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From Conflict Resolution to Peacebuilding
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Preface

Grandpa, there will never be peace everywhere. People will always want to attack.

--Kiril Petrovski (age 6)

Before I left for work on the morning I finished this proposal, my grandson and I had been discussing serendipity and personal mastery (he is precocious) when he asked me what I was going to do at the office that day. I told him I would be finishing this proposal and he responded with something like the two sentences I attributed to him above.

My response was that he was right. He is, after all, a normal six-year old who spends a lot of time on his (and my) iPad playing superhero games which include plenty of attacking. But, I also told him that my book would help people learn how to deal with attacks (and other things I didn't get to) better so that fewer people get hurt.

I told him about my friend Dick O'Neill whom I've known since I was Kiril's age. After spending thirty years as a U.S. Navy officer Dick is now interested in figuring out how we can reduce the average time between violent outbursts so that we can move on to the much harder task of resolving the differences that led to the conflict in the first place which led him to join me on the Alliance for Peacebuilding's board of directors. Kiril could get his arms around that.

In the simplest possible terms, this book will address Kiril's concerns by exploring what we have learned about the goals Dick and I share—and what we still have yet to learn.

Premise(s)

From Conflict Resolution to Peace Building will introduce the reader to an unsettled field during unsettled times.

I rarely use the same word in a single sentence unless there is a good reason to do so. There is here.

Our world is unsettled because it is filled with conflict that ranges from our homes to our communities to our planet as a whole. At the same time, many scholars and peacebuilding/conflict resolution specialists who work on those disputes are asking fundamental and, frankly, unsettling questions about where their fields of study and areas of practice respectively are heading.

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From Conflict Resolution to Peacebuilding will introduce the varied ways people address and resolve conflicts at all levels from the interpersonal to the international. It will be a conventional textbook in ways that will become clear in the rest of this proposal. It will, however, not be a conventional textbook since I will be trying to bring peace and conflict studies to life by exploring how conflict affects our lives those levels and more while also showing readers how they can deal with conflict constructively as citizens and, in some cases, in their careers.

Like the field itself, the book will start with conflicts at the individual and organizational level because that is where many of its key principles were first developed and the most progress has been made. Then, it will move on to political conflicts at the national and international level where analysts and activists realize that those same principles apply, yet where they also realize that it is a lot harder to put them into practice—as my grandson already seems to understand.

Conflict as a Wicked Problem

The book rests on two assumptions.

First, conflicts are a normal part of life. Some of them are routine, easy to solve, and do not have wide-ranging repercussions which is normally the case when a family argues over which restaurant to eat at. Some of them matter a lot and are harder to deal with because they raise powerful emotions and have equally powerful personal and public policy implications that hinge on the way they are resolved—or not resolved, as the case may be.

Second, conflict resolution and peacebuilding are not exactly the same thing. One can resolve a conflict at least in the short run by striking a deal or sometimes even by defeating one's adversary. Building lasting peace is more complicated. It usually involves digging deeply into and addressing the root causes that gave rise to the dispute(s) in the first place

It is not easy to resolve conflicts or build peace when either emotions are raw or the stakes get raised for any other reason. It is even harder to build peace under those circumstances because tough conflicts tend to be complex, protracted, and combine dozens of overlapping issues and causes. Indeed, it is easy to point to the continued fighting in the Middle East, the rise of populism in Europe and North America, or the impact of terrorism and conclude we rarely can solve intractable conflicts, let alone build peace.

Thus, as I have done in my last two books, I will treat conflict resolution and peacebuilding as wicked problems. The term was first developed by urban planners who were also worried about the way the U.S. had inadvertently gotten itself mired in the Vietnam war. Put simply, this increasingly trendy term refers to issues whose causes and consequences are so inextricably intertwined that you cannot hope to solve them quickly, easily, or separately—if you can solve them at all.

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On the one hand, conflict resolution and peacebuilding include many of the worlds' thorniest wicked problems—something my grandson also seems to understand. On the other hand, we have made a lot of progress in understanding conflict in all its forms and in building peace over the last few decades and—if one group of historians and anthropologists are to be believed—over the last few centuries. Without overstating what we have learned, words like win-win conflict resolution are now part of our everyday speech. Similarly, international wars kill very few people these days. Major progress has been made in building lasting peace in countries as different as South Africa, Ireland, and East Timor.

