

Tape Title: Mari Fitzduff Conflict Resolution 1/2
Lecture Title from Schedule: *Conflict Resolution*
Mari Fitzduff, Director of INCOR

**Location: Seminar Room, Aberfoyle House, Magee Campus, University of Ulster,
Derry/Londonderry**

Date: Wednesday, 21 May 2003, 11:30 am to 1:00 pm.

Mari Fitzduff is (2014) professor and director of the international Master of Arts Program in Coexistence and Conflict at Brandeis University.

From 1997 to 2003, she held a chair of conflict studies at the University of Ulster where she was director of UNU/INCORE, which addresses the management of ethnic, political, and religious conflict through an integrated approach using research, training, policy, program, and practice development. From 1990 to 1997, she was chief executive of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, which works with government, statutory bodies, trade unions, churches, community groups, security groups, ex-prisoners, businesses, and politicians, developing programs and training to address issues of conflict resolution in Northern Ireland.

00:02

Bill Flack: It is my great pleasure to introduce you to Prof. Mari Fitzduff. Mari is the head of INCORE which is housed in Belfast and she's going to tell you about everything in INCORE so that you know a bit what this place is about and how they work on conflict resolution that they do. For those of you that are psychology majors or interested in that or heading in that direction, Mari is, like me, a trained, credible psychologist and she's going to be talking about conflict resolution and help you understand some of the history of it and where things are at with the field of conflict resolution at this point. *points to Mari giving her the floor*

00:50

Mari: Thank you. Thank you.

There is some background conversation about how they need to ask for her permission on the tape. Carl Milofsky explains the process of the videotaping and the archive to which Mari readily agrees and says she will be "careful not to reveal any secrets." CMilofsky says she can reveal all she wants as long as she's okay with it being on tape.

Mari: Okay folks, good to see you all. I was, I had started off the morning thinking that I was going to talk to you about the work of INCORE but I've changed my mind having talked a bit about where some of you are because it seems to me some of you are making decisions about what field to go into, etc. And I thought that it would be pretty privy to talk about the field rather than just the work of INCORE. But, there are going around leaflets about the work, basically we are an international research center that tries to be useful, we try to be used and produce research that can be used by a lot of UN agencies, and a lot of other kinds of customers. We used to allow for briefing for the people of the Commonwealth Governments, etc, but what happened is, I'm just thinking for instance a couple of weeks ago, foreign offices asked me to come over because it got a massive amount of money to spend in Africa and they asked me,

how do you come up with a strategy to address conflicts in Africa?" It's not an easy thing to do if you can imagine, particularly because we were looking where the Congo is today. Or you get the Indonesian Human Rights Commission who want advice on how to address issues of justice when looking at the peace process and just seeing [what's happened in Ireland you can imagine the struggle in coming to those kinds of agreements].

2:30

So, we both write and talk in terms of both our own research and research of others so we try to be useful in that way. We have some research students, we have interns, fellowships and all that, you can find most of it on our website. We also have incredibly useful international website, which means that you can get current updated information on pretty much any country around the world today. So anything for a project you can go to Sri Lanka or Cashmere or even some of the smaller conflicts, by and large our website will give you the information that you need. There is also a lot of thematic sites there, looking at the latest ones we have the Security in Conflict, Psychology in Conflict, Women in Conflict, etc, etc, so I urge you to use that. I sent around this on the leaflets and that has a bit more that you might want to know about INCORE.

3:15

You know I believe... just to give you a bit of background, in the early 80s I was just finishing getting out of the nappy state with my kids and I looked up one day, because I live in an area that's known as the Killing Fields, its a country part of Northern Ireland which has the highest murder rate in all of NI. And forever my own families problems have been influenced by the Republicans and the Loyalists and the Republicans pretending to be loyalists and etc. And one day I looked up and out one window I could see the Provisional IRA practicing in one field and through my door came the British army chasing them. So I thought there's got to be a different way, and that's when it occurred to me that somebody's got to be looking at this in a different light in terms of conflict. So early 80s I began to do what any sensible person does and you decide to learn and give yourself focus for that learning, in which I decided to teach about it. So I went up to both of the Universities and I said, "I'm going to be teaching courses on Conflict Resolution would you like them?" and they got up and said, "nope?" and they got on with continuing their education and said yes.

Let me tell you, the field was so minute that half the people who showed up for my first course in mediation thought it was "meditation." That's how long ago! *laughter* And I started by learning the field by teaching it, therefore, what I'm conscious of today is that there are so many interns who come through that have actually done degrees and masters and postgraduate degrees in conflict resolution and I think how lucky they are because although I'm teaching of it, in those days it just hardly existed. I discovered one or two logistics so that was my introduction to the field.

Now there are all sorts of possibilities in the field and I'm going to talk a bit about how the field has developed. Some of it has to be skipped through because this talk was prepared for a much longer time that's why, so some of it will be irrelevant and you'll notice we will race through some of it, and come back to it in some questions. But, what I want us to look at is how the field

is developing, how some of your fields fit into, psychology, sociology, anthropology whatever. And in this sense how it is becoming, in my opinion, an absolutely fascinating place to be.

5:20

Okay and I call it "Art or Science?" because I have gathered that there is still a lot of discussion about what it is. Is it an actual field? And there's a lot of scorn from the various disciplines in terms of, you know, does it fit under sociology, does it fit under psychology. My feeling is there's a lot to learn from both. *struggles momentarily with the projector screen powerpoint*

I'll start with this and then pick up with this basically it was in the 1940s a man called Kurt Lewin, who is doing psychology? Kurt Lewin is your man. He basically got everyone to wonder, could we apply behavioral science to conflict, he was the first. A lot of work then began in the peace research department in Missouri (Google says: Peace Research Laboratory, University of Missouri, St. Louis). So I know I'm talking to students from the United States, but by and large the form, the conflict resolution science as we know it, was by and large begun in the United States. Now before then there was diplomacy and there was war and now there is conflict resolution.

