Process Work and the Facilitation of Conflict

by

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The peace process we all aim for
will not necessarily be a result of
the mere signing of a treaty or agreement.
It must become a matter of our everyday lives,
so that peace settles and lasts and becomes supported by everybody.
We therefore have to give peace all the required care and preserve it and promote it.
—King Hassan II of Morocco (1929-1999)

Peace is more difficult than War.
—Aristotle

We have met the enemy and he is us.
—Pogo

Abstract

This heuristic, multi-sited ethnographic study uses Process Work as a lens to evaluate the facilitation of conflict. The research conducted in this study explores the inner experiences of conflict facilitators as potentially purposeful tools for informing and optimizing the facilitation of dialogue and conflict transformation efforts.

Consciousness is deconstructed and explored in terms of the awareness of signals, roles, relative rank dimensions, edges, symbolic psychological figures, archetypes, and phenomenological experience within an analytical, structural framework of *deep democracy* and a spiritual framework of *eldership. Innerwork*—an approach to unfolding the inherent meaning in previously marginalized signals and experiences—is explored as a purposeful methodology for optimizing interventions in facilitation. A key aspect of this dissertation is to show the importance of innerwork and the ability to understand the outer and inner worlds as reflections of each other.

Process Work's structural framework and spirit of deep democracy and eldership provide constructs for exploring experiences, signals, disturbances, and body symptoms in the conflict, in the field, in participants, and in facilitators. These experiences and disturbances are shown to be teleologically meaningful phenomena that are related to the conflict structure and can aid in facilitation, deepen awareness, and help lead the way to sustainable conflict transformation.

Data is collected through interviews with conflict professionals, field experiences in NGO's, public forums on social issues, and self reflection of the author's own social, organizational, and interpersonal conflicts, and analysis of various historical conflicts.

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So many people, far more than mentioned here, helped to make this work possible in many ways, profound and subtle. Amy and Arny Mindell, Max Schupbach, Kate Jobe, Salome Schwarz, and the entire faculty, staff, and community of the Process Work Institute worldwide who have provided me with a rich lens into the lives, hearts, and minds of others, as well as my own.

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Christel and Ambassador John McDonald from the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy gifted me with a rich immersion into the culture of Washington, DC, and the international conflict resolution machinery.

Sharon Benjamin provided hours and hours of editorial assistance, endless dialogue and debate, invaluable faith, and friendship. Cary LeBlanc provided the spark of competitive spirit and comradery needed to sustain a long project. Judith Arcana, my main faculty contact through most of the project, provided a broad, strong feminist activist's view and a scholarly and literary writer's standard of excellence. Bob McAndrews ensured that the rigorous and ever changing academic standards of Union Institute were met.

Each of the people I interviewed gave so much more than their time. They gave clear jewels from the depth and breadth of their work, their lives, and their most passionate hopes for humanity.

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We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive.
— Einstein

We have had eons of spiritual evolution, 10,000 years of governance, 2,500 years of political philosophy, over a century of psychology, nearly a century of political science, half a century of political psychology and over fifty years of formal conflict resolution. The former Soviet, French, British, Dutch, and German empires have collapsed; we have more democracy than ever; and yet we seem to have as much war as we have ever had. What has gone wrong, what is being done about it, and what else can be done?

In the documentary *The Fog of War,* former US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (Morris, Williams, & Ahlberg, 2003) said, "I think the human race needs to think more about killing and about conflict. Is that what we want in this twenty first century?" What does it mean to think more about killing and about conflict?

The roots of conflict resolution extend back at least as far as the tradition in the Greek city states and the Roman Empire of using third party mediation in international relations (Miall, Ramsbotham, & Woodhouse, 2004, p. 34), African (Gluckman, 1956), and Asian traditions, and texts such as Sun Tzu's (1988) *The Art of War* and Carl von Clausewitz's (1993) *On War* (which focuses on conflict resolution, peace, and stability from a military perspective).

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[1]   This thesis conforms to the APA Style Manual, 5th Edition. Rather than use a system of gender neutral pronouns, tediously alternate between masculine and feminine pronouns, or laboriously include both this paper uses feminine pronouns except when referring to a specific man.

Conflict resolution developed as a field in the 1950s during the early days of the Cold War and during the tumultuous times of the 1960s when it became increasingly clear that the existing authoritarian methods of deterrence were not working on the foreign or domestic level.

Contributions from psychology began with frustration-aggression, social, political theories in the 1930s and 40s (Miall et al., 2004, p. 41). Harold Lasswell (1930), the father of political psychology proposed the following equation: *p}d}r=P*, defining *homo politicus*, the power seeker, P, in which a person (p) displaces her personal needs (d) onto public policy and rationalizes it (r) as being in the public interest (p. 75). This model parallels Freudian thinking and maintains that the political power seeker is often compensating for feelings of low self-esteem and inferiority.

The field was further shaped by political science's views of power; the political philosophy of Machiavelli, Malthus, and Hobbes; spirituality; the prophetic traditions of Jesus, Mohammad, Gandhi (1942, 1964, 2000), Dr. King (1963, 1967, 1986), and Nelson Mandela (1995); the physics of Einstein (1954b) and David Bohm (2004); and now includes the foundational work in conflict theory and practice of Galtung (1987, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; 2002; 1995), Azar, Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995; 2004), Burton (1996), Ury (Fisher & Ury, 1991; 1999), Lederach (1999; 2003), McDonald (1991; 1987), Mindell (1972, 1982, 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1992, 1993; 1995; 1996, 2000a, 2000c, 2001; 2002b, 2002c; 2004, 2005a), Montville (1981), Volkan (1999, 2004; 1988, 1998; V. D. Volkan, Julius, & Montville, 1990, 1991) and many others. This dissertation approaches these subfields through the work of a few contemporary conflict practitioners

and writers and explores the conflict theory and practice of the major conflict resolution paradigms.

An estimated 175,000,000 people died in the last century in what former US National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski (1993, p. 17) called "lives deliberately extinguished by politically motivated carnage" (p. 17). Countless more have suffered and died in conflicts due to miscommunication, misunderstanding, challenges to security, identity, and recognition, ideology, greed, family dynamics, money, environmental marginalization, racism, classism, homophobia, and sexism:

> Every day four women die in this country as a result of domestic violence, the euphemism for murders and assaults by husbands and boyfriends. That's approximately 1,400 women a year, according to the FBI. The number of women who have been murdered by their intimate partners is greater than the number of soldiers killed in the Vietnam War. Although only 572,000 reports of assault by intimates are officially reported to federal officials each year, the most conservative estimates indicate two to four million [one every 7.9 seconds] women of all races and classes are battered each year. At least 170,000 of those violent incidents are serious enough to require hospitalization, emergency room care, or a doctor's attention. (National Organization for Women, 2003)

Similar statistics document casualties in war, trauma, conflict, and oppression involving many factors. And yet, even without these tragedies, the suffering caused by everyday conflicts in normal daily interactions is already too much.

The nature of conflict differs between interpersonal, family, organizational, community, intrastate, international, and global levels. But there are similarities too,

particularly at the psychological level. Some conflicts result in violence, some not, and some involve violence that is emotional, verbal, or systemic rather than physical. The field of conflict resolution is exploring all levels. This dissertation primarily addresses the later three levels of social, violent, and intractable conflicts but concludes that the levels are inseparable.[2]

Within the framework of the assumption of inseparability of these levels of conflict, there are various approaches to preventing, transforming, or resolving conflict. Some approaches say that "we should all just learn to get along" but do not say how to bring that result about. Some say that love is the answer but have not demonstrated a workable approach to bringing about that transformation. Rumi (1995) wrote, "Many want love, few will be willing to become it." Some see love in a polarizing way. For example:

> The two kinds of people who exist in this world are the decent and the indecent. Color, religion and nationality are irrelevant. Kindness, decency and behavior are what matters most. Our collective challenge, it seems, is to create a city and community where decent people of all races, ethnicities and religions can look into the faces of other decent people and see only one thing—God's image smiling back. (Rabbi Micah Greenstein, 2001)

This polarity views people as being either decent or indecent and good or evil and sees God only within the good people.

Others say the key to unlocking the intractable nature of conflict in the present is to look to the past. Some say that the solution to intractable conflict has not been found in the

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[2] For example, on September 4th, 1995 three American servicemen abducted, bound, gagged, beat, and raped a twelve-year-old Okinawan girl (Johnson, 2000, p. 34). Clearly this event has consequences on intrapersonal, interpersonal, family, community, organization, international, and global levels and is related to US foreign policy.

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past and will not be, so we must look only in the present. Some say the universe is holographic, that space-time is non-local, and thus there is no difference between past, present, and future. Some say that the solution is for everyone to look within, to see the seeds of their own violence, and to be present in each moment. Others say that conflicts are merely a worldly manifestation of complex forces that exist in a separate reality—these forces are described shamanically, archetypally, as social forces, as power, as quantum fields, or as the Tao by various paradigms.

Some say that leaders should agree on accords and compromises and that people will follow, while others say that leaders are merely figures and the people and the spirit of the times must be moved to agree first. Some say the problems are economic and resource-based, others say they are cultural and identity based. Some maintain that education, media control, and punishment are the best way to control the dissident behaviors of those in conflict and to maintain the balance of power (Eastern Mennonite University, 2005).

One view of conflict maintains that it is essentially a growth process—if the parties to the conflict were more aware, they would sit together and work through problems until a resolution was found or a settlement negotiated. Another view suggests that even rational, conscious people may disagree and those disagreements may evolve into conflicts due to diverse outside events and pressures (Burton, 1996).

What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner? The research conducted in this study is less about resolution of conflict, *per se*, and more about the momentary attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experience, skills, *metaskills* (Amy Mindell, 1995, calls various feeling attitudes towards experience metaskills), and awareness of facilitators that help them deal

with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner. It asks, what is and what is the role of awareness?

An important and key aspect of this dissertation is to show the importance of innerwork and the ability to understand the outer world and your inner world as reflections of each other. Without that no progress in conflict resolution is sustainable. This diverges from the mainstream conflict resolution field as well as from other writers. I hope with this dissertation to further the debate about the importance of innerwork to effective and sustainable conflict resolution.

Process Work frames awareness in a particular way that considers the importance of tracking and considers signals, roles, rank, synchronicities, flirts, and experience in a unique way. Process Work will be more fully presented later. Briefly, however, Process Work is described as follows by the Process Work Institute (2006):

> Process Work is a cross-disciplinary approach to support individual and collective change. It developed in the 1970s and 1980s when Dr. Arnold Mindell, a Jungian analyst in Zurich, Switzerland, began researching illness as a meaningful expression of the unconscious mind. Also known as Process Oriented Psychology (POP) or dreambody work, Process Work offers new ways of working with areas of life that are experienced as problematic or painful. Physical symptoms, relationship problems, group conflicts, and social tensions, when approached with curiosity and respect, can lead to new information that is vital for personal and collective growth. With its roots in Jungian psychology, Taoism, and physics; Process Work believes that the solution to a problem is contained within the disturbance itself and

provides a practical framework through which individuals, couples, families and groups can connect with greater awareness and creativity.[3]

Mindell (1996) maintains that no one is more aware than anyone else and yet we are aware of very different things. Leonardo da Vinci (2002) wrote that he could find ideas by examining clouds or stains on the walls. Burt Rutan (Foust, 2004) dreamed the details needed to complete the design for the reentry system of SpaceShipOne. We all have very different and unique awarenesses—each of which is apparently needed for humanity. What can we do to practice and develop our unique awarenesses? What do conflict professionals do to train and develop their awareness and do they? What is awareness and what is the function of a facilitator's awareness when working with conflict?

For the purposes of this study,[4] *awareness* refers to the ability to notice consensus reality phenomena (normal vision, sound, speech, etc.); symbolic phenomena (also referred to as *dreamland*, which is further described later), archetypes, spirits, and figures; and barely liminal felt, ineffable, intuitive, or spiritual experiences that can not quite yet be articulated in words. *Consciousness* refers to the ability to notice or to be aware of each of these three levels of awareness with detachment. In other words, consciousness is awareness of awareness (Arnold Mindell, 2002a). The ability to simultaneously notice and monitor each of these three levels while forming a rigorous, structural analysis of the interrelationship between the three levels and the whole system is the basis of process oriented facilitation and is further described in the next chapter.

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[3] Note that many quotations that appear to be missing page numbers are actually from lectures, classes, seminars, or electronic sources and the complete citation including any applicable internet URL can be found in the reference section.

[4] Terms are further described in appendix 2, Definition of Terms, on page 384.

Empirical studies of mediation have demonstrated high rates of settlement and participant satisfaction (which is not equally true with conflict resolution's efforts to intervene in so-called intractable armed conflict) regardless of the philosophical paradigm employed, the style of mediation, or the philosophical orientation of the individual mediator. Process Work is presented, not as a superior paradigm or a panacea for conflict, but as a lens through which to more deeply understand the failures and successes of various styles of intervention.

In *Bringing Peace Into the Room: How the Personal Qualities of the Mediator Impact the Process of Conflict Resolution,* Bowling and Hoffman (2003), set out to discover what it was that made the difference between a good mediator and others and where these skills came from (p. 13):

> . . . there is a dimension to the practice of mediation that has received insufficient attention: the combination of psychological, intellectual, and spiritual qualities that make a person who he or she is. We believe that those personal qualities have a direct impact on the mediation process and the outcome of the mediation. Indeed, this impact may be one of the most potent sources of the effectiveness of mediation. (p. 14)

Bowling and Hoffman (2003) propose that this quality has to do with the facilitator's ability to bring peace into the room and propose three stages in the development of this ability in facilitators:

> First, as beginning mediators, we studied technique. We learned, among other things, active listening, reframing, focusing on interests, prioritizing issues, and helping the parties generate options. We learned to demonstrate empathy as well as

impartiality; how to diagnose settlement barriers; and how, with any luck, to bring a case to closure. We looked for opportunities to practice these skills. A period of apprenticeship ensued, involving, for some of us, co-mediation [hyphen added] with more experienced colleagues, observation of other mediators, and opportunities for debriefing and peer supervision.

The second stage of our development involved working toward a deeper understanding of how and why mediation works. In seeking an intellectual grasp of the mediation process, we hoped to find the tools with which to assess the effectiveness of various techniques; identify appropriate professional and ethical boundaries; and better understand what we were doing, why we were doing it, and the meaning of the process for our clients. These intellectual inquiries, encompassing both empirical and theoretical research and normative discussions of mediation practice, increased our effectiveness as mediators and enhanced the personal satisfaction we derived from this work.

For us, the third aspect begins with the mediator's growing awareness of how his or her personal qualities influence (for better or worse) the mediation process. It is at this stage that we begin to focus on, and take responsibility for, our own personal development as mediators. It is about *being* a mediator, rather than simply *doing* certain prescribed steps dictated by a particular mediation school or theory. (pp. 15-16)

Bowling and Hoffman (2003) propose that at this third stage the mediator is able, through her own personal development, to "reach a deeper level of personal connection with the parties, so that the reframing resonates with authenticity" (p. 17). What is

authenticity? How do we know when we have achieved it? How do we know when we have not? And what do we do with it? Authenticity and a facilitator's ability to bring peace into a room are important metaskills. And yet, authenticity and violence can coexist. And, the goal of conflict resolution is not the momentary peace that comes solely from the facilitator's presence. What are the goals of facilitation and conflict resolution? What are other important metaskills?

There is a quality referred to in process oriented psychology as *eldership*. Eldership is the ability to understand, empathize with, and support conflicted individuals or groups on all sides of an issue simultaneously and compassionately (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 51). "Eldership is leadership studied from the inner perspective" (Yarbrough, 2005).

An elder, in a sense, is not necessarily a peace activist because an elder also supports the values and the beliefs and experiences, but not necessarily the behaviors, of everyone. Process Work considers eldership to be a role. That is, in any given interaction, you never know which person may come forward and express great eldership. Because eldership is a role, Process Work does not see eldership as a quality of the facilitator exclusively but as something, which like any role, can and needs to be occupied at different times by others in the field.

Research suggests that conflict itself can be used as a source of wisdom (Summers, 1994a, p. 32). This is not to deny the great suffering associated with conflict. This is only to say that since conflict exists, there is much we can learn from it on the path of our development as parties to conflicts, as facilitators, as humans beings, and as elders.

The following section, *A Brief Introduction to Process Work,* presents the basic

Process Work paradigm, language, and tools that comprise the lens that will be used

throughout this dissertation.

MUMMY
a mummy
wearing a tweed sport coat,
bright yellow-gold
iridescent bandages,
sunglasses,
and a fedora
wakes me at four a.m.

I open Mindell's *Dreambody*
randomly
and read of auras.

» Stanford Siver

This section provides a basic introduction to Process Work, also known as Process Oriented Psychology.[5] It is intended for those who have little or no prior formal experience or training in Process Work and is included as a foundation for the discussion and research in awareness-based conflict resolution paradigms in the facilitation of conflict that are presented in chapters 3, 4, and 5. The material presented comes primarily from process oriented facilitation and clinical training, theory, and experience. Cases presented in this discussion are a composite of my own personal work and my work with clients and groups. Since this section is intended to be an introduction to Process Work, it was written using the technical jargon that is commonly used in Process Work's subfields of process oriented clinical, group, and worldwork.

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[5] Process Oriented Psychology, or POP (not to be confused with pop psych) is sometimes said to stand for process or perish.

The term process has taken on a particular meaning based on the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead (1979), which extended concepts from quantum physics into philosophy. Arnold Mindell's (2000c) work has, similarly, extended the theories and application of concepts from quantum physics into psychology. Since quantum physics is based on subjective observation (a necessarily psychological phenomenon), Process Work is not seen as a metaphor for quantum physics, rather, physics is seen as a metaphor for process.

Mindell began publishing his findings in 1982 with *Dreambody: The Body's Role in Revealing the Self.* Process Work is a psychotherapeutic paradigm and practical methodology for uncovering deeper meaning in a broad range of human experience by following experiences in the moment through tracking signals, synchronicities, and somatic experience. Process Work has roots in Jungian and Gestalt psychologies, Shamanism, Taoism, sociology, and physics; and application in all aspects of human experience including large group work on issues of conflict and oppression. Amy Mindell (2002) defines *process* as "a constant flow of experience, continual change."

From the point of view of someone interested in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, Process Work can be seen as a way to integrate conflict resolution, organizational dynamics, and systems and relationship theories with *dreaming*. Dreaming, according to Arny Mindell (1982) is the metaphysical or spiritual experience and meaning behind behavior, signals, symptoms, and disturbances. Amy Mindell (1995) uses the term *metaskill* to refer to the feeling attitude, skill, technique, or tone used in performing an intervention. Using heartfulness and toughness and other metaskills a practitioner

intervenes to bringing awareness to and unfolding the meaning embedded in the process's constant flow of experience.

Other aspects of Process Work include its approach to working with somatic experience, body symptoms, altered and extreme states of conflict, and relationship issues—each of these aspects is also important in conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

Process Work does not have a goal of change. The goal is awareness. This may seem odd given that we all want change around the difficulties, relationship conflicts, and body symptoms over which we suffer. The idea behind this has roots in Taoism: there is a river that can be followed that will show the right way to go. Process Work is about noticing the signals that point to the river and the pattern that lies there and unfolding the meaning embedded in them. While Process Work does not have a goal of change, neither is it against change. Many people assume that people change to avoid suffering. To some extent this seems true but many people suffer seemingly needlessly and do not change. Why?

Then, after many years of therapeutic work, I made a disturbing discovery that shook my belief in people. I discovered that pain was not enough to motivate people to change, its presence or absence alone is not sufficient to change people. There is something else, a strange, unpredictable element which is required before people can work out problems and alter their lives. This element is a mixture of discipline, love, and enlightenment. (Mindell, Mindell, & Schupbach, 2004)

The process oriented approach to integrating quantum physics with psychology bridges the gaps between science, philosophy, shamanism, and mysticism. This approach, which Mindell originally called Dreambody work, starts in the body and involves a practice of deep personal exploration. The term *Dreambody* refers to the body as we normally

know it in consensual terms as well as to the non-consensual aspects of the body's experience as well as to the hypothesis that the physical manifestation of the body arises from the underlying spiritual or quantum experience (Mindell, 1982). In the exploration, the body is used (along with synchronicities, dreams, altered states, and relationship troubles) to develop greater awareness, understanding, and compassion.

This path of learning involves developing an attitude of openness towards various feelings, experiences, opinions, states of consciousness, and body symptoms as well as towards various roles and dream figures. It is what Carlos Castaneda (1972) called the path of the warrior because it involves developing an openness to a certain kind of psychological death wherein one's own momentary experience, though important, is no longer important in the way that it used to be. There is a change of consciousness that enables an individual to support the views of others (as well as her own) in a way that promotes an openness to intimacy, to relatedness, and to change; thus allowing the whole community to work together to find momentary solutions to each of its ongoing conflicts.

In Process Work terminology, our normal consciousness and our normal identity (a straight, white American man, for example) is connected with our *primary* process. The things that someone does not identify with, things that do not go along with her normal identify or things that happen to her, are connected with a *secondary* process. These terms, primary and secondary— the symbols 1° and 2° are sometimes used as short hand for primary and secondary process—are meant to indicate proximity to the normal identity and in some cases proximity to consciousness. I identify as being a fairly nice person. This is my primary process. Aspects of my own brutality are further from my normal identity and are more secondary. These terms are used instead of the usual psychological terms of

conscious and unconscious because those terms tend to become meaningless when working with altered or extreme states of consciousness and because there is greater fluidity in being able to describe something as more or less primary or secondary, rather than as binary and rigid states of conscious.

Two other useful terms are first and second attention (Castaneda, 1968). It is the *first attention* that notices life in consensus reality. It is the *second attention* that notices the dreamingbody's experiences—such as body symptoms, synchronicities, dream figures, and altered states of consciousness—and searches for signals pointing to underlying the secondary process. "The goal of the warrior is to [consciously and actively] develop the second attention, for this leads to living the dreamingbody and finding the path of heart" (Mindell, 1993, p. 27).

As with anything, the tools and the outlook you bring determine what you will be able to see and shape the possible outcomes. For example, assuming that a body symptom is a purely biological phenomenon prevents me from understanding it as a meaningful experience. Working with dreams only through associations prevents me from noticing how the dreaming process is happening in the moment by seeing it in a client's symptoms, movements, relationship life, and interactions with the world.

The main metaskill in Process Work is curiosity towards the mysterious: an openness to experiencing nature and watching it unfold in unusual and wonderful ways (Amy Mindell, 1995). Each paradigm fits a certain situation and provides important tools but Process Work uses the signals of the moment as an indication of how the process might be amplified, unfolded, and understood.

Process Work attempts to find meaning in experience without pathologizing it. If I pathologize a client's experience or behavior, the client will feel it (even if not consciously) and our work will be limited because of her own inner struggle or polarization. This sort of openness requires curiosity. In a particularly unusual way, there is something *right* or meaningful behind everything, including, paradoxically, being against some things.

A classic therapist training question is, what would you do if Adolf Hitler came in for a session? Obviously his actions in the world were horrible and should have been stopped. Saying that there is something *right* does not support his behavior or ignore the suffering it creates. It does attempt to find deeper meaning in his experiences so that they can be used to transform the behavior. This means, from a particular psychological thread of experience, that there is a meta-logic that led him towards that particular behavior. What was he yearning for? What was the deeper dream? That thread of meta-logic includes the world dreaming together, simultaneously creating and fighting against anti-Semitism and fascism and struggling to learn about diversity and power and human evolution.

> Process Work saves me from judgments. If I think in terms of process, I cannot
> think in terms of good or bad, sick and healthy, past or future. If I think in term of
> process, then I can work nonverbally, with comas or with meditation, and I don't
> get stuck with words. (Mindell, 1989b, p. 11)

Working with a Process

I destroy my enemies when I make them my friends.
—Abraham Lincoln

Your task in working with a process is, in a sense, to be lazy: you only have to notice what you are noticing and use your experience to help the client or group further

their own awareness (Schupbach, 2000b). You do not have to create anything or change anything. Process Work does not change people. It only brings awareness to what is already happening, albeit at a far greater level of precision than normal everyday awareness. The idea is that nature is already creating everything that is needed and your job is to help the client, group, or organization notice what is already happening. This will help clients to be happier, have more enriching lives, and embrace the richness behind the experiences they are already having.

Process Work does not say that people should become autonomous, or related, or whole, or integrate their experiences—Process Work does say that wholeness happens over time: not that it is a specific goal that should be created in the moment (Schupbach, 2000b). Any given experience must be incomplete. Trying to have an experience that is not one-sided is itself one-sided because it is against momentary experiences of one-sidedness.

Experiences can occur in several *channels.* Channels are the specific paths in which information is received: visual, auditory, proprioceptive, kinesthetic, relationship, and world channels refer to information that is collected by seeing, hearing, feeling, moving, in relationship with another person, in relationship with a divine, shamanic, or spiritual entity, or through an outer event. The whole dreambody idea means that any given process can be experienced in any channel. *Visualize something fiery. Now move like it. Make a sound like it. Now be like that in relationship.* Experiencing a process in different channels does not mean that the exact same experience results. Some experiences, for example, can only occur in relationship with someone else and there is a particular quality of that experience that can not always quite be reproduced in other channels.

Because people tend to be against certain experiences—often saying "that is not me" when nature ensures that they have those experiences anyway—they often are not able to identify with the experiences. In other words, because they marginalize or *split off* the experience they instead have the experience in dreams, symptoms, relationship conflicts, or project it onto others. Often those marginalized experiences appear in the form of hot spots. A *hot spot* is a momentary disturbance in a group process when a strong reaction erupts. This reaction may take the form of a frozen silence. Hot spots involving anger are often triggered by double signals (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 80). *Double signals* are signals that do not go along with the primary process. Imagine someone saying, "I am not angry," while pounding her first down on a table. And hot spots involving anger are also often triggered by a lack of rank awareness (p. 80). For example, if I as a white man make an intervention that does not reflect an appreciation of the difficulty that women or people of color may have experienced due to systemic oppression, that may be perceived as a lack of awareness of my own rank as a more or less well educated, healthy, white male.

In working with a group or individual client, a Process Worker tries to help people to negotiate if, when, and how to enter a given experience and the dreaming process behind it. And, once that experience seems to be happening, the Process Worker helps the person to complete the experience by getting to know it, experiencing it more fully, and learning how to use it in relationship, in the world, in movement, or wherever. It is an awareness process. It is a particular way of helping clients relate to their experiences.

The basic concept of the Dreambody is that the secondary process expresses itself through the body in the form of somatic experience and symptoms, thus revealing information "which apparently cannot be easily translated into anything but somatic

language" (Mindell, 1982, p. 182) in relationship difficulties, in dreams, in world channel experiences, or in other channels. This is not meant to imply a dualistic separation of mind and body, rather, a deeper level of integration or equivalency than is normally understood: an integration that includes a process of communication through channels of experience that are not normally acknowledged as being meaningful in Western culture. Mindell calls this deeper equivalency conservation of information. The basic information in the original secondary dreaming is conserved and occurs in various channels with a certain equivalency. This concept has parallels in ancient religions and body practices. In a sense, "illness asks for integration . . . it requires consciousness by creating pain" (Mindell, 1989b, p. 69).

In Hatha yoga, for example, the yogi experiences her body at an energetic or dreaming level, which was referred to as the *purusha*,[6] and works with it through movement and awareness of the body's posture, somatic experience, and breath. Other traditions work with the same level through energy work, meditation, diet, herbal remedies, dream work, and other forms of intervention. How can one system of thought provide a unified therapeutic modality for working with the dreambody? Mindell (1982, p. 8) maintains that,

> Psychologists with sufficient training and flexibility to follow individual dreambody processes will discover that terms such as analysis, psychotherapist, and body work must expand to the point where psychology allows the human being to touch upon every known theory and practice (p. 8).

This does not mean that a dreambody worker must be a trained master in every other therapeutic modality. The dreambody itself reveals the key to working with the

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[6]   In Hinduism, *Purusha* is the "self" which pervades the universe.

process through its own signals. Mindell (1989a, p. 5) maintains that a therapist can follow the client, family, or group

> . . . by using observational accuracy to discover the nature of processes. . . [she or]
> he listens to the verbs people use, watches their body motions, notices his own
> reactions, discovers those he tends to neglect and determines experiences and
> follows processes according to their distance from individual or collective
> awareness, the channels which they manifest and their time patterns. Thus he not
> only lets the river flow but appreciates its exact nature. (p. 5)

Process Work is a form of Taoism[7] wherein the Process Worker endeavors to notice and to appreciate the flow of the river and help the client to notice and follow it as well. Noticing and appreciating the flow also means noticing what is against it, appreciating that too, and discovering the relationship and the tensions among the various roles.

Channels

> Few are those who see with their own eyes and feel with their own hearts.
> » Einstein

Channels are like the streams feeding the river. They are discrete avenues for information flow, each one having the ability to carry different types of information more clearly than others. Channels are said to be *occupied* or *unoccupied* depending upon whether we are aware of the information that is flowing in or out via the channel. The main channels are:

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[7] Taoism: The philosophical system evolved by Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, advocating a life of complete simplicity and naturalness and of noninterference with the course of natural events, in order to attain a happy existence in harmony with the Tao. ("Random House Compact Unabridged Dictionary," 1996, p. 1942)

· Visual   This includes external as well as internal visualization and visual flirts. For example, noticing a cloud that looks like a dragon; seeing someone's face in a crowd, only to realize that it wasn't that person; or seeing an inner image, whether with your eyes closed or not and whether or not you are asleep.

· Auditory   This includes speaking and listening, as well as awareness of inner voices.

· Proprioception   This includes awareness of the body's positions, somatic experience, and body feelings.

· Kinesthetic   Also called the movement channel, it refers to body movement as well as movement that is not in the body. The use of certain words may indicate a secondary process in the movement channel: flew, ran, drove, etc.

· Relationship   The relationship channel involves the flow of experiences associated with other people. Indicators of a secondary process in the relationship channels include the use of third party references, gossiping about or projection onto another, and strong emotions towards another.

· World   The world channel refers to the flow of communications and experiences with the world at large. This includes social issues such as racism, sexism, homophobia, environmental issues, classism, and violent conflict; work related

experiences or troubles; and medical diagnoses that go against someone's experience of being healthy.

·   Spiritual   The spiritual channel is a source of information about yourself and others that comes from ineffable, numinous experience and connection with something greater than consensus reality and dreamland (Amy Mindell, 2002).

In the evolution of process theory, the term spiritual channel has been replaced by the term sentient essence or essence level because the sentient essence behind experience is seen as being more in line with the deepest experiences that can barely be perceived but that can not quite be described and are not associated with any one given channel. Channels are more closely associated with primary and secondary experiences that manifest in specific experiences. The pattern behind those experiences, which may have some equivalency and constancy across channels over time, is associated with the deeper sentient essence.

Many theories exist on the nature of consciousness. Process Work simplifies this discussion by using a very basic definition wherein consciousness is the "awareness of proprioceptive body signals, fantasies, and dream material" (Mindell, 1982, p. 162) and also includes awareness of each of the other channels. The following figure expresses the relationship of the channels to consciousness (Mindell, 1989a, p. 23). This is not meant to be complete and some channels are missing. It is meant to illustrate the relationship of the channels to the phenomenology of body, mind, and awareness.

Obviously, our momentary experience generally includes a complex composition of these channels. One meditation that can be practiced to help develop channel awareness

is to simply sit, notice what you are noticing, and ask yourself what channel it is in. As I try this, I notice that I feel the pressure and the coolness of the keyboard against my palms—proprioception. A moment later I notice the sound of the computer humming—audition. Developing the skill of being able to differentiate the channels is one thing. Developing the habit of maintaining channel awareness is something else. Developing metaskills of curiosity and compassion help to further the ability to notice marginalized signals within the channels.
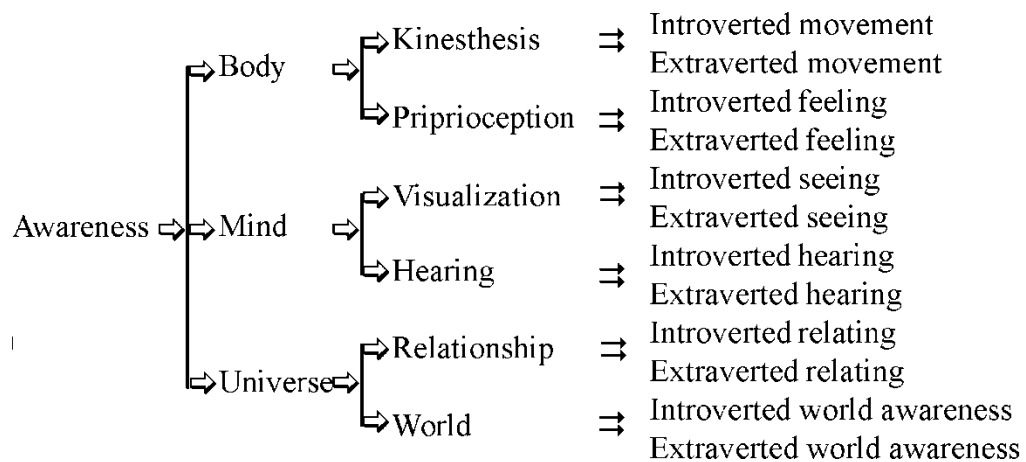
Figure 1: Structure of Channels (Mindell, 1989a, p. 23)

Depth psychology generally refers to the conscious and the unconscious (often referred to as the shadow)[8] parts of the psyche. This parallels what Freud (1964) called the subconscious, which he viewed as being one structural component of the mind. Process Work views the psyche slightly differently. In a process oriented view point, each person has a primary process that is the way that she normally identifies. For example, I primarily identify as being a straight, white, American, middle class, generally healthy male who is generally happy and easy going. Aspects of me that do not go along with this tend to be

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[8] The term "shadow" is avoided because it associates darkness with unconsciousness.

unconscious more often than not, and thus further from my identity. "The primary process or identity is sometimes state-like but it is also momentary" (Jobe, 2005b).

Process Work also differs from traditional depth psychology because it does not see the conscious or unconscious as being a rigid polarity. Rather, there is a tendency for something to be more or less conscious and this changes over time as well as from moment to moment. That being said, however, Process Work maintains that unconscious material often has a certain cohesiveness around it and appears at times as if it is "trying to be known." This is referred to as a secondary process. It is an experience that is trying to reach consciousness. The "secondary process can be and often is conscious" (Jobe, 2005b).

For example, if while I identify as being a generally easy going guy I am irritated with someone and speak to her in a really grumpy way, that grumpiness is secondary and the relationship channel is unoccupied (meaning that I am not identified with the experience reflected in the tone in which I am speaking). Moments later I may notice my grumpiness and, over time, I may be aware of my occasional grumpiness, but I may continue to have moments wherein I do not identity with it. As previously mentioned, the terms primary and secondary refer to experiences that are sometimes state-like but are also momentary. When I am aware of my momentary grumpiness it is no longer secondary, it is primary. Furthermore, as I now realize that I have just been a jerk, which is to say that my grumpiness has become internal, it remains secondary but is now directed against me.

An occupied channel is defined as a channel that is occupied by the primary process, an experience that is identified with. An unoccupied channel is occupied by a secondary process, an experience that is not identified with. These are momentary descriptions. What is primary one moment may be secondary in the next, and vice versa.

For example, I may be more concerned with how others see me than with how I see myself. Or, I may unconsciously instigate (or *dream up*, Goodbread, 1997) my friends to react against a part of me or to occupy a part with which I am not identified. In essence, by not identifying with and having my own reaction against myself other people will have that reaction for me: relationship is unoccupied and I am unconsciously dreaming my friends up to react.

> Total awareness and individuation or self-completion implies developing one's ability to pick up and deal with signals coming from all the channels. Processes often get blocked or stale-mated when people identify with only one or two of the above mentioned channels or with only their primary process. (Mindell, 1989a, p. 24)

The consciousness needed to *pick up* and deal with signals is known to Process Workers as second attention. The goal is to "develop the second attention and relativize the one-sidedness of our awareness, enabling ourselves and others to live more fully" (Mindell, 1993, p. 198).

The secondary process is not necessarily something bad. For example, I may be consciously furious with someone and not notice my own signals of de-escalation: the peacemaker who is satisfied that the conflict has been resolved is secondary. Also, the secondary process is not necessarily in opposition to the primary process but it has a different quality. Signals in a channel other than that which is occupied by the primary process and that go along with the primary process's content and qualities may not be conscious but they are still closer to the momentary identity associated with the primary process.

For example, if while I am speaking, my hand gestures go along with the content and tone of my voice they would be said to be more primary. Signals that do not go along with the primary process are called double signals (Mindell, 1989a, p. 26) and point to the secondary process and occur in the *unoccupied* channel, meaning the channel that is occupied by the secondary process but unoccupied by the person's identity.

> Most disturbances occur in unoccupied channels. That is, channels that are
> occupied by the secondary process. The disturber is a special dream figure that can
> appear as a momentary flirt, a synchronicity, a body symptom, or a relationship
> disturbance. An especially frightening disturber is sometimes called the ally. This is
> a very special dream figure that must be fought and overcome in order to unfold its
> meaning and integrate its power. A disturbance that only provides a momentary
> distraction may be less interesting than one that trips you into a complex.[9] That one
> has real juice to it. Switch channels and become the disturber to get to know it
> better. (Arnold Mindell, 2002e, pp. 80-82)

All incompleted motions of the body are secondary signals. Or, the movement may have a particular quality that does not match the tone of my voice or a certain quality of the speaker's words. This quality is secondary. Perhaps my hands are thrown forward for emphasis as I speak, but there may be a moment when this emphasis is curtailed and my hands suddenly retracted. This is an incomplete movement and when and if unfolded may indicate, for example, that something even more forceful wants to come out. Although I am speaking (audition) to someone (relationship), the secondary signal is occurring, in this

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[9] *Complex*: an exaggerated or obsessive set of related feelings, ideas, or impulses that may be repressed but that continues to influence thoughts and behavior.

example, in the movement channel. Movement is the unoccupied channel and the secondary process could be unfolded by amplifying the gestures of my hands.

Edges

Conflict is inevitable, but combat is optional. Max Lucado

An edge is reached when a process carries an experience or information that is difficult to accept or which goes against the primary process. Edges are what keep people blocked, or stale-mated and able to identify with only one or two channels or with only their primary process. In the previous example of my own secondary grumpiness (in the relationship channel), I describe my shift as happening fairly quickly, which it sometimes does. Often, however, people are unable to make this shift and to notice their own grumpiness. They have an "edge" against identifying with their grumpiness, which is often supported by a rationalization of the correctness of the content of their attitude with regards to the other person. This edge makes it difficult to learn about one's own grumpiness, which then makes it difficult to clean up relationship troubles that stem from the way the individual treats others.

Structurally speaking, edges are barriers between the primary and secondary processes that keep us from identifying with the secondary experience.

The borders or barriers that exist to the eternal and continual flow of inner processes. In speaking, when we can no longer say something, we have reached a communication edge. An edge is a kind of threshold. Just as logs or rocks in a river give form to the river, edges give form to your inner processes. Edges are neither good nor bad; they simply divide us into different worlds. We know this because at

one point or another, we feel we cannot go more deeply into an experience, insight, thought, or feeling. We have reached an edge. (Mindell, 2000c, p. 57)

An edge is the limit of what we think we can do or the experience of not being able to do something or being blocked from accomplishing, thinking, feeling, or expressing something (Mindell, 1988). It is the name for "the experience of confinement, for the limitations in awareness, for the boundaries of your own identity" (Arnold Mindell, 2002e, p. 71). An edge is "a communication block that occurs when an individual or group, out of fear, represses something that is trying to emerge" (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 41). Edges are evident when there are incongruent signals, incomplete movements, inexplicable laughter, when someone changes the subject abruptly or slightly trances out, or when someone says "that is *not* me." Crossing the edge is not the goal. The goal is to follow the process, the dreaming, and the signals and to bring awareness to what is happening. Edges arise

in the moment when something new and unknown arises and we find ourselves faltering and falling back into our known identity. Sometimes people giggle, hesitate or become shy at the edge as new experiences begin to emerge. At the edge, a compassionate therapist [or facilitator] follows the individual's awareness. If the client wants to go over the edge into new territory, then that is the direction to go. If the client stays at the edge, the therapist can find out more about the inhibitions to going over that edge. Perhaps the client simply needs encouragement to step out of ordinary time and follow something that is mysterious. (Amy Mindell, 1995, p. 72)

Some edges are collective socio-cultural edges. For example, stereotypical white Anglo-Saxon Protestants may have an edge to wild emotional expression or to talking with

their mouths full. In another culture, talking with your mouth full might be quite normal. Some edges belong to the rigidity of a group's primary identity.

If not for edges, the work of discovering and integrating a secondary process would be fairly straightforward. Hence, Process Work is primarily about working with edges while maintaining a structural overview of the various psychological edge figures—archetypal figures, or dream figures that are surrounding, support, or fighting the edges. The creative part of Process Work is in learning and devising methods of amplification of the signals. Process Work maintains that the signals themselves provide information as to how they should be amplified.

For example, a women in her mid-twenties goes to a therapist because she is depressed (in an altered state of consciousness),[10] which she experiences as something holding her down (which is described as being experienced in the movement channel). Within a few moments it is clear that relationship troubles with her girlfriend are associated with the depression. Process Work considers that the depression is not caused by the relationship difficulties, *per se*. Rather it is a signal from the secondary process, which is trying to come to the surface and needs to be explored. The signal is teleologically related to the secondary process. The depression has the same pattern as the relationship difficulty and contains the same information but in a different channel.

While unfolding the relationship difficulties, it becomes evident that the woman has an edge to express herself more directly and to powerfully stand for her position in her relationship. Her culture, however, has taught her several things about being a woman that do not go along with her desire to be more powerful. Her edge figures tell her that women

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[10]   Notions of what constitute an altered or a normal state of consciousness vary greatly between various cultures, communities, families, and organizations.

should be softer and less direct. She should not express herself powerfully, according to this edge figure. She speaks as one of the edge figures in a role-play and says, "What kind of a woman are you? You can't talk that way!!! You should be quiet."

What started as an experience in the kinesthetic (movement) channel quickly moved into the relationship channel and finally into the world channel. It is too big of an edge to react against these edge figures and against her societal conditioning so she has instead turned her power against herself in the form of a depression. This work could have been completed in any one of these three channels.

For example, she could have worked on it in movement by first getting to know the edge figure that was holding her down initially. An edge or dream figure that creates a symptom is known as a symptom maker. Role-playing the symptom maker by pushing down on the therapist (who is playing the role of the woman with the symptom) might allow the client to get to know this figure's message directly. Once she is aware of the message of the symptom maker, she could switch into her regular self and allow the therapist to role-play the symptom maker while she feels into the experience of being held down by this figure, watching to notice her organic reactions against it. Or, she could have worked on this in relationship by first teaching the therapist how to role-play her partner and then working on being more powerful in relationship. Finally, she could have worked on this in the world channel by standing up for women and speaking against the cultural stereotypes that inhibit women's freedom. Ultimately, she may want to do each of these, taking the lesson learned in one channel and learning to integrate it in the others. "Picking up" on the energy of the secondary process and its signals would, in this case, mean being more powerful and more direct in relationship and in the world.

Edges that are sustained for long periods of time may be associated with psychosomatic problems. Apparently information not consciously picked up (brought into awareness) is rerouted through the body via alternate channels through what Mindell (1989a, p. 26) refers to as conservation of information (for more on conservation of information see page 38).

In general, working with an edge, edge work, can be seen as having four steps. In general:

· The first edge is to see the edge, to get into it, or to work on the issue.

· The second edge is against the experience itself.

· The third edge is to use the experience. Being powerful, for example, is edgy. Being powerful in relationship is especially edgy.

· The fourth edge is to identify with the experience: "I am powerful." (Mindell, 2000c)

For example, suppose that I am against violent aggressive people. It follows that my own violence and aggression will be secondary. Eventually, suppose that life convinces me that I have something to learn because my relationships keep failing and people sometimes hate me. This convinces me to cross the first edge and take a look at myself. I still have an edge against violent aggression. I project it onto others and think that "it is not me." But my suffering continues and I realize this is not working either. I cross the second edge when I begin to explore the experience itself. I may talk about violent aggression at the safe distance of my projections. The third edge is to using violent aggression and to act out violent aggression—perhaps in movement or sound at first and then by role-playing a violently aggressive character. Eventually I may be able to use the experience more directly, becoming momentarily violent and aggressive. It still is not me. I am just role playing. The

final edge is to identify with the experience and to see that I am basically a violent aggressive person who has long periods of being basically loving. This is the same as saying that I am basically a kind loving person who occasionally has momentary outbursts of violent aggression, but it is said from a different perspective and from a different identity. The first and fourth steps tend to be the hardest to cross.

Identifying with my violent aggression does not yet transform it and my behavior has not changed yet. But without having this awareness any attempts to change my behavior are not apt to be successful because I still will not be able to see the aggression. Being able to identify with the aggression gives me the chance to go deeper into the experience, to unfold the yearning or dreaming behind the aggression. This will be different for different people, but it may be a way to reach an experience of feeling powerful. By then working to find other ways to identify with and to express power, the secondary process no longer needs to rely on unconscious aggression.

In a couple, when one person has crossed an edge the other person is generally brought to the next edge. This is called the double edge. If the second person does not go over her edge the couple will feel uncomfortable because there is no sense of relationship or it creates an imbalance in the relationship. A dream figure may arise that says, "Only one person had an edge: the other did not." Or, "you were the problem after all, not me." Or even, "I did my work and crossed an edge, you did not." Even in individual therapy, if one part goes over an edge but the resistance part does not, then the uncomfortable feeling may return, perhaps after the person has left the session.

One alternative to crossing an edge is to explore the dream figures or edge figures that are against the experience. I may be afraid to tell someone that I do not like their

behavior because of edge figures that say, "he will never change, he is so violent that it is not worth dealing with his reaction." Or there may be a non-linear experience such as a slight trance state or a body symptom such as shaking and a cramped throat that prevent me from speaking.

Ghosts

A ghost is a role that is not occupied, which means that no one openly or consciously identifies with that role even though people can feel the effects of it. It is part of the atmosphere or something that can not quite yet be said. Someone may not feel free to do or to say something. There is no one keeping her from being free or telling her what to do or not to do but something is limiting her. The dominator is a ghost: a role that says something like, "you can not say that."

One way to notice a ghost is to notice that it is not clear what or who is creating a certain experience. If someone in a group says, "I do not feel free to speak." Why not? Who is saying not to? Frame the ghost explicitly and get to know what the ghost might say by having the client dream into it and speak for it. Or if someone reacts to something that was said but the reaction is not really directed at what was said, the figure that the reaction was directed to is a ghost.

A 3rd party is a particular sort of ghost. When someone mentions someone who is not present, she is using a 3rd party. Frequently this is because she does not feel strong enough to say something directly. In any case, the 3rd party is a ghost and can be used to frame a ghost role that can be stepped into and out of by everybody. In an organizational setting someone may say, "people say I should not do this project with you because you are

too hot tempered." The undefined people are used to attack[11] the person, who has a hard time to defend herself because there is no one present saying, "I think you are too hot tempered." If the person using the 3rd party was certain there was no validity to the accusation, it would have been dropped and not repeated. That it was repeated indicates that the person also has some concern that it may be true. In this case it may be more sensitive and more direct to express the concern personally.

When working with a couple or a group process, if the therapist sides with one person or group, the other side will feel put down or abandoned. Sometimes it is important to appear neutral and to support both sides equally. Appearing neutral is an illusion, however. The signals will be evident and, whether noticed or not, they will create a feeling shift in the atmosphere. One useful approach is for the therapist to work on her one-sidedness—the way in which she thinks that she is better than the other person or group— before the group gathers or even internally during the meeting.

For example, when working with a member of the Ku Klux Klan I was clearly aware that I had a part that was against him and the Klan. I thought I was better than the Klanspersons. I had to work on bringing awareness to the way, however subtle, in which my sense of superiority to the KKK made me at least a little bit like them: my moral supremacy was in a way similar to their white supremacy.

Or, sometimes it can help the process or relationship to go deeper if the therapist or facilitator brings in their own one-sidedness directly and with awareness: "Now I notice that I am on this side. I am going to support this side, but I want you to know that I will be

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[11] Attack: a momentary signal wherein one party sends a clear, although not necessarily direct, signal of challenge to the authority or views of another party that also contains a polarizing double signal of aggression.

right back over there with you in a moment." Develop greater fluidity in moving back and forth. No one is totally neutral so just be aware of it.

Being one-sided most commonly happens when you miss the edge on one side. You side with the person whose edge you did not see. Also, people side because people side—you walk into the session or group and just do not like one of the people or a whole group—"or because of your own incompleteness around an experience or issue. Your side taking experiences relate directly to your own relationship and inner polarization and development around a certain issue." (Jobe, 2005b)

When is it important to push? When is it wrong? Sometimes it is far kinder to help a client over an edge than to leave her stuck. Pushing is a complicated thing, however, and frequently leads to therapeutic abuse. The therapist has enormous rank over the client within the context of a therapeutic relationship and a therapy session. A more mainstream approach that tries to get the client to conform with a certain norm and ignores the client's feedback is potentially abusive. The working definition of abuse in Process Work is that a person is unable ("unable" for various reasons: it may simply be too great of an edge to speak against an authority figure, for example) to defend herself in the moment. One thought on interventions and pushing is to try three times, checking the client's signals carefully each time. If the client has not picked up on the direction after three tries, drop it.

One of the main difficulties in these moments is in determining whether the feedback is negative or edge behavior. Negative feedback is signals that indicate the client is not interested in the suggested direction. It is not negative in a judgmental sense. Edge behavior may appear as signals indicating that the client is potentially interested in the direction, but uncomfortable or excited about something. This may appear as a client

squirming in her seat, laughing, looking out the window, or changing the channel or subject. If it is not clear, frame a hypothesis and check it out: "Are you moving so much because we are on the right track?" Or, pick up on the direction suggested by the edge behavior: "Just let your self go inside. Take your time. Trust whatever you are experiencing." And, again, watch the feedback carefully.

Over time you may feel that you are working too hard. Notice what are you pushing against and have that come out as a ghost role. Or, it may be that you are more interested in the client doing something than she is or that you are on the wrong track. This is a time to "drink tea," meaning, sit back and just notice what is happening. Stop working so hard. Or, you may feel that you get detached from her problems. It may be important to bring that in too, although this is a somewhat radical intervention: "I do not really want to focus on your problems anymore. Let's have a good time this week." Or, perhaps more gently like: "I notice that I am not able to stay focused on your words this week. Maybe something else is trying to happen. What could it be?" But, if you are bored, think that it is not possible for something to be boring. You missed a signal. What did you miss?

If you wrestle your demon,
you find moments of pleasure, freedom, and exceptional energy
—whether you win or lose the battle with yourself.
» Mindell

In some cases, it may seem like the process keeps returning you to the same place. Each time, your efforts to unfold it seem to be progressing well, but you wind up at the same place yet again. It may be that the edge is too big for the moment, or that the path you are taking over the terrain surrounding the edge is actually important too. In a sense, you may have to keep cycling around, discovering each hill and dale of the terrain, before it

is possible to cross the edge congruently (without double signaling), at least for awhile. Or, you may simply need to catch your edges and hold yourself to the edge staying with the discomfort longer. What is the worst thing that could possibly be on the other side? Imagine into it and let your self think of a person, or a character from a movie or from mythology, or some monster that could be on the other side. Catch the answer and tell yourself for the moment that this is not you, and then try it out anyway. Act like the horrible person or figure or behave like that monster and then become the person or the monster in role-play. Get to know it. How does she move? What does she sound like? How does she smell? What is she like in relationship? What is she like in the world? When you know her better, imagine how you are like that even a tiny bit? How could you actually use more of her qualities, positive or negative? What is right about them? What freedom would you have if you had integrated those qualities that you do not normally have in the world or in relationship? There are merits to crossing edges and also to not crossing certain edges.

Process Work poses a theory of conservation of information, which was briefly mentioned previously, wherein the informational content of a secondary process can often be tracked through several channels as in the last case description. For example, the grumpiness of someone's secondary process may not only manifest in relationship troubles. It may also appear in their night time dreams, or it may appear in movement in a certain closed and "grumpy" or erratic way of moving. It may appear as a physical sensation or even as a body symptom such as cancer. The secondary process can be worked with in whichever channel it appears. Experience suggests that it is far easier to work with a secondary process in the channel in which it currently presents itself.

The information of the secondary process is said to be enfolded in the signals that are occurring in various channels. The basic method of working with a secondary process is to unfold the signals, and through that to learn more about the secondary process. Remember, this is not about finally and permanently moving something from unconsciousness into consciousness. There is a continuum of awareness from secondary (things that are further from one's normal identity) to primary (things that are closer to one's normal identity).

While tracking and unfolding signals, it may happen that a channel change occurs. Often this happens when someone or a group comes to an edge to continue unfolding the signal in the former channel. If the signal occurring in the new channel has the same energetic quality as the original signal did in the former channel, it is generally easier to stay in the new channel. Channel changes often occur, however, when someone is at an edge to go further into the secondary experience. In this case, it is generally better to hold people to their edge in the original channel. Sometimes this means to intervene in such a way as to keep them focused on the secondary experience beyond the edge; and sometimes it means to intervene in such a way as to keep them focused on the experience on this side of the edge, stay with the tensions, and unfold the edge figures.

Channel changes also happen when you amplify or forbid the experience as much as possible. In this case, however, the change will not feel like a change from, but like an unfolding into a richer experience or understanding that is somehow intimately connected with the original experience.

For example, a client may want to work on a relationship difficulty. After explaining the situation and exploring her projection onto the other person the client may be at an

edge to "pick up" the projected qualities of the other person and instead moves uncomfortably in her chair and looks out the window. On the other hand, the client may suddenly and organically start moving her hand in a way that mirrors the energetic quality of the other person. In this case, it is easier to follow the body and to allow it to point the way towards the secondary process by exploring it in movement. After getting to know it better in movement, it may then be easier to switch intentionally back into the relationship channel to complete the work.

Pathological Disbelief and the Ally: Befriending Noxious Dream Figures

The first edge is to remain open to experience, even when the rational mind says that it can not be. Nobel Laureate and scientist Brian D. Josephson (2004), however, has identified an edge figure that he calls *the pathological disbeliever*. In his paper, "Pathological Disbelief," he provides a warning: "Readers may find some of the ideas in this lecture disturbing; they may conflict with various deeply held beliefs."

A scientist is one who is drawn to that which does not fit the expected results and a warrior is one who is drawn to the disturbing because she knows that her body is signaling that there is something worth unfolding in that direction. The pathological disbeliever is an edge figure that exists within each of us. Overcoming it is a part of the path of a process scientist. Josephson (2004) presents the following list of characteristics of the scientific skeptic:

· They do not express their criticisms in those venues where it will be subject to peer review.

· They do not go into the laboratory and practise [sic] the experiment along with the practitioner.

- Assertions are offered as though they were scientifically based when in fact they are mere guesses.

- Satire, dismissal and slander are freely employed.

- When explanations are advanced . . . ad hoc reasons are constantly advanced for their rejection. These reasons often assert offhand that the explanation violates some conservation law.

- Evidence is rejected outright if it does not answer every possible question at the outset. (Josephson, 2004)

Not overcoming these characteristics is part of what Josephson (2004), with no tongue in cheek, called "pathological disbelief." A humorously proposed diagnosis for Pathological Disbelief Personality Disorder appears in on page 392. Overcoming disbelief is a personal growth process:

Personal growth, therefore, is a process that can only be survived by a warrior, someone who battles and mediates between the ruling social powers of the world and the forces of the unknown (Mindell, 1993, p. 39).

Personal development, integration, or growth in this way is likened to the path of a warrior in shamanism. Josephson's (2004) disturber, in this sense, is an ally.

Following the ally secures neither collective approval nor longevity. The path of knowledge is a forced one in which you constantly meet inexplicable powers. The path of heart is as terrifying as it is meaningful. It could result in early death. (Mindell, 1993, p. 203)

Numerous examples of pathological disbelief exist in the history of conflict. For example, the US inability to see the Cuban missile bases as offensive even though they

were identical to offensive missiles sites in the Soviet Union, the inability of the US administration to see the North Vietnamese as an independent people fighting for their own autonomy and not as pawns of the Soviet Union or the PRC, the inability of European Jews and the world to grasp the intentions of the Nazis, or the inability of the world to see the genocidal forces that were building in Rwanda.

One way to overcome our own pathological disbelief is through innerwork, a process of noticing what we notice and unfolding the meaning of various disavowed signals and experiences. This is a central tenet of Process Work. For example, I recently noticed a slight feeling of distance between myself and a colleague with whom I have worked for several years. I asked her if things were okay between us and at first she said yes. But I noticed a slight double signal in the way that she had said yes. I knew that pointing out the double signal directly would be insensitive and would anyhow not work well but I did not know what else to do and I sat frozen. Then I noticed my frozenness and said simply, "I feel frozen," even though I had no idea what frozenness meant in the moment. She said that she also felt frozen and went on to say how that frozenness stemmed from her own fears regarding gaining access to interesting and meaningful projects in the world, to money, and to an experience of feeling powerful in the world as a woman. The frozenness had existed in me in the way that I did not feel free to express what I was noticing in regards to our relationship. It existed in her in the way that she did not feel free to tell me how frustrated she was and how my involvement in certain projects had amplified her own complex. And the frozenness existed in the field in the way that communications had changed between us and an atmosphere of frozen distance had prevailed. Using the marginalized signal, the frozenness, as a key to exploring the conflict leads to a teleological

outcome and presumes that the frozenness, the marginalized signal, had meaning from the beginning as if it was meant to lead us in the direction.

This is a very different approach from normal problem solving. Had I directly addressed the distance with a goal of *solving* it, I might have established a program of building closeness that could have inflamed the problem without helping to bring awareness to the various experiences, ghosts, and signals.

Deep Democracy

> We have frequently printed the word Democracy, yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawakened, notwithstanding the resonance and the many angry tempests out of which its syllables have come, from pen or tongue. It is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted.
> —Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas*, 1871

Origins of Deep Democracy

Deep Democracy is a psycho-social-political paradigm and methodology. The term Deep Democracy was developed by Arny Mindell in 1988 and first appeared in *Leader as Marshall Artist* (Mindell, 1992).

Mindell, a physicist and Jungian Analyst had researched and written extensively on how awareness creates reality and how we perceive it on different levels, creating different frameworks of reality. An example for this is how we perceive time: the measurable reality of the seconds ticking in a clock, the dreamlike "subjective" perception of time as it passes during an encounter with a lover, and the sentient essence of timelessness as we catch the moment of a sunrise that goes beyond time as we know it and replaces, for a moment, the concept of future with hope. . . . In the late eighties he [Mindell] started to formulate them [his psychological ideas] as a

political principle that he called Deep Democracy. Unlike "classical" democracy, which focuses on majority rule, Deep Democracy suggests that all voices, states of awareness, and frameworks of reality are important. Deep Democracy also suggests that the information carried within these voices, awarenesses, and frameworks are all needed to understand the complete process of the system. Deep Democracy is an attitude that focuses on the awareness of voices that are both central and marginal. (Wikipedia, 2006)

A Brief History of Democracy

de·moc· ra·cy (di mak're se) *n.* [Gr *demokratia* < *demos*, the people + *kratein*, to rule < *kratos*, strength] **1** government in which the people hold the ruling power either directly or through elected representatives **2** a country, state, etc. with such government **3** majority rule **4** the principle of equality of rights, opportunity, and treatment **5** the common people, esp. as the wielders of political power. (Webster's, 1983, p. 366)

Democracy—commonly defined as the free and equal right of every person to participate in a system of government, often practiced by electing representatives of the people—is generally said to have originated in Ancient Greece when the *demos* organized against their leaders' abuse of power. But democracy is more than a body of laws and procedures related to the sharing of power. President Carter (1978) said that, "Democracy is like the experience of life itself—always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes

turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested for adversity."[12] How is democracy like life? In what dimensions is it changing and turbulent?

One example of the dynamic turbulence of democracy in the US is the evolution of freedom of the press and the practical application of the First Amendment rights to free speech. The first American newspaper, <u>Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestic</u> (Massachusetts Historical Society, 2004), published its first and only issue in Boston on Thursday, September 25th, 1690. Publication was stopped by the governor of Boston who objected to the paper's negative tone regarding British rule and by the local ministries who were offended by a report that the King of France had had an affair with his son's wife (Virtual Museum of Printing, 2004).

Up until 1919 free speech and freedom of the press in the US meant "little more than no prior restraint, that is, one could say what one wanted, but then could be prosecuted for it" (Holmes, 1919). There was no protection for the dissemination of ideas. In 1859 John Stuart Mill pointed out the risks involved in suppressing ideas in his essay, *On Liberty*:

> But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error. (1859)

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[12] Jimmy Carter Speech to Parliament of India (June 2, 1978).

Despite Mill's (1859) impassioned plea and the wide distribution of *On Liberty*—which had great impact on the public discourse of the its day as well as on the course of political philosophy since—the US maintained a very conservative view towards freedom of speech until 1919. That view changed abruptly in 1919 when Supreme Court Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes (US Department of State, 1919) entered a dissenting opinion in favor of a group of radical pamphleteers:

> Jacob Abrams and others had been convicted of distributing pamphlets criticizing the Wilson administration for sending troops to Russia in the summer of 1918. Although the government could not prove that the pamphlets had actually hindered the operation of the military, an anti-radical lower court judge had found that they might have done so, and found Abrams and his co-defendants guilty. On appeal, seven members of the Supreme Court had used Holmes's "clear and present danger" test to sustain the conviction. But Holmes, joined by Louis D. Brandeis, dissented, and it is this dissent that is widely recognized as the starting point in modern judicial concern for free expression. (US Department of State, 1919)

Abrams' (US Department of State, 1919) publications seem almost benign by today's standards: "Workers—Wake Up. . . . Woe unto those who will be in the way of progress. Let solidarity live. . . . German militarism combined with allied capitalism to crush the Russian revolution. . ." and they also spoke of working class enlightenment.

Justice Holmes (1919) ruled in defense of the pamphleteers that:

> It is only the present danger of immediate evil or an intent to bring it about that warrants Congress in setting a limit to the expression of opinion where private rights

are not concerned. Congress certainly cannot forbid all effort to change the mind of the country.

In his ruling Justice Holmes (1919) supported the importance of public discourse and freedom of speech with these now widely quoted words: "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."

After more than twenty-five centuries of development in political philosophy, it is only within the last century that US and European thought has begun to support freedom of speech in a meaningful way. Holmes's thinking did not account for structural forces that tend to repress various ideas in support of special interests.

Joseph Stiglitz (2003, p. 229), former Chairman of Council of Economic Advisers under President Clinton and former Chief Economist and Senior VP of the World Bank maintains:

> Secrecy . . . undermines democracy. There can be democratic accountability only if those to whom these public institutions are supposed to be accountable are well informed about what they are doing—including what choices they confronted and how those decisions were made. (p. 229)

Deep democracy threatens to press the envelope of political thinking even further. Deep democracy has many aspects, many of which relate to philosophical concepts derived from quantum physics. Deep democracy at its deepest manifestation refers to an openness towards not only the views of other people and groups, but deep democracy also embraces an openness to emotions and personal experiences, which tend to get excluded from conflict and rational public discourse (Mindell, 1992). R. Buckminster Fuller (1981) said, we need to support the intuitive wisdom and comprehensive informed-ness of each and

every individual to ensure our continued fitness for survival as a species. This attitude is

sometimes referred to as the guest house attitude, referring to a poem by Jelaludinn Rumi

(1995), a 13th century Persian mystic, as translated by Coleman Barks:

> THE GUEST HOUSE
>
> This being human is a guest house.
> Every morning a new arrival.
>
> A joy, a depression, a meanness,
> some momentary awareness comes
> as an unexpected visitor.
>
> Welcome and entertain them all!
> Even if they're a crowd of sorrows,
> who violently sweep your house
> empty of its furniture,
> still, treat each guest honorably.
> He may be clearing you out
> for some new delight.
>
> The dark thought, the shame, the malice,
> meet them at the door laughing,
> and invite them in.
>
> Be grateful for whoever comes,
> because each has been sent
> as a guide from beyond. (Rumi, 1995)

Numerous attempts to implement deep democracy are occurring simultaneously

throughout the world. That is, deep democracy is a global time-spirit, a component of the

zeitgeist. For example, speaking in a circle of women who gathered shortly after 9-11,

Susan Collin Marks (Peace X Peace, 2004),[13] of Search for Common Ground, the world's

largest international conflict NGO, said:

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[13] PEACE X PEACE (pronounced "peace by peace") empowers women to build
sustainable peace locally and globally through connection, recognition, and education.
See www.peacexpeace.org

We need to accommodate the different groups and not have a win-lose [situation] where the winner takes all. In South Africa—having been under apartheid fifty years, and before that under all sorts of authoritarian rule, the British, the Dutch—when we came to our transition we asked ourselves, "What is democracy, what does it mean, what does it mean for us?" A group of people went around the country asking, "What do you think democracy is, and what are we going to call it, and what will our democracy look like?" They came up with the term "deep democracy." They said, "For us, this is about deep democracy, not just about surface democracy." (Peace X Peace, 2004)

The idea of supporting a deeper dialogue has been around at least since Plato argued for the inclusion of women in public discourse. Athens needed the intelligence of all and could not afford not to accept women as thinkers and leaders. Even if Plato did not expand his thinking enough to extend that acceptance to slaves, other races, and other classes of women he planted a cultural seed that needed another twenty five hundred years to sprout and is only now coming to fruition in culturally creative ways.

Daisaku Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, p. viii), a Japanese Buddhist scholar of peace and founder of Soka Gakkai International,[14] maintains that "dialogue is the key to surmounting cultural and philosophical boundaries and forging the mutual trust and understanding necessary for lasting peace" (p. viii). Ikeda views peace not as the absence of war but as a condition wherein the dignity and fundamental rights of all people are respected.

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[14] Soka Gakkai International (SGI) is a Buddhist association with more than 12 million members in 190 countries and territories worldwide.

There are many views on fundamental rights and public discourse takes many forms. Thousands of nongovernmental organizations exist to support discourse, consensus building, and the development of policy recommendations. When these efforts fail, the last avenue is civil protest—one of the greatest challenges and proving grounds for any democracy. Democracy, free expression, and the importance of participation are easily defended when everyone remains polite, is in agreement on basic issues, and conforms to certain generally unstated rules of communication and interaction. But, protesters generally do not agree on basic issues (even among themselves), tend to disagree violently with the mainstream, and often feel that their voice is unheard and that high levels of impassioned communications and civil disobedience are needed and justified. Governmental facilitation of protest is challenging because political and bureaucratic inertia prevents it from being open to change from the outside. Suppression of peaceful protest in the name of order invites repression, while unrestrained protest invites anarchy. The challenge then is one of balance: to defend the right to freedom of speech and assembly while maintaining public order and countering attempts at intimidation or violence.

This is a difficult balance to maintain. Ultimately, it depends on the commitment of those in power to maintaining the institutions of democracy and the precepts of individual rights as well as the commitment of the mainstream to support these efforts and the commitment of the marginalized groups to self-limit their forms of protest. A US government publication called *What is Democracy* (US Department of State, 2004) maintains that, "Democratic societies are capable of enduring the most bitter disagreement among its citizens—except for disagreement about the legitimacy of democracy itself." The

symbiotic connection between democracy and human development presented previously by Ramos, Sen, Stieglitz, and others is an aspect of deep democracy.

One of the primary concerns of deep democracy is the use, maintenance, and awareness of metaskills (Mindell, 1992, p. 49). The concept of openness to diversity and dialogue between various views does not mean that the facilitator is a pushover—that is only one metaskill (although it often reflects a lack of awareness). Facilitators must also at times practice, embody, and express other metaskills such as toughness, anger, intractability, love, detachment, concern for the well being of the others, and a genuine desire to achieve consensus. Some of the metaskills in that list are organic responses. When a facilitator uses her internal organic responses to better inform her intervention, that is a metaskill. This is the reason why the human development—the internal psychological and spiritual growth and inner peace—of the facilitator is so important.

Deep democracy involves not only openness to other individuals, groups, and diverse views but an openness to experience, which includes feelings, dreams, body symptoms, altered states of consciousness, synchronicities, and an awareness of signals, roles, and the structural dynamics of the interactions between the parties involved.

> Repression and exploitation are the two most basic modern forms of structural violence; cardiovascular diseases and cancer are the two basic somatic conditions brought on by modernization. Repression and cardiovascular diseases are similar in that both impede circulation. Exploitation and cancer resemble each other in that a part of the social or human organism lives at the expense of the rest. Peace research and health research are metaphors for each other; each can learn from the other.

Similarly, both peace theory and medical science emphasize the role of consciousness and mobilization in healing. (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 38-39)

The relationship between somatic experience, altered states of consciousness, and conflict may not be only metaphorical. Ikeda says that Buddhism (and other spiritual traditions) "transcends the dimension on which all phenomena are perceived as interrelated and reveals the dynamism of the universal life on which all interrelations depend" (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, p. 84). Similarly, process oriented worldwork theories and practice use experiential phenomena to reveal the deeper underlying universal dynamic and its interrelations on a practical level (see Worldwork on page 76).

Dualism & Innerwork

Various spiritual and philosophical traditions have attracted followers by dividing the phenomenal world into a dualism of good and evil. This powerfully seductive meta-myth provides an easily embraced world view that conveniently places blame elsewhere. The followers of dualistic paradigms seek easy answers and avoid more complex paradigms that challenge their own simplistic assumptions in favor of more complex analysis, intrapersonal psychological exploration, and more efficacious thinking. Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, p. 61) refers to "certain kinds of people" who embrace dualistic thinking:

Certain kinds of people have always been attracted by the spellbinding lucidity of dualisms such as good and evil, light and dark, friend and foe, love and hate and so on. . . . Observable in all places at all times, this weakness makes the human beings who demonstrate it ripe prey for the persuasive techniques of groups like the unprincipled ancient Athenian demagogues. . . . Probably the tradition of thinking in terms of dualities and of making facile discriminatory distinctions contributes to

the hard, cruel aspects you find in the behavior of Europe. Horrific discrimination such as so-called racial purification in the former Yugoslavia and the emergence of historically retrogressive ultra-rightists and racists in Germany, France, and Italy indicate the extent to which this dark tradition persists. (p. 61)

It is interesting that by speaking out against "certain kinds of people," Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 61-62) in a certain symbolic sense perpetuates the duality he is speaking against by downing the ultra-rightists and racists. Better, in one view, to speak against the practice of one-sidedness and to also acknowledge the one-sidedness inherent in that position and within oneself—in other words, to support diversity, fluidity, and one-sidedness. Ikeda acknowledges this by continuing:

To liberate modern humanity—and not just Europeans—from the spell of such attitudes, we must look for the evil at fault within human beings. We must make ourselves realize thoroughly that the evil inside is primary and the evil outside only secondary in significance. The most important thing to learn from the experiences of the twentieth century is this: whether the issue is racial, as in the case of fascism, or class-related, as in the case of communism, attempting to trace primary causes of evil to external factors invites tragedy and slaughter. Transcending inner evil is both our most urgent duty for the twenty-first century and the essential goal of all reform movements. This is what we of Soka Gakkai International refer to as the "human revolution." (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 61-62)

The process oriented approach to deep democracy is not a purely or even primarily cognitive endeavor: it has to be practiced extensively to develop the awareness

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and fluidity required to recognize one's projections of evil or other attributes onto others, to find them in oneself, and to integrate them.

The following exercise, developed by Arny Mindell (1992, pp. 59-60), details one way of participating in Ikeda's (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 61-62) "human revolution" by developing an inner sense of deep democracy through getting to better know your own tendencies in conflict by interacting with what he called "the dynamism of universal life." It is meant as a training exercise for development of awareness and inner peace under attack. It is not meant as a program to be followed during attack or as a panacea for intervention in conflict.

- Imagine the worst attack you have suffered in public.

- Act out the person who attacked you and teach someone else, a helper, how to play this person as you experiment with the following methods of defense:

- *Support your attacker*: Admit that your attacker is correct and that you need to change. And then change and demonstrate how you would respond from that new changed place.

- *Explore your attacker's affect*: Through interacting with the helper who is playing the attacker, find out what her hidden motivation is. It may not be conscious for this person but see if you can imagine into it and discover it. Does she want to attack you? Does she want to make you realize that she is also an intelligent leader? Is she attacking because she has also been attacked and is in pain?

- *Take your own side*: Admit how hurt you are and show your hurt to the attacker. Or, defend yourself and attack the attacker back.

- *Drop your role*: Role play as if you are no longer you, but are now a facilitator helping the attacker to criticize you even more precisely, more clearly, and more directly.

- *Accept your attacker as a teacher*: Ask her to model the changes she expects you to make in yourself.

- *Work on yourself publicly*: Report to the attacker what is happening to you internally as you are being attacked.

- *Critique your attacker's methods of attacking*: Is she forceful enough? Is she too forceful and more hurtful than critical? Are there double signals that make her incongruent? Is she sticking to her side even when she feels your own? Can she switch roles? Is she sufficiently compassionate? Use your awareness to take her side and help her grow. Don't get hypnotized by a part of you that may know that she is at least partly right.

- *Ask for help*: Ask her to help you grow. Were you honest about your feelings? Were you real and congruent? Were you also able to detach and flow with what was happening? Does your attacker now trust you? (Mindell, 1992, pp. 59-60)

Seeing conflict as an opportunity for inner personal growth and seeing inner growth as a solution to conflict are challenging views to maintain. This view of conflict is an unusual approach to socio-economic affairs, as radical in scope as the paradigm shift from Newtonian to quantum thinking in physics.

Referring to the Marxist-socialist society in the former Soviet Union, Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 63-64) wrote:

Gandhi saw that the socialist formula, in which first priority went to the reformation

of the political-economic system, was an inversion. He realized that human beings

are the true starting point and that, to be long-lasting, all external revolutions must

arrive from internal revolutions. The more violent the times, the more unflinchingly

human beings must direct their searching gazes inward. This is the eternal theme to

which he would have us all return. (pp. 63-64)

Johan Galtung (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, p. 64) thus responds:

What you say has a great message for left-wing people who, in their hatred of

capitalism and the military establishment, either forget or never develop

compassion for the victims of revolutions. The full human capability for both outer

dialogue with others and inner dialogue with the self provides a good starting point

for searching inward gazes. (p. 64)

As previously quoted, Robert Kaplan (2002, p. 87), political pundit, conflict

scholar, and journalist for the Atlantic Monthly, maintains that "Good governance can

emerge only from a sly understanding of men's passions" (p. 87). James Madison

(Hamilton, Madison, Jay, & Hamilton, 1999, No. 49) maintained that a "nation of

philosophers is as little to be expected as the philosophical race of kings wished for by

Plato" (No. 49). Whether to be expected or not, whether it is even possible or not, the

discussion frames a polarity between those who are capable of and willing to practice deep

innerwork and introspection versus those who are either not capable of it (perhaps due to

lack of safety, time, money, and education) or for whom it is not of interest.

Politics is a pendulum
whose swings between anarchy and tyranny
are fueled by perpetually rejuvenated illusions.
—Einstein

You talk of food?
I have no taste for food.
What I really crave is slaughter and blood and the choking groans of men!
(Homer, 1996, Book 19, Line 254)

The roots of democracy and political philosophy are bathed in the blood of unimaginable carnage. It is the human search for stability as well as a search for the justification of dominance, empire, and the use of force.

"Man's [and woman's] real treasure is the treasure of his mistakes, piled up stone by stone through thousands of years. . ." (Kaplan, 2002, p. xvii). As to the interpretation of those stones, there is great debate and a complex array of views that tend to be dualistic in terms of good and evil. Kaplan (2003) sees the enormous anti-Iraq-war demonstrations that occurred around the world early in 2003 as evidence that "life inside the post-industrial cocoon of Western democracy has made people incapable of imagining life inside a totalitarian system."

> With affluence often comes not only the loss of imagination but also the loss of
> historical memory. Thus global economic growth in the twenty-first century can be
> expected to create mass societies even more deluded than the ones we have now—
> the very actions necessary to protect human rights and democracy will become
> increasingly hard to explain to those who have never been deprived of them.
> (Kaplan, 2003)

Kaplan (2003) thus justifies the Iraq war and extends the projection of otherness onto any dissenting individuals who disagree with a certain political position. This is a complicated, perhaps anti-democratic position for a pundit of democracy to hold. The same arguments, delusion, loss of imagination, and loss of historical memory, can also be used to support an anti-war position.

Kaplan's (2002, p. 119) views regarding the hundreds of millions of unemployed young men throughout the developing world (furthered on page 169) sees the economically and technologically disenfranchised young men as a threat and hates them because they will not conform to a system even though their only way to conform is to die psychologically and spiritually. Kaplan's pseudo-Darwinian position essentially justifies socio-economic genocide by blaming the oppressed. Kaplan's assumptions—that "those groups and individuals that are disciplined, dynamic, and ingenious" and that "compete well technologically" will float to the top" (p. 119)—marginalizes those forms and expressions of discipline, dynamics, ingenuity, and competition that are not directed towards conformance with mainstream socio-economic goals.

Kaplan (2002, p. 119) furthers that an age of chemical and biological weapons is perfectly suited to religious martyrdom but fails to acknowledge that technological advances are also perfectly suited to socio-economic dominance. Despite the proliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons the instance of religious martyrdom remains relatively low. Why have millions of young men and women in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia, Europe, and the US not erupted even more violently than they have? Is it due to the restraining effects of competing groups, the counter terrorism efforts of the Western intelligence agencies, or is there another role present?

From one view, the would-be terrorists are not completely congruent. That they have not yet erupted in completely unrestrained hatred and violence means that they are not yet completely congruent and there is another role present that supports something other than unrestrained violence. In each situation that role could be explored so that it can be expressed directly and become more conscious. What keeps them from killing? Is it fear? A moral boundary? Or hope and a belief in a more meaningful solution and a brighter future than killing?

Kaplan (2002, p. 119) sees things as moving towards a minimal international morality (p. p. 144), meaning that mainstream governments will be increasingly disinclined to exercise restraint when considering military options to subdue acts that they perceive as aggression. These ideas seem strangely antithetical to democracy.

Classical political philosophy evolved in a pre-industrial society that lacked mass communications. "The Industrial Revolution . . . brought mass society and democratic politics, and the world [referring to certain aspects of policy making and economic control] was no longer run by an intellectually oriented elite" (R. Cooper, 2003, pp. 10-11). Industrialization brought many technological changes that impacted the course of democratization, as well as the evolution of democracy. Advances in printing, for example, aided the American Revolution by improving communications and forming a mass society. That the world was no longer run by an intellectually oriented elite meant that the people became a part of the policy-making engine for the first time in history. This presented the intellectually oriented elite with a new challenge: How to maintain control of policy and capital while appearing to practice democracy?

The new, global media think in terms of abstract universal principles—the traditional weapon of the weak seeking to restrain the strong—even as the primary responsibility of our policymakers must be to maintain our strength vis-à-vis China, Russia, and the rest of the world. (Kaplan, 2003)

Kaplan (2002, p. 63) raises the possibility of several just but incompatible value systems existing side by side, which ideally would be accepted and even expected within a democracy:

Machiavelli's ideal is the "well-governed *patria*," not individual freedom. The "well-governed *patria*" may at times be incompatible with an aggressive media, whose search for the "truth" can yield little more than embarrassing facts untempered by context, so the risk of exposure may convince leaders to devise new methods of secrecy. The more the barons of punditry demand "morality" in complex situations overseas, where all the options are either bad or involve great risk, the more *virtú* our leaders may need in order to deceive them. . . . While suspicion of power has been central to the American Creed, president[s] and military commanders will have to regain breathing space from media assaults to deal with the challenges of split-second decision making in future warfare. (p. 63)

Ikeda (2004) presents a radically different approach in Soka Gakkai International's 2004 Peace Proposal, "Inner Transformation: Creating a Global Groundswell for Peace," suggesting a path of self-mastery:

What must be done to forestall the risk, inherent in the essential asymmetry of a "war" against terrorism, that it will become a deadly quagmire? Since it is probably unrealistic to expect self-restraint on the part of the terrorists, those who oppose

them must put priority on the exercise of self-mastery—a quality that grows from the effort to consider and understand the position of the "other." This effort must take precedence over the use of hard power. Equally essential are the courage and vision to address the underlying conditions of poverty and injustice that are enabling factors in terrorism. (2004)

Each of these preceding statements and the seemingly rigid positions can be seen as roles. The practice of viewing these positions as roles and getting to know the roles helps people to be more fluid and reminds them that each person is actually stating something that is far more complex and fluid than any one rigid role can express. In essence, a person is larger than the role that she is momentarily occupying, and each role is larger and more complex than can be represented by any one person at any given moment.

Kaplan's statements can be interpreted as a role that says something like the following: Globalization is Darwinian and the political, technological, and economic system will determine who is and who is not fit for survival. The media will not go along with this. They will delude the people with abstract universal principles. The purpose of power is not power itself. It is the fundamentally liberal purpose of maintaining an orderly world.

Precisely because they [democracies] foment dynamic change, liberal empires . . . create the conditions for their own demise. Thus they must be especially devious. . . . [The] President and military commanders will have to regain breathing space from media assaults to deal with the challenges of split-second decision making in future warfare. . . . Consequently, if we are to get our way, and at the same time to promote our democratic principles, we will have to operate nimbly, in the shadows and behind closed doors, using means far less obvious than the august array of

power displayed in the air and ground war against Iraq. . . . for the time being the highest morality must be the preservation—and, wherever prudent, the accretion—of American power. (Kaplan, 2003)

Taken in one context, these statements parallel the Darwinian aspirations of Nazi Germany. Taken in another context, behind Kaplan's views there is a high dream for a better world. Both deserve to be supported at least in terms of helping them in becoming more transparent so that they can be better understood.

[Those democratic principles] include basic political stability; the idea of liberty, pragmatically conceived; respect for property; economic freedom; and representative government, culturally understood. At this moment in time it is American power, and American power only, that can serve as an organizing principle for the worldwide expansion of a liberal civil society. (Kaplan, 2003)

Again I find myself challenged to go deep enough to be able to understand Kaplan without hating his ideas. What part do I hate the most? "Liberty, *pragmatically conceived*" means liberty to conform. "Respect for property" increases with the centrality of the property owner. "Economic freedom" without restraints supports empirial interests. "Representative government, *culturally understood*" means hegemony. Now I can understand Kaplan without hating his ideas. How do I also have a part who wants to dictate the actions and restrict the freedoms of others? How do I want to live in a world that conforms to my own cultural assumptions and norms?

Generalizing greatly, people tend to be in favor of freedom and against repression, which makes it difficult for them to catch the subtle ways in which their views actually support repression and the curtailment of other's freedoms. Other individuals at times

demonstrate a remarkable capacity to fluidly move between opposing view and roles with an awareness, grace, and fluidity that allows them to support the feelings, experiences, and beliefs of others, no matter how one-sided they may be. This is evident in the writings of many different figures: bell hooks, Gandhi, Dr. King, etc.

Consider Daisaku Ikeda. Ikeda (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, p. viii) says that "dialogue is the key to surmounting cultural and philosophical boundaries and forging the mutual trust and understanding necessary for lasting peace" (p. viii). Buddhism, Ikeda says, "transcends the dimension on which all phenomena are perceived as interrelated and reveals the dynamism of the universal life on which all interrelations depend" (p. 84), and that can be used to resolve conflict. ". . . attempting to trace primary causes of evil to external factors invites tragedy and slaughter. Transcending inner evil is both our most urgent duty for the twenty-first century and the essential goal of all reform movements." (pp. 61-62)

Is this absolute truth, spiritual wisdom, or merely a seductive meta-myth? That question reflects another role: the judge. For the moment, rather than judging Ikeda's position, I want to begin by finding this role in myself. This is difficult because I have a reaction against the dualistic language. If it is "evil" then it is other than me and it is not me, even if it is somehow within me.

I can imagine another role, that of an elder who would know how to speak to the hegemon as well as to the prophet in a way that would simultaneously support both positions. For example, in the 2004 US presidential election debates President Bush attacked John Kerry for flip-flopping, and Kerry attacked Bush for stubbornly staying to a

course that had been shown to be wrong. Max Schupbach (2004) a Process Work teacher, conflict facilitator, and organizational consultant maintains that

> both positions are important to [those of] us [who are] watching, because we need both in our lives. Those of us, who have a hard time to stay with our own inner experience and sense of who we are and where we are at, will (at least secretly or unconsciously) admire someone who seems to be able to do that: stay on course, even if criticized. Those of us who have a hard time to give our own inner world temporarily up and experience ourselves as members of a larger community and follow the feedback of other, will admire someone who shows more flexibility.

The one who flip-flops and the one who stays a steady course are roles. Developing both can be useful, particularly if the lesser known role is developed to the point where it can be accessed fluidly with awareness. Schupbach models a way to use role fluidity to coach one of the candidates. Instead of trashing President Bush, for example, John Kerry could highlight Bush's behavior as a strength and add his own style.

Imagine Kerry had said something like the following:

Yes, I admire the president for being able to stay on his course, and to stay true to his own experience, regardless of the popularity. I also aspire to that and have often done so. In addition, the feedback of my people is important to me—if it doesn't work for you, it can't work for me—that's why it is called a democracy. If together we don't waver from the path of democracy, we will be strong, even if at times we show that part of this democracy is debate, and even if we show that inner democracy means that we have these debates ourselves. I am not every moment of the day convinced that my viewpoint is the right one, and you don't want a president who is

free from inner conflicts. You want a president who understands the inner conflicts as part of being in a community with others, and an opportunity to find balance in one's action. (Schupbach, 2004)

Or, imagine that President Bush had said something like the following:

I admire Senator Kerry for being so fluid and for following the signals from various groups and individuals, regardless of the popularity of that path with others. I also aspire to that and have often done so as well. The signals and feedback of the American people, as well as all of the world's people, are important to me. That's what democracy is all about.

If together we follow the path of deepening public discourse as we converge on policies that will provide stability, prosperity, and security; we will be strong even as we show that part of truly deep democracy is about being fluid, and even as we show that inner democracy means that although we have these debates ourselves we sometimes have to stand for our deepest truths and our greatest eldership, no matter how unpopular they may be with some individuals.

I am not every moment of the day convinced that my viewpoint is the right one, and you don't want a president who is free from inner conflicts. You want a president who understands inner conflict as part of democracy, who strives to find balance in her actions, who suffers over her metaskills and decisions, and who ultimately is not afraid at times to stand up for what she believes in and follow a difficult course in perilous times.

A group, organization, or nation can itself occupy a role in the larger field. For example, in *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* Robert Cooper (2003) argues that there are three types of states:

·   Lawless *pre-modern* states such as Somalia and Afghanistan;

·   *Modern* states—such as China, Brazil, and India—that straightforwardly pursue their national interests;

·   And *post-modern* states such as those in the EU and Japan, that operate on the basis of openness, law, and mutual security.

The US, Cooper (2003) argues, has yet to decide whether to embrace the post-modern world of interdependence or pursue unilateralism and power politics. In the sense of democracy's being about a form of openness, it is interesting that in a sense the US remains undecided in terms of embracing a larger arena of democratic involvement. That choice involves choosing between imperial hegemony and a more global balance of power.

International order used to be based either on hegemony or on balance. Hegemony came first. In the ancient world, order meant empire: Alexander's Empire, the Roman Empire, the Mogul, Ottoman or Chinese Empires. The choice, for the ancient and medieval worlds, was between empire and chaos. In those days imperialism was not yet a dirty word. Those within the empire had order, culture and civilization. Outside the empire were barbarians, chaos and disorder. (R. Cooper, 2003, p. 7)

But since the collapse of the Soviet Union and prior to the emergence of a competing power, there is at this time no other state to rival the US. We have become

Hobbes's (2004) Leviathan. [15] Cooper (2003, p. 9) highlights a meta-myth that rival states would "by some semiautomatic Newtonian process" (p. 9) find an equilibrium that would prevent any one nation from dominating the others.

This meta-myth retains a powerful hold on historical imagination. Is it only through balance of force and arms between rival states that stability can be achieved? Is there a quantum process of deep democracy wherein a global empire can support the diversity and autonomy that might prevent the experience of oppression and hegemony? Diversity creates competition, and competition creates, "sometimes in the form of war, . . . a source of social, political and technological progress" (R. Cooper, 2003, p. 9). Are there viable alternatives to war that do not involve military dominance or a race of philosophers?

A Philosophy of Deep Democracy & Sustainable Community

> The cure for the ailments of democracy is more democracy.
> —John Dewey

In *Deep Democracy: Community, Diversity, and Transformation,* Judith Green (1999, p. 202), a philosophy professor at Fordham University, maintains that "sustainable transformation requires the development of a deeper democracy" (p. 202) that "expresses the experience-based possibility of more equal, respectful, and mutually beneficial ways of community life and 'habits of the heart'" (p. vi). She sees the current political democracy as comprising a "sustained political impasse among rival groups who use 'formally' democratic processes in attempts to coercively impose their preferred responses to various interactive

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[15] Leviathan: For by art is created that great Leviathan called a commonwealth, or state (in Latin, *Civitas*), which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended . . .

problems of economic marginalization, environmental degradation, and cultural stagnation" (p. 203).

She notes that "these long-term adversarial struggles have come to the point where anybody can stop anything, and typically does" (Green, 1999, p. 203). This situations leads to suboptimal solutions, increasing frustration, and deepening marginalization of various subgroups. Green states that the underlying problem is the "inadequacy of the formal conception of democratic due process" (p. 203)—which Green maintains is based on an assumption that there can be no common good, only adversarial goods. This situation is, according to Green, "existentially unsustaining and culturally unsustainable" (p. vii).

Because of the habit of not listening to members of opposition groups, public decision making processes are often intensely painful. Kemmis (1992, p. 62) notes that the public arena often loses important participants because of "the ever more frequent withdrawal of people from all public involvement—either because they are frustrated with the pattern of blocked initiative or because they don't like shrillness and indignation, in themselves or in others" (p. 62). We act as if we did not have a "mutual stake in the shape of one another's lives" (p. 66), i.e., we are unrelated and do not actively support a value system that includes a deeper level of interconnectedness, e.g., deep democracy.

The solution can not be to form a coalition with other like-minded advocates of deep democracy, an approach which essentially brings yet another adversarial group into the system. Unfortunately, that is often what many so-called peace, spiritual, and social-action groups do. Even those groups that stand for "love," are essentially against the other interests groups and their tactics. The oppositional "against" nature of their actions is apt to be experienced as aggression and not as the more loving approach it purports to be.

Sustainable transformation requires the development of a deeper democracy, but what does deeper democracy look like? Green (1999, p. 199) puts attention on "re-educating local participants' hearts and minds in the ways of deep democracy" (p. 199) but does not say how to do this, nor does she describe the actual techniques and processes involved in the practice of deep democracy.

One goal of governance is creation of a form of community that is environmentally as well as socially sustainable. But what is meant by community? Often, a vision of community as being a warm comforting experience is actually a high dream that marginalizes other experiences, ideas, groups, and people and diverse aspects of community life that do not go along with the context of the community norms. The ideal of community denies diversity "in privileging face-to-face relations unmediated by time and distance, and in contrasting the problematic present with a utopian alternative future without specifying a transformational process that links them" (Green, 1999, p. 2).

What is a more practical form of community? What did the philosopher John Dewey mean when he argued for a self-conscious public (Dewey, 1954)? Green says that the democratic ideal is a "normative guide for the development of diversity-respecting unity in habits of the heart that are shaped and corrected by reflective inquiry" (Green, 1999, p. ix). What are the processes of inquiry and education that support a realistic, historically grounded ideal community? What is the effect of cultural memories, amnesia, and the collective unconscious?

Diversity is not only a consensus reality phenomenon. There is also diversity of psychological and spiritual experience, symbolism, and meaning. Each specific cultural

context with its own unique histories and memories provides a different lens through which to view the problematic historical present. For example:

> "Some rules [of communication] relate to a subtle spiritual understanding seemingly less common in Western society. For example, among the Maori, it is impolite to ask direct questions, not because of arbitrary custom but because "the *mana* flows from the greater person to the lesser. To question is to usurp the *mana* and take charge of the flow" (Cooper's interview, Ritchie 1/11/91) [sic]. All communication takes place in the energy field of *mana*. Thus rules of communication derive from a respect for the sacred, and for those carrying the greatest *mana*. (T. W. Cooper, 1998, pp. 84-85)

Being aware of and supporting various cultural communication norms is a part of deep democracy. These standards differ wildly along cultural, class, and racial lines. For example, in the US working class people are often frustrated by higher class people and their tendency to respond to impassioned statements with calm, low tones. In general, more marginalized groups often have greater freedom to use more heated styles of communication. Styles and assumptions about their use vary wildly. For example, a group of researchers concluded that the following teachings are universal to all native American tribes:

1. The practice of daily sanctification.
2. A respect, honor, and esteem for all life. This manifests in never putting anyone down, not walking between conversing parties, not touching another's possession, not interrupting, speaking softly, genuinely listening, loving, and

protecting all natural environments, honoring the religions of others, and never speaking unkindly of others.

3. Honor for the tribal council. One may submit personal ideas to the council, but then must let go of any personal agenda and respect all other ideas. Once the council has reached consensus, one must never speak against group policy.

4. One must be truthful at all times and under all conditions within the tribe. Ethics in communication held by various Indigenous cultures maintain that, "A person who does not speak truth must not know reality, and thus is to be pitied."

5. Show extraordinary hospitality, giving guests only your best food, accommodation, blankets, drink and so on.

6. One must empathize with others' feelings and know the spirit of the whole.

7. One must receive strangers and outsiders with a loving heart and as members of the human family.

8. All races are beautiful creations of the Creator, one family worth of respect.

9. Do not fill yourself with personal affairs, but remember the meaning of life is only known in serving others.

10. Observe moderation and balance in all matters.

11. Understand all that leads to personal well-being and all that leads to destruction.

12. Follow the guidance given to one's heart, whether in dreams, prayer, solitude, or from wise elders and friends. (Bopp, Lane, Brown, & Bopp, 1985)

Clearly such an ethic has specific moral standards for communication. These include:

1. Listening fully with the heart, no matter how trivial or wrong the discussion may seem;

2, not interrupting another's communication;

3. not walking between conversants;

4. speaking softly, especially to elders;

5. speaking only by invitation when among a group of elders;

6. avoiding slander and defamation of all kinds;

7. communicating as an individual (contributing independent ideas to the council) first, then communicating in synch with the group (once policies have been set);

8. truth-telling;

9. *inner* communicating (morning and evening sanctification, periods of guidance) must precede outer communicating, openness to the Great Spirit is essential;

10. communicating with the whole tribe or whole earth in mind so as to honor others. (Bopp et al., 1985)

To many other people and cultures, these *rules* seem oppressive. There would be no consensus for communication along these lines. That may result in a willingness to break the rules of the first group that would be experienced as disrespectful and inflammatory. For example, Cornell West argues that "We are losing the very value of dialogue—especially respectful communication—in the name of the sheer force of naked

power" (West, 2004, p. 7). In this case, however, he is referring to political dialogue in between various factions. Imposing rules of "respectfulness" is one way to silence marginalized groups.

> The major culprit here is not "political correctness," a term coined by those who tend to trivialize the scars of others and minimize the suffering of victims while highlighting their own wounds. Rather, the challenge is mustering the courage to scrutinize *all* forms of dogmatic policing of dialogue and to shatter all authoritarian strategies of silencing voices. (West, 2004, p. 7)

The concept of deep democracy is rapidly becoming part of the lexicon of social action, although the term deep democracy has come to be defined in many different ways. The Co-Intelligence Institute leads projects providing trainings in "deep democracy and community wisdom" (Co-Intelligence Institute, 2004). The Deep Democracy Network Project web site says "Deep Democracy is the self-reflective, compassionate, and inclusive participation in the social construction of social reality" (The Deep Democracy Network Project, 2004). *Building Deep Democracy: The Story of a Grass Roots Learning Organization in South Africa* maintains that

> Deep democracy, as we see it, does not privilege the concept of community by reifying it into a single set of values and norms to which the individual must subordinate him or herself. Rather deep democracy describes an open dynamic system springing from the diverse points of engagement where individuals and community come together. Deep democracy is a transformative process in which the individual learns to think and act from the perspective of the whole. In deep democracy, citizenship is conferred by personal engagement—not just by revealing

individual preferences through voting and rational choice, but by exercising the democratic arts of participation. It is based on public conversation, where one begins to listen to and know the "other." It becomes the enfranchisement of the self in daily life, transforming one's self identity into one of inclusion in, and responsibility for, an expanding circle of community. (Wilson & Lowery, 2003)

Dr. Barbara Marx Hubbard (Peace X Peace, 2004), founder and president of The Foundation for Conscious Evolution and advisor to Peace X Peace, "explores democracy at a rich level where every citizen is both represented and responsible." She defines deep democracy as, "the new field in which the human family is learning to live in harmony with nature, with one another, and with the deeper patterns of creation, or God" (Hubbard, 2004). Colleen Kelly (Peace X Peace, 2004) says, "Peace is a verb. It's active, and it involves the choices we make every day." Deep democracy, like peace, is a verb.

Dr. Patricia Wilson (2004), a professor of community planning with the University of Texas, writing for the Shambhala Institute for Authentic Leadership, describes deep democracy as follows:

What happens when you take the tools of dialogue, systems thinking, learning communities, presencing [sic], and profound change, and apply them to civic engagement? The result is deep democracy—an organizing principle based on the transformation of separation to interconnectedness in the civic arena. Deep democracy is not what elected representatives do, nor experts, nor large public institutions, nor voters. At its essence, deep democracy is the inner experience of interconnectedness. . . . the core practice of dialogue can be deepened until we are listening beyond the words to our own and others' needs, feelings, assumptions and

frames; and even deeper until we are listening together to the silence, to the heartbeat of the whole, to what is wanting to emerge and be born. At this point we are listening not with the ear, but with the mind, the heart, and the body. We are listening to the deepest faculty of inner knowing. (Wilson, 2004)

Oren Lyons (Tao of Democracy, 2004), Faithkeeper of the Turtle Clan of the Onandaga Iroquois, describes the traditional tribal council approach to dealing with conflict through dialogue and inner knowing: "We meet and just keep talking until there's nothing left but the obvious truth." What approaches can be taken when there is no cultural container to make this possible or when this approach does not work even in a tribal setting?

Losers in adversarial struggles, Green (1999, p. 216) notes, change or relocate from the system, but do not change their views because of being outvoted (p. 216). The polarity remains unresolved and the adversarial polar opposites, the roles, continue to be in opposition and will continue to resurface—albeit in another time, another frame, or in another place. Frequently the conflict escalates due to the frustration created from the experience of having been downed or marginalized. Arguing for a general model of deep democracy's inclusion of all stakeholders in "devising mutually satisfactory solutions to shared problems," Green (1999, p. 216) maintains that "*only shared hopes are stable*" (p. 216).

Shared hopes are high dreams that exist at a deeper level of consciousness than our normal everyday identify. As such, they pattern behavior, but do so without benefit of awareness being made available to the system.

Given the obstacles to deeply democratic transformations—and the long period of time they take—only a transformative approach that can *sustain deeply committed, intelligently directed, situationally responsive, trust-based cooperative struggle beyond the horizon of immediate and foreseeable events* can achieve this goal. This is why the *human existential needs* and the *democratic impulse* that motivate people's initial involvement in democratic transformative struggle carry within them *an ideal directionality toward the deeply democratic community.* Our experience suggests that this developmental process must be understood as progressively embracing *cosmopolitan unity amidst valued diversity,* increasingly energized as *the Beloved Community.* (Green, 1999, p. 216)

What are the processes of inquiry and education that support the *Beloved Community*—a realistic, historically grounded ideal community? Is the meta-myth of a self-conscious public a utopian fallacy?

Dr. King (1963, p. 77) wrote, "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny" (p. 77). The *Beloved Community* is at once a deeply personal and an archetypically collective process of developing deep democracy, which also supports views that are opposed to democracy (whether deep, political, or otherwise), ideal directionality, trust, cosmopolitan unity, diversity, and (ultimately) against the conceptual *Beloved Community* itself. That personal and archetypally collective process is embodied in the Process Work's approach to teaching large group facilitation and fostering deep democracy known as Worldwork.

In a democracy,
the whole assembly cannot fail
unless the multitude that are to be governed fail.
—(Hobbes, 2004)

Worldwork is a term for the application of process oriented awareness-based therapeutic skills to working with conflict and issues of identity, diversity, and oppression as pioneered by Arny Mindell (1989c, 1992; 1995) and colleagues. The level of identity, diversity, and oppressions deals with socio-political roles. Mindell (Mindell & Mindell, 2004) also refers to three levels of consciousness: Consensus reality (CR), dreamland, and the level of sentient essence.
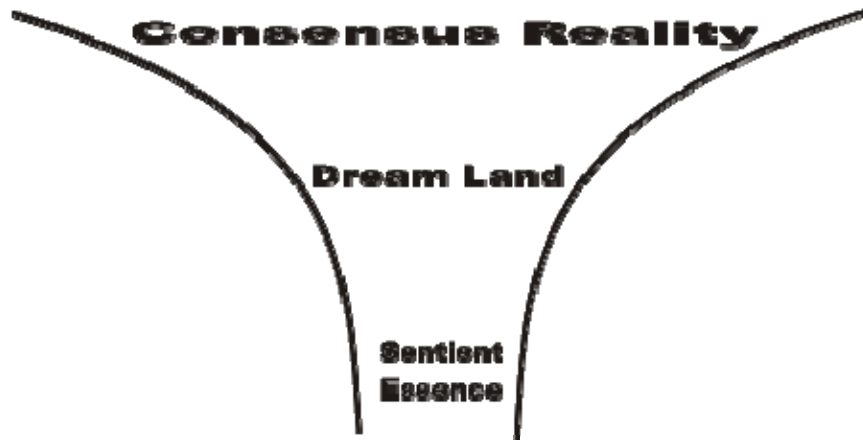
Figure 2: Levels of Consciousness (Mindell & Mindell, 2004)

CR is the level of consciousness we generally share with others wherein, for example, a cigar is just a cigar. Dreamland is a symbolic level of consciousness where roles, archetypes, and dream figures interact. At this level a cigar may be many things. It may be a symbol of fire or the strong thick smoke may be associated with something powerfully mystical, or it may be related with an association to someone's grandfather who maybe

used to smoke cigars or associated with oppressive Victorian patriarchal values. Sentient essence is the deepest level of conscious experience where the deepest faculty of inner knowing resides. At this level there are no longer any cigars or polarities, only the basic essence of the symbol or the polarities from the dreamland level remain.

Arny Mindell (2002d) shared the following description of deep democracy in an email to the Process Work community.

Each of us has or should form their own understanding of deep democracy. In my mind, it is a multileveled experience, as well as a political program. As an experience, at the consensual level, rank and hierarchy appear whenever you feel inflated or depressed, powerful or terrified, that is, more or less than someone else. Rank is the overt or subtle background to the feelings in a given situation in which you or others rank what is happening. Rankism, that is, the conscious or unconscious use of power without feedback over others—is the mother of all (CR [consensus reality]) "isms," which strongly differ in content but are similar in the hurt they cause. Unconscious or conscious use of rank is the core of all internecine struggles; it is deadly. We all need to watch for this.

In Dreamland,[16] since you are the other person, and since dreamland roles are non-local—that means, spread out everywhere in the universe at any given moment—in my opinion rank no longer has absolute significance. Rather, rank becomes exchangeable, entirely relative and momentary, almost insignificant. Finally at the non-dual [sentient] essence level of experience, we are all one with a creative "stardust," call it what you want, which gave birth to everything else. From

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[16] Dreamland: A symbolic level of consciousness made up of archetypal and dream like figures, i.e., the oppressor, a negative father, a powerful wolf, a lava flow, a red car.

here, there are no separate things, only a oneness. As long as there is a fight between one level, say the essence or the dreamland level and the CR level, deep democracy is not at work. Rank and no rank exist simultaneously. Understanding the simultaneous and paradoxical experiences of each level is what distinguishes deep democracy from politics, psychology, or religion—at least in their most mainstream forms where reality is rated more than spirituality, or the reverse, or where individual process is seen as more significant than collective process—or the reverse. Well. . . all this is abbreviated. . . and off the top of my head—it's not written in stone! (Arnold Mindell, 2002d)

Process Work theory is still evolving, or it may be more accurate to say that the understanding of process is itself a process. For example, Amy Mindell (2002) points out that the level of sentient experience is actually the same as that which used to be referred to as the spiritual channel. She describes the precursors of the concept of Sentient Essence:

. . . I would like to reflect on the possibility that the sentient realm has existed in Process Work previously but has not been directly delineated. I intuited that it must have been present in some form because my experience of sentience has felt so utterly fundamental to my understanding of process. Here are some beginning thoughts about possible precursors.

Process: The very concept of process means that there is a constant flow of experience, continual change. Process includes the flow between the Tao that can be said and the Tao that cannot be said. The Tao that cannot be said is the basis of all process, the creative well from which all things flow.

The Dreaming Process and the Dreambody: I believe that Arny's original concept of the dreaming process is one early description of the essence. Though much of my training has focused on the signals that can be seen and spoken about, I have always known that they emanate from the deep and ever-creative dreaming process: a deep and mysterious pattern that ultimately manifests through various channels and signals that we can identify and experience. In addition, Arny's concept of the Dreambody was a pioneering concept that pointed toward the subtle realm that lies behind physical experiences.

Irreducible Experience: Many years ago, Arny spoke of the "irreducible" experience as a moment when our primary and secondary experiences disappear or merge and we are simply in the flow of process. At that moment there are no longer polarities but instead an experience of oneness. Arny said, "Something is irreducible when you can't dissect it further into its parts without destroying it." This hinted toward the realm of the essence and non-duality. Many years ago, I developed a flow chart that alluded to this irreducible experience, showing that once we enter into a primary process, then a secondary one and so on, all differentiable processes collapse into a single, unified experience. . . .

Ancestors in Psychology and Spirituality: Many of Process Work's psychological ancestors hinted toward the sentient realm in such concepts as Jung's unconscious and Freud's subconscious. Later transpersonal psychology steered psychology toward the sentient realm as it attempted to focus on a person's capacity

to go beyond the ego[17] and focus on a more spiritual or transcendent state. Authentic movement approached this realm by focusing on the sense of "being moved."

Many spiritual disciplines important to Process Work's lineage also point toward the sentient realm such as Zen's focus on the realm of "no mind" or "creative mind," Taoism's focus on the "Tao that Cannot be Said," as well as many meditation and mystical practices that focus on a sense of oneness and the origin and flow of experience. Shamanism is crucial to the sentient realm because of its focus on trance states and experiences extending beyond ordinary space and time. (Amy Mindell, 2002)

Amy (2002) goes on to describe *flirts*, tiny pre-signals that do not persist long enough to be identified as signals. She places them somewhere in between Dreamland and Essence:

Just above the essence level we find the area of flirts. Flirts are the first way in which the essence world arises. The essence world appears as quick, flickering nonverbal sensations, visual flirts, moods, and hunches. Such experiences occur very rapidly such as our attention being caught for a split second by the brilliant color of a flower. These flirt-like experiences are of such brief duration, that we normally do not hold on to them long enough to help them unfold and come into consciousness. They are fleeting and non-consensual.

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[17] Amy Mindell uses the term ego here to refer to the evolution beyond the static, Freudian structural ego.

Flirts lie between the dual and non-dual worlds. They are dualistic because we see them. However, when we get close to them and reflect upon them, we have the experience of becoming one with them (non-dualistic). (Amy Mindell, 2002)
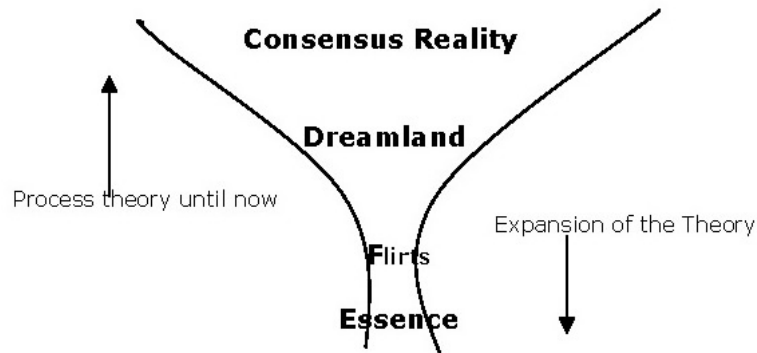
Figure 3: Evolution of Process Work Theory (Amy Mindell, 2002)[18]

The Mindell's approach to integrating quantum physics with psychology bridges the gap between science and philosophy and between shamanism and mysticism. This approach (which they call Worldwork) starts, in a sense, at home: as Walt Kelly's (1982) character Pogo said, "We have met the enemy and he is us" (p. 224).

Worldwork involves a tradition of deeper personal exploration, inner work, relationship and community work, wherein people, community members, and would be facilitators practice in developing their own awareness and fluidity (the ability to shapeshift from one role or viewpoint to another). [19] This path of learning involves developing an attitude of openness towards other people and their feelings, experience, and opinions; as well as towards various roles, dream figures, and states of consciousness. It is what Carlos

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[18] A table in Appendix 3 on page 391 further details differences between these levels.
[19] Worldwork also refers to Process Work training and research seminars in facilitating large group process on issues of oppression and conflict. See www.worldwork.org and www.globalprocessinstitute.org.

Castaneda called the path of a warrior (Castaneda, 1972) because it involves developing an openness to a certain kind of symbolic, psychological death or detachment wherein one's own momentary experience, though important, is no longer important in the way that it used to be. There is a kind of identity death that enables an individual to support the views of others, as well as her or his own, in a way that promotes an openness to intimacy, to relatedness, and to change, which allows for the whole community to work together to be able to find momentary solutions to each of the ongoing conflicts with which it is faced.

With a background in physics and psychology, Arnold Mindell (1992, p. 4) developed what was originally known as dreambody work[20] and came to be known as process oriented psychology or Process Work. His experiences working on therapeutic life issues such as illness, body symptoms, relationship conflicts, and dreams with individual clients led to cross-cultural work with large groups working on issues such as racism, sexism, classism, and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and intersexual issues— Worldwork evolved through viewing the world itself as a client (p. 4).

Some, however, including Johan Galtung (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995, pp. 39-40) (considered to be the father of peace studies, and winner of the Right Livelihood Award (the alternative Nobel prize)) disagree with the efficacy of large group process:

> Although they have value of their own, debates involving large numbers of people are less useful. As the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941) once said, discussion among more than 25 people is fruitless. The more numerous the participants, the less likely are the exchanges to be sincere. (pp. 39-40)

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[20] Dreambody: Refers to the dream like qualities of the apparently physical manifestation of the body and to energetic manifestation of the body's non-physical, spiritual, or quantum field counterpart.

Mindell (1995), however, found that if he shifted from the goal oriented thinking of debate and resolution—which is intent on "solving" the conflict and achieving static outcomes at a consensus reality level—in favor of an awareness-based approach intent on understanding the conflict, dynamics, motivations, concerns, signals, feelings, and dreaming of the conflicted parties at a Dreamland and Essence level—then something more interesting, profoundly sincere, and potentially more sustainable happened. The individuals and groups began to understand themselves better. They were more able to be fluid, momentarily shifting their thinking to better understand the positions of others. They began to understand their own motivations and assumptions, the role their identity and self confidence played, their prior experiences in conflict, emotional wounds, humiliations, and developed a sense of their own power. They began to understand the experiences of the people on the other side of the conflict as well and they began to be able to work together to develop their own process of working on conflict sustainably.

Mindell (1995) found that his awareness-based worldwork skills only worked when he was himself at peace inwardly. Many spiritual traditions view the maintenance of an inner attitude of love as a panacea. Realizing that he was rarely in a normal state of consciousness while in the midst of heated conflict, Arny Mindell (1992), however, viewed inner mastery as the *sine qua non*, a starting point for development of awareness-based interventions:

> Our challenge is to carefully develop . . . conflict resolution skills so that they reflect democratic principles and are widely applicable.
>
> Worldwork methods must not assume that the responsible facilitators and leaders are always centered. Process facilitators, group instructors, business executives,

psychologists, politicians, and teachers are rarely in neutral or normal states of consciousness, even at business meetings. Worldwork must not be limited to inner peace or outer equilibrium but must apply to real situations where there are chaos and attack, transformation and conflict. . . .

The tools of worldwork can only succeed with the attitude of deep democracy, that special feeling of belief in the inherent importance of all parts of ourselves and all viewpoints in the world around us. . . . Deep democracy is our sense that the world is here to help us become our entire selves, and that we are here to help the world become whole. (Mindell, 1992, p. 5)

Development of the feeling sense of deep democracy and belief in the importance of supporting a deeper dialogue is not easy. It involves a psychological or spiritual growth process for those of us who were not born gifted with the awareness of a Bodhisattva. Deep democracy is not sufficient in and of itself to deal with world situations. It is not a panacea. And the techniques of awareness-based worldwork facilitation techniques "become meaningless in the hands of those without the necessary inner development, without a sense of deep democracy" (Mindell, 1992, p. 5).

Deep democracy is based upon those perennial psychologies and philosophies that include global, egalitarian approaches to personal problems. It is any form of bodywork that encourages us to understand our feelings and movements as global spirits asking for resolution. And it is that type of dreamwork that realizes that images do not belong only to us personally. Deep democracy is found in relationship work when we consider not only what we are saying but also what our bodies are doing. Deep democracy occurs in groups

when we notice how group and political conflicts are connected to the spirit of the times. (Mindell, 1992, pp. 5-6)

<u>Safety</u>

> If we don't stop the bomb who will take care of the flowers?
> —Neil J. Seattle, Age 9

As group size increases, often the emotional heat and tension get turned up as well. This tends to happen for many different reasons. It is as if the various participants and groups feel the pressure of the moment, the inertia of the event, and the support of the facilitators and of their colleagues to be more free in their emotional expression. As the heat increases emotional, psychological, and physical safety becomes an increasingly important concern.

Days after 9/11, Peace X Peace founder Patricia Smith Melton (Peace X Peace, 2004) invited several extraordinary women to participate in a three day peace dialogue. That original circle of women met from January 19th through 21st, 2002. The following comments on safety are excerpted from their dialogue:

Susan:[21] We don't have to have a consensus. We need to be able to express ourselves and to be able to differ, and at the same time to be seeking our commonalities.

Susan: What often happens in conflict is the cause of the conflict gets completely lost in the posturing, and events move forward, and

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[21] Susan Collin Marks, South African, a facilitator of South Africa's Peace Accord and executive vice president of Search for Common Ground.

people get stuck. One of the things we need to think about is how do you get people unstuck?

Isabel:[22]   A shift is required.

Susan: How do we get to where that shift into wholeness can happen when people are stuck in fragments?

Isabel: We need a safe place where people can talk.

Barbara:[23]   Whenever you create a space where there is a certain amount of safety and respect and deep sharing and compassionate listening, people tend to get the next level, to reach it and to resonate within it. This is a circle. I believe in the circle as a means of engendering peace at whatever level is possible. (Peace X Peace, 2004)

What is meant by safety? A training manual used by the Institute for Multi Track Diplomacy comments further on safety:

Create Safe Space. Safe space refers to the environment—psychological as well as physical—of the dialogue. Only when people feel safe will be they be willing to go beyond debate to true dialogue, which involves touching many layers of wisdom and meaning.

If groups in dialogue are in a strongly conflictual relationship, their sense of safety may be enhanced by having an impartial third party present, who can be

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[22]   Isabel Allende, Latin American author, editor of Chile's first feminist magazine, expert in exile, director of The Allende Foundation focused on health and education needs of women in poverty.

[23]   Barbara Marx Hubbard, author and futurist, founder and director of The Foundation of Conscious Evolution and of the Peace Room (Internet), founder and interviewer of Internet radio program ("Wisdom Radio").

trusted to facilitate the process and be there should things get "too hot." (Louise Diamond, 1996, p. 43)

But what is meant by "too hot?" This question and the questions that follow may have no single clear answer. There is a deeper discussion behind these questions that any individual, group, or community will have to explore for themselves.

What safety is needed?

- Should there be any limits to "heat" (the expression of strong emotion)?

- When is there a different degree of protection and care in limiting heat that needs to be afforded to those who have suffered extreme violent conflict?

- Is psychological "safety" an illusion of the privileged? Do we all need some form of psychological and emotional protection? How does the form which the need for safety takes vary depending upon privilege, experience, and personal development?

- Is it the role of a facilitator to provide safety where it isn't politically correct for one side to mention it, want it, or ask for it?

- What message does a participant's concern for safety send? Is it, "I'm not willing to feel uncomfortable?" Or is there something more substantive behind it— perhaps a message that says, "I have suffered too. I have also been hurt. And I would also like to know that you can hear that about me."

Safety is a process that needs to be addressed by the facilitators. When someone says that things are "too hot," that experience needs to be supported so that a fear and concern for personal limits beyond which someone may not be able to defend himself or herself can become more transparent. Otherwise the dialogue risks becoming potentially

abusive. Others may disagree and feel that the level of heat in dialogue is nothing compared to the level of abuse and atrocity that they have suffered. That too needs to be said. A facilitator needs to be able to facilitate the heat and the fear of it, while also making sure that the heat and the reaction against it does not stop the dialogue and the expression of the feelings, the views, and the reactions.

At times, there is a need for someone to come forward as a protector. This is often crucial in processing issues of trauma and abuse. As a facilitator, it is sometimes easy to get hypnotized into supporting the more obviously marginalized group. But in conflict, people on all sides have likely been traumatized and need to be protected. Even if the attacker is "only" a symbolic dream figure, it is still quite hurtful. When the heat is too high, there is a risk that people will become traumatized or re-traumatized and react violently. The reaction may be internalized in the form of body symptoms, dissociation, or extreme states or externalized verbally, emotionally, or physically. The reaction may result in further violence against the more marginalized group or may result in the initiation of violence against the more dominant group. The reaction may come some time afterwards.

Over the past years, I have witnessed and participated in many extremely emotional encounters in peace, dialogue, and conflict groups. There has usually been an unstated and controversial atmosphere that supports strong expression by marginalized people against the more mainstream or more dominant people whom they see as their oppressors. Is this warrior training? Is it helpful? What responsibility should marginalized or oppressed people feel to protect their oppressors from verbal and emotionally heated encounters and how does this question silence people, further removing their voice from public dialogue?

There is one attitude that says, "finally I can hit back and they have to take it because of everything they have done." This attitude momentarily reverses the rank and dominance roles but continues the cycle of victimization. As previously noted, Cornell West (2004, p. 7) argues that "We are losing the very value of dialogue—especially respectful communication—in the name of the sheer force of naked power" (p. 7). Where is the balance between constructive levels of expression and protection for all parties involved? How close need a group come to the line beyond which there is a risk of emotional or psychic carnage?

Safety is a complex issue involving many perspectives. It is not a program or a static condition that can be mandated, even by a facilitator. Safety is an experience, one which is of concern to everyone as we are all vulnerable at different times and in diverse ways. Mindell (2002d) maintains that safety is a perception that depends upon

> . . . age, health, gender, sexual orientation, culture, dreams, nationality, and so forth. For example, if something is marginalized or rejected by your conscious mind, you are constantly afraid and "in danger" of a reaction from that "something" within yourself, [which is] often projected onto the outside world.

The experience of safety is often reversed in conflict forums, particularly those involving clearly polarized distinctions between marginalized and dominant groups. Marginalized people—who may be used to feeling unsafe in the world—may find that they now feel relatively safe as they confront their "oppressors" directly and find support for the expression of their stories, feelings, fears, and tragedies. Often, this expression surfaces in the form of a didactic polemic, which at times is intended not only to educate and to transform but to harm. And why shouldn't they? Why should the oppressed now have to

"take care of" the oppressors by silencing themselves to protect the more mainstream, privileged, or dominant group from their own uncomfortable feelings?

Discernment of an intent to harm is a complex issue. The use of communication styles and strong levels of emotional expression that are appropriate in one group's culture and situation may be experienced as aggression by another group. Furthermore, the normal experience of safety is often reversed in conflict groups because the more dominant group may anticipate a retaliation that they, at least in part, know is justified. All of these experiences are important and need to be felt, expressed, and understood.

Thus, a complex dynamic arises when one group or individual explores marginalization, and also her feelings of pride, power and ability to speak about that which has never been said before. Speaking out creates all sorts of feelings in everyone. Some are afraid; others are touched so deeply, they are moved to tears. In the sense of deep democracy, each and everyone's feelings are important as part of the emerging community awareness process. This process increases everyone's sense of safety as awareness of rank and privilege, power and its abuses comes forward. . . .

That facilitator who by the grace of someone's god has managed, together with her community, to raise awareness to the point where ghost roles and voices that cannot speak are represented, who watches in a moment to moment manner the way in which deep democracy unfolds, makes the term "safety" seem like a totally inadequate word. Better terms for such awareness processes are "Community," or "sense of meaning," "belonging," "sense of life's task" as well as all ancient and perennial human goals. (Mindell, 2000b)

No matter what it is called, safety is a complex issue. The following section addresses several considerations regarding safety and is meant to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics and difficulties surrounding safety:

- Safety is especially of concern if only a few people are speaking. What is keeping the others down? Bring this up directly. Talk about safety and speak to the roles that may not feel safe.

- Watch for an atmosphere of judgmentalness. Do people feel or fear an attitude that says, "If you speak you'll be killed, fired, or hated."

- If someone is attacked and the facilitator does not respond, some people (except the person who made the attack and those who side with her) will feel a sense of abuse. Slow things down by making sure that the person or group that was attacked is somehow noticed and helped to react, while being careful not to put down the attacker.

- If someone who is new to the group gets blocked in speaking, go over to her and talk to her in front of the group. "Hey, how are you?" Whatever. Support new people to come out more. She may be blocked because of her low rank status as a newcomer, or may just need help coming in. Many people suffer after speaking in a group because of what they said, or did not say, or they way they said it. Notice what support someone may need to complete her interaction with the group. Also, groups that do not make people feel welcome lack eldership. Eldership is a ghost and the group may need help in getting in touch with its own ability to care for its parts.

- The person who comes out strongly is often someone who has not been listened to enough. Support her to come out even more strongly and watch for and support reactions against her. In coming out strongly she may be downing someone else.

- Marginalized people will feel safer if it is clear that the facilitator knows herself and her own issues thoroughly. What you do as a facilitator is almost not as important as understanding the issue and the marginalized person's experience and feeling viewpoint.

- Mainstream people also have a lot of pain and have a need for safety also. The mainstream looks down upon people in the mainstream as well. This is not necessarily a popular view with more marginalized people. Many men are in great pain because of sexism and white men often suffer because of the roles and stereotypes heaped on them as well as on men of color. It may not be right for the group for the facilitator to bring this up. Stay aware of it as the awareness helps to separate individuals from their current roles and helps to avoid supporting abuse of the mainstream people who may be frozen by political correctness from being able to defend themselves in the moment. (J. Diamond, 2005; Louise Diamond, 1999; Louise Diamond & McDonald, 1996; Lederach, 2003; Mindell, 1992; Arnold Mindell, 1995; Mindell, 1996, 2000b; Arnold Mindell, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d; Mindell, 2005a; Mindell & Mindell, 2004; Peace X Peace, 2004; Schupbach, 2000a; Schupbach & Schupbach, 2004)

The Inner Jihad

> We know, in the case of the person, that whoever cannot tell himself [or herself] the truth about his past is trapped in it, is immobilized in the prison of his undiscovered self. This is also true of nations.
> —James Baldwin (1998, p. 670, p. 670)

Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee & Ikeda, 1989, p. 63) wrote, "the present threat to mankind's survival can be removed only by a revolutionary change of heart in individual human beings" (p. 63). However, literary critic Geoffrey Hartman (1999, p. 251), maintains

that "in our century hate is being reinvented" (p. 251). The propagandic use of hate as a political weapon is being more finely honed than ever before (Bernays, 1923, 1928; Chomsky, 2002b).

> Because repression and the guilt or shame that accompany it are common psychical facts in civilized society, the hate released [when propaganda frees people from the taboo against hatred] is massive. But it feels like a renewal of virility, like breaking through a social lie. (Hartman, 1999, p. 252)

The passions, fears, ideas, visions, wisdom, and ignorance surrounding the roles and dynamics of conflict are staggeringly powerful. Some—such as Bush, Kaplan, Sun-Tzu, Machiavelli, and Hobbes as discussed in the literature review—call for a Leviathan to deploy a massive military lock-down of the whole world and all dissention. Others embrace dialogue and deep democracy, and point to many successes, but avoid comment on the failure of dialogue to be generalized into an effective approach for all situations. Mindell (2000b) maintains that

> Learning to create a facilitating atmosphere is a highly complex topic requiring as much inner work and reflection on one's own life, as it does academic study of history. Then the facilitator must know the truth about dreaming; that there are invisible spirits in the air which make everyone nervous, though no one may be able to voice exactly what those spirits and tendencies may be. The facilitator must awaken her own sensitivities to notice this "dreaming," and the manner in which it represents itself in the imaginations of all of us, in the ghosts within, and in the group. Her training must in some sense allow her to bring these ghosts forward, and encourage herself and everyone to play these ghosts. This work is a mixture of

seriousness because of the horror and abuses of history, and creative play—because of the social, almost game like element of dreaming. Processes often switch from seriousness to play, from one to the other in microseconds. (Mindell, 2000b)

The basis of learning to create a facilitative atmosphere begins with learning to facilitate one's inner atmosphere. The revolutionary change of heart Toynbee (Toynbee & Ikeda, 1989) mentioned is a shift from searching for evil and the source of difficulties exclusively in others. In a post-Newtonian world where the interconnectedness of everything is increasingly evident, the importance of self-reflection is, hence, increasingly apparent. This path of inner work, described as the inner Jihad in Islam, is a profoundly political process. It is also profoundly difficult and asks the questions: Where is the disturbance in me? Where is it in the other? Where is it in the field?

The purpose of deep democracy is not to replace political democracy. This philosophy is not a new age form of Marxist revolution. It is a high dream and a vision that is, at times, practical and at times beyond our human limitations. While the work of practicing deep democracy continues to find its way into more conflicts, more communities, more governments, and the minds of more and more people; our collective abilities will improve, however slowly. The need for civil, political, and military structures will continue as will the need to support power and to fight against abuses of power.

In summary:

· *Safety* in dialogue is a complex processes involving many ghosts that need to become transparent.

· The foundation of facilitation is the facilitation of one's inner atmosphere.

· Deep Democracy is a principle and a methodology.

- Deep Democracy suggests that all voices, states of awareness, and frameworks of reality are important.

- Deep Democracy also suggests that the information carried within these voices, awarenesses, and frameworks are all needed to understand the complete process of the system.

- Deep Democracy is an attitude that focuses on the awareness of voices that are both central and marginal and is open to diversity of psychological and spiritual experience, symbolism, and meaning.

This literature review deepens the brief history of the evolution of conflict resolution that was presented in chapter one but also takes a broad look at the field by examining various subfields that are not normally assumed to be part of formal conflict resolution, *per se.* This lays the foundation for the exploration of process work and the facilitation of conflict that is to follow. Key questions and directions in the early days of conflict resolution are presented follow by a examination of Conflict Analysis, a highly structured approach to understanding the causation of and correlates to conflict that led to further exploration of the goals of conflict intervention. Multi-Track Diplomacy, a systems approach to peacebuilding, is presented followed by an exploration of Conflict Psychology and aspects of the psychology of terrorism. A section on Applied Conflict Psychology demonstrates potential practical application of the principles of conflict psychology to deescalate tensions. A section on Amnesia and the Collective Unconscious explores identity, memory, hopelessness, and trauma as correlates and fundamental processes behind conflict.

Leadership and awareness based paradigms in conflict and political psychology are presented as aspects of alternative approaches to conflict resolution. David Bohm's work on coherent dialogue is presented as a practical application of principles from quantum mechanics to conflict resolution. And finally section on eldership, spirituality, and awareness based paradigms are presented with practical examples given from process work and various spiritual traditions.

Section One: The Conflict Resolution Machine

Looking back over the first fifty years of the field of conflict resolution:

. . . realists saw conflict resolution as soft-headed and unrealistic, since in their view international politics is a struggle between antagonistic and irreconcilable groups, in which power and coercion were the ultimate currency. Might not lasting peace more often result from decisive military victory than from negotiated settlement? And might not third party intervention merely prolong the misery? The ideological preconceptions of some of those working in the peace research and conflict resolution field were regarded as compromising, and the attempt to combine "scientific" academic analysis with a normative political agenda as intellectually suspect. From a different angle, neo-Marxists and radical thinkers from development studies saw the whole conflict resolution enterprise as misconceived, since it attempted to reconcile interests that should not be reconciled, failed to take sides in unequal and unjust struggles, and lacked an analysis within a properly global perspective of the forces of exploitation and oppression. (Miall et al., 2004, p. 3)

Other questions remained. Could the successes be generalized? Could methods developed in Western settings be applied across cultural boundaries? Could Cold War practices be applied in post-Cold War, intrastate, or ethnic conflicts?

Provention was a popular word in the field in the 1960s. It refers to the proactive-prevention of conflict by removing the causes of conflict, rather than ending conflict through coercion and deterrence. Burton (1993) saw it as a political philosophy that could

be a general approach to government (p. 38). Could conflicts be prevented through

proventive measures while still latent?

Destructive Conflict, Violence, and War

Threshold

Power
Struggle   **CONTAIN**

Overt
Conflict   **RESOLVE**

PREVENT

Latent
Tensions

CATCHING CONFLICT
BEFORE IT ESCALATES
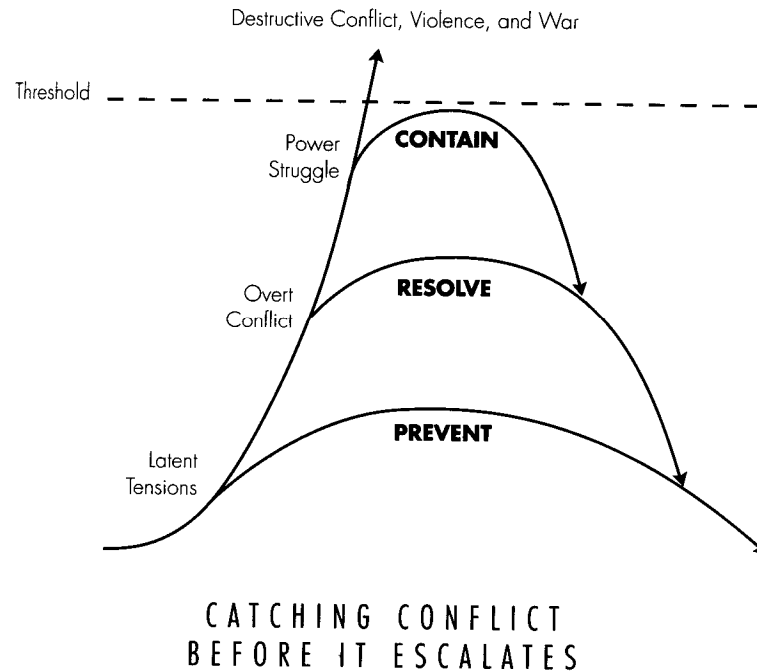
Figure 4: Ury (1999) Model of Conflict Escalation (p. 113)

In the early days, the conflict resolution field was largely comprised of people from alternative dispute resolution, i.e., people with legal backgrounds, who were not particularly interested in theory or politics or psychology. John Burton (1993) noted that both communist and capitalist systems had failed and called for a form of conflict resolution as a political system or political philosophy (p. 62). Burton called for conflict resolution as a political system in which the values and the analysis techniques would not be an adjunct to power politics but would be an alternative to power politics.

> Patriotism is when love of your own people comes first;
> nationalism when hate for people other than your own comes first.
> —Charles De Gaulle

During the 1970's, a body of literature evolved that describe the then developing theory and practice of conflict analysis and resolution. "Resolution was seen as possible, not through goodwill and an altered value system, but by a realistic analysis of situations and an assessment of the costs and consequences of policies that were based on false assumptions and perceptions" (Burton, 1996, p. 4). Conflicts were examined at all social levels, analytical tools evolved, and research and training institutions were established. Clear patterns emerged of the sources and types of conflict, the effects of various interventions, people's visions for the future, and the need for cultural and ethnic identity and autonomy. A new language of conflict analysis and resolution was developed along with procedures for intervening in conflict. A distinction was made between conflicts and disputes:

·   Conflict   "A struggle between opposing forces that involve inherent human needs in
              respect of which there can be limited or no compliance, there being no
              unlimited malleability to make this possible" (Burton, 1996, p. 21).
              ". . . the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups. . . . that involve
              human needs and can only be resolved by removing underlying causes"
              (Miall et al., 2004, pp. 19-20).

·   Dispute   A disagreement, usually involving material considerations, that can be
              settled by some form of negotiation, compromise, meditation, or legal
              process. (Burton, 1996, p. 26)

Similar precision must be given to terms such as mediation and resolution. Resolution, for example, may mean sending in the police or the army to stop dissent—at least in the eyes of some people this may be resolution. To others resolution may involve a process of listening to the dissenting people, understanding their grievances, analyzing the interests of all parties involved and helping them to work together to develop a practice of working with grievances in a sustainable manner. Burton (1996) offers the following definitions of resolution and mediation:

> Resolution within a power frame has the connotation of determination or firmness. Resolving has the connotation of bringing an argument to an end. Conflict resolution has quite a different meaning. It implies problem solving by deeply analytical means. No element of coercion is implied. (p. 40)
>
> Mediation is an art. It varies greatly according to the belief systems of the mediator. If, in fact, the problem in relationships turns out to be a dispute, mediation can be successful. But frequently mediation does not reveal hidden issues and mediators frequently do not have the training required to bring these to the surface. What appears to be a dispute can turn out to be a conflict and mediation in these circumstances can be dysfunctional. (p. 34)

The term mediation is still widely but loosely used to refer to any intervention in a conflict or dispute, however mediation most accurately refers to a process of negotiation and compromise applied to a dispute. Similarly, the term resolution is also widely used but, as Burton (1996) points out, it has the connotation of determination, firmness, and of ending the argument. Further work, such as *transformative mediation* (Bush & Folger, 2004), blurs the distinctions between resolution and mediation efforts. For many (generally

the more marginalized groups in any given conflict), the term *resolution* carries negative

connotations such as a danger of being co-opted, efforts to silence dissenting views and

people, or an attempt to ignore legitimate concerns and issues.

Furthermore, Burton's (1996) reference to conflict resolution as being an *art* points

to the relevance of this research project's inquiry into the basic research question

(presented on page 241), which asks, "what inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help

people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner?"

What is the nature of the art? How is it practiced? When is it well executed and how?

There is an ongoing debate within the field as to whether resolution refers to the

ending of an argument or the ongoing process. John Paul Lederach (2003) prefers the term

transformation, which he defines:

> Conflict transformation is to *envision* and *respond*
> to the *ebb* and *flow* of social conflict
> as *life-giving opportunities*
> for creating *constructive change processes*
> that *reduce violence,*
> *increase justice*
> in *direct interaction and social structures,*
> and respond to real-life problems
> in *human relationships.* (p. 14)

There is more at stake than the concrete issues that appear on the table. People in

conflict are often negotiating the nature and quality of their relationships, their governance,

their sense of self-worth and identity, and the nature of power and decision making. These

are not easily predictable, defined, or understood. The feelings, visions, and experiences

associated with these aspects of conflict deserve further exploration and are part of the

basic inquiry of this study. People often have profound physiological reactions when

working with these issues, when confronted by their enemies, and when face to face with

their histories and the ghosts of the past. Lederach (2003) makes several distinctions between conflict resolution and conflict transformation in Table 1 on page 104.

An enormous body of work is now available describing numerous models, analyzing interstate, intrastate, regional, organizational, and interpersonal conflicts, armed conflicts, ethnic conflict, and terrorism and the factors of resources, governance, sovereignty, power, control, and identity. For example, Table 2 on page 105 outlines a typology of conflicts, which is broken down by region and spans a four year period.

As shown by the data in this table, the nature of conflicts has changed drastically since the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union and the European empires. Most conflicts are now intrastate conflicts. It is interesting to note, for example, that there were no ideological conflicts in Europe during this period but there were several in Africa and Asia. This data reflects the empirical work of conflict scientists, researchers, and policy analysts searching for answers through hard facts and quantative data.

This approach has melded with the softer approaches of spiritual leaders, peace researchers, pacifists, and nonviolent Gandhian activists. "The objectives of Gandhi's *satyagraha* (struggle for truth [or "truth force," as it is sometimes described]) were to make latent conflict manifest by challenging social structures that were harmful because they were highly inequitable but to do this without setting off a spiral of violence" (Miall et al., 2004, p. 41). The objective, from this framework, is not to win and not even necessarily to achieve what many practitioners now call a win-win solution but to achieve a new level of understanding, relatedness, and a greater capacity for thinking together.

Further exploration is needed into the polarity between the hard approaches desire to win and the softer approaches desires for win-win or simply for awareness. Seen from a

more detached perspective, each of these desires is important and deserves to be

supported among the parties to the conflict and within the facilitation team. The nature of

and tensions between this polarity, as it appears within facilitators, is explored in this

inquiry.

	Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation: *A Brief Comparison of Perspective*	
	Conflict Resolution Perspective	Conflict Transformation Perspective
The Key Question	How do we end something not desired?	How do we end something destructive and build something desired?
The focus	It is content-centered.	It is relationship-centered.
The purpose	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis.	To promote constructive change processes, inclusive of, but not limited to, immediate solutions.
The development of the process	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the symptoms of disruptions appear.	It envisions the presenting problem as an opportunity for response to symptoms and engagement of systems within which relationships are embedded.
Time frame	The horizon is short-term relief to pain, anxiety, and difficulties.	The horizon for change is mid- to long-range and is intentionally crisis-responsive rather than crisis-driven.
View of conflict	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes.	It envisions conflict as an ecology that is relationally dynamic with ebb (conflict de-escalation to pursue constructive change) and flow (conflict escalation to pursue constructive change).

Table 1: Conflict Resolution vs. Transformation (Lederach, 2003, p. 33)

During the 1950s and 1960s, the decolonizing wars of liberation tended to be

ideological, nationalistic struggles for identity and self-determination. Then there was a

gradual shift to post-colonial internal, civil wars in successor states. These were categorized

as: non-authority-oriented, anti-colonial, secessionist, indigenous control of authority

structures, external imposition of authority structures, and Cold War sponsored. Miall, et

al (2004, p. 71), maintained that the anti-colonial and Cold War sponsored conflicts have

faded from the list, however tensions in the Caucuses (such as the Georgian Revolution of

the Roses in 2003 and recent events in Ukraine) are remnants of the Soviet Cold War

domination, are related to contemporary Russian imperial desires, and are also pro- and

anti-colonial; depending upon which faction one sides with. Similarly, post-colonial and

post Cold War disruption and instability continue to fuel conflict in Africa, Indonesia,

Kashmir, Belujistan, North Korea, the Middle East, Latin America, the Marshall Islands,

Okinawa, and elsewhere (Johnson, 2000).

Major deadly conflicts by region and type: 1995-7					
	Interstate	Revolution/Ideology	Identity/ Secession	Factional	Total
Africa	0	3	8	2	13
Asia	0	4	10	2	16
Europe	0	0	7	1	8
Latin America	0	3	0	1	4
Middle East	0	3	4	0	7

Table 2: Major deadly conflicts - 1995-7 (Miall et al., 2004, p. 80)

Edward Azar's (1990) theory of protracted social conflict builds on the post Cold

War, post-colonial trends in conflict. The critical factors in Azar's mode of protracted

social conflict are the basic needs of security, identity, recognition, acceptance, and access

to political and economic participation (Miall et al., 2004, p. 71).

A related but very different viewpoint comes from Taoist and Buddhist thought—

the seeds of conflict lie in the perceptions of experience, the values, and the attitudes of the

conflicted parties. Conflict resolution from this perspective then becomes a path of self and

collective awareness. This view has parallels in the ancient Greek edict to know thyself, in the spiritual practice and dogma of finding love and forgiveness, in the physics of David Bohm (2004) and his theories of coherence and dialogue, and in Process Work.

This study looks at conflict from the global and inner levels together because the apparent separation of these levels is illusory, seductive, and dangerous. Understanding of the inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs that are herein explored shape the ways in which conflict professionals approach conflict and form interventions. Furthermore, these patterns mirror the seeds of conflict that lie in the perceptions of experience, the values, and the attitudes of the conflicted parties and within the world at large.

All of these ideas have great merit, but it is the conflict professional who endeavors to research the practice, applicability, and efficacy of the various models and paradigms, seeks funding, and runs the day-to-day business of applying them.

The first professional institution of peace and conflict research appeared in 1945. The Peace Research Laboratory (PRL) in St Louis, Missouri was created after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "Science, according to [PRL founder, Theodore F.] Lentz, 'did increase physical power but science did not increase physical harmony. . . the power-harmony imbalance has been brought about by science in misorder' (Lentz, 1955, 52-3)" (Miall et al., 2004, p. 42).

The work of Johan Galtung (1987)—a Norwegian peace researcher and winner of the Right Livelihood, alternative Nobel peace prize—extended the field from the research of the reduction of war to the emergence of peace. Furthering that effort, Louise Diamond (1999, p. 5), who together with Ambassador John McDonald (2002) provided conflict

resolution training for over one thousand Greek and Turkish Cypriots, expressed the need to understand peace as a personal and collective practice:

> Peace, then, is the everyday practical matter of how we can live together harmoniously, dealing creatively and effectively with the inevitable differences, hurts and fears that arise in human relationships. It is also a spiritual ideal that has inspired human beings throughout time and across cultures. On a larger scale, peace is a political goal of nations and peoples; on a smaller scale, inner peace is a personal goal for those of us who are trying to live more consciously within this frenzied world. Spiritual, political, practical and personal—peace is important in all these dimensions and affects us all. (p. 5)

There are no magic wands, panaceas, or clear answers to conflict resolution because each situation and every moment is unique. Consider an attempt at finding a simple description of the conflict in North Ireland:

> The traditional nationalist interpretation, Britain v. Ireland: The Irish people form a single nation and the fault for keeping Ireland divided lies with Britain.

> The traditional unionist interpretation, Southern [Republic of] Ireland v. Northern Ireland: There are two peoples in Ireland who have an equal right to self-determination, Protestant (unionist/loyalist) and Catholic (nationalist/republican), and the fault for perpetuating the conflict lies with the refusal of nationalists to recognize this.

> Marxist interpretations: capitalist v. worker: The cause of the conflict lies in the combination of an unresolved imperial legacy and the attempt by a governing capitalist class to keep the working class repressed and divided.

Internal-conflict interpretations: Protestant v. Catholic within Northern Ireland: The

cause of the conflict lies in the incompatibility between the aspirations of the two

divided communities in Northern Ireland. (Miall et al., 2004, p. 67)

This description is not meant to imply that there is one correct interpretation or

that there is a single cause of any given conflict. It is clear that the complex multifaceted

nature of conflict and the many views and tensions embedded within require equally

diverse approaches to understanding and transforming the conflict. Attempts to apply

systems thinking to conflict resolution led to the development of multi-track diplomacy as

described in the following section.

Multi-Track Diplomacy

In 1981, Joseph Montville (Montville & Davidson, 1981), then a US Department of

State employee, coined the phrases *Track One* and *Track Two* diplomacy in "Foreign

Policy According to Freud," which appeared in *Foreign Policy.* Track One diplomacy is

what diplomats do—formal negotiations between nations conducted by professional

diplomats. Track Two diplomacy refers to conflict resolution efforts by professional non-

governmental conflict resolution practitioners and theorists. "Track Two has as its object

the reduction or resolution of conflict, within a country or between countries, by lowering

the anger or tension or fear that exists, through improved communication and a better

understanding of each other's point of view" (McDonald & Bendahmane, 1987, p. 1).

The efforts of these conflict resolution professionals, generally operating through

NGO's and universities, arose from the realization by diplomats and others that formal

official government-to-government interaction was not necessarily the most effective or only

method for securing international cooperation or resolving differences.

Track two diplomacy is unofficial, non-structured interaction. It is always open

minded, often altruistic, and . . . strategically optimistic, based on best case analysis.

Its underlying assumption is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or

eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and

reasonableness. Scientific and cultural exchanges are examples of track two

diplomacy. The problem most political liberals fail to recognize is that reasonable

and altruistic interaction with foreign countries cannot be an alternative to

traditional track one diplomacy, with its official posturing and its underlying threat

of the use of force. Both tracks are necessary for psychological reasons and both

need each other. (Montville & Davidson, 1981, p. 155)

Montville (Montville & Davidson, 1981) maintains that there are two basic

processes in track two diplomacy. The first consists of facilitated workshops that bring

members of conflicting groups together to develop personal relationships, understand the

conflict from the perspective of others, and develop joint strategies for solving the conflict.

The second process involves working to shift public opinion: "Here the task is a

psychological one which consists of reducing the sense of victimhood of the parties and

rehumanizing the image of the adversary" (McDonald & Bendahmane, 1987, p. 10).

Methods for conducting these activities are still evolving as is the thinking around

which individuals—representing various roles and functions in society and government—

should be included. Montville (McDonald & Bendahmane, 1987) points out that "there is

no evidence that conflict resolution workshops would work for the principal political

leaders themselves—perhaps because they are too tough or even impervious to the

humanizing process" (p. 14). Ambassador McDonald (2004) seconds this assumption but

feels that it is merely because the leaders are stuck in rigid roles and politically have less access to fluidity than individuals further removed from the top echelon of government.

In 1986 Ambassador John McDonald and Diane Bendahmane (1987) produced *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy*, a book that compiled the thoughts of several Track One and Track Two professionals confirming the need for government to support, encourage, and work with Track Two. The Department of State refused to print the book for eighteen months because the State Department has a strong defensiveness regarding its right, ability, and authority to conduct conflict resolution. The book was finally published in 1987 and states that

> . . . the official government apparatus for analyzing international security issues and designing foreign policy has to equip itself to support and benefit from track two diplomacy. As part of the process, government analysts must improve their capabilities to understand how history, society, culture, and psychology interact. (McDonald & Bendahmane, 1987, pp. 156-157)

At a special briefing for representatives of nongovernmental organizations, Paul Sutphin (2004), the US Department of State's Deputy Director for Political Affairs in the Office of Iraq, presented a plea for help from NGO's. Acting under Secretary Powell's initiative and authority, the State Department's Iraqi analysts explained their frustrations in conducting dialogue, developing grassroots relationships, and rebuilding infrastructure. Far from admitting that the State Department was limited in its right, ability, and authority to conduct conflict resolution, they admitted that they could not build relationships or spend money fast enough to rebuild Iraq in time to appease the Iraqis and needed help to do it.

This may not be the ideal situation in terms of NGO and State Department cooperation, but it was an unprecedented event.

"Further Exploration of Track Two Diplomacy" was published in 1991 as an Occasional Paper (McDonald), and as a chapter in *Timing the De-Escalation of International Conflicts* (Kriesberg & Thorson, 1991). In 1996, Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador McDonald published *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. Since then, the model has been more robustly developed and the original two tracks has been expanded into nine tracks as illustrated in Figure 5 on page 111. The Multi-Track concept is meant to convey the idea that all sectors of society are important and need to be involved, supported, listened to, and trained in a shared language of dialogue, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding in order to prevent or end violent conflict.

The IMTD logo illustrates the systemic nature of the nine tracks in the multi-track systems approach to peace.
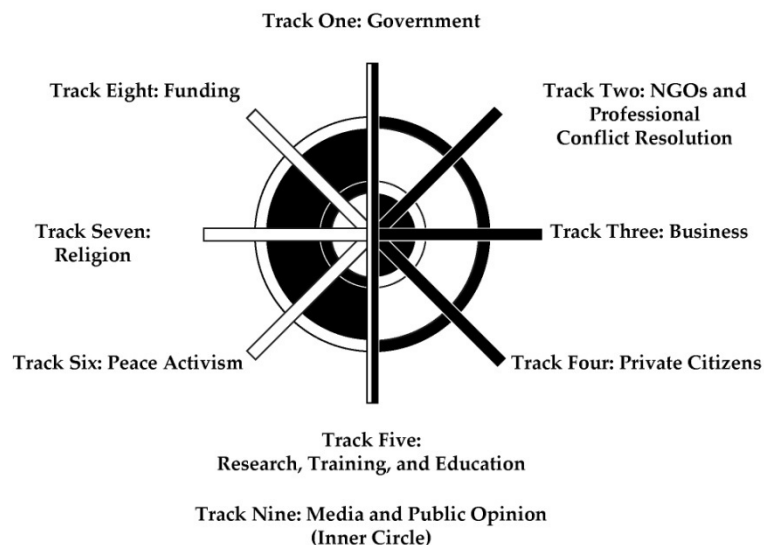
Figure 5: Multi-Track Diplomacy (Courtesy Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy)

Ambassador McDonald and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (2004) developed the following principles of multi-track diplomacy:

Twelve Principles of Multi-Track Diplomacy

1. Relationship—Building strong interpersonal and intergroup relations throughout the fabric of society.

2. Long-term commitment—Making an ongoing commitment to people and to processes that may take years to come to fruition.

3. Cultural synergy—Respecting the cultural wisdom of all the parties and welcoming the creative interaction of different cultural ways.

4. Partnership—Modeling collaborative process by partnering with local parties and with other institutions and coalitions.

5. Multiple technologies—Utilizing a variety of technologies, as appropriate, and creating new methods, as needed, to meet the unique needs of each situation.

6. Facilitation—Assisting parties in taking responsibility for their own dreams and destiny.

7. Empowerment—Helping people become empowered agents of change and transformation within their societies.

8. Action research—Learning from all that we do and sharing that learning with others.

9. Invitation—Entering the system where there is an invitation and an open door.

10. Trust—Building relationships of mutual trust and caring within the system.

11. Engagement—Acknowledging that once we enter a system we become a unique part of it: an engaged, caring, and accountable partner.

12. Transformation—Catalyzing changes at the deepest level of beliefs, assumptions, and values, as well as behaviors and structures. (Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 2004)

Multi-Track Diplomacy is essentially a step in the same direction as the evolution of deep democracy. While Multi-Track Diplomacy focuses on functional social roles in each of its tracks, deep democracy further extends the discrete tracks to a broad range of roles and dream figures and explores the tensions and chaos that exist between them.

Authority vs Chaos

The people can always be brought to do the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism.
—Hermann Goering

Historical patterns wherein the norms, laws, and punishments were dictated by a ruling elite are giving way to more democratic structures. These advances bring along with them a weakening of enforcement possibilities (Burton, 1996). The traditional authoritarian view of society is that the privileged members of society set the norms and the state uses its power to enforce conformance within state borders and to protect the state's interests from encroaching nations. Democratization broadens the social norms and challenges society and the state to accept greater diversity. Nature may love diversity but societies and states appear to loathe it.

The state's technological advances have failed to counter the trends toward greater diversity of thought, culture, and action. Conversely, technological advances have also made it possible for individuals to have an increasingly powerful impact on world order; as evidenced by such incidents as "terrorist" bombings, anthrax fear, 9/11, the possibility that a nuclear weapon will eventually be used by a small group, and the inept but miraculously successful assassination of Archduke Ferdinand that sparked WWI.

John Burton (1996) maintains that "the traditional coercive basis of law and order on which societies have rested is no longer effective" (p. 3): meaning that reliance on

authority, prisons, and weapons is decreasingly effective while the same means of repression provide increased opportunity for, and increased likelihood of, defiance. One view maintains that authoritarian control and punishment, which worked in the past, merely needs to be redoubled, modernized, and made more efficient—hence the reliance in the US on increased prisons, decreasing diversity of the press, and advanced weaponry. Furthermore, the nature of the challenge to authority and the status quo is inherently threatening to those in power as well as to those who rely on the state to provide stability. The concern is: if the state is forced to change, even slightly and become self-reflective and open to critical thinking, what will guarantee stability?

> Any rejection of social norms, and resistance to authorities whose duty it is to enforce them, have traditionally been held to be immoral and unethical, being a failure to observe those values supported by religions and cultural belief systems. Any suggestion that there may be valid reasons for divergences, any suggestion that existing institutions and structures may themselves be a source of crime and violence requiring, therefore, fundamental changes, is too challenging to those who value traditional institutions. . . . Rather than change, they prefer the option of increased security measures provided by authorities . . . (Burton, 1996, p. 3)

The authoritarian system views itself as engaged in a struggle against chaos. Marxist, socialist, and anarchist thought is easily discredited as a utopian ideal partly because of historical reality but also because the traditional authorities see individuals as being "wholly malleable and . . . capable of conforming with institutional requirements" (Burton, 1996, p. 4). Burton argues that this assumption is false, that deterrence does not reliably deter, and small nations can not be defeated by greater nations if the defeat forces conformance, e.g.,

the US war in Vietnam and the Russian war in Afghanistan. Burton (1996), however, makes this argument based on his own assumption that "there may be a limit to the human capacity to adapt, leading to resistance to the point of self-sacrifice" (p. 4). To base this dynamic on a limitation of the human capacity to adapt is to deny the spirit and power of those who will not submit to oppression. Did Gandhi fail to adapt to British imperialism or did he succeed in standing against it?

Deterrence

The horrors of World War II led to the formation of the United Nations. The UN's existence is based on an assumption that its authority will prevent chaos. Despite great efforts in many areas, however, the UN has failed to intervene in numerous atrocities and wars, is itself mired in corruption and dispute, and does little to enforce the directives of its Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In August of 2004, at the fifty ninth session of the UN General Assembly, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan (2004), released a report titled "Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration." The report included the following statement: "The end of occupation and the formal restoration of Iraqi sovereignty on 28 June 2004 marked a new phase in Iraq's transitional process" (Annan, 2004). The statement can be said to be true in only the most profoundly shallow and bureaucratic sense. The occupation of Iraq has not ended for the Iraqi people nor for the US soldiers operating there.

Burton (1996) describes deterrence as a failed policy whose failure had become increasingly clear by the 1960s:

Until the early 1960s there was no questioning [in the minds of some policy makers] of the proposition that deterrence deters. Foreign and domestic law-and-

order policies were based on this assumption. Failures in deterrent strategies were attributed to inadequate employment of threat and coercion. The empirical evidence (e.g. the defeat of great powers by small powers or persistent street violence in societies) and then some years later a theory suggesting that behavior was not wholly malleable, led to a questioning of this assumption. It is this realization that deterrence does not reliably deter that led to the consideration of options, and especially the analytical approach to specific situations of conflict and to conflict "provention" by appropriate changes in policies and in institutions. (p. 26)

It was clear by the end of the 1960s that a deeper understanding of conflict was still needed, and policy makers and theorists began to develop the practice of conflict analysis.

Conflict Psychology

> Information and reflection on the psychology of war are needed in public dialogue so that we do not stand by unaware of our involvement, responsibility, and the possibility that we can make a difference (Audergon, 2005b, p. xvii).

Conflict psychology views conflict from the perspective of the behavior of individuals and groups, considering their personalities and dynamics. There is a relationship between social dynamics, the political atmosphere, interpersonal experience, intrapersonal experience, and personal action. Conflict psychology overlaps with political, social, and clinical psychologies in the way it attempts to explain the psychological dynamics of large scale conflict and terrorism.

In conflicts it is not only difficult but dangerous to presume that clear boundaries exist between the personal and the political. For example, at the beginning of the recent

Israeli/Palestinian *intifada*, 200 Israeli psychotherapists published a petition in the Israeli press calling attention to the "enormous and potentially irreversible post-traumatic emotional damage caused on both sides, and calling for an immediate return to the negotiating table in order to stop the vicious cycle of mutual violence and bloodshed" (Berman, 2003). Soon after publication, the petition was attacked by a right-wing psychiatrist who accused the petitioners of unethically confusing professional and political matters thereby undermining the psychic strength of the population.

The formal, classical, Western study of the psychology of conflict began, as did formal, Western, clinical psychology, with the work of Sigmund Freud (1961, p. 11):

> It is impossible to escape the impression that people commonly use false standards of measurement—that they seek power, success and wealth for themselves and admire them in others, and that they underestimate what is of true value in life. And yet, in making any general judgement [sic] of this sort, we are in danger of forgetting how variegated the human world and its mental life are. There are a few [women and] men from whom their contemporaries do not withhold admiration, although their greatness rests on attributes and achievements which are completely foreign to the aims and ideals of the multitude. One might easily be induced to suppose that it is after all only a minority which appreciates these great men, while the large majority cares nothing for them. But things are probably not as simple as that, thanks to the discrepancies between people's thoughts and their actions, and to the diversity of their wishful impulses. (p. 11)

While conflict resolution and the psychology of conflict are relatively new areas of scholarship Arlene Audergon (2005b), a process oriented conflict facilitator, recognizes that there have always been experts in the field:

> The field of conflict resolution may be relatively small, but there have always been people—political leaders and warlords—who are expert in their understanding of psychological dynamics of conflict. There are those who know how loyalty and righteousness can polarize communities and lead us to acts of genocide in the name of justice. There are those who use their understanding of human nature to develop torture methods that stretch the boundaries of endurance, and to design terror tactics to dominate their own nation or neighbours. There are those who know how our need to stop the pain of historical trauma can be turned into a deadly replay of the nightmare. There are those who understand how our longing to sense the divine and a bond with humanity can fan nationalism and violence. These (fellow) "experts" calculate that our naivety and even our urge to awaken can be knitted into war. (p. xv)

As there have always been experts, so too there have always been those who propose simplistic panaceas that fail to address the breadth and complexity of conflict, human nature, and that do not work. Freud (1961) offers one such example by analyzing the biblical edict to love they neighbor as thyself:

> The commandment "Love thy neighbour as thyself," is the strongest defence against human aggressiveness and an excellent example of the unpsychological proceedings of the cultural super-ego. The commandment is impossible to fulfil; such an enormous inflation of love can only lower its value, not get rid of the

difficulty. Civilization pays no attention to all this; it merely admonishes us that the harder it is to obey the precept the more meritorious it is to do so. But anyone who follows such a precept in present-day civilization only puts himself at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* the person who disregards it. What a potent obstacle to civilization aggressiveness must be, if the defence against it can cause as much unhappiness as aggressiveness itself! (p. 90)
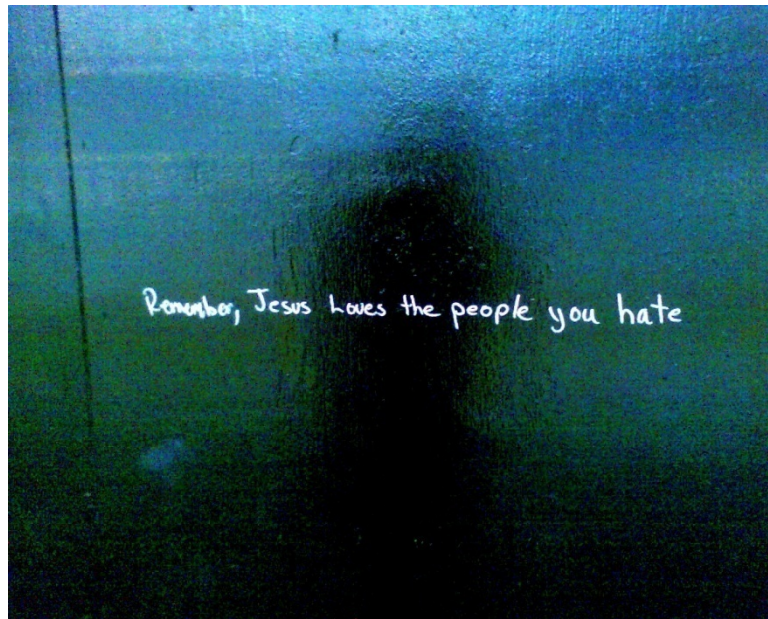
Figure 6: Graffiti near 9-11 World Trade Center Memorial (Siver, 2005)

And yet, despite Freud's dismissal of love as a panacea, it is one of the driving dynamics behind war, as much as it would be so in support of peace.

The link between psychological dynamics and violent conflict is such a vast topic. We often consider our psychology, however, as a kind of excuse for war, a reason to be hopeless or to feel that there is nothing we can do about it. People often say: "Isn't that just human nature to be aggressive and violent?" The more I study the dynamics of violent conflict, the more I see that the raw material of war is largely

made up of qualities that we highly cherish—our loyalty, love, devotion to

community, urge to protect the vulnerable, and outrage at atrocity and pain, and

our search for meaning that transcends the limits of our personal life and death.

(Audergon, 2005b, p. xvii)

Nick Totton (2000), psychotherapist, facilitator, and editor of *Psychotherapy and

Politics International,* has done much to shape our understanding of the relationship

between power, politics, and so-called psychotherapeutic issues:

Why do people seek power over each other? Are power-seeking and aggressivity

innate human traits, or are they conditioned by a particular cultural or individual

circumstances? Answers tend to imply a particular political alignment—with some

exceptions, the right believes in innate aggression while the left believes that a non-

aggressive society is possible. We can also distinguish between creative and

destructive forms of power and aggression (Perls 1955; Steiner 1981). Many styles

of therapeutic groupwork have explored conflict and ways to work creatively with

it—for example Tavistock-influenced methods, and Arnold Mindell's Worldwork.

Closely linked with questions of power and aggression are questions of

sexism and racism. Although these phenomena clearly have causes in the external

world—economic and social factors which favour their development—most of us

would agree that there are also important *internal* causes involved, that sexist and/or

racist attitudes serve a psychological function for those who hold them as well as,

perhaps, a political function for the dominant class. (p. 88)

As evidenced by the work of Freud, Audergon, and Totton; there is an obvious

connection between individual, social, political, conflict, and collective psychology and an

inescapable connection with leadership. Leadership, as modeled by our greatest leaders, is psychology applied to conflicts, economics, and political dynamics.

Applied Conflict Psychology

We often look to our leaders, to great people like Joan of Arc, Winston Churchill, Mohandas Gandhi, John F. Kennedy, or Nelson Mandela for leadership. There is an assumption that these people know what to do and, with the right persuasion and effective use of the media, that people will follow.

Political media analysts often record extremely high correlations between media messages and popular political opinion (Chomsky, 2002a; Mutz, 1998; Mutz, Sniderman, & Brody, 1996). Indeed, look at the recent events in the US wherein a massive media campaign, fueled by the "chosen trauma" of 9/11, resulted in overwhelming support for the assaults against Afghanistan and Iraq. Network theory, chaos theory, process theory, and practical examples are increasingly demonstrating that the effects of strongly directed media messages are sometimes short lived although that does not necessarily mean they are not powerful.

For example, Hindu-Muslim violence in India erupted a while after Gandhi died, actually after Nehru died.

> Some say the period of relative stability gave a chance for the country to gain a political identity which was a real challenge in the wake of the British occupation of India. Then the tension could be contained and played out without losing infrastructure. (Jobe, 2005b)

Similarly, the cooling effects of Dr. King's leadership did not survive him. Even Nelson Mandela's substantial eldership may not survive him. Each of these leaders modeled a particular style of leadership, which was needed at the time.

There are different models of leadership. . . there is the outer strong leader, sometimes good for people and at other times not. And there is a model where the leadership is more with [the] people. (Jobe, 2005b)

Plato (1997) argued for a race of philosopher kings. Madison thought it impossible (Hamilton et al., 1999, No. 49). Buckminster Fuller (1981) thought it imperative and not only for the kings to be philosophers but for everyone else as well in order to ensure our continued fitness for survival as a species. Process oriented psychology sees this goal of philosophical awareness as a high dream, which might actually not be so desirable as such uniformity of function (if not of outcome—how often do philosophers agree?) runs counter to chaos theory and an apparent need for diversity. In a world filled with Saddam Husseins and Mother Teresas, one perhaps more interesting and sustainable approach is to struggle continually to bring awareness to the various roles and tensions between them through dialogue.

Many conflicts, large scale and small, are said to be identity conflicts. Conflicts wherein an individual's sense of identity and self worth, and that of her culture, her ancestor's, or her sub-group are challenged. "Much of what is now labeled racism, sexism, etc., is actually not triggered by a difference in color, gender, or other such trait, but rather by a perception that the target lacks the protection of rank. It is rankism." (breakingranks.net, 2004)

Robert Fuller (2003), a physicist and former president of Oberlin College, maintains that the consequences, both subtle and brutal, of rankism impact all aspects of our lives, "... the reason so many students—regardless of color—withhold their hearts and minds from learning can be traced to the fact that their top priority and constant concern is to shield themselves from the rankism that permeates education from kindergarten to graduate school" (p. 2). These effects are not limited to educational settings.

> Rankism erodes the will to learn, distorts personal relationships, taxes economic productivity, and stokes ethnic hatred. It is the cause of dysfunctionality, and sometimes even violence, in families, schools, and the workplace. Like racism and sexism, rankism must be named and identified and then negotiated out of all our social institutions. (R. W. Fuller, 2003, p. 3)

Fuller's proposed negotiation is a complex process. Rankisms cannot be merely legislated away by an authoritarian system, although legislative efforts can help because they introduce and solidify a third-party socio-cultural role that is watching, judging, and may take action. Nor is rankism only a large scale social dynamic. The model of rank can be used to explain various aspects of behavior in any interpersonal relationship or conflict. In general, someone with less rank than another in a given moment may feel downed, disrespected, and powerless however becoming aware of this dynamic can give the downed person access to other forms of power and other dimensions of rank such as psychological or spiritual rank, through which she is able to find access to greater power, although this is not necessarily a conscious process and may not momentarily relieve the feeling of powerlessness (Siver, 2004a, p. 37). Furthermore, systemic rank abuse and the resultant feelings of powerlessness is a matter of great suffering and engenders debate:

Power matters. In fact, it's more or less all that matters [from this particular viewpoint], and it is important for those who temporarily lack it to realize this so they can set about building a countervailing power. It is only as those subordinated by a particular consensus organize and gain power commensurate with that of their oppressors that the prevailing consensus unravels and the pretext for exploitation is disallowed. (R. W. Fuller, 2003, p. 6)

In his work on the nature of men and power, Stephen Schuitevoerder (2000) maintains that awareness of power is not meant to disempower those with more rank in a given setting, dimension, or moment—rather, he proposes that awareness of rank is meant to help those with rank use it more consciously, more effectively, and with greater compassion for others. Behind the levels and concerns of rank and power lie a complex realm of experience, emotions, and somatic responses, reactions, and feelings.

Fuller (2003) maintains that rankism is invariably an assault on dignity, which is a conveniently sanitized way to summarize the experience of being marginalized, oppressed, and abused (p. 8). He proposes a meritocracy wherein rank is bestowed purely on the basis of earned merit within a relevant field:

Merit has no significance, and therefore should carry no weight, beyond the precise realm where in it is assessed. . . . Unequal opportunity and unfairness are incompatible with democratic ideals. The indignities of rankism, no less than those of racism and sexism, are inefficient, cruel, and self-defeating. They have no place in democracy's future. . . . Authority can be democratized without being undermined. Democracies, which succeeded in circumscribing rank in national government, led the world in the last century. The nations that are most successful

in removing rankism from business, education, and their international relations will lead in the next. (R. W. Fuller, 2003, pp. 9-11)

This line of thinking acknowledges that there are differences in ability, merit, and rank and does not propose an idealistic, impulsive effort to abolish rank, which does not appear to be possible in any event. Fuller (2003) assumes that ". . . as long as people use rank acquired in one setting to secure power for themselves in another, contests for recognition will be unfair" (p. 25). Behind this line of thinking there is a high ideal for a world wherein all people would only use their own earned rank—and only within the "appropriate" field wherein the rank was earned—to gain access to power and other resources.

"Recognition is not about whether we are a somebody or a nobody, but rather about whether we feel we're taken for a somebody or a nobody" (R. W. Fuller, 2003, p. 50). Fuller presents what Kate Jobe (2005b) (a Process Worker, teacher, and conflict facilitator) calls a "state-like rank system," because it attempts to freeze rank differentials into a static and neutral balance.

One morning while I was crossing the street in front of my apartment I noticed a man that was carrying a large bundle of cardboard towards a recycling truck. He appeared to be in his fifties and I caught myself feeling thankful that I have been fortunate enough to have access to sufficient resources so that I do not have to do that sort of work. Then I noticed another man following him. The second man was not carrying anything and was considerably older. His shoulders were hunched over and he walked with the very slow, short steps of someone in a great deal of pain. I paused so that he could pass in front of

me. I was smiling at him as he looked up and noticed me and noticed that I had paused and I saw him smile gently and nod his head slowly.

Moments like this have led me to make an informal and subjective study of rank signals in various settings. The dynamics that exist between drivers and pedestrians at intersections is particularly interesting because it is so ordinary. Who goes first often depends more on social rank than on traffic regulations. In urban white neighborhoods black women will often refuse to walk in front of a car driven by a white man yet, as a white male pedestrian I can cross the street with little concern that I will not be seen. This changes in black neighborhoods where a black woman is far less likely to refuse to cross in front of me and actually is far more likely, from my own observations, to walk purposely in front of me. I have learned to be far more cautious in my own crossings in black neighborhoods because black drivers have more rank in this momentary context.

Discussions of rank are not meant to imply a rigid hierarchical system. Rank is a term used to describe a momentary phenomenon. People often behave in ways that can be modeled by various dimensions of rank.

These incidents are anecdotal and yet they tell a story that we all have seen versions of through our own experiences. What is missing may be a framework that allows us to use our awareness of rank to enrich our relationships rather than to fuel conflict. Part of that framework suggests that rank is a dynamic phenomenon. In one context, I may notice that white men have greater rank in a racist society than black women. But at the same time, in another context black women have greater rank than white men even within the same racist society.

The example of my noticing rank issues through the interactions at pedestrian crossing is almost ludicrously trivial compared to war and terrorism. And yet, it may be our collective dismissal of the initial, foundational signals and issues of marginalization and oppression that allow the unchecked escalation of rank abuse into oppression and dominance. Be it in interpersonal or global dynamics, in spousal or casual relationships, our framework, beliefs systems (conscious or implied), and metaphors for conflict, relationships, and social dynamics do much to shape our own conflict psychology and the course of our lives. Fuller maintains that

> You can't put war out of business with peace alone; after a while, that will prove boring and the war party will regain its hold. But you *can* displace war by offering people a "better game." That game is the activist one of mutual recognition. (2003, p. 128)

What are the games and metaphors of conflict? Is Fuller's hypothesis too one-sided, offering a single game to a host of people motivated by diverse goals and passions?

There may always be those who do not accept whatever game is provided or adopted by the mainstream. Whether through frustration and hopelessness, marginalization and exclusion, oppression and trauma, or attempts at tyranny from the fringe; there may always be people who prefer the *game* of terrorism.

<u>Terrorism</u>

> *When plunder is organized by law for the profit of those who make the law, all the*
>
> *plundered classes try somehow to enter—by peaceful or revolutionary means—into*
>
> *the making of laws.* Frederic Bastiat, The Law, 1850 (2007)

Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f(d) defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (US Department of Justice, 2005). Further definition of exactly what constitutes terrorism or who is a terrorist is difficult because of a broad range of diversity among the acts, the players, and political views. One person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter.

To the British, George Washington was a terrorist; to the Americans, a romantic hero fighting the mammoth British empire. To others, many of the acts of the US or other governments constitutes state-sponsored terrorism—whether or not they were directed against combatants—because of the massive disparity in military capacity, economic power, and socio-political dominance. For example, to some people the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland was a justifiable retaliation against faceless, ubiquitous US imperialism in general and against the 1986 US air strike that intended to kill Libyan President Brother[24] Colonel Muammar Abu Minyar al-Qadhafi but resulted in the death of his five-year-old stepdaughter (Johnson, 2000, p. 8), whereas to many others the bombing of the airline was an act of random, senseless brutality against innocent civilians.

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[24] His preferred title is *Brother* Qadhafi, stemming from his own political system, the Third Universal Theory, which is a combination of socialism and Islam derived in part from tribal practices (CIA, 2004).

Johan Galtung[25] offered the following definition of terrorist and state sponsored terrorist acts in his acceptance speech for the Morton Deutsch Conflict Resolution Award at the 110th Convention of the American Psychological Association.

Terrorism is acts that:

- Use violence for political ends, [and] conflict termination;

- Also hit/harm/hurt people not directly involved in struggle;

- Are designed to spread panic/terror to bring about capitulation;

- Have an element of surprise in the choice of who, where, when;

- Make perpetrators unavailable for retaliation/incapacitation.

This applies equally well to most military campaigns: war is continuation of politics by other means; of course there will be intended or unintended "collateral damage"; the intention is to bring about capitulation; only a fool would reveal tactics in advance; and since feudal chivalry only a super-fool sees putting one's own life at risk as the condition for taking Other's [sic] life. (Galtung, 2002a)

Terrorism, however defined, is often a symbolic act intended to influence an audience. It is "political theatre" (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 123). Post's analysis of terrorism tends to be fairly conservative and does not include a discussion of economic and political domination as state sponsored terrorism although he does discuss state terrorism wherein governments use their resources against their own citizenry to counter political opposition. This was done recently in Zimbabwe when Supreme Court justices were forced to resign

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[25] Galtung established the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959. IPRI was the first institute of its kind to make a mark in the academic world. Galtung was IPRI's Director for 10 years and is considered by many to be the father of the conflict resolution field.

under threat of violence after making decisions that threatened President Mugabe's single party dominance and also in Seattle during the World Trade Organization (WTO) conference in 2000 when police intervened to prevent a dialogue between the demonstrators, the WTO, civil society, and government.

According to analysis conducted by the Public Policy Office of the American Psychological Association, the cause of terrorism is rooted in a threat to one's psychological security:

> From the perspective of Terror Management Theory (TMT), aggression, human conflict, and war are rooted, at least in part, in the threat to psychological security posed by those with different beliefs and values that implicitly threaten protection from anxiety provided by one's own beliefs and values. Although economic, military, and other concerns certainly play an important role in international conflict, it is the ideological threat posed by a worldview different from one's own that rouses the passions necessary for people to risk their own lives in an attempt to destroy those who pose such psychological threats. According to this view, therefore, terrorist violence is rooted in the failure of a culture to meet the psychological and physical needs of its members, and the displacement of the fear and anger that results from this thwarting of needs onto a more powerful culture whose beliefs and values pose a threat to one's own cultural worldview.
>
> A large number of experiments, conducted in nine different countries, have found that (1) reminders of mortality increase the tendency to apply stereotypes and view others in simple closed-minded ways; (2) prejudice and intergroup hostility is heightened by conditions that undermine one's self-esteem and faith in

one's own cultural worldview; (3) the tendency to respond negatively toward those different from oneself can be reduced and sometimes eliminated by values from one's culture that promote tolerance and respect for others; (4) because people use their affiliation with close others and members of their culture to assuage their existential fears, such individuals are especially influential in influencing attitudes, values, and behavior tendencies. (APA, 2005)

This research suggests that communication and dialogue campaigns can be effective in countering terrorism providing they are related to real world perceptions and the terrorist's core cultural values. This dialogue often happens organically by way of a feedback loop between terrorists and their constituents. For example, in 1998, the Real IRA (a splinter group of the Provisional IRA) killed twenty-nine people in a bombing. The reaction was so intense that the Real IRA apologized and thereafter adopted nonviolent tactics (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 126). The signal from the people in this case is radically different than the situation in Israel/Palestine wherein there is virtually no reaction from the greater Palestinian community indicating their lack of support for suicide bombings. I traveled to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and the West Bank in June 2003, April 2004, and January through April 2006, working with groups and meeting with a Jordanian General, the head of Search for Common Ground, peace workers, therapists, average citizens. I was an elections monitor in Jenin during the 2006 Palestinian Parliamentary election and facilitated a five week desert peace expedition (see www.breakingtheice.org).

During that time there were several instances of Palestinian suicide bombings and Israel military precursors and reactions but there was virtually no Palestinian reaction against the terrorism of suicide bombings and very little Jewish reaction against the state

sponsored terrorism of Israeli tactics and policies and, overall, very little discussion between the two groups however various groups of peacebuilders are working to bring these people together. The tendency in such gatherings is generally to build relationships, focus on amplification of positive peaceful interactions between people, and lay a foundation for a "*positive*" experience of shared common humanity. This sort of work is greatly needed and very useful, however it focuses only on an experience of shared humanity and marginalizes the actual differences in consensus reality and psychological experience.

The practice of focusing on positive experiences is consistent with the sharp division between good and evil characteristic of the Abrahamic traditions—Islam, Christianity, and Judaism (Vikkelsoe, 1997).

One does not become enlightened by imagining figures of light, but by making the darkness conscious. This procedure, however, is disagreeable, and therefore not very popular. (Jung, 1968)

Applied Political Eldership

Despite the death of Yasser Arafat, the situation between Israel and Palestine, and promises of a peace accord between former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas, the situation has not changed greatly. Following a suicide bombing on February 26th, 2005, Sharon stated that, "There will not be any diplomatic progress, I repeat, no diplomatic progress, until the Palestinians take vigorous action" (The New York Times, 2005, p. 1). Sharon had an opportunity to express a broader range of positions, thereby supporting the more conservative Israelis and the Palestinians simultaneously: not only supporting the Israeli fear, anger, and desire for

retaliation but also supporting the new Palestinian government's efforts at working towards finding peaceful solutions, negotiating with their various factions, and policing their own dissidents. Such a statement might have looked something like the following:

Another tragedy has befallen us. Palestinian and Israeli lives have again been lost and there is great suffering and fear on both sides. Politically, I fear that despite our recent advances in working together there can not be any diplomatic progress until the Palestinians take vigorous action. The time has come for the Palestinians to police their own nation and the time has come for Israel to allow the Palestinians to police their own nation. We must also realize that the Palestinians have a new government and are in the midst of a sensitive and difficult transition. President Abbas, you have our full support. If there is any assistance we can provide, you must know that we are more than happy to work together with you to stabilize our common security and future.

Years ago, Anwar Saddat came to Israel to speak with us in the Knesset asking all of us to work together to solve the seventy percent of our problems that are psychological so that, together, we can address the thirty percent that are solvable. There are those on both sides who do not believe this is possible. I believe it is possible and I ask those who have suffered too much to remain hopeful and to find the patience to support us all to work together.

There have been rare moments when leaders managed to speak to the heart, minds, and fears of all roles, views, voices, groups, and sides of a conflict in a way that helped to shift the atmosphere from one of fear and violence to something more hopeful.

Former Egyptian President Anwar Saddat came close to this ideal in his speech to the Israeli Knesset. Unfortunately, he failed to also speak to the fears of Egyptian conservatives, who ultimately assassinated him.

Another example is an exceptional speech given by Illinois Governor George Ryan (2003) explaining his decision to ban capital punishment in Illinois. While his speech did not result in a unanimous consensus in support of the ban, it was, arguably, instrumental in ameliorating the reactions against it. A segment of his opening remarks follows:

> Yes, it is right that I am here with you, where, in a manner of speaking, my journey from staunch supporter of capital punishment to reformer all began. But I must tell you—since the beginning of our journey—my thoughts and feelings about the death penalty have changed many, many times. I realize that over the course of my reviews, I had said that I would not do blanket commutation. I have also said it was an option that was there, and that I would consider all options.
>
> During my time in public office I have always reserved my right to change my mind if I believed it to be in the best public interest, whether it be about taxes, abortions or the death penalty. But I must confess that the debate with myself has been the toughest concerning the death penalty. I suppose the reason the death penalty has been the toughest is because it is so final—the only public policy that determines who lives and who dies. In addition it is the only issue that attracts most of the legal minds across the country. I have received more advice on this issue than any other policy issue I have dealt with in my 35 years of public service. I have kept an open mind on both sides of the issues of commutation for life or death.

I have read, listened to and discussed the issue with the families of the victims as well as the families of the condemned. I know that any decision I make will not be accepted by one side or the other. I know that my decision will be just that—my decision—based on all the facts I could gather over the past 3 years. I may never be comfortable with my final decision, but I will know in my heart, that I did my very best to do the right thing. (Ryan, 2003)

In many similar conflicts the more extreme positions and reactions are fueled by religious fervor:

Ardent practitioners of these faiths, committed to the literal word of God, are able to find ample justification in their texts for militant aggressive defense of their beliefs. When "Truth" is conveyed by an authoritarian religious leader, such as Khomeini or Osama bin Laden (who, in fact, has no religious credentials), all doubt is relieved for the true believer. It provides justification for the rigid moralistic conscience to attack the nonbeliever. It can justify aggression to the point of killing. (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 126)

Such authoritarian and charismatic leaders provide external support for personal violent tendencies and a socially acceptable channel for its expression. In this sense (viewing the situations symbolically) following Osama bin Laden may be no different than following Gandhi if the locus of authority is outside of oneself.

The best documented research suggests that terrorists are not pathologically disturbed, "Nor does a comparative study reveal a particular psychological type, a particular personality constellation, a uniform terrorist mind" (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 128). In fact, terrorist organizations tend to avoid working with disturbed individuals because they are a

security risk and not easily controlled (J. M. Post, 2004; J. M. Post, Ruby, & Shaw, 2002; Vassiliou, 1995). Terrorists are, rather, occupying a social role, albeit a highly polarized and one-sided role (Vassiliou, 1995). Johan Galtung sees the anti-terrorist polarization in the following terms (which includes a not so subtle rebuff of the US):

· Fundamentalism (DMA),[26] religious or ideological is:

· Dualist, