



S-CAR News

VOLUME 6
ISSUE 4
NOVEMBER 2012

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

S-CAR's Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict

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Over the past decade, gender has emerged as a core global issue for the conflict analysis and resolution field. In 2000, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, calling for the integration of gender issues into all levels of peacebuilding practice as well as increased attention to the needs of women in conflict zones. Today, virtually all major international organizations engaged in conflict prevention and resolution incorporate gender into their projects, and a slate of international conventions, laws, and networks exist to promote attention to gender issues as key dimensions of conflict.

And yet, a quick glance around the peacebuilding arena reveals that there is still



Photo: S-CAR.

tremendous work to be done. Research by UN Women found that less than 8% of recent Track One negotiating teams included women, with less than 3% of peace agreements involving women signatories. Despite an abundance of evidence demonstrating the specific effects of armed conflict on women civilians and combatants, a similarly scant number of formal agreements address issues of central concern to

women, including the prevalence of sexual assault as a strategy of warfare, the challenges women face reintegrating into societies in the aftermath of conflict, or the need to promote gender equality and women's empowerment as central to thriving local mechanisms of conflict resolution. Peacebuilding work at the Track Two and grassroots levels has, arguably, gone further in integrating gender issues into programming, yet it has been slow to move past a paradigm that sees women as simply victims of conflicts waged by "men with guns," rather than powerful social actors in their own right.

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Conflict Resolution Collaborative: S-CAR joins forces with Beyond Intractability to Grow the Resources Available to the Field

By Paul Snodgrass, S-CAR Technology and Knowledge Management Director, psnodgra@gmu.edu



The CR Collaborative. Photo: S-CAR.

When Heidi Burgess delivered the commencement address in May of 2012, the S-CAR Community got a sneak preview of the prospects provided by stronger ties between the School and the minds behind Beyond Intractability (BI) and CR Info. With one important collaborative project already underway at that time and many more that have since kicked off, we are already seeing the exciting rewards that this collaboration has yielded.

The first collaborative effort was a special edition of the BI knowledge base for Genocide Prevention and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). A DVD version of the website has been created and is periodically taken to Africa and distributed to ICGLR.

Building upon this success, the Conflict Resolution Collaborative was formed to formalize and guide a series of collaborative efforts between BI and S-CAR. Andrea Bartoli, Heidi and Guy Burgess, and Paul Snodgrass comprise the executive committee of the Collaborative, and what follows is an overview of several exciting initiatives.

A number of S-CAR students, known as BI Contributors, have begun to write book reviews, case studies and articles on beyondintractability.org. Led by Borislava Manojlovic, Associate Editor, four book reviews have already been published and several more are in the pipeline. Alessandra Cuccia reviewed *Transforming Conflict Through Insight*, by Cheryl Picard and Kenneth Melchin. Nhina Le reviewed *The Paradox of Free-Market Democracy: Indonesia and the Problems Facing Neoliberal Reform*, by Amy Chua as well as *Reasons to Kill: Why Americans Choose War*, by Richard Rubenstein. Also, Mark Magellan reviewed *The Moral Imagination* by John Paul Lederach. The BI Contributors have also spearheaded a process of adding S-CAR publications to the database of BI.

This fall the Burgesses have been teaching a class entitled Peacebuilding Knowledge Base with

eight students, all of which are writing pieces for BI as their primary class project. A similar class is being offered this spring. Entitled Peacebuilding Writ Large, students will examine the concept of “peacebuilding writ large”—also being called “peacebuilding 2.0”—and the role that the BI Knowledge Base and Collaborative Learning Community can play in building peace at the broadest levels. Students again will have the opportunity to write one or more pieces to be published on BI. This three-credit class is available to new students as well as to students who participated in this fall’s CONF 795.

Susan Allen Nan and the Center for Peacemaking Practice are also working with BI to update the collection of practitioner interviews and CPP members Phil Gamaghelyan and Christopher Littlefield have written a piece for BI on facilitator co-debriefing which will be published soon. Dan Rothbart and Adeeb Yousif Abdel Alla are writing two articles on Sudan, and over ten other S-CAR articles are “in the BI pipeline.” CONF 210, taught by Ms. Manojlovic and Dr. Bartoli asks students, “how can we contribute to” and “how can BI help us?”

Dr. Bartoli, Mr. Snodgrass, Drs. Burgess, as well as Ernest Ogbozor and Cat Meurn are leading a project entitled “Love and Forgiveness in the Governing Professions,” funded by the Fetzer Institute. In September, Mr. Snodgrass and Dr. Bartoli presented the project at the Fetzer Institute’s Global Gathering in Assisi and work is ongoing to create profiles of people who exemplify love and forgiveness in governance. These profiles will be posted on BI, S-CAR and the Fetzer Institute’s websites.