In 1959, we had very famous people...

Student: Could you say again where the peace research was?

Mari: The peace research was in Peace Research Lab in Missouri. And then in 1959...this should all be up there, is there anybody who knows how to get this up there? (she means the information should be on the slide on the projector behind her but its not for some reason. Bill Flack comes up and so does a student to come help her adjust the power point and get it on the screen).

7:20

the slide show is now working after much difficulty

Mari: We are in business, we are in business. And anybody who wants to can email me for these dates later on rather than having to write them all down.

Student: Could you send us a copy of the slideshow?

Mari: Yes of course. Okay Kenneth and Elise Boulding an absolutely amazing couple who basically formulated in a lot of ground. In 1960 we have to give credit to Johan Galtung (sorry I have no idea if I'm spelling these names right I have no clue who these people are, its probably very rough). Has anybody met Johan Galtung? Absolutely brilliant amazing thinker in the field who knows he is an amazing brilliant thinker in the field and he actually is. *large laughter* He's still going very strongly in the field, some of my conversations with Uhlans would be very interesting to record. And then John Burton. We'll spend some time here. John Burton has a community approach conflict which basically says that conflict arises when human beings are not actually dealt with. And then we moved on to we began the Norwegian phase in Stockholm. *there's some discrepancy over her standing in the way of the slide so a student asks her politely to move and she does as the changes the slide*

8:15

Mari: After Stockholm we began CIPRI? which is one of the major organizations looking at data dealing with conflict. We then moved into the whole question of... *fiddles with powerpoint* the Quakers and the Mennonites, and Gandhi, etc. Now one of the interesting things is... that I ask myself is, what's happened to this group of people in the wake of what happened next as the whole field began to professionalize and it definitely is professionalizing. 80s on we began to emerge particularly in the legal profession in both the US and here. I remember the 80s giving talks on INCOR the ***** (that whole end of the sentence I cannot make out. I'm not sure if she is talking about a place or a time or what her talk was on.)

And they were very interested because a lot of people actually went into mediation as opposed to litigation because of the possibilities of ADR (alternative dispute resolution). And of course then we had all of the problem solving workshops in Harvard. Bradford began the first UK degree program and the Center of the Study of Conflict began in 1973 here and ICAR one of the first programs at a major American university and then you have what I call proliferation which as you can see actually took about 13 years more for the field to actually develop.

9:45

It was very interesting watching the different perspectives as they come through. Okay. *struggles with slideshow* I don't know how many we have here but these will probably echo where some of you have been. Do we have any anthropologists here? What they struggle with and particularly English biology has come through? which has an interesting perspective on this, you know are we struggling against nature? Should we just give up? Are wars inevitable, it just a part of who we are? Will wars just continue, a cycle about them. Psychologists are much more interested in what makes individuals violent, so you know what of the problems could be individual pathology and of course if everyone involved in this mad? And if so how can you possibly provide consultation or therapy to all of these crazy individuals? Human needs...I've already mentioned John Burton...is it because our needs aren't met is that the issue? The various scholars talking about needs not being met...there is food, shelter, life, identity, belonging. And it seems to be around identity and belonging that the muse gets stuck in terms of conflict. Social psychologists, which is what I am, wonder what makes groups violent? I'm very conscious always say to my trainees, "You shouldn't actually work in this field, unless you want to understand that given the right context that everyone in this room could resort to or think of murder." I truly do believe that. If you think of, it's wrong to think of people of being crazy. It's right to think that there are contexts where its easier for people to actually end up hurting each other. And that's what we focus on is the context. On the other hand, we have our political theorists who say, "No, no. It's all about power and what you can get." You know, it's all about what people can gain. But you know, there often is not a lot of logic to what people do. People engage in suicide bombings. There is people often do give up their lives, they blow up their own streets their own cities their own neighborhoods in the cause of conflict. So, the whole question...there's often a realistic aspect to conflict. But the question of it being the final, as it were, or the ultimate is something that we need to think about and not something that we can take too easily.

12:20

Why are we still in business? Well, as you can see and as you know coming from a society which is not completely in panic alert, it will be a long while before we can actually say to ourselves that we can relax. And I'll tell you it's probably going to be a lot longer than any of us think. Most of the wars today are very different from the wars your parents remember. There are only two international wars going on, and that India and Pakistan, and sort of Eritrea and a few minor others. Most of the wars now are substate wars so wars within states or they are kind of Al Qaeda phenomenon, which is basically a global fundamentalist group struggling as it were with issues of identity and power. So a very very different kind of war.

One of the things that struck me was the craziness of trying to spend ten minutes to understand the motivations of the fundamentalists. It wasn't the economic interests of the fundamentalists in the 9-11. After all, how many billions of dollars did we put into the technology? And I think how people must feel right now having fought wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and still be faced with having to look at what's happening in the United States and possibly elsewhere. The new wars are just totally different to what the old military science tells us. We've been in the ethnic conflict game for a long time and you look with a great despair at the responses that are happening now. Now from having lived in Northern Ireland you understand that the kind of groups that exist in Northern Ireland have sort of proliferated out of more traditional military tactics that we have tried the first 10 years or so.

