35 through academic coursework, leadership training, and networking. In 2015, 50 percent of fellows were women representing all 49 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. For 76 percent of the fellows, this was their first experience spending substantial time in the United States.

In 2016, the fellowship provided 1,000 outstanding young leaders with the opportunity to hone their skills at a U.S. higher education institution. Under the U.S.-based activities, each Mandela Washington Fellow took part in a six-week academic and leadership Institute at a U.S. university or college in one of three tracks: Business and Entrepreneurship, Civic Leadership, or Public Management. The second activity was the Presidential Summit where, following the academic component of the fellowship, the fellows visited Washington, D.C., for a Presidential Summit featuring a town hall with

President Obama. During the three-day event, fellows took part in networking and panel discussions with U.S. leaders from the public, private, and non-profit sectors. The African-based activities, on the other hand, will focus on individuals returning to their home countries, where they will continue to build the skills they have developed during their time in the United States through support from U.S. embassies, four Regional Leadership Centers, the YALI Network, and customized programming from USAID and affiliated partners.

As the Executive Director of the fellowship program at Portland State University, my role is multifaceted. I oversee the overall design of the summer institute, including its programmatic and logistical components. I ensure that the academic component is rigorous enough and broad enough to cater to the wide-ranging backgrounds and educational experiences of the fellows, some of whom have graduate degrees. Most importantly I make sure that all of the elements (academic, community service, leadership skills development, cultural exchange) gel to meet the citizen-diplomacy benchmarks set by the State Department. I also act as the chief liaison with various stakeholders, including at the governmental and community levels respectively. Daily emails and weekly phone calls, whether with State Department folks or other stakeholders were core features of the 2016 program with close collaboration and coordination between these various actors playing a key role to the success of this years program. There is also a human resource element to my job. As the focal point for all new hires and training, I ensure that the program has the right number and calibre of staff to deliver an effective logistics-intensive program.

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Mandela Washington Fellows with Vandy Kanyako.
Photo: Vandy Kanyako.

OPEN International: Empowering Children and Strengthening Communities Through Education

By Khady Lusby, Founder of OPEN International and Undergraduate Alumna, klusby@openinternational.org

While visiting my hometown of Nioro, Senegal, in the Summer of 2008, I could not help but notice there were still many problems with the public school system that I had grown up in. It was not simply the fact that the schools did not have enough supplies or even enough space for students. What really hurt was that most of the standards of these facilities did not match the overwhelming enthusiasm and joy that students had for learning.

During my visit, I was approached by a high school teacher and a group of his students who asked if I could help them build a library because there were no such spaces for them to study. Other issues like a lack of required textbooks for exams, access to computers, coupled with constant strikes by teachers, were also quite prevalent. I realized that I had to do something and in 2009, I started OPEN International, a non-profit organization whose mission is to provide the children of Nioro access to quality education and increase their success after school through a combina-



Teachers and students in Nioro, Senegal.
Photo: Khady Lusby.

tion of academic and agricultural programs.

Students are required to take core classes such as English, Math, Science, and History, as well as courses in Agri-Business. The goal of this program is not to only increase the chances of students graduating and attending university after high school, but also to give them marketable skills they can use in their communities to financially support themselves

and potentially help support their families.

The same year OPEN International was formed, we successfully raised enough money through fundraisers and from multiple donors to begin building a school in Nioro called College Adja Penda Ba, named after my mother who owned the piece of land where the school is built. This marked the beginning of a journey that would help bring OPEN International closer to accomplishing its mission as well as attaining its vision of empowering and strengthening the Nioro community through education. In 2009, College Adja Penda Ba only had enrolled 50 students for 9th and 10th grade classes. Now seven years later, there are more than 200 students enrolled in grades K – 5th and 9th – 12th.

OPEN International, and Ecole Adja Penda Ba have come a long way since 2009, but there is still a long way to go. Every year, hundreds of students are kicked out of public schools for failing national exams because of family, financial, and a slew of other reasons that are completely out of the students' hands. With nowhere to turn in the current public school system, College Adja Penda Ba gives these children a second chance at something that one can never put a price tag on, a place to start or continue their education. More information about OPEN International can be found at: <http://openinternational.org/> ■



Khady Lusby interacting with students in Nioro, Senegal.
Photo: Khady Lusby.

initiative

Brown Bag: Exploring the Military Coup Attempt in Turkey

By Kwaw G. de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

In July 2016, a faction within the Turkish military attempted a coup d'état against the government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The group, which cited the elimination of democratic rule, disregard for human rights, and an erosion of secularism as some of the reasons behind their coup attempt, was reported to have been led by Akin Öztürk, a former air forces commander and Turkish Supreme Military Council member.

During the coup, over 300 people were killed, 2000 more injured, and government buildings and the presidential palace damaged. Both domestic and international actors denounced the actions by some members of the military in staging this coup, but but also cautioned the President of Turkey not to use this event as an excuse to crackdown on his opponents. Currently, it is being reported that the failed coup has resulted in over 6000 people detained and over 60,000



Anti-coup protestors in Bağcılar, İstanbul, Turkey.
Photo: Wikipedia user Maurice Flesier.

more fired from their posts.

On September 20, 2016 Ali Ersen Erol, a Professorial Lecturer in the School of International Service at American University and S-CAR MS alum, will host a brown bag presentation to explore the significance of this failed military coup attempt in Turkey and its significance in the region and the rest of world. The event will be held from 12:00-2:30 pm on the fifth floor of Metropolitan Building in room 5145.

Erol's research focuses on queer theory, politics of sexuality and gender, and critical linguistics. Their current book project

focuses on queer imaginations of time, space, and affect in the wake of Gezi Park Protests that took place in Turkey in the summer of 2013. They also take part in creative projects, which at the moment include a movie script and a short sci-fi story. Please bring your lunch and join the S-CAR community for this event. ■

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Tuesday, September 27, 2016

Peacebuilding Fellows Information Session
4:30pm-5:30pm

Wednesday, September 28, 2016

S-CAR Student Association First Meeting
7:30pm - 8:30pm

Thursday, September 29, 2016

Caucasus Edition: Journal of Conflict Transformation Inaugural Issue: "The South Caucasus and Its Neighborhood. From Politics and Economics to Group Rights"
12:00pm - 1:30pm

Saturday, October 15, 2016

S-CAR Alumni Brunch
11:30pm - 1:30pm

Wednesday, February 15, 2017

SPGIA / S-CAR Career Fair
2:00pm - 5:00pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

S-CAR Welcome Picnic 2016



Students, Faculty, and Staff at Point of View (POV) for the 2016 S-CAR Welcome Picnic.
Photo: Sarah Kincaid.