Beyondintractability.org has long been an invaluable resource for the field and S-CAR has a rich history of contributing articles and interviews to the vast collection of material hosted there. It is with a view toward strengthening, updating and sustaining BI and contributing to the field as a whole that S-CAR has engaged in this collaborative project. For students at S-CAR, there are many exciting opportunities to publish and BI is a terrific place for their writing to be read and to have an impact. BI is currently used by about 100,000 unique visitors a month and that number has been rising by about 10,000 people per month for the last several months. Publishing on BI gets your ideas out to many, many people! ■

Imagine All the People Living Life in Peace:

S-CAR Students Participate in the United Nations' International Day of Peace

By Anthony Reo, S-CAR Undergraduate Student, areo@masonlive.gmu.edu

Arthur Romano took the floor at the 30th observance of the United Nations International Day of Peace ceremony in New York City on September 21. “The International Day of Peace is the symbolic act of bringing people together. It is easy to feel isolated when trying to build peace on this planet,” Romano said, “but we are not alone.” With five hundred students from all over the world listening to his presentation, including the familiar faces of undergraduate Conflict Analysis and Resolution students, it was clear that there are communities dedicated to building and maintaining sustainable international peace.

Demonstrating their commitment to this issue, a group of mostly undergraduate students was selected to display their own projects promoting peace at the UN Headquarters during the International Day of Peace ceremony. The projects ranged from a campaign to reduce profanity on campus to starting a chapter of the veterans’ honor society to bridging cultural gaps in residence halls.

Kim Posthumus, a junior at S-CAR with a minor in theater, is planning to bring the International Day of Peace to Mason’s campus in 2013. Incorporating music and performance into the event, Posthumus wholeheartedly believes in theater’s ability to broaden our perspective.

“In stepping into a role other than yourself, you are able to experience empathy that you were unable to experience before because you are literally putting yourself in someone else’s shoes,” she said.

Peter Cuppernull, another S-CAR student chosen



United Nations' International Day of Peace Ticket. Photo: S-CAR.

Wiesel, and actor Michael Douglas exposed the students to how conflict resolution is practiced outside of the classroom in a wide range of capacities. The experience also encouraged deep contemplation of the condition of our global society. Dr. Romano said, “Pause and remember the deep and irreversible impact violence has over multiple generations,” as the deep tone of the Peace Bell echoed in the hearts of the students and dignitaries. In the panel discussion following, Michael Douglas cautioned, “We haven’t found anything else in the universe. All we have is our vulnerable planet.”



S-CAR students outside the United Nations. Photo: S-CAR.

Despite the violence that litters our planet, a positive and hopeful exuberance permeated the day, felt by everyone in attendance and embodied by the dedication of our generation. “Dramatic and transformative social change has young people in positions of leadership,” Romano exclaimed, challenging students to see peace as a way of thinking, a way of living.

Posthumus reflected, “Peace is living in a state of happiness that encourages the happiness of other people.” Regardless of what sort of future we all envision, we must find it in ourselves to encourage this mindset, for it is *our* future that is at stake. ■

initiatives

Peacebuilding vs. Conflict Resolution

Vivienne Jabri's Provocative Lynch Lecture

By Richard E. Rubenstein, S-CAR Professor, rrubenst@gmu.edu

EVENTS

On October 24, 2012 Vivienne Jabri presented the 24th Annual Lynch Lecture to a large, enthusiastic audience in the auditorium of Founder's Hall on George Mason's Arlington campus. Dr. Jabri is Professor of International Politics and Coordinator of the Centre for the Study of Political Community at King's College in London, and is a long-time friend of S-CAR. Those expecting her to deliver an important and controversial lecture were not disappointed.

The speaker began her talk, entitled "Human Rights, Sovereign Rights, and Conflict Resolution," by taking the audience on a journey through the intellectual landscapes created by Immanuel Kant, Jurgen Habermas, and Michel Foucault, with a fourth stop, the political thought of Hannah Arendt, concluding the trip. A key point in the lecture was the separation of peacebuilding, defined as "the government of other people's populations," from conflict resolution and diplomacy.

Kant, described as "the first Critical Theorist," put the autonomous, self-legislating human being at the center of his system. By constructing a "cosmopolitan imaginary" in which these suffering individuals are the bearers of rights, Kant becomes the first theorist of human rights. But he argues against making the cosmopolitan regime a positive legal order, and so defends the sovereign state against the idea of empire.