14:01

A huge number of dead because of these wars, a huge number of refugees, a huge number of lost civilians and they all, most of them all are, what I call them serfs of war in the culture of religious, political and social. One of the things to remember is that religion doesn't cause a war, the fact that you're a Muslim or a Christian, that isn't what drives a war. Fundamentalism can exist in any framework, political, cultural, for instance you can have fundamentalists in Canada whose perspective comes basically from cultural perspective mostly based on language. I find the passion in Canada quite extraordinary when you look at it there's some issues of exclusion in the past but that's been left, but it's one of those things where you realize that identity and culture can be so important. So we should never get caught up in thinking that it's because people are Muslim or Christian or whatever. There is for instance a fundamentalist Christian group in Uganda that goes around trying to get people to convert or whatever. It doesn't make any sense because everybody reads their own bible or Koran to actually facilitate their perspective on war. But, fundamentalism is a particular perspective where you close off all other perspectives.

15:15

For those of you who are psychologists there is a very interesting piece of neuroscience I was looking at recently who took a group of fundamentalists and these could be a group of Christians who were totally anti-abortion or any sort of fundamentalist who would not listen to any other perspective. And they put them in front of information that basically challenged their perspectives, what do you think happened there in their brains?

Student: They became dense and they totally stopped thinking actually?

Mari: *nods* They froze. Which of course is one of the problems in addressing fundamentalism, showing them other perspectives just makes them retreat more into their fundamentalism. There are very different ways of dealing with fundamentalists and dealing with other people who are very strict in their ideas. And that's one of the things that we forget, this is the source of martyrdom. We do a lot of work with that here because they often got stuck arguing with people like Gerry Adams or Ian Paisley. In fact, everyone has their own arguments in where they are. In particular fundamentalists have their own world view. So managing to make that world view open to other sectors is a science in itself and that's one that people will often refer to.

16:30

The other problem about conflict is that they often go on and on and god love them, I know Bill Murray (can't hear the name ?) was actually involved in a ceasefire movement, which is a cease fire not a peace agreement. But, you know you hear about this all the time over and over again and you say, "Here they go again". If you look at our website of peace processes, you see that all of them...well not all of them. If you go back over the history there's a variety of them and we've got all of the peace agreements made over the last decade or so and often people take 8, 9, 10 times before settling on a peace agreement. So when you work on this process you become very used to the ebbs and flows of the peace processes. Often the good thing is they often leave behind something. Is anybody here particularly interested in the Middle East? The Middle East I think is a very good example of this ebbs and flow, it seems to me, one of the few good things about it was all issues around the table, we thought tourism was going to be the hardest, turns out it wasn't the right to return is going to be the hardest. That came out a few years ago. (student asks something) The right to return of refugees, the right of return of Palestinians to come back. That came out as an issue a few years ago and my opinion is, it was particularly because the Israeli people froze it out because their feeling was if they gave them that it would be the end of the state. And Ariel Sharon came in and told the people they wouldn't have to compromise and that's just what people want to hear because they don't like change by and large you'll find people find it hard, particularly when they're' frightened, and fear. Fear and aggression is hard to overcome in most conflicts I've come to find, but at least in Israel what you see is there's not much more to come to the table and the things that are swept under the table are likely to come out into the process anyway. So at least we're talking about everything at least being there, though it still won't be very easy a lot of us are confident about that.

18:25

Not in the short term in the long term. Okay. These are the other things you need to remember in terms of what's happening in the world. The world has changed completely. Does anybody know how many states that were in the United Nations when it was founded? (person in audience: 52?) 52 I think it was actually 49, but again I wouldn't stand over it, it's something around that. Can anybody guess how many states there are today? (Student is it 192 now?) I think its actually 199, but then again they're coming and going, but it was 199 at the last count. *there's some discrepancy as the student argues back but Mari points out that it really doesn't matter for the point I'm sure she's about to make*

But again, the basic thing is they've quadrupled. So what's happened is the whole world is fragmenting. So people are thinking we want our own place, our own diplomatic army, our own embassy, etc, etc. And the difficulty is the power is actually going to the world, so people are actually fighting to be independent over less. Which is one of the ironies and realizing that you got your own independence and then realizing that you've got to go back and cooperate etc, etc. So the power of nations seems to be changing and what we were previously debating was the power of a new European Constitution which is absolutely fascinating because it goes again with the whole European countries giving up their power to the region. And indeed you have variations with that and various trade alliances with that. And the military alliances which have been put somewhat into disarray, did you know wasn't it quite extraordinary for ???? (I don't know what word shes using).

You know the new alliances are coming on to the table every week it's absolutely quite extraordinary. And other thing we just finished a group on NGOs and you know the power of NGOs any of you looking for jobs I can tell you that the big NGOs are probably the place to go. First of all a lot of the international organizations with NGOs. (man tells Mari to elaborate on what NGOs are) Non governmental organizations are groups that are funded independently, often by trust funds or by individuals who are not under the power of the state. So the Red Cross would be one although it does take state contracts. And The Search for Common Ground in our field, International Art in our field, Care is another one so you get them working in all sorts of social issues, etc. All of these are NGOs and the figures are often extraordinary. They often have, the bodies of the NGOs in Afghanistan were bigger than the UN. So you're talking about...I just finished a book called *NGOs at the Table* and I was just stunned at the amount of power and funding that NGOs have. (There's a question about the publisher. It sounds as though she had gotten the manuscript to review and it had not yet been published.). It should be out in a few months. And it's looking at 6 NGOs who affected the policy process and particularly the lessons that can be learned from that.