Opinion: Athletes Play More than Just Football this NFL Season

By Soolmaz Abooli, PhD Candidate, sabooali@masonlive.gmu.edu

The recent movement sparked by San Francisco's 49ers quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, is another example of an athlete who used his platform to highlight a social issue – oppression of "black people and people of color" in the U.S. Since Kaepernick's sit-out and subsequent taking a knee during the U.S. national anthem, several other NFL players, teams, and other athletes have weighed in by also sitting out, kneeling, raising a fist in the air, or interlocking arms with teammates and coaches before the start of their games. These athletes seem to have won the attention of the public, including President Obama, through their expressions. So what is next? History has shown that garnering attention is only the first step in creating social change; the next step for this, dare I say, movement, should be to invest in top-down and bottom-up levels of society.

Kaepernick is among a growing list of athletes who have gained attention through their non-violent protests. Muhammad Ali was stripped of his boxing title and boxing license, and was suspended when he refused to be drafted into a war that he did not believe in and which conflicted with his religious beliefs. Olympic track medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos were banned by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for raising their fists in the air during the playing of the *Star Spangled Banner* at the 1968 Summer Olympics. As Carlos later confirmed in his autobiography *Silent Gesture*, the now iconic act was a salute to human rights.



Tommie Smith and John Carlos showing the raised fist on the podium at the 1968 Summer Olympics; both wear Olympic Project for Human Rights badges. Peter Norman from Australia also wears an OPHR badge in solidarity with Smith and Carlos. Photo: Angelo Cozzi, Wikipedia.

These individuals successfully captured the attention of the entire country. They initiated passionate debates, challenged the status quo, and invoked support and admiration as well as criticism. Once the shock waves of their protest died out and were deemed no longer newsworthy, the impetus for change dissipated. To create a lasting social change where patterns of behaviors and norms are altered, requires a sustained effort that addresses root causes. Change needs to happen at multiple levels of society, such as from grass-roots (bottom-up) and from institutional (top-down) levels.

Kaepernick's then sit-out was discussed in a recent Washington Post article by Zack Linly in the context of racial tensions. Linly suggested that to ultimately fight systemic racism and oppression, the African American community must invest in self-care. Indeed, the notion of self-care is good advice. Every member of an ethnic group understands the intricacies and culture of its own group better than the "outsider." Therefore, implementing short-and-long term investments of time and money into one's own community to help fulfill unmet needs and to provide opportunities where there might have been none, will address some root causes. However, investments cannot be made in isolation because for (1) we do not live in an isolated world and (2) social change can only happen when issues are successfully addressed at multiple levels.

Kaepernick said he will donate all profits made from the increased sales of his jersey back to the communities, in addition to the first million dollars of his salary to charity. This is a worthy pledge if the time and money is invested with an understanding that social change requires changes of patterns, behaviors, and perceptions at multiple levels of society. He and the other inspired athletes can continue to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of expression, continue to capture public attention by moving the dialogue forward, and invest their resources in social circles, schools, businesses, and local and federal institutions.

Athletes can always make a difference; the effect lies in how they create a foundation to continue when all the flash of the light bulbs are gone. ■

Recent S-CAR Media Appearances

Why Obama Should Pardon Snowden: Column

Michael Shank PhD Alumni
CNN World 09/14/16

A Camp for Young People Touched by Terror

Leslie Dwyer, S-CAR Faculty and Alex Cromwell, S-CAR PhD Candidate
CNN World 09/09/16

Entering College? Latino Professors Share Some Great Advice fro 2016

Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, S-CAR Faculty
NBC News 08/26/16

Conflict analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 15 occasions since the last newsletter. These 3 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>.

press

Hanna Yamir, MS Alumna

By Florindo Chivucute, MS Alumnus, chivucute@gmail.com

When Hanna Yamir chose to design a peacebuilding intervention on the Ethiopian inter-ethnic conflict for a Spring 2015 class with Dennis Sandole, she never expected those same ethnic tensions to flare up again. "Using the private sector as a major actor in the peacebuilding process, my colleague and I produced an exhaustive two-part paper filled with politico-historical analysis underlining how complex and, most importantly, how combustible ethnic-federalism was in that part of the world." Fast-forward to 2016 and Ethiopia is witnessing an unprecedented level of ethnic mobilizing from the two largest ethnic groups against the Ethiopian government, a prediction Hanna made in her paper.

Hanna came to S-CAR exactly for this reason. "As a naive, and sometimes idealist University of Virginia international relations undergraduate major, I was convinced that global problems like ethnic division, inequality, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, global warming didn't just happen in a vacuum but rather something had to trigger them," she said. For Hanna, issues such as unaddressed historical ills, greed, politicization of religion and ethnic identities, and intractable conflicts were some of the sources of so much suffering and global instability. "At S-CAR I felt at home and it was heartwarming to find a community of likeminded people coming from all walks of life, seeking ways to address the 'global problematique' as Professor Dennis Sandole called it."

While Hanna was pursuing her graduate degree, she worked for a non-profit that trained refugees, immigrant, and low-income women in the DC area on entrepreneur-

ship and workforce development. Currently Hanna works for *Friends of Angola*, an advocacy organization that seeks to strengthen the capacity of civil society and Angolan youth by using the power of social media to promote nonviolent civic engagement. In addition to this, she is also the co-founder of the *United Transition*

Network (UTN), a nonprofit that works with immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area to help them integrate and to live informed lives. "The ultimate goal of UTN is to close the gap between immigrants and existing as well as available resources," she said.

According to Hanna, "My experiences from all of these organizations, as well as the years I spent at S-CAR, became a sort of catalyst for my desire to use entrepreneurship as a tool to empower women and youth as a way to bring social change and mint a new generation of leaders but also transcend those stubborn racial, ethnic, and social divisions perpetuated by callous demagogues." Thus, for Hanna, entrepreneurship is the key to mend bridges and lead towards pattern-breaking social change in Africa, Asia, and in the U.S. ■



Hanna Yamir.

Photo: Hanna Yamir.

Lindsey Lucente, MS Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate, kdegraft@masonlive.gmu.edu

Like many students who choose to attend S-CAR, Lindsey Lucente wanted to study at an institution that would enable her acquire skills and experience to who work in the field of conflict resolution. "I first heard about S-CAR from the Program Directors at Project Harmony Israel and I was immediately drawn to the program," she said.