Habermas gives cosmopolitanism positive force by announcing that human rights trump sovereign rights, and that sovereignty must be pacified to create the conditions necessary for Kant's "perpetual peace." Modern international civil servants like Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan agree. An "international civil service at large" comes into existence, and law-enforcing institutions like the International Court of Justice and International Criminal Court partially realize the juridical dream. But this immediately creates a problem: peacebuilding threatens to replace both conflict resolution and diplomacy. Since "the law is constituted in a sovereign speaking" and rests not only on consent but also on violence, the new system seeks to legitimate violent interventions by some states (a reconstituted "sovereign") in the affairs of others.

By asking "Where is sovereign power?" and describing how it is exercised, Foucault lays bare the underlying dynamics of the new peacebuilding regime. Sovereign power always demands an audience, which now consists of those subject to military intervention in the name of humanity. Its late-modern form is disciplinary and biopolitical, meaning that it is a regime of pacification of populations exercised through surveillance and continuous intervention – the very opposite of Kant's "perpetual peace." Although the new sovereign has values and interests of its own, its wars are always fought in the name of humanity at large. This implies a norm from which "abnormals" are excluded, and generates a tendency toward the sort of massive, even genocidal, violence represented by colonial wars and the Holocaust.

Dr. Jabri "internationalizes" Foucault. According to her, peacebuilding discourses are essentially Foucauldian, constituting the liberal subject, and presuming to shape the development of "less developed" societies. The problem is dramatically illustrated by recent Western interventions in places like Libya and Syria, in which peacebuilding – the attempt to "shape the directionality" of other societies in ways congenial to the intervening powers – tends to replace both conflict resolution and diplomacy. (This is precisely why Kant withheld his approval of

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Tuesday, November 27, 2012
Revisiting the Theory of Reflective Judgement
Truland Building 555, 4:30pm-6:30pm

Tuesday, November 27, 2012
Civilians and Modern War: Armed Conflict and the Ideology of Violence - Book Launch
Truland Building 555, 7:15pm-9:15pm

Wednesday, November 28, 2012
Gender & Genocide: Masculinity, Femininity, & the Potentials of GBV as an Early Indicator of Genocide
Truland Building, Seventh Floor, 6:30pm-9:00pm

Wednesday, December 5, 2012
An Evening with the Palestinian Ambassador
Truland Building 555, 7:30pm-9:00pm

<http://scar.gmu.edu/events-roster>

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Student Opinion: Drones: Friend or Foe?

By Allyson Mitchell, S-CAR MS Student, amitch11@masonlive.gmu.edu



MQ-9 Reaper. Photo: Flickr User Official U.S. Air Force.

Modern day warfare has altered the guidelines of war and changed the way combatants fight; conflicts have been relocated from the classic battlefield location to populated urban centers amongst the daily lives of civilians. This has a tendency to blur the boundaries between being able to differentiate civilians from hostiles in a combat environment. Drone strikes have become the modus operandi for United States strategy of fighting terrorism worldwide. By infusing billions of dollars each year into the defense budget, the United States has remained on the forefront of research, design, development, and ultimately, the deployment of high-tech military weapons. This has allowed the United States military to maintain an unprecedented monopoly on these technologies.

Armed with precision-guided Hellfire missiles, drones can hover over one area for hours, days, or even weeks. All the while the intelligence operative, who is in control of the surveillance of that drone, is sitting at a desk in Langley or at a military base in the Mid-west working normal business hours. When orders are given, that operative will fire, and thousands of miles away that missile will damage everything in its path. The appeal is clear; a State can exercise targeted killings and operate remotely at nominal risk. That said, sustainment costs might be arguably low, but the human costs are regrettably high. When drone strikes are authorized, it is not only the intended target that is killed; there is always collateral damage.

When it comes to drone strike death tolls, we hear through the new channels that "the majority appear to have been militants." But how do we really know if they were 'militants' or better yet, how are we, as a society, defining 'militant?' Is a

Recent S-CAR Articles, Op-Eds, Letters to the Editor, and Media Appearances

White House rhetoric 'contributing' to the crisis in Gaza

Ibrahim Sharqieh, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus

Al Jazeera, 11/18/12

Reflections on Practice: The Impact of 9/11 on Conflict Resolvers

Dr. Alma Jadallah, President of Kommon Denominator, Inc.