21:40

So power is just shifting and changing so rapidly that it's very, very hard to sort of keep an eye out. Plural estates. The other thing to remember, this is especially pertinent to pluralism and its management. There's a lot of evidence to show and almost every one of the wars that we have today are caused because governments couldn't manage diversity. It's almost as simple as that. There's a man called Fernando Verran (can't locate on Google) who's done a lot of work of this, people like Yash (can't get the last name) have done a lot of work on this. 90% fo the states are not multi diverse, in other words at least 10% of the other. One of the interesting stories I tell is I was in a town in Estonia in 1990, it was a time when Estonia wanted to break away from the old USSR the old USSR. And at that date Moscow was very ambivalent and I remember standing at the square in town and we had just heard that Moscow had decided to put its foot down and send tanks from Moscow to Estonia. So, we were sitting there...is Estonia going to be independent or not? Is Moscow? Whatever. But the people were celebrating anyway, freedom was daunting, and I'm pretty sure I was the only one in that square thinking, "Well what about the 40% of Russians? Because I'd been doing some work in CSIE(?)... And how will they demonstrate about this?" There was a huge number of Russians, 40% of Russians. So how

would it feel to them to used to be able to look around and see their own place and their own people and suddenly look around and think its not their own place and its not their own people. There's lots of other people here as well and thats because of the colonial mobility and and status moves in the USSR which just took millions of people away from their place in that square and etc. So every state today pretty much is pluralist and it is a huge problem. Most of them can't manage..

23:40

That 1998 its gone on a lot since then, the Iraq War. Roughly 125 pounds per capita now that doesn't matter to you and me but that is a heck of a lot in a lot of developing countries who are trying to compete with this. Peace fare and we were doing some estimates and we were looking at core funding in a lot of peace organizations and diplomacy and things like that so we are still way way off in terms of where we might get to. Now I'm going to race through these because these were for another talk I was giving, these are just looking at a number of conflicts going on. These probably won't matter much. These are the ones that are still going on. (she's referring to lists of countries that are up on the powerpoint that we can't really see well) Africa is the worst. Africa is really really depressed, I can't talk about the number of the people I know who have died in the Congo. 10/24 of the most war affected countries in the 1990s were in Africa. There's a very good book called *Guns and Steel*....it's very good.

Over half of African states affected. *quickly clicking through slide* And huge displacement problems. And a lot of poverty from it. Future hot spots: Western Cameroon, interestingly I was in Cameroon a couple years ago and I came across and experienced a bit I brought home about fundamentalism and for some reason the plane left me on the coast as opposed to the Capital where I was supposed to be going which was about 200 miles away and I don't even want to go into how it happened, but everything fell through I was supposed to take cars which never happened but in the end I took a stack of dollars I always carry when traveling and got a taxi and I said take me wherever. 5 times on our way up on the road we were stopped by state soldiers who stopped in front of us. Basically they were looking for bribes. But what fascinated me was the conversation between the soldiers who were speaking French and the driver. And I speak enough French to know that they wanted to know not if I was black or white, not if I was Western or not, not if I was male or female, what they wanted to know is what language I speak. Because for them what mattered is do I speak French as they spoke or do I speak English as in Western Cameroon. Because what they saw it on was two dividing languages, English and French and that made the bring home that conflict, us and them, can be about anything. And in Cameroon it was about language.

26:40

Interestingly I was then going to a state dinner with the President and the Minister of Defense so you can imagine the tongue lashing I got, I was with actually with the commonwealth president until somebody sat at dinner and pointed at the silver plates and said, "hey how do you think those silver plates were got?" We figured they were a gift from the soldiers.

Anyway Tibet and Mongolia (she is looking at slides on her computer and sorting forward, commenting as she does so but not making real points) they keep denying it as in China we see that they are very keen on not being very confronted about it. Indonesia.

Man: Not being on what?

Mari: Not being very keen on being confronted about it in China but in fact there is a lot of problems there. And this is what we call non state terrorism. If you look at the non state terrorism actually we are totally disproportionate in the way we spread our fear because non state terrorism kills infinitely less than state terrorism, which we often forget. We often talk about terrorism, but we don't often talk about terrorists. We talk about non state terrorism as an activity not as a noun.

Student: What's the difference between state and non state terrorism?

Mari: Well, Cambodia Where you had a vicious state that was in place and was murdering its people, so you're just talking about states who are often just killing so many of their own. The thought with state terrorism where there actually is in place a form of power and they are the ones who do the killing as opposed to people who do not see themselves as a state and do the killing. Okay?

Student: Okay.

28:05

Mari: Al Qaeda is non state because it doesn't belong to a state obviously and terrorism is the main weapon of nonstate groups and the repertoires vary at different times, cultures, increasingly internationalizing and let me tell you, people are watching very closely Al Qaeda and seeing that this is how you draw attention to yourself. This will be the way people draw attention to themselves and their causes. It's helped by the availability of arms, not necessarily Al Qaeda but the problem in the world is such a crazy place in terms of fragmentation, so there is transport of arms. The whole arms trade is so out of control and all our states are actually fostering it. All of the Western states are actually manufacturing these weapons which are then used for a lot of these wars.

So I mean we certainly haven't got any claim to clean hands. And a wide range of causes. Not many military or security measures but that does not seem to come home particularly to the United States. I understand the fear I really truly do and to certain extents I understand that using traditional methods is often what you go for. It's the thing you know people want you to make the response they want you being strong? but those tactic here and I did a lot of work with the British army here and I can very specifically show that okay so you kill three people here watch their numbers on Monday, watch the people who then join up on Tuesday who then multiply the problem. So there was a military tactic here that was very interesting.

People understood when soldiers caught people who were violent in killing activities. But when they went into citizens houses, when they went to people who weren't being violent, when they went totally over the top, as a response that's when they got all of the extra paramilitaries going on. For us it seems a bit like we probably have in NI somewhere between 200 and 500 active Republican young men. It would have been to me for instance, Afghanistan, was a bit like someone bombing Derry because there were about 30 IRA activists within Derry. And the

problem was they did do that equivalent of not bombing but of similar bashing houses and creating many many martyrs so you need very different approaches. Just to bring you some consolations to the end: 75 out of 100 conflicts in the decade were terminated in 1999. 21 ended with peace agreements, 22 by victories and 32 by other outcomes. In other words they are still sort of going on. They are called retractable conflicts in the field.

31:00

These were some of the ones (shows a slide listing Northern Ireland, Egypt, Cambodia, Lesotho, and East Timor) that we were just desperately looking at the see if anything has emerged since and no they haven't. We seem to be safe enough so far in saying that they have not. Not easy in any of them, but by and large NI has ended. It never ends cleanly, so what I said it doesn't end with a bang, but with a whimper and whimper after whimper.

31:15

The other thing is remember, conflicts don't end they just change. So basically, what you're trying to do in a lot of these conflicts is turn them from violence into politics. Politics people get a chance to cooperate and hopefully you then get a chance to build up some sort of cooperative relationships.

What do we know? And I'm nearly finished. I was trying to think in terms of art or science, is there much we actually do know that we can use to start our thinking about. It seems to me there are certain things that we know. There are sort of life cycles to conflict and this may seem, have any of you seen the conflict cycle? Basically this is it. (On a large pad she draws what looks like a normal curve with a horizontal line 2/3 of the way up from the bottom of the figure.) And this is where you do prevention (pointing to the left end of the curve), this is where you do management and this is where you do post agreement (pointing to the right end). And basically this is where you are talking about a lot of violence. And basically what we've learned is that the work here is obviously very different to the work there, because there is obviously very different work needed at different stages of the cycle. (she camera pans over to show Mari and an illustration she made on a piece of paper for the class to see of a conflict cycle) And that's actually quite important, NI needs very different things now than it needed 10 years ago. 10 years ago we were picking up the bodies.

Student: So what did you say that is? (meaning the drawing)

Mari: Just the life cycle. So this is where conflict is just sort of simmering. And you do prevention. There is where it moves into violence and you do management, like I was saying picking up the bodies trying to keep the cycle from getting worse, etc, etc. Then you have the peace process stage and then you have the post agreement. Again we stopped calling it "post conflict" because if my thesis is right conflict never really ends, we are just talking about post agreement work. And they need different stages.

33:15

This is the way some people talk about it. There is preventing, managing, resolving and transforming. The thing to remember is if you don't do this work well, (points at spot on the downward sloping curve on the right of the picture---the conflict resolution phase) you just go back to here (points at the left side of the diagram where conflict is beginning to escalate). So in other words, in NI, if you hadn't addressed issues of injustice, issues of diversity---validation of diversity--- the conflict just would've gone on and on, so there are certain structural issues you have to address otherwise the conflict will just go on and on.

33:45

Transforming is the latest word. This field is replete with confusions of words and with terminology. And those of you who don't know rhetoric, this is also the next thing we do know. There's basically 3 stages to people that you need to work with (begins drawing another diagram) These are what we call the power brokers. These can be all the governments or paramilitaries or people who are important in military establishment itself, etc. These are what we call the local communities and these are what we call the power makers. So these could be...and I'll give you an example, and this is a good way to think of it. If you want to change police, there's no point in just the top of the top saying things about change. You've got to have the local people involved.

And same with a political agreement, one of the problems with the Oslo Agreement was that the only people who agreed to it were there (gestures to a point at the top of the diagram) whereas nobody was ready for it at ground level. In NI there was a whole bunch of work put in at this level. Political discussion, constitutional choices, years talking to people about what were their options.

34:54

(Someone asks for clarification on the diagram) This is power brokers, power makers and local community. So we each need to do work at all these different levels. It's absolutely vital. We've also developed another one called the "method approach". In other words people often think of conflict resolution as just the need to do a bit of mediation, and indeed many of us do do that. But actually, any conflict you have a lot of different issues that need to be looked at. So if you look at here, where I call the sustainable agreement. So for instance we had to deal with equality, law and order, because basically 97% of the police were Protestant. We had to do human rights and particularly cultural issues. Protestant people don't speak the Irish language. We had people who all spoke the Irish language. Why couldn't they have programs which represented their culture? We had to do politics, particularly try to change it at a local level, trying to develop people at what we call the community level and we have to do what we call here community relations. And the problem is people often think of community relations in conflict resolution as just mediation. It doesn't. You've got to have an overall metaconflict approach. I couldn't have stood up, I couldn't have talked to groups here in NI if I didn't know the equality issues weren't being dealt with, I would've been laughed at. So you've got to have an approach which deals with the issues as well. And that's where partly the negative stuff in dealing with the issues can engage at many different levels.

36:40

This is the stuff Mary Anderson has brought up the whole question of are you a connector or a divider? And one of the interesting things in NI, I don't know if Tom (Fraser) told you this, we now have a new law that doesn't exist anywhere in the world. Not only are we looking at equality we are looking at what we call "good relations". In other words, every aspect of policy has to contribute to good relations here by it all. So if you're putting a leisure center somewhere, the center should facilitate good relations. You put it in the center. You don't put one on each side, which would increase the division rather than the good relations. And the political participation...majority rule. Democracy is no answer in many of these situations, Majority rule is a disaster. And so those who talk about democratization are actually less educated on what the needs are in NI. And I think that is almost done (she's talking to her Power Point slides again).

37:39

These are the other things that we know that group conflicts often happen due to inequities. The ultimate importance of belonging meaning identity who we are, transitional states are problematic, fascist states are safe, fully democratic states are safe, in between ones are really problematic. We saw it in Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan. Peace processes are more effective when they are inclusive. (Talking to the slides again) I'm just going to run through these because they were for something else. I'm going to finish all this because these are the things I want you to remember.

I was stuck in Helsinki some time ago with a group of economists who were there for a conference on conflict, and I was so envious of their equations that I thought: well I'm going to develop an equation for conflict. And this is what I came up with. I've actually changed the slide a bit. You have some group that feels excluded, so you have a context where 1 group feels excluded, but that's not enough because that wouldn't fit our style of conflict. It has to be around a mobilized identity. So you have to have some group that becomes a "we" in the context of exclusion but even that doesn't cause a problem. For example, civil rights in the United States basically...was led by people who saw other ways of dealing with conflict by and large. Women's rights were fought by women who chose to fight, by and large, nonviolently. The problem is this one here (points at the letters "NL" on the PowerPoint). So if you have a leader who sees a group that's mobilized against a context that makes them feel excluded, almost anyone could stop a war. You have very few leaders, the problem is that we have more leaders who are transaction leaders, negative leaders, than we have positive leaders. And then we arrive at a final conflict. Now the use of this is that you can change the structure of problems, you can change the structure of who is being left out, you can change the ghettoization so you make sure they don't all live together and have their own perspective or you can change the issue of leadership. So it gives you 3 different entrees as it were into changing the conflict. Okay I think I'll stop there because I'm conscious that this is for somebody else.

40:05

Student: Could you give us those dimensions again?

Mari: These will be different depending on the context, so for example there would be a different one in Indonesia, so for example, in NI we had to compete with equity issues, we had to work

with law and order issues, who the police were and who they represented, human rights issues in terms of issues of culture and language, remember there were no programs representing Catholics until we started doing our work in the mid-1980s. You have to look at politics, politics have to actually become the politics that can include people rather than exclude. And to do that you often need what we call community development, which is developing leadership at the local level. And the final one then is what we call community relations but many other places call coexistence work, conflict resolution work, etc. And I have come to the conclusion that the task for a person working in conflict resolution is not just to do this bit, but to actually influence all of these areas so that's what we call the method approach as opposed to just any other approach.

41:20

Student: I'm interested in your curve. The possibility of a feedback loop. With one of the disputes we ran into last year in one of our lectures, was people who basically thought that things were on the right side (in terms of the diagram---resolution was under way) versus people who think that the conflict in Northern Ireland is still under way, more on the left side or towards the top of the curve.

Mari: Well let me get back to this, the reason NI reverted back to conflict is the first one. The reason the conflict started was because by and large the unionist state when they took over in 1991, remember neither the unionists or the nationalists wanted a northern irish state. The nationalists wanted a totally independent ireland and the unionists wanted a totally non-independent Ireland. So both of them end up with a state they didn't want. And the south excluded theologically and the north excluded sociologically. So the Protestant / unionist community was so afraid of the continued desire in the nationalist community for independence that it basically created a Protestant state of Protestant people within which Catholics were discriminated against. So when we started work in the 70s and 80s I was responsible for a lot of the, not the inequality work, but a lot of the cultural diversity exclusion work which changed laws and languages and things like that. Basically having got rid of the partitions in the 70s and 80s, we transformed NI.

42:40

By and large there are almost no equity issues left and let me tell you exactly what there are, there are still long term unemployment, more among Catholics. One of the reasons for that is actually they don't join security forces, so there is a huge wave of employment that is actually unavailable to them. In other words if you had both Catholics and Protestants in the security force in equal numbers that would take care of a lot of the issue. The other thing is in senior management in civil service and that has changed in the last few years so that is likely to be completely managed within the next decade or so. I think those are the only two that are left. In other words, one of the reasons the war came to an end and I heard this story from a friend of mine who was imprisoned, a governor, who was telling that in the prisons Republicans were going around the bend because they didn't have any issues to fight on because the government began to fund the Irish newspapers, the began to fund the Irish schools, which they should've done all along.

So what we have now is a context within which Catholics have taken their place in the sun, have actually taken a very public position within most of the public sectors, the figures now seem to suggest that they are now in a majority in terms of the law faculty and the medical faculty, etc. In fact we are hearing a lot of complaints from Protestants who now feel as if they are being discriminated against. So when you talk about changing this (the equation), one of the major things we changed in NI has been this which is why we won't go back, we don't want the anger, we don't want to feelings of exclusion to fuel what it takes to start a war again.

And also you have a hugely increased middle class, particularly with Catholics, which means that you've actually increased the number of connections between the two communities. And remember one of those things that I always get a bit worried about is, people often see inequality like this. (Mari is off camera doing something) People often see inequality like this, so you have at the top Protestants and at the bottom you have Catholics (camera pans over the top easel where Mari has drawn a pyramid). At the top the men, bottom women, black, white. Where are you from the United States? I was just going to say there's nobody of color in the room. (someone says, "yes there is.") Oh good good! *laughter* One of the awful things about living in NI is that there is nobody of color, so its nice to see you.

45:05

You often have Protestants, white, men vs. Catholics, women, black. Thats the way it's often perceived, us and them. Present fact, in NI as well as most everywhere else, its a bit more like this (draws a pyramid with a diagonal line through it) you have lets say this is the Catholics and this is the Protestants, what you have disproportions with more poor Catholics than Protestant. So what you have now and you've obviously had a certain number of wealthy Catholics the problem was they were disproportionately smaller than the Protestants. And what's happened is this has significantly changed and therefore relationships between these have eased up significantly (points to middle of pyramid I assume she means the middle class then) and it changes the type of conflict you have. In terms of leadership we are still stuck. One of the real worries we have is that our politics have been ghettoized In other words based on the problems we are in, we have a balance of power on a sectarian basis which leaves no exit strategy for people like myself and my children who see ourselves as "other."

The number of people who see themselves as "other" in NI has increased to about 14%. And they have no space in the political system. So there is a real dead end there in terms of the tensions between the sectarianized political whims to dominate the debate and the other. However, since we don't have politicians around to run, its an interesting conundrum. One of the really difficult things to realize in terms of NI is that by and large our politicians leaving in 74 enabled us to transform NI. We do not think that we could've brought in the cause to reduce inequality and promote diversity if the politicians had stayed. We think we would have been fought every inch of the way. Now I was not transformed by politicians but by enlightened legislators, decent civil servants, some of them but not all of them, and a lot of civil society and that is one of the really great things. And the other thing is actually people don't miss the politicians that much as long as the war is over.

47:20

Student: So as you create a self governing system, you bring the politicians back in and part of the problem is that they become excluding in their manner? Which is why civil society part worked better than the political part.

Mari: there will be quite a lot of tension as there has been in South Africa between civil society and a lot of the politicians. By and large when we set up partnerships at a local level between the politicians, the trade unions, the business people, and the NGOs, by and large the politicians realized that everybody else was out of their gauge, all of the people were much more knowledgeable in terms of how things worked, how economics worked, by and large so many of the politicians have been left out of so many of the decisions. But I think there is a bigger problem in NI. I have yet to meet, and I have a lot of experience, I have yet to meet a politician who is willing to put his or her, unfortunately usually his, future or the future of his party at stake in order to secure the common good. It is very very depressing and we've just done a huge research on leadership looking at these two models: the transactional model, which is the Molosovich (?) one which says to the people you've got the power now, I'll follow you, or the Mandela one which says I've got power which I'm going to use it for a common good, which he tried to do rather desperately throughout. You just don't get them here, some one who has been looking for transformational leaders all over the world in our field its very difficult to find.

48:55

Student: I found a book that construes that the IRA seems to want to make the argument that Gerry Adams from his position in the IRA in the soap box of Sinn Fein, what do you think about that?

Mari: Well the real reason the...what changed substantially since the war ended was in the mid to late 80s the Provos and the IRA realized that they couldn't win the war by terror only. And the British army realized they couldn't win the war on terror only. So where do you go when you've made that realization the way Gerry Adams did? Well, Gerry Adams in a way he brought the war to the end because he realized they couldn't win and there was a new generation coming up which kind of made him realize this. I know that both Martin (McGuinness) and Gerry were very concerned at the new turks in the IRA who seemed willing to start the war all over again, not seeming to realize that they couldn't win it either. So it just wasn't possible to win a war on terror here. I don't think Adams...Adams really talks about conciliation with Protestants but what he's talking about is the Protestants who will accept a United Ireland on their terms. They're not going to touch their religion I mean that's sort of out the window in terms of that. So I think it's not true to say...Adams would like to see himself as Mandela. But in the end Adams stopped fighting the war because he couldn't win it and also because as with all politicians finding a new basis is incredibly important.

50:22

When I worked with...when the ceasefires happened in 1994, we began to work with some of the young...some of the paramilitaries. We got resources from wherever, and we basically gave

them out because you can do that in NI...to get them to adopt new priorities and to change. But we basically went to them and said, "Okay you are going to have to face up to the fact that things are changing because Northern Ireland has politics. You are going to have to learn about politics." And the conversations were fascinating because some of the smaller groups would up and say, "Well do you think that we could win politically?" and you'd have to be honest and say, "No, actually I don't think you could set up a party." and they'd say, "Oh, okay then we'll just go back to the bombing." Because they wanted power somehow. Those who managed to get political power, particularly Sinn Fein, Sinn Finn managed to do brilliantly in terms of the transformation and some of the loyalists like the PUP then became engaged in the process. We had a lot of problems in the streets with a lot of loyalists groups who had gotten no power and this was a reaction that happened in terms of that. So that was a real dilemma for us, those who didn't get power within the regime. But that brings up huge problems of justice. 3/4 of the murders by paramilitaries no one has ever been charged for, 1/4 of the republican and 1/2 loyalist somewhere in there no one's ever been charged for. And that's not counting the security forces. What were the number of murders carried out by the security forces as opposed to the paramilitaries. Does anybody remember? Anybody know? Can anybody guess?

Student: A couple hundred?

Mari: Yes, it was about 10%. The way Sinn Fein talked it was 90% by the security forces. 10% unfortunately for Sinn Fein. The figures are actually 10% by security forces, 60% by Republicans and 30% by loyalists. Most of the security forces we know at least who did them. But the problem was a lot of them weren't charged for various reasons that we will go into later. Murder vs. nothing. They hadn't gotten manslaughter in there and it made it very difficult to charge them.

52:25

Student: How are you giving those statistics or those percentages?

Mari: There's a very good and you can get a copy, Mari Smith has done, every death in Northern Ireland has been recorded and who they were killed by. On the web...on our website. One of the good things here as opposed to Israel and Palestine, I cannot get those figures. Here we know pretty well everyone who was murdered and we pretty well know who they were murdered by.

Student: We know it from the ground up so it's not gloss...

Mari: Oh no these are our people at INCORE. (meaning that the people at INCORE go and got the statistics themselves)

53:00

Student: You said that you iterated 4 groups recently, politicians in London, as well as all the local groups, and NGOs and I wasn't sure what the other two groups were.

Mari: Oh how it was changed? How NI was changed? (student says yes) Well NI effectively in 74 was probed, we took away our politicians, Britain took away our politicians. It was enlightened legislators, enlightened civil service and NGOs who basically were changed.

53:30

Student: Okay so two part question. You mentioned before that 90% of the nations in the world today have pluralist nations. and I presume that it was partially due to American/Israeli mobilization (doesn't sound right) amongst other things. Is that true?

Mari: Well it was in the sense that and there's not too many over there and what always amazes me is how African countries are ruled by so few people. I could never believe that the British actually managed to have so much control with so few people. So when we're talking about British people being over there, we are talking sometimes about the sort of boundaries that were drawn around states that meant you had a lot of different groups within particular boundaries controlled by a relatively small number of people. But then, its very different to know how this could've been done. For example there's something like 320 different ethnic groups in Nigeria, so in fact there always has been pluralism. It just happens that when you come to put in power issues that's when the real problem arises.

54:23

I always have great admiration for Tanzania and he [the president of Tanzania] but Tanzania is really very good at that. He came from a very small tribe that didn't really have much power and that's how he managed to develop the government in Tanzania quite well. And Karsai in Afghanistan, he always seems to come from somewhere where there isn't that much power, he isn't seen as one of the big tribal folk and therefore he can manage that well. So the problem is when you have the pluralism mixed in with the power structures but what's increased it is the mobility of people. Its just a simple fact of life that people are much more mobile now. Economic migration means that we now have a fantastically plural society now in the United Kingdom, although not in NI. One of the problems in NI, one of the frightening things in NI are black minorities are in a very small percentage. But after the ceasefire, attacks on women and black minorities went up, which was quite frightening. But, by and large you're talking about mobility but also about Stalinist regimes that sort of shift people around. We're talking about refugees, etc. So pluralism is on the march and off of that is economic migration. According to the United States its basically economic migration.

55:40

Student: You definition of power, you're operating definite use of the word power. What do you mean by the word power?

Mari: Well it depends on the context. Who's powerful in this room?

Student: I just wanted to make sure that...

55:50

Student: What I was just wondering was I mean, it seems, I know after WWII there was the devastation of Europe there was a massive amount of depluralization, which for the most part was finished at the end of the Cold War. I know a lot of boundaries were drawn with Germany

plus like ??? lines that divide ??? And I was wondering were there a big percentage of the conflicts that happen nowadays and due to that depluralization? and whether in the future if what some people call a new system of neopluralism if that system were to break down, would new conflict arise and basically is it cyclical?

Mari: I mean I have two anthropological friends, one is Bill Murray and the other is Melvin Konner and he wrote *The Tangled Wing* absolutely wonderful book. Bill is a wonderful idealist and he talks about how people are naturally peaceful and there is no conflict until Imperialists or something comes up. He doesn't actually use the imperialists but other examples. And then Mel comes in and says, usually on different days and says, there's always been conflict there's always been people fighting. So my sense is it's not that there was less conflict before imperialism. What's changed is the weapons people use which has made it so destructive, the guns at first and now you're talking about explosives. And what's changed has been the them and us. There are different them and uses in different periods. Now there are different them and us and sometimes they are bigger and therefore more problematic. So you're talking about more powerful armies coming at us with more powerful weapons. So I don't think it's that there wouldn't be anymore if there hadn't been imperialism, it's just that it shifts and changes according to how power shifts and changes around the world. So the idea that and I mean now we see and now it is absolutely fascinating when you talk in terms of globalization. There are powers going "who is in charge?" there are huge questions. I mean part of me would say Al Qaeda is in charge in the world today, Al Qaeda is the group that decides how many hours you are going to spend in the airport, how worried you're going to be... I mean we did have a very interesting guy here called Bill Demody? from Kings College London who said that the whole thing is absolutely irrational. I often get asked when I'm going places, "Are you afraid?" and I say, "No because I drive from here to Derry and from here to Cookstown every day. I am more likely to be killed on the road there than most of the, particularly most of the non state stuff. It actually is much less problematic than natural disasters, state terrorism etc, etc.

58:50

So there's something about proportion and keeping things in proportion. And in NI you get proportion. We are the only people who don't stop flying when the acts of terror were learned, we are just so used to it. Actually it can get to be too much. I remember once just before the ceasefires were called. We lived in Belfast on the main street and people were always bombing our friends and our colleagues in the human rights coalition which is hidden the corner, so often when the bombs blew up we were slightly saved by it. So they'd often come along and join us and then go on with their vacations and whatever. There was one day where we had to get out of even our building because the bombs were right outside and there were 3 meetings going on in our building and I walked in and just kind of said quietly, "Now guys we've got to go outside I suggest you go to the nearest corridor." I watched as they packed up their briefcases. I walked with one group down the stairs and the one man said, "What was that item 14 we were looking at?" *laughter* You know the meetings, they were just so used to it. And the only question we would ask and it was all very controlled but all we would ask is, "Was anybody hurt?" And then... I mean those were always times I talk about going downtown one day.

1:00:00

And actually it was a hopeful day surprisingly, I went down to do some shopping as you do, but just as I went down into the center of town I was terrified because a shot came by and this workmen who had been working there had been shot. And it turned out he had been shot by the Provisional IRA because he was actually a part-time security person. God forgive me I went on with my shopping. Because even after hearing somebody was murdered, I've just been blown up so many times, etc, etc, I've been under death threats for so long myself. So anyways so then I went back home, I was back home and back to the office and just as I was walking toward city hall another bomb went off and I just thought, "Oh well now this just isn't our day is it?" *laughter* It was the loyalists blowing up the Sinn Fein offices in the city hall. But I tell it because that same day I got back home and at that time I was the director of the Community Relations Council which was a major organization responsible for conflict resolution and the company and staff were coming in and out and they were talking about a group who had agreed to meet another group finally and something similar had happened someplace else and I was actually thinking how do you compare and contrast the short and long term work of the afternoon? The crisis work in the morning vs feeling like you're actually getting somewhere. And you've got to have great faith that the connections you're making between groups, many of which....

Tape ends