After graduating from the University of Virginia with a bachelor's degree in Anthropology, Religious Studies, and Middle Eastern Studies, Lindsey wanted to travel the world to experience different cultures before deciding on what career or educational path to pursue. "Traveling has always been important to me because it helps me to put things into perspective and better understand the world."

While she deliberated on what to do and where to go, an opportunity presented itself: she was invited to be part of a summer camp by the founders of the organization *Project*

Harmony Israel which worked in collaboration with the *Hand In Hand School*. "I was not sure what to expect but I was certainly very excited," she said.

Hand In Hand School is an organization with offices in Portland, Oregon, and Jerusalem, Israel, that aims to create a strong, inclusive, and shared society in Israel through a network of Jewish-Arab organized communities and integrated bilingual schools. Their hope is to have both Jews and Arabs learn and live together to inspire broad support for social inclusion and civic equality in Israel.

According to Lindsey, "I worked here for six weeks and met with many community leaders, lived with a Palestinian family, and taught children from both sides of the conflict during the summer of 2014." It was through such interactions that Lindsey realized that she wanted to be more involved in conflict resolution. She also felt that if more people were exposed to the work that *Hand In Hand School* were doing, they would love to be involved.

"I would like to work abroad again before and after I graduate, and eventually get my PhD in Conflict Resolution or Anthropology," she said. ■



Lindsey Lucente (second from left) with participants at *Hand in Hand School* summer camp.

Photo: Lindsey Lucente.

Community Justice and Policing: The Role of Conflict Analysis and Resolution Skills

Continued from page 1

Such an approach aims to identify the root causes that are motivating individuals or groups to commit crimes. Community justice asks why crime is happening and what can be done to prevent these root causes.

Community justice asserts that no one person or agency can analyse the deeper causes of crime alone. A multi-stakeholder assessment is necessary to develop a full understanding of the causes of crime. There are dozens of factors that contribute to crime, including racial segregation, home ownership, street design, educational quality and opportunities, unemployment rates, levels of economic inequality, and the size of the youth population between ages 16-24. A broad assessment and analysis of crime patterns will identify social, political, and economic factors that contribute to an environment where people commit crimes. Community justice is particularly well suited to address the problems of domestic violence, weapons-based violence, gang violence, and violent extremism since these often are related to broader public issues.

Harvard psychologist James Gilligan's research on crime prevention identifies three levels of inhibitive action: First, it is important to address the root causes of crime, particularly economic inequality and poverty or class structures that contribute to high crime rates. A second level of prevention addresses the individual needs of those who are at high-risk for committing crime such as treating drug abuse, or healing trauma, especially in children so that they are less likely to become violent or abusers of others. Tertiary prevention works with people who have already engaged in crime, by addressing the major individual factors that contributed to crime, including feelings of shame and humiliation, lack of skills in handling conflict without violence, or lack of education.

Traditional law enforcement defines crime as a violation of state laws, leaves out the victim and community in the justice process, and seeks to determine the guilt of an offender, not the reasons the crime occurred. The goal of traditional law enforcement is to deter crime by punishing the offender. While traditional law enforcement believes that state institutions are responsible for justice, community justice is based on the idea that civil society shares responsibility with the state for implementing justice. While law enforcement sometimes represses civil society in a misguided effort to exert control on a community, community justice believes that civil society needs to be empowered in order to fully contribute to the justice sector. While traditional law enforcement relies on punishment of crimes assuming that this deters future crimes from hap-



Lisa Schirch.
Photo: Lisa Schirch.

pening, community justice takes a focus on prevention and a problem-solving approach to crime to identify patterns and address root causes to prevent crimes from happening.

Community justice grows out of the field of restorative justice (RJ), which defines crime as a violation or harm to people and prioritises the needs of the victim and community in the justice process. The "RJ" process focuses on understanding the context of the crime and why it happened. The goal of RJ is to determine what actions are needed to address the crime from the perspective of the victim, including offender accountability.

Community justice faces a variety of challenges. Levels of crime correlate with structural problems such as income inequality, corruption, and lack of opportunities. In some places, the justice sector does not work because law enforcement processes (police, courts, and corrections) cannot address the amount of crime happening. The structural problems create a level of crime that is too high for any law enforcement strategy to handle. In some places, there are too few financial and human resources supporting the justice sector. Plagued by corruption or incompetence, courts and corrections do not have enough capacity.

Community justice also does not work when it lacks public support and cooperation. Victims and communities affected by crime are left out of the justice process. Their frustration with law enforcement leads to apathy and a lack of involvement. Civil society plays important roles in achieving the goals of the justice sector. Civil society can reinforce common values, foster social cohesion, and support self-help, self-regulation, peer pressure for good behaviour, and personal responsibility to contribute to public safety, the rule of law, and public order. The public can contribute to the common good and governance, or they can focus on their own personal safety and invest in gated communities or private security guards.

Community policing is an approach that emphasises the relationship between the police and the communities where they serve. Instead of an "us versus them" approach where police and the communities view each other negatively, community policing brings the community and police together. Community policing is implemented in different ways, but has some common characteristics. Some community policing experts claim that police organisations that do take on community policing only include a new unit or an additional bicycle patrol rather than make any of the following organisational changes essential to community policing.

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Citizen Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution

Continued from page 2

My time at S-CAR could not have prepared me better for a position of this nature. Whether it was the courses I took on reflective practice, theories of conflict resolution, NGOs or human rights, they all helped me better understand human nature and the nuances of conflict and conflict analysis and resolution. When I got into this position, I quickly realised that any program that brings together people from different cultures, traditions, and backgrounds also brings with it opportunities for learning, personal growth, and thus understanding of 'the other'. Conversely it also carries with it the potential for misunderstanding and conflict. The first cohort that I managed had 25 fellows from 21 countries, almost equally split along gender lines. There were Muslims and Christians, environmental activists, urban planners, human rights advocates, and local government officials. Despite such wide-ranging background and interests, they were all held together by their desire to contribute to the common good and by their enthusiasm to promote the quality of life in their communities. Not surprisingly, the atmosphere was generally one of mutual respect. My in-depth conflict resolution skills also came in handy as I was ideally placed to help resolve any issues. We successfully did this by addressing not just the causal factors but also the underlying issues over which people disagreed. Through the use of effective inter-cultural communication skills as well as adopting a sensitive approach to gender and cultural differences, we were able to help the fellows navigate their differences before it escalated into conflict. By re-emphasizing tolerance and mutual respect fellows were able to work out issues between themselves. One of the most



President Obama meeting with Mandela Washington Fellowship Team.