Yasmina Mrabet, S-CAR Masters Alumna

School for Conflict Analysis & Resolution Podcast, 11/9/12

How to stop the stone-throwing in Anacostia

Michael Shank, S-CAR Ph.D. Alumnus

The Washington Post, 11/7/12

Obama, Romney in the final home stretch

Solon Simmons, S-CAR Associate Professor

CTV, 11/5/12

Aziz Abu Sarah on the MEJDI Tour Company

Aziz Abu Sarah, Executive Director, Center for World Religions,

Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution

Journeys of Belonging, 11/3/12

<http://scar.gmu.edu/media>

militant the 4-year-old son of the intended target? How about the housekeeper, or the nanny? How about the neighborhood grocer where he buys his food? The restaurant owner of the café he frequents? What of the taxi driver that just happened to pick him up that day because his driver was ill? All of these civilians have known ties to terrorism, but does that make them 'militants' or 'terrorists?' To say the distinction might be blurring at times is a stretch, since the distinction is never 100% clear. Clarity only arrives after the fact, when mothers, brothers, husbands, sisters, and wives are crying in the streets over the loss of their loved ones asking, "God, why us?"

We need to think on these things before we freely accept the labels being tossed around by officials and experts. I would not want to be wrongly classified as a 'militant' or 'terrorist,' would you? ■

NEWS

Adeeb Yousif, S-CAR Ph.D. Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Adeeb Yousif hails from Darfur in Sudan, and for over 14 years, has worked with grass roots and social justice movements throughout the country in trying to alleviate the plight of individuals from what he describes as “unfortunate circumstances.” In April of 2001, he co-founded the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO), a human rights, humanitarian relief, and development NGO that he hoped would complement the efforts of the other stakeholders working in the region. As Adeeb indicated, “most of the other NGOs did not take their services deep inside rural areas to empower local communities to demand their rights from the government,” and this was one of the objectives of his organization.

In addition to this, he also helped to develop the Darfur Emergency Response Operation, which runs programs for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as well as host communities in



Adeeb Yousif, S-CAR Ph.D. Student. Photo: S-CAR.

Darfur. He further helped to initiate the Rebel Letters Campaign and worked with Never Again International. All of his activities have made him unpopular with the Sudanese government but he reiterates, “I am unfazed in my goal to build the possibility for a sustainable peace in Darfur.”

Adeeb has also played a key role in making the plight of his people known to the outside world through on-the-ground facilitation of the work of many of the most high-profile researchers and writers, and through his own media work. Adeeb is currently working on his PhD at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and is also the General Manager of the Darfur Reconciliation and Development Organization (DRDO). He asserts that both endeavors would enable him to “continue to dedicate his life to the humanitarian and human rights struggle to end the conflict and genocide in Darfur.” ■

Tatiana Medina, S-CAR Masters Student

By Kwaw de Graft-Johnson, Ph.D. Student and Knowledge Management Associate, kdegraft@gmu.edu

Tatiana Medina-Laborde is a Masters student at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR) as well as a founding member and current President of the Global Problematique Working Group. Her motivation, along with other students, in forming this group was borne out of the realization that the world faced a myriad of interconnected conflicts that were not bound within borders.

As such, it required the concerted efforts from all stakeholders, not just from the noted relevant



Tatiana Medina, S-CAR Masters Student. Photo: S-CAR.

ones, in trying to develop sustainable and durable programs to resolve and transform conflicts. Tatiana has been working at a multilateral organization for over five years and she noted that, “The private sector has so much potential

to help move conflict resolution to transformation but such work has not been developed and is very much nonexistent at this point.”

Currently, Tatiana is trying to move the progress of the working group to a type of practice she has termed “Peace Entrepreneurship” and her trip to Colombia during the summer of 2012 reinforced the need for such a body. She described her trip as an eye opening experience regarding the difficulties and apparent disconnect of theory and practice to fieldwork. “There were many great potentials for partnership with local organizations but the big challenge is to structure the right programs for conflict resolution,” she said. “We (S-CAR) have a great number of skills and it’s our task to share and transfer this knowledge”. ■



Photo: S-CAR.

Peacebuilding Versus Conflict Resolution

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juridical cosmopolitanism.) Because government (Foucault's "governmentality") now involves the disciplinary control of populations, "the borders of populations are racialized," and the juridical human rights regime comes to resemble the old colonial regimes that it purports to replace.

Despite this grim reality, Professor Jabri insists, there is reason for hope. The San Egidio Statement reflected the views of those opposed both to violent revolution and to allegedly humanitarian military intervention. They valued the post-colonial status of states like Syria, and advocated a "cosmopolitanism of recognition and solidarity" in place of an authoritarian juridical regime. The figure who best expresses such values, according to her, is Arendt, who, distinguishing government from politics, defines politics as "the insertion of self into the public arena, thereby constituting that

arena." Politics means active, participatory deliberation, not just governmentality (i.e., rule-making, administration, and intervention). Declaring herself a "small-r realist in the Arendtian sense," Dr. Jabri concludes by calling for a renewal of conflict resolution and diplomacy in order to affirm a post-colonial regime that recognizes differences and the need for genuine political activity.