On the other hand, many of them seem to defy anything resembling a solution no matter how hard we try. The Middle East. Partisan divisions in the United States and elsewhere. Racism and other forms of intolerance. The list goes on and on.

All this is the case because of our growing awareness that we live in what military planners call a VUCA (Volatile, Uncertain, Complex, Ambiguous) world. Indeed, this book will attempt to show how conflict resolution and peacebuilding have evolved along with our understanding of the VUCAness of life in the twenty-first century even more explicitly than I did in the most recent edition of my comparative politics text.

Two Entry Points and Three Eras

Academically, peace and conflict studies are both new fields. Depending on the definitions you use, they first reached a critical mass in the United States in the 1980s. That is not to say that scholars ignored these issues before that time as the reader will see in Parts 2 and 3 of this book. However, their real growth as both academic fields and politically credible movements dates from a decade when the first degree granting programs were created, the first canonical texts were published, and the first explicitly conflict resolution and peace building NGOs were formed in the United States. American observers at least point to a two year period in the 1980s when three seminal events occurred:

- Roger Fisher and William Ury published *Getting to Yes*
- George Mason University created the first degree granting program in conflict analysis and resolution
- Search for Common Ground was formed as the first NGO explicitly focused on both aspects of peace and conflict studies

As befits a new field, there is no single paradigm that defines either the research scholars conduct or the projects practitioners initiate on the ground. In fact, there are so many different thinkgs being done in the name of conflict and resolution and peacebuilding that no single book can hope to cover it all.

Indeed, peace and conflict studies can be approached from a number of different intellectual directions that include everything from computer modeling and simulations to

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explorations of the human experience beginning before our ancestors left their first written records. In recent years, however, scholars and practitioners have converged on two main entry points for understanding peace and conflict at least for students just starting out in the field(s).

This one, then, will focus on what I see as the two key entry points into this new field of study—conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Many peace activists understandably focus on war and other forms of violent conflict. Not surprisingly, their work draws on insights from international relations, political science, sociology, and other disciplines that include a “macro” focus. Others approach conflict (if not peace) studies from a more “micro” angle because they began by studying conflict in families, the workplace, and the like. Many of them have backgrounds in law, psychology, mediation, and management.

At first glance, the two entry points seem quite different. However, I’ve chosen to combine them because, much of modern peacebuilding has some of its roots in the principles first developed at the interpersonal and organizational levels. In many ways, it is easier to see the principles underlying larger-scale, political peacebuilding if a student has seen the “micro” side first.

More importantly, you cannot really understand the real-world breakthrough taking place in either half of the field today unless and until you see them together. That’s the case because most practitioners—but not many academics—have dramatically expanded their “halves” of the field in surprisingly similar ways especially in the last few years. In particular, they have realized that their initial framings of the field were too narrow. Each has begun to think in terms of paradigm shifts and couch their analyses in broader systems and complexity terms which I will introduce as a framework for the book in Part 1 and especially in Chapter 3 (see the draft table of contents on p. 10 below).

Thus, I will explore their joint evolution through three phases which are essentially the same as the ones used by Sara Cobb, Sarah Federman, and Alison Castels in their edited volume for this series. Each, of course, has a pre-history in which important intellectual and political markers were laid, including the creation of the first peace studies programs and the development of schools of management science. Nonetheless, each side of the field has passed through three periods in which later scholars and activists built on and incorporated what had been used in earlier stages into their current work. The divisions between them are not iron clad if for no other reason than the fact that one generation of analysts and practitioners drew on the insights and initiatives of their predecessors.

- The next to last decade of the twentieth century saw the creation of both sides of the field as formal disciplines with an emphasis on win-win conflict resolution, negotiating deals, disarmament, and the like which were developed in the context of the cold war and then the unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union.
- The rest of the twentieth century and the first years of the current one saw a resurgence of interest in identity based conflict in which scholars and activists at least identified the fact that cultural, historical, and economic contexts made finding win-win conflict resolution more difficult and “simple” deals did not go

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far enough. Thus, terms like intractable conflicts, reconciliation, and human security entered our lexicon during this period as we came to realize that complex conflicts needed more than one-shot agreements, however sweeping they might seem at first glance.¹

- For the last few years, people in both sides of the field have turned to analytical and practical approaches that stress complexity and systems analysis as the organizing principles of our lives. Some of us go farther and argue that today's globalizing world is qualitatively different than the one of the 1980s and requires intellectual and political approaches that have interdependence, accelerating rates of change, and the emergence of wicked problems as the norm. That holds whether you look at peacebuilders like the ones I work with or corporate leaders who are trying to build business models that include win-win principles, addressing identity and related sources of conflict, and globalization into account.

Today, people working in both sides of the field realize how complex, complicated, and problematic conflict resolution and peacebuilding are. You can see that in two illustrative but very different events that reflect the state of the art as the second decade of the twenty-first century draws to an end.

First is the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals by the United Nations in 2016. For the first time, the UN included peacebuilding as an integral part of social and economic development. More importantly, the UN understood that development could not be reached unless the world community addressed its seventeen goals as an integrated whole.

Second, we are seeing similar developments in the corporate world, especially among executives and consultants who have a background in dispute resolution. If anything, the integration of conflict resolution into our understandings of broader phenomena has progressed even farther in the interpersonal than in the political side of the field. That is especially true in the spate of recent books on innovation, disruption, and the like written by leading entrepreneurs and analysts of their work at the world's leading business schools.

Both sides of the field are also running into the same overlapping stumbling blocks. While it is not hard for authors like me or the organizations we work for to propose what could turn out to be effective ways of solving disputes. However, more often than not, actual successful conflict resolution has proved to be an elusive target, whether at the micro- or the macro- level. The obstacles to effective conflict resolution and peace

¹ To cite but one example, my wife was in Israel on business the day that the Oslo Agreement was formally signed at the White House. I asked her to bring me back a t shirt or something else commemorating the event. She came empty handed. Everyone in the region knew that the agreement was just the beginning of what would be a long and drawn out process that might not succeed. Of course, they were right.

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building are easy to identify and range from concerns about our very nature as humans to the dog-eat-dog structure of the international political system.

The Pedagogical Context

The book is also set to take advantage of the two ways I used the term unsettled at the beginning of this proposal. The book itself begins with items in the news on the day I send the book to Rowman and Littlefield which I will also reframe as an exercise that readers of the book could and should do themselves. This is a tool I've used to begin my *Comparative Politics* text and begin my own courses for years.

Just as importantly for the purposes of this book, peace building and conflict resolution are unsettled fields. That starts with the fact that they are new. In the United States, for example, the first academic programs in peace studies are barely fifty years older. Degree granting departments of conflict studies are even newer.

What's more, the issues involved are inherently controversial and many of them have huge social, political, economic, environmental, and other implications. As a result, it is hard to imagine how an introduction to this field could resemble a textbook in chemistry or mathematics that lays out the conventional wisdom of their field for one simple reason. There is no conventional wisdom.

Like any new intellectual endeavor, scholars and activists have yet to define firm boundaries for what we should include and what we can safely leave out because we are far from agreeing (yet) on a paradigm or scientific theory that structures any mature discipline. To complicate matters further, peace and conflict studies is an inherently interdisciplinary enterprise. Many of us who work in the field have backgrounds in political science as I do. However, in addressing most of the problems peacebuilding and conflict resolution address, we have to draw on insights from historians, sociologists, economists, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, ecologists, management theorists, psychologists, social workers, and more.

The unsettled nature of the field starts with its very name. Nothing short and simple like economics, chemistry, history, ecology, or even political science. Nonetheless, peace and conflict studies have been around long enough for us to have a serious body of knowledge for an introductory course even if not everyone agrees on the issues it could and should cover.

Even more importantly, the book will be written for the unusual kinds of students who take courses in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Even more than is the case in political science, students tend to self-select into the courses on conflict and peace. In particular, most are genuinely interested in the subject matter before they enter the classroom or open a textbook for the first time. Similarly, many are looking for ways to build conflict resolution and peacebuilding into their professional lives or, at least, into

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what they do as citizens once this course is over. As a result, this book will include ways the readers can use what they have learned outside of the classroom.

The Need, The Market, And The Niche

I do not know of any good introductory textbooks in peace building and conflict resolution that explores both sides of the field or its evolution. It is time, however, for someone to write one since there are about 100 graduate programs, at least that many undergraduate majors and concentrations, and an unknown but larger number of individual course taught around the world. Most of the graduate programs, at least, are taught in English.