Photo: Vandy Kanyako.

important tools that I have been able to put to use in this job is that of reflective practice. A complex program of this nature has many moving parts. Getting all of these parts to sync required 'thinking in action,' addressing issues, modifying approaches while the program unfolded. The single loop, double loop, and triple loop learning techniques taught by the late Wallace Warfield has helped me become a proactive administrator in delivering a high intensive program of this nature, one that empowers while promoting peace and cultural understanding. ■

Community Justice and Policing

Continued from page 7

Comparative research on police identifies similar patterns that can improve community safety. The public legitimacy of the police rests on how the police interact with the community. Police who receive minimal training in communication skills to listen, respect, and deescalate tense situations cannot be expected to perform community policing. Training in communication skills to defuse conflict and mediation skills to manage conflict improves police performance and increase community safety. Police officers that are mature and well educated police better than those who are young and inexperienced. Police vetting that excludes police candidates with criminal records police better than those with a record of misdemeanours. Police officers who reflect the gender, ethnic, religion, race or identity diversity of the communities that they serve perform better and improve public safety more than those who attempt to police a community of a different cultural, ethnic, religious, or racial group. Police training that emphasises protection of the Constitution and the protection of all civilians – including both males and females – improves community safety. Increasing the numbers of female police officers can improve reporting of gender-based violence and improves public safety.

Community justice and community policing offer hope in a time of increasing attention to the tensions between police and communities across the US. The quality of the police force in terms of the factors above is more important than the number of police. A small, highly trained, and credible police force can serve a much larger population than a large group of young officers who have received little training. Conflict analysis and resolutions skills should be part of the central curriculum in all police training programs. ■



School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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S-CAR News

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The Rhetorical Priority of Class: It's Economic Incompatibility, Stupid!

By Solon Simmons, Associate Professor at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and George Mason University Vice President, Office of Global Strategy, Office of the Provost, ssimmon5@masonlive.gmu.edu

I travel in the sorts of circles in which everyone I know stands bewildered by the ascendance of Donald Trump. His rise was difficult to not predict, his message was so extreme and distorted that it not only flirted with, but dwelled in stigma and polluted right wing, ethnic identity politics, and his style of campaigning seemed like it had no chance of keeping up with the professional ground game of the Democratic Party. As those of us in the field of conflict resolution attempt to make sense of how we can be helpful in a world that feels mad to many, we will need to renew our theoretical commitments as much as our political expectations. And the one area where we need the most help can be summed up with the word, class. Class, as a concept, has always been poorly employed in the field, has been less than fully understood by many, if not all, scholars

and, most importantly, has been given lower priority than other emphases like those of human rights or diversity and inclusion. My argument for members of the field to consider is, only when we begin to develop a more culturally nuanced and structurally sophisticated understanding of class will we begin to forge the tools we need to engage the most salient conflicts in a productive way in the era of Trump.

Whatever this means in practice, it can in no way represent a retreat from core commitments in the field to confront the abuses of power



New York Post: President Trump.
Photo: Flickr User Marco Verch.

that derive from cultural and status privilege that have been so effective for scholars in both a theoretical and practical sense, but it does suggest that we face an obligation to place a higher priority on thinking, teaching, and speaking about class dynamics and economic incompatibilities in our work. This means that we need not only think about structures of political economy, although this is critical, but also that we think more carefully about the intersection between structures of economic power and the moral foundations of grievances (narratives identifications, and rhetoric) that derive from enduring legacies of abusive power in the economic arena.

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The Warrior in a Garden: A Call for Veteran Peacebuilders

By Brandon Norris, MS Student and Special Assistant at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD), nnorris@gmu.edu

There is a quote from ancient Chinese lore that I am quite fond of. A student asks his master: "You teach me fighting but you talk about peace. How do you reconcile the two?" The master replied: "It is better to be a warrior in a garden than to be a gardener in a war." It has been fifteen years since the events of September 11, 2001, and out of that day the United States found itself involved in three wars; Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Global War on Terror. For my part in these events, I served in the United States Marine Corps from 2001-2005, with the 2nd Battalion 5th Marines, an infantry battalion out of Camp Pendleton, California. Like all Marines, my time in the Corps was a pivotal moment in my life. For better or for worse, the experiences that I gained helped to mold me into the man I am today and set me on my current path.

When I made the decision to leave the Corps in 2005, there was a part of me that still wanted to serve my country in some capacity. At the time I wanted to pursue a career in the diplomatic field but to do so I knew I needed a formal education to complement my experiences in Iraq. After completing my undergraduate degree in International Relations, I felt that the field was missing something as it did not sufficiently provide me with the tools that were necessary to accomplish my goals. While researching graduate programs, I made the decision to pursue my master's degree in conflict analysis and resolution instead. It was in the field of conflict resolution that I found what was missing from the field of international relations - a better path to actually overcoming the hardships we face.

While I admire the field of international relations and what it brings to the table, conflict resolution gives us a much more holistic and comprehensive approach when attempting to explain and traverse the obstacles we face both domestically and internationally. During my time at Mason's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR), I was surprised to see students with backgrounds similar to my own: combat veterans, retired veterans, reservists from various branches of the military, members of the intelligence community, and members of the law enforcement community. Together with students from various countries and cultures, we are able to bring a diverse set of experiences to the table that contribute greatly to the field of conflict resolution and the greater peacebuilding community. While the conflict resolu-

tion field offers more insight and practices into dealing with various conflicts, it can benefit greatly from the experiences of the Veteran Community. After all, who knows violence and conflict better than those of us who have experienced it intimately?

I am currently interning at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD). The Institute was founded in 1992, by Ambassador (ret.) John W. McDonald and Dr. Louise Diamond. At IMTD, we take a holistic approach to diplomacy that seeks to engage all stakeholders within a society in the peacebuilding process. The multi-track system that we use originated due to the inefficiencies within the single track government approach. The multi-track system is designed for dynamic interaction among the different players of society, including but not limited to businesses, private citizens, and conflict resolution practitioners. Due to its holistic approach, multi-track diplomacy is a perfect fit for those veterans and others who want to continue to make a difference in the world and work towards finding solutions to our problems but work outside of the conflict resolution field. The vast experiences that the veteran community has accumulated while serving in conflict zones as well as the diverse educational and professional experiences that we have developed since returning from deployments provides us with unique perspectives. By utilizing the multi-track approach, we are presented with various avenues to deploy our combined knowledge to assist or even serve as leaders within the peacebuilding community.