Following her lecture, Professor Jabri made herself available for extensive questioning by the audience. She also spoke at several S-CAR forums and graduate classes, discussing topics ranging from reflective practice to narrative methodology and Critical Theory, and stimulating thoughtful discussion wherever she appeared. There was general agreement that her visit raised very important ideas for our consideration and greatly enriched the community as a whole. ■

S-CAR's Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict

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Perhaps even more troubling, our practices of conflict resolution have lagged behind our theorizing when it comes to recognizing that gender is not just about paying attention to women's needs and potential, but deepening our understanding of how cultural and historical frameworks of masculinity and femininity help shape our sense of the possible. The field has overwhelmingly tended to reduce "gender" to "women," which has helped keep the systemic exclusions undergirding structural violence invisible and blocked our engagement with some of the most exciting theoretical developments within gender studies. Innovative means of addressing the underlying power dynamics that marginalize women, the GLBTQ community, and other historically subjugated populations are needed to extend S-CAR's long and vibrant tradition of exploring and addressing the structural roots of conflict.

This fall, S-CAR's Dean and Faculty Board approved the creation of a new Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict (CGC). The CGC will seek to bridge these gaps, and serve as a link between the academy and the field to deepen and expand our understanding of the gendered dimensions of conflict. Building upon a decade of intensive faculty-student engagement in gender-related work at S-CAR, the CGC is positioned to become a global thought leader in an increasingly important field of concern. Recognizing that gender impacts all facets of life, the CGC represents not a boundary marking off a specialized set of interests, but a true center point around which a diverse group of faculty, students and international partners can cohere and collaborate.

The potentials of the CGC can be seen in the work undertaken by its affiliated faculty and students. This semester, we have undertaken several major initiatives, including securing and disseminating funding for students to present original research at conferences, co-sponsoring, along with the Center for Narrative and Conflict Resolution, a discussion with Vivienne Jabri following the Annual Lynch Lecture, and hosting an innovative "moderated conversation" panel on Gender and Genocide in collaboration with the Genocide Prevention Program. The Gender and Genocide event is the first in the CGC's "Intersections" moderated conversation series. Each semester we will bring together members of the S-CAR community with leading gender scholars from around the world to push the theoretical boundaries on emergent issues. The moderated conversation, which is being held

November 28, 2012 at S-CAR's 7th floor atrium, illustrates both the collaborative partnerships CGC is committed to, as well as the potentials of applying gendered analytical frameworks. The conversation will move beyond discus-



Photo: S-CAR.

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S-CAR's Center for the Study of Gender and Conflict

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sions of sexual violence in war to explore gender as a central element that foments and justifies genocide. Our own Dean Andrea Bartoli will be joined by guest scholars Adam Jones, executive director of Gendercide Watch, and scholars from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience.

The CGC has also begun to collaborate with a range of partners to expand our theoretical and practical work. Along with S-CAR alumna Dr. Maneshka Eliatamby and S-CAR Ph.D. student Johnny Mack and their organization, Communities Without Boundaries International, we are developing a capacity-building program for grassroots peacebuilders that will offer students valuable experience working on gender issues in field settings. Directly undertaking a consultative role, we were invited to submit a working paper to the UN to assist in thinking through their agenda once the Millennium Development Goals draw to a close in 2015. Along with Dr. Thomas Flores and Dr. Sandra Cheldelin, we delivered a paper arguing for a need to innovate our measures of inequality, moving past the

neoliberal assumptions that reduce equality and empowerment to narrow economic indicators. We will continue to build these external partnerships as a way to both expand our own base of knowledge and create a pipeline to employment for our graduating students.

In parallel with these public initiatives, much of the work that we believe will build S-CAR into the leading global institution for studying gender and conflict will happen in our classrooms. The increasing attention to gender in conflict at the UN, USIP, and other organizations has led to a need for highly skilled practitioners and scholars—a need that CGC is uniquely positioned to address. Over the next twelve months, we will be increasing our curricular offerings on gender and conflict research, theory, and practice. Through our specialized courses, along with the efforts we have undertaken to increase our students' engagement in organizations working in the field, and our collaborations with scholars around the globe, the CGC is well poised to train and inspire the next generation of gender scholars and practitioners. ■



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