

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

he 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



Brexit Protests. Photo: Flickr user Garon S.

a dramatic impoverishment of the public

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debate. The result is that major implications are ignored altogether, and outcomes are likely in many cases to turn out to be the opposite of what voters thought they were choosing. This sad tale can be simply told.

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 haemorindeed 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.

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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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 -

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

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

s 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.



Aya Hijazi. Photo: Chelsea Cowan.

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 "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 pretrial 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-homelesschildren

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-ensureprosperity-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

he 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 sates, "Fueled by the belief that cities flourish when families thrive,



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.

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 interacting 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 Seniw (mseniw@gmu.edu) for registration information.

Virginia 24-Hour Run for Cancer

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



Christina Sumner. Photo: Christina Sumner.

t 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

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

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-togo. 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 orated 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 manta – "slow and steady."



Christina Sumner. Photo: Christina Sumner.

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

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

What was a state of the greatest at the state of the search, 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



Soolmaz Abooali. Photo: Soolmaz Abooali.

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

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.

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.

Joel Amegboh, Incoming PhD Student

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

oel 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



Joel Amegboh. Photo: Joel Amegboh.

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.

Greg Sullivan, Undergraduate Student

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



Greg Sullivan. Photo: Greg Sullivan.

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.

Lessons from Brexit for our American Friends

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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



Tom Woodhouse. Photo: Tom Woodhouse..

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

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. 'Brexiteers' 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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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



Oliver Ramsbotham. Photo: Oliver Ramsbotham.

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 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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