When your country called, you answered that call! For many who read this you may feel as if you have done enough or believe that I am simply being naive. I completely understand, I too have experienced these moments, but we are still needed, just in a different capacity. At a time when the Middle East is on fire due to a proxy war in Syria, terrorist attacks by I.S.I.S, continued provocations from China and Russia, along with our own internal issues at home, those who are battle tested and comfortable in chaos are still needed both at home and abroad. With the numerous challenges that the veteran community faces due to inadequacies in the VA system, along with the mental and physical scars some of us carry from our time abroad we have to find better solutions to the hurdles we face. Inside and outside of the veteran community, my call to you is this: be the warrior in the garden. Be the individual who has reconciled the violence of the past with the hope for a better tomorrow. Be the one who continues to stand tall in the face of adversity. Be the one who uses the tools and knowledge at their disposal not just for their own gain but to also help others. Ultimately, be the one with the mindset and clarity to understand that bombs and bullets will not solve the worlds conflicts. Conflict resolution and multi-track diplomacy offer other avenues with which to approach adversity, and allow the veteran community to bring their vast array of experience to the peace making table. ■

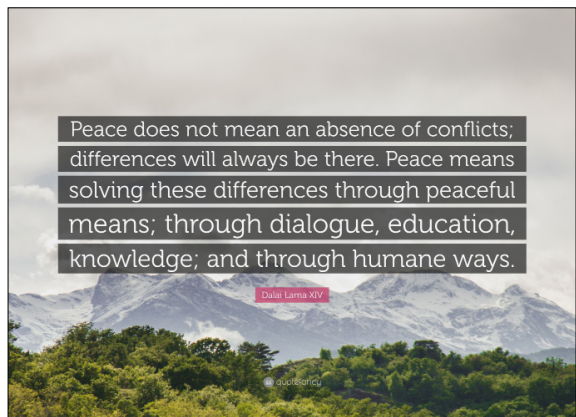


Image by Brandon Norris.

Dual Master's in CRAMS Cohort Reflects on First Month

By Thanos Gatsias, PhD Alumnus, agatsias@gmu.edu

The Dual Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security (CRAMS), which S-CAR offers in collaboration with the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) in Malta, is currently celebrating its seventh year. The new ten-member cohort, comprising a diverse team of young conflict analysts, just completed successfully their first month in the program, a busy, yet rewarding month, that started with a three-day orientation and was followed by four weeks of coursework. During these first four weeks, group members had the opportunity to meet and discuss with local civil society actors, as well as representatives from international organizations working in the region; visited an art exhibition which centered on refugee narratives; and actively participated in the Mediterranean Forum organized by the Anna Lindh Foundation in partnership with the Maltese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Naturally, if Malta's strategic location is taken into consideration, a key theme that keeps emerging in the program's coursework, as well as in extracurricular curricular activities, is that of the current migration movements in the region of the Mediterranean - a phenomenon, which in the frame of the Program is subject to systematic study in all its dimensions, from current manifestations and relational dynamics, to its structural underlying causes and conditions.

On October 7, 2016, Marcelle Bugre, a program alumna and active member of the Maltese civil society, talked to the group about the work she and her organization, the Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants, have been doing over the past years providing relief and empowering migrant communities in Malta. Group members found the discussion with Marcelle "informative, interesting, and attention grabbing," and really appreciated the stories she shared from her personal experience working with migrant groups.

On October 13, 2016, the group visited the Bodiless Exhibition at the Malta Maritime Museum - a visual art exhibition organized by KOPIN, an international NGO with a presence in Malta. The exhibition that the students saw centered on reconstructing and retelling African migration and refugee narratives. The group was offered a tour by KOPIN's Deputy Executive Director, Dominik Kalweit, who had an engaging discussion with our group about the complexities of current migration movements in the Mediterranean and the responses of the European societies.

Moreover, the head of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees mission in Malta, Beat



CRAMS 2016 Cohort.
Photo: Thanos Gatsias.

Schuler, joined our group on October 19th for a two-hour session. In his presentation and subsequent discussion with group members, Dr. Schuler provided information of the facts of the current migration movements in the region and offered insights on legal instruments safeguarding the rights of refugees. The discussion also touched upon the work of the UNHCR in Malta and regionally to respond to the current crisis; the underlying causes and conditions of migration; and the question of whether and how the 'Responsibility to Protect' principle

may be applied to the ongoing crisis.

On October 24 and 25, 2016, members of the new cohort also had the opportunity to participate in the 2-day Mediterranean Forum organized by the Anna Lindh Foundation, the largest civil society gathering in the region, which brought together 600 civil society representatives, policy-makers, media, and international donors from 42 countries, working in the field of intercultural dialogue, youth empowerment, gender equality, social entrepreneurship, and more. The Forum's agenda was to "accelerate and scale-up the impact and reach of intercultural action to counter forces fueling polarization and extremism." Through their active participation, CRAMS group members not only got exposure to the workings of an important forum at the international level, where cross-fertilization of ideas and practices takes place, but were also able to contribute through their active engagement to the Forum's overall mission.

Finally, on October 28, Mario Gerada, from the Jesuit Refugee Service delivered a presentation on the JRS work on Reconciliation, followed by a lively discussion based on his long and diverse experience as an activist on refugee issues, as well as on issues of the LGBT community in Malta. One student noted: "Mario's presentation took us one step closer to truly understanding what true reconciliation is," with another one adding, "Mario's presence and discussion felt more like a conversation, and I especially enjoyed his presentation of how humanity is necessary if you want to be effective in communicating in conflict situations."

These first weeks have just been the beginning of a wonderful journey for the members of the new CRAMS cohort who, although they have spent just a few weeks together, have formed a lively community of young conflict analysts. Subsequent coursework, out of campus activities, field trips, and social events will make this educational experience richer. We wish our new cohort a great year ahead, in this pioneering Dual Master's Degree Program. ■

initiative

S-CAR Undergraduate Students Present at the United Nation's General Assembly

By Sarah Kincaid, Undergraduate Academic Advisor and Community Development Coordinator, and MS Alumna, skincai4@gmu.edu

On Friday, September 16, 2016, eight undergraduate students from the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution presented at the United Nation's International Day of Peace Student Observance. The Student Observance brought hundreds of students from across the United States and around the world to hear from distinguished speakers and celebrate peacebuilding.

S-CAR's undergraduate students had the honor of being selected to present on a new project called *The Displaced Youth Education Initiative (DYEI)*. Students from all around the world submitted proposals that outlined a project that supports peace in the community, drawing on the Sustainable Development Goals. Our students were one of only six other student presenter groups at the Observance.

DYEI is a student-led initiative that seeks to support formerly displaced persons in the Northern Virginia area. DYEI will partner with Mason student groups and community organizations to hold a donation drive to provide basic necessities, such as school supplies and household items, establish a student-led mentorship program for high-school-aged students, and create an awareness campaign that highlights the challenges that displaced people face.

Students enjoyed presentations from



S-CAR representatives inside the General Assembly Hall.
Photo: Sarah Kincaid.

UN Messengers Leonardo DiCaprio, Stevie Wonder, and Nobel Laureates Tawakkol Karman and Leyma Gbowee, whom many students had studied in their conflict courses. They even had a chance to hear from UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. "Peace is not a gift, it is something we must work for," said the Secretary-General. Without a doubt, these students are ready to work for peace. ■

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, December 1, 2016

Colombia's Plebiscite Results: Challenges and Opportunities
12:00pm-1:00pm

Thursday, December 1, 2016

Post-Election Discussion Series
2:30pm - 4:30pm

Tuesday, December 6, 2016

Undergraduate Research Symposium
2:00pm - 4:00pm

Tuesday, December 6, 2016

Peace Game - Corruption and Conflict
2:00pm - 5:00pm

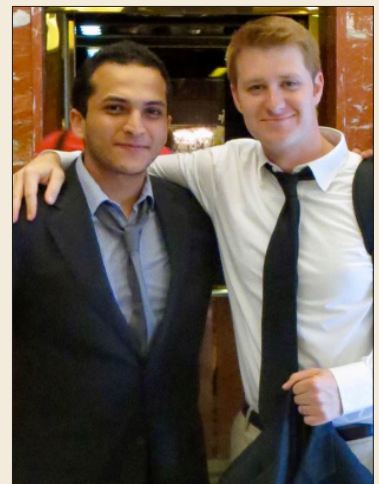
Thursday, February 16, 2017

Dialogue and Difference Series
7:30pm - 9:30pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

Remembering Ahmed Sherif Dakroury - By Michael English, PhD Alumnus

S-CAR mourns the loss of Ahmed Sherif Dakroury. Ahmed graduated from S-CAR's dual-degree program in Malta and joined the Egyptian foreign service immediately after he finished his coursework. Ahmed embodied the spirit of the Egyptian Revolution; he embraced diplomacy both as a vehicle to serve his country and as a way to carry the promise of the revolution forward. His style and attitude toward life were uniquely his own. He will be dearly missed by his friends, colleagues, and instructors..



Ahmet Sherif Dakoury (left) with Daniel Bales (right).
Photo: Michael English.

Opinion: How Did Trump Win?

By Karina Korostelina, Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, ckoroste@gmu.edu

The question how did Trump win has multiple complex answers, from being a response to economic deprivation to being a result of political resettlement. But one of the core explanations is linked to the definition of national identity. In multi-cultural societies, a political national identity has competing meanings based on alternative interpretations of constitutional principles, culture, and nationalistic sentiments. The connection with a particular narrative chosen among the set of available national narratives provides people the meaning of identity, connection to the nation, and temporal coherence. It helps clearly define the “us” and “them,” legitimacy and boundaries within the nation.

Trump has made the issue of national identity a central part of the campaign. Traditionally, political competition in the United States evokes dichotomy of “liberal” versus “conservative.” This was a core of Hillary Clinton’s campaign. However, Trump brought a new dichotomy of “nation” versus “globalized world.” He empowered his supporters who believed that increasing globalization is undermining the national interests of the U.S. and the established concept of American citizenship.

Empowerment is usually defined as an initial ability to work jointly and in solidarity and develop resistance to existing structures of power or ideology. Empowerment helps individuals within a community to exercise their power through communication and cooperation. Trump’s approach to power is different from this liberal interpretation. He was employing perception of power as a zero-sum game that is reliant on dominance and competition. Trump supporters favor his style of leadership because it resonates with their understanding of strength.

In this process of ‘social becoming,’ supporters become more empowered and believe their leader will give them an opportunity to redefine the meaning of national identity. Through Trump, his supporters hope to attain more power and authority, take control of their own lives, and actively participate in shaping the vision of the nation.

Trump has built his campaign on a strong demand within some segments of American population for fundamental socio-political change that has at its core a restoration of the

country’s greatness by reestablishing national control and protection of borders, culture, and national identity, and the promotion of the interests and positions of native citizens. The mass support for Trump is rooted in an inability of this population to accept the ongoing transformation that is moving the world toward an ever increasing globalized, multicultural society complete with blurred boundaries and liberal policies. The changes, impacting the status quo of the majority of Americans respectively, have

occurred at a pace they were not ready for. For many people, these changes have created a deep degree of cultural stress and a feeling that they are losing their privileged or hard-earned social standing. The critical mass of resentment that has taken shape has been further magnified by the slow and uneven recovery from the worldwide economic crisis of 2008 and the resulting high levels of unemployment.

These grievances, held by significant parts of the American population, have not been taken into account by many within the U.S. political establishment, including executive branch leadership. Current policies have provided little opportunity for large segments of society to receive the benefits of globalization. High levels of socio-economic inequality and low upward mobility have made them feel desperate and uneasy about their children’s future. Moreover, their interests have not been fully addressed and little empathy has been given to their real concerns. Instead, the voices of those in economic misery and experiencing cultural stress have been labeled as ignorant, bigoted, and prejudiced. The concept of a shared society has not evolved as desired.

Trump answers this resentment by promoting the well being of the nation through a process of closing borders to illegal immigration and refugees and supporting exclusive policies of citizenship. He stressed the importance of protecting the interests of American citizens against those who, in his view, denigrate the idea of American citizenship. He also privileges the rights of Americans over a more universalist concept of rights. His rhetoric about Hispanic and Muslim immigrants not only resonates with the perceptions of his supporters but also simultaneously increases their self-esteem.

This approach is firmly rooted in the nativist belief that cultural heritage, including history, values, and ethnic traditions, is fundamental to any nation and should be protected. It shields a nation from the threats and problems of globalism and mass migration. First, this approach contrasts corrupt political elites and the political establishment with the need for people to be represented by authentic leaders. Second, it puts the dominant, culturally homogenous majority, which is typically of European heritage and mostly raised in the Christian faith, against minorities, such as immigrants and other ethnic, racial, and religious groups, which serves to reinforce xenophobic sentiments. Third, it contrasts the interests of the nation and heightened border control with globalization equated with the dissolution of national identity and border permeability. Fourth, it declares “political correctness” and excessive liberal discourse as alien to the general population, which is overregulated and over controlled by social taboos.

Recent S-CAR Media Appearances

Trump Offers a Ripe Opportunity for the US

Soolmaz Abooli, PhD Candidate
S-CAR News 11/22/16

Trump Advisors Do not Sympathise With Kurds

Yerevan Saeed, PhD Student
SBS Radio 11/13/16

Conflict analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 19 occasions since the last newsletter. These 2 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>.



Karina Korostelina.
Photo: Mason Creative
Services.

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Sandra Tombe, PhD Student

By Kwaw G. de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate and Newsletter Editor, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

Sandra Tombe, who is originally from South Sudan, is a member of the 2016 fall PhD cohort at S-CAR. According to Sandra, her personal experiences nurtured her interest in conflicts and in wanting to better understand them.

Sandra attended Berea College where she received a BA in International Relations and French in 2014 and then proceeded to the University of Louisville where she graduated with an MA in French in 2016. "My Master's thesis focused on the Casamance conflict in the southern region of Senegal, and looked at how the identity of the region has changed throughout the lifespan of the conflict, and how that has changed the motivations of the independence movement," she said.

Sandra came to S-CAR to study nationalism and



Sandra Tombe.
Photo: S-CAR.

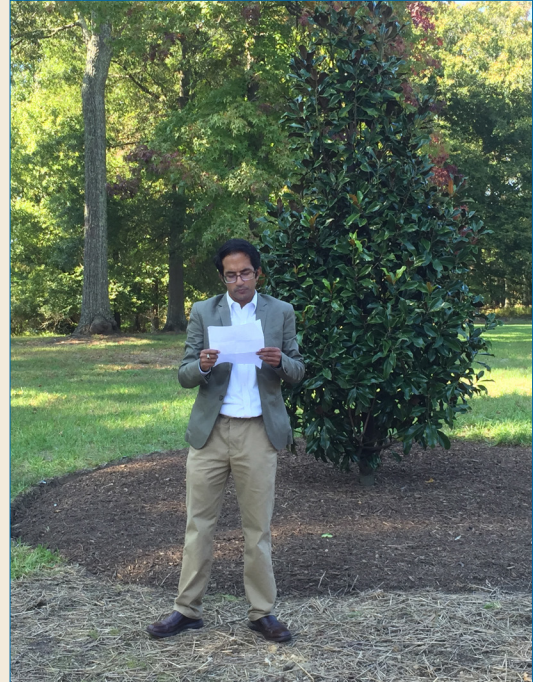
peacekeeping, and the wide range of experience and expertise of the faculty here has confirmed that she made the right decision. "S-CAR stood out to me as a place where I can develop skills that would help address a very small fraction of the many conflicts that go on around us."

In her leisure time, Sandra likes to read novels and one of her favorite books is *Une si Longue Lettre* (So Long A Letter) written by Miriama Ba. The book, which is usually assigned in literature classes all over the world, explores the condition of women in Western African society and their roles in post-colonial Africa.

After graduating, Sandra would like to work with a think tank, research institution, or government agency where she believes her research skills will complement the work that these organizations engage in. Sandra is also a member of Parara-USA, an organization representing the Bari people of South Sudan in the US. ■

More Than A Year

What it would have been like
As I crossed the stage last May
To give you a bear hug and say
"Mate, I did it, I earned my degree, thank you!"
Thank you for showing me the way...
What it would be like to say
"Bro, I got a new job".. in the near future
Sadly, those comments cannot be said out-loud
But only uttered from the heart
It has been more than one year since you left this world
Glory be to God, to have received you at Heaven's Gate
For today, I remember you and how you touched me
Standing beside this tree
Planted in honor and memory of you
At S-CAR's Point of View
Amongst the serene wilderness
Right next to a peaceful river
The gentleness of the winds
Hits the face
And your presence is felt to be near
Thank you for what you have given to me
In friendship and brotherhood
For more than one year has passed
And it only feels like yesterday
When we first met at
S-CAR welcome dinner, 2013



Rajit Das performing *More Than A Year* at the Tree Planting Memorial Ceremony held for Andrew Baer at POV.

Photo: Rajit Das.

The Rhetorical Priority of Class: It's Economic Incompatibility, Stupid!

Continued from page 1

If we do not engage this challenge, others will, as Donald Trump and his advisers have done. *What class is not:*

Class is a funny word in English: Sometimes it takes on moralistic tones, e.g. class; sometimes it is used in some loose way to signify social status, e.g., high or low class; and quite often, it is marred by its association with radicalism of various kinds, in particular, the variety associated with Karl Marx and Marxism. This last form is the most interesting and the most useful for making sense of why Donald Trump will be president, but because of the term's association with Marxist radicalism and American opposition to it, the specter of Marx has made it difficult to generate a class analysis relevant for conflict resolution in the United States. Even worse for clear thinking, because Marxist chiasm was associated with some of the most violent episodes of the Twentieth Century, class analysis has been associated in the field with the very things we do not advocate: violent escalation, coercive commitments, confrontational bargaining, ideological argument, and the like. But the Marxist stigma with which the concept has been polluted (even though I fully admit that any educated person should read and understand Marx), turns out to be a great distraction that prevents us from conflict resolution with populations that are increasingly described as "the white working class."

What class is:

We need to understand what class is and how it is distinct from other critical concepts like identity, human rights, and security. These four categories, taken together, represent different ways of thinking about incompatibility, i.e., the root cause of conflict in any conflict we might happen to observe. In fact, class is only a placeholder and shorthand for a whole genre of potential incompatibilities that emerge in the course of doing business, earning a living, and trying to get ahead. Any given class analysis may develop rich conceptions of how whole systems and modes of production are flawed to their core, or it may simply speak to implications for the way that taxes are used to pay for schools or how regulations in the housing market could help people to buy homes. Any number of incompatibilities emerge in the genre of economic relations and these incompatibilities have a tendency to produce conflict when the problems generated by the incompatibility are left to fester. Marx knew this, but so did Max Weber, Joseph Schumpeter, and John Kenneth Galbraith. And we also need to recognize that what makes class different from a close cousin like political economy is that it explicitly points to a connection between economic structures and moral evaluations of those structures that live in conflict settings and take on a life of their own, quite apart from the unintentional mechanisms of economic processes.

Telling Good Class Stories:

Here is a bold thesis that I offer here without demonstration: Donald Trump won the election because he was able to tell a good class story and because he placed priority on that story over others. Trump's both was and was not the sort of class story that we have come to expect. It drew on many familiar tropes, images,



Solon Simmons.
Photo: Solon Simmons.

representative figures, and stereotypes but also on others that most of us in the field find offensive and demoralizing. Nevertheless, it was a class story that was compelling in the right demographic groups, in the right geographic areas, and at the right time. This strategic use of the racially and sexually fueled narrative interventions in the class genre won Trump the election. As Arlie Hochschild might describe this strategy, based on the argument in her fantastic new book *Strangers in Their Own Land*, Trump voters subscribe to what she calls a "deep story" in which line-cutters from other cultures, other backgrounds, and other religious groups are getting benefits that members of the white working class don't feel they are, and of which they feel they are more deserving. This story describes a systematic form of cheating, in which deadbeats

and criminals (who happen to look different) are rewarded while people who work hard and play by the rules (who happen to be culturally marked with traditional privilege) fall behind. It is a story about how to get ahead (or fall behind) and why this is justified (or not). It is a right-wing class story, one with distinct racial, gender, and ethnic investments, connotations, and supports, but it is a class story.

Where we go from here:

The Democratic Party was once known for how well its leaders told class stories. These stories involved unions, progressive taxes, monopolies, child labor, public goods, insurance, public education, mortgages, and so on. Over time, as the pressing challenges of post colonization, civil rights, the gender revolution, and related redresses to former injustices took precedence, class was eclipsed in the rhetorical playbook of the Democratic Party. It's not so much that these ideas fell away, they just became stale and unconvincing. Every Democratic Party leader will still speak about working people, of economic inequality and even of unions, but few people take these ideas seriously. They are anodyne, unsupported by respected economic theory, formulaic, and anything but dangerous. Danger and passion lie in the other kinds of stories that Democrats and progressives tell. These concern the hot moral concerns of abusive power in the realm of culture: from the privilege of race, to gender, nationality, color, religion, sexuality, or ability status. These issues of abuse of one's positionality or status (to use an older word) fire the passions of progressives, and are connected to concrete and realizable programs that are placed front and center in Democratic Party rhetoric. Because of their moral valence, these arguments and the larger discursive field in which they are situated take priority over older ideas about the abuse of power present in markets, in non-ascriptive encounters and in critiques of forms of power that have no recognizable aspect of discrimination or exclusion.

It is, perhaps, painful, premature, and unsubstantiated to say that the moves that Bernie Sanders made to shift the narrative focus from status to class would have proven more successful than the more status-oriented campaign that Hillary Clinton ran.

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The Rhetorical Priority of Class: It's Economic Incompatibility, Stupid!

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I also worry that people might draw the wrong lessons from the Sanders alternative, namely that his specific proposals were sound or his aggressive attitude was better suited to the moment, or worst of all that it was helpful to have a white man make the class arguments so that white people would follow him. I'm not convinced of any of these things. In fact, I suspect that the coming wave of Democratic Party leaders will be drawn from the ranks of the broad civil rights, status-conscious movement that dominates the Democratic Party, and the new leaders who tell the emerging class stories will be people of color, women, LGBT, people with disabilities, and others. Nevertheless, I suspect that the moral-structural foundation of their arguments will change.

I wrote a book about what might happen if we failed to take class seriously in national politics called *The Eclipse of Equality*. I argued that the shift from an ecology of class to status narratives had transformed our politics and political culture. By equality, I meant the moral value associated with opposition to the abuse of universalistic forms of power that were indiscriminate in choosing victims. Eclipse referred to the relative rise of particularistic or ascribed forms of power and privilege that derived from cultural or status differences. But the image was meant to suggest that the imbalance of both of these essential forms of critical discourse was only temporary. I predicted that class discourse would return to find a new equilibrium with status discourse. As things happen, the mechanism for this transition was the rise of class rhetoric in the form of Donald Trump's Twitter account. We have reason to suspect that Trump's solutions to the incompatibilities in the economy will do little to solve the problems that exist there, but his example will convince Democrats that the terrain of class politics is too powerful to leave open to story tellers on the right. Class is back, and with a vengeance, both in the realm of politics and in that of reconciliation. It is our job to embrace the challenge. ■

How Did Trump Win?

Continued from page 5

Trump has artfully connected the frustrations of his supporters, their aggression, and their love for the United States. For him, the violence of angry people is justifiable because they are fighting for their vision of the country. Trump has shown his supporters how to address a number of issues and, in turn, be rewarded and gain power through the use of aggression. Throughout his campaign, Trump has swiftly responded to every accusation or insult from his opponents. These tactics leave Trump's opponents open and unprepared to respond. The weakness of Trump's opponent's responses provide further evidence for his supporters that he is more powerful than his rivals. He also helps his supporters to channel the frustration they have for Obama's immigration policies toward illegal immigrants.

Those who identify themselves with Trump receive the same social benefits derived from his insults as he does. Many Trump supporters "feed" on Trump's insults to his/their adversaries in order to achieve similar feelings of high self-esteem and power, to stress difference with people they dislike, to emphasize their privileged position in comparison with others, to get rid of uncomfortable feelings of shame or guilt for inappropriate actions, and to feel validated in their views and positions. Trump supporters simultaneously benefit from and feel more empowered by his insults.

Trump supporters think the current establishment has no willingness to change or compromise; they trust that Trump will be able to undermine the confidence that other people continue to show toward the current political establishment in power, and thus, will bring his supporters to a long-standing victory. Trump supporters also feel he has been creating a degree of uncertainty among the established political elite by challenging their politically expedient ways of running the country.

The popularity of Trump has demonstrated that not only the importance of promoting education toward tolerance and mutual co-existence but that it is crucial to address issues of deindustrialization, job outsourcing, poverty and inequality, and low upward mobility. The United States is a land of equal opportunity and freedom, where the "American dream" was and must be obtainable again for everyone of its citizens.

*This article represents ideas developed in the author's book *Trump Effect*, published by Routledge in October 2016.* ■



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