When I say there are no good books, that is not a critique of the authors who have written the half dozen books I've looked at in recent years. Rather, it reflects the fact that this is a new field that lacks a commonly accepted core which you can see by seeing their vastly different tables of contents.

Some books are overwhelmingly political and international. Some are aimed at an academic audience rather than the curious and even committed undergraduate who signs up for a course. Some focus all but exclusively on peace activists to the exclusion of what we know about the causes and consequences of conflict itself. Some are almost as long as my comparative politics text; many are much shorter.

None have more than a few of the features one finds in a conventional textbook in a larger and more established field—photographs, illustrative boxes, charts and figures, study guides, or an instructor's manual. As far as I can tell, none has the kind of web site I am building for my other books and would use here that would allow me to update the text, create a community of students and faculty, and the like.

No author has done a very good job of bridging the academic/practitioner divide which is critical in a field like this one. Some of them do a great job of introducing the academic literatures; others do the same with the wide variety of peace building activists one finds around the world.

From Conflict Resolution to Peace Building will not fill every gap in the field that are implicit in the last four paragraphs. As I will suggested earlier, peace building and conflict resolution are the two most important entry points into this still fluid field and the two covered most frequently in the courses/programs I know about.

As I have done in my other textbooks, it will move back and forth between core academic and other concepts and case studies from the field. And, as has always been the case with my books, it will be written in an engaging way. This point is important since peace and conflict studies attracts an unusual subset of today's students. Most courses are electives and only attract students who have some interest in the field to begin with. In other words, while this book will have to be balanced and reflect the state of the

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academic art, I want to write it in part to help young people see the value of pursuing peace either as a career or as a part of their lives as citizens.

An Overview

As I see it now, the book would have four parts with the second and third being considerably longer than the first and fourth. Parts 2 and 3 will move back and forth between concepts and examples as I have done in my Comparative Politics text and earlier works in peacebuilding.

Part 1 will introduce the field in three ways. First, it will introduce peace and conflict studies as a field of studies. Second, it will explore the two entry points, their intellectual origins, and the ways they play themselves out today. Third, I will explore core concepts, especially those that are found in both approaches such as win/win conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation, systems and complexity theory, and paradigm shifts.

Part 2 will start with micro or interpersonal approaches to conflict resolution. Even though I work for an organization that focuses on the macro side of things, it makes more sense to start here because it is easier to see the core principles and the progress we have made without introducing problems at the national or global levels. In Part 2, then, the reader will explore how:

- Win/win conflict resolution, mediation, arbitration, and the like emerged
- Use of them spread beyond the world of mediators especially into management theory and the world of business in the Internet age
- The field has recently expanded to include network based approaches to conflict that also build on systems and complexity theory.

Part 3 will focus on the national international side of the field and will develop it through the same three rough phases. These, by the way, roughly parallel the phases in ways AfP views the field in which new issues were added to existing preoccupations.

- The focus on peace movements and disarmament through the end of the Cold War
- The broadening of the field to focus on global issues, especially identity based conflict primarily in the last decade of the twentieth century
- The need to consider holistic approaches to peacebuilding as a set of wicked problems requiring a systems or complexity approach especially as reflected in the United Nations new Sustainable Development Goals. .

Part 4 will consider what could and should come next for the field. The first part of that that will be intellectual and consider such issues as the increased convergence of the two sides of the field especially as we begin to consider peacebuilding as an issue in domestic politics. Most examples will come from the United States. However, peacebuilders are increasingly interested in matters close to home wher4ever home

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happens to be. Finally, the book will conclude with a brief discussion of the reader's possible next steps, including an exploration of ways of becoming an active peacebuilder in their own communities and, for some, beginning a career in the field.

Ancillaries

As far as I can tell, none of the existing texts have any ancillary materials. There are some I would not want to provide, such as multiple choice test banks. However, I am developing a set of pedagogical tools for the new edition of *Comparative Politics* on the assumption that I would use them for this project as well.

All except for the instructor's manual will be available for everyone at www.charleshauss.info which I will be launching in October. Much of that was developed with Sarah Federman (of Cobb, Federman, Cassels fame) who has been hired to do the Instructor's Manual for my comparative text but will, in fact, help me develop a broader set of pedagogical tools.

At this point, I would expect www.charleshauss.info would include at least the following features that I will have for the comparative text by the end of the year:

- Videos of interviews with key people in the field which I will conduct as part of writing the book—a list of possible interviewees is at the end.
- Updates on breaking news
- A blog
- Reviews of new books, documentaries, and other publications
- A discussion forum in which students and faculty members can interact with each other and with me on issues of their choosing
- Regular video “office hours” with me
- Links to other useful sites on the Internet

Process and Timeline

Assuming that this will be a single column book of about 500 pages in a 6” by 9” format (you can translate that into words), I would suggest something like this for a timetable:

- Fall 2017—hold focus groups with faculty and students and conduct interviews of field leaders (listed at the end).
- September 2018—Full first draft finished and web site developed.
- 1 January 2019—Manuscript submission

What I Bring to the Project

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As is clear from my CV, I am unusual in having experience in peacebuilding both as a scholar and as a practitioner. I also have done well enough as a text book writer to have avoided needing to have a full time day job for the last 25 years, which has also allowed me to read and work as broadly as I have.

What's more, my own work has actually straddled both entry points into the field. I began my political career as an anti-war activist with enough depth and experience that I was granted conscientious objector status by my local draft board. After spending the first decade of my career as a conventional political scientist, the renewed cold war of the 1980s brought me back to activism, but in an unconventional way. For the rest of the decade, I worked with the Beyond War movement which was based in Silicon Valley and saw the nuclear threat as part and parcel of a more generalized shift toward what we would now call a globalized and networked society characterized by accelerating rates of change. Because of their role in the first generation of Silicon Valley startups, the Beyond War people drew my attention to the business world. In the late 1990s, I lived in the UK where I started exploring peacebuilding more generally, spent two week long periods in Palestine teaching young professionals, and came to the conclusion that I could no longer do this work as a dilettante. Upon our return, I joined the staff at Search for Common Ground to help launch a domestic peacebuilding initiative and to begin building ties to the US military. In 2006, I was asked to join the AfP board and have since served on its staff as well, where I am currently Senior Fellow for Innovation. In addition to editing the series of books we have with Rowman and Littlefield, my main mission is to help us start new projects (e.g. neuroscience) and build bridges to unusual partners (political conservatives, the business community, Evangelicals, and the military) and help our field develop the capacity to reach the brader American voting public.

Possible Table of Contents

Part 1 Introduction

- Chapter 1 Building Peace and Resolving Conflict
- Chapter 2 The State(s) of the World Today
- Chapter 3 From Win/Win to Complex Adaptive Systems

Part 2 Conflict Resolution

- Chapter 4 Mediation and Negotiation
- Chapter 5 Organizational Development

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Chapter 6 Neuroscience and Other New Initiatives

Part 3 Peace and Peacebuilding

Chapter 7 From Activism to Peace Studies

Chapter 8 The End of the Cold War: A Dividing Line

Chapter 9 The Twenty-First Century and Complexity

Part 4 Next Gen Peace Studies

Chapter 10 The Home Front

Chapter 11 Global Challenges

Chapter 12 Your Role

Possible Interviewees**Peace Builders**

Melanie Greenberg (AfP)
Julia Roig (Partners Global)
Shamil Idriss (Search)
Kevin Avruch (GMU)
Claire Lockhart (State Effectiveness)
John Paul Lederach (Notre Dame)
Bill Ury (One Earth Future)
Rob Ricigiliano (Omidyar Group)
Dylan Mathews (Peace Direct)
Bernie Mayer (Creighton)
Steve Killelea (GPI)
Kerri Kennedy (AFSC)
Steve Killelea (Global Peace Index)
D. G. Mawn (NAFCM)
Bryan Hansen (ACR)
David Smith (Forage Center)

Others

Adm. James Stavridis (ret)
Capt. Dick O'Neill (ret)
Col. Fred Krawchuk (ret)
Nik Gowing (BBC—ret)
Robin Chase (Founder, ZipCar)
Robert Krulwich (NPR)
John Kotter (Kotter International)
Amy Edmonson (Harvard Business School)
Charles Duhigg (New York Times)
Cmdr Eric Rasmussen, MD (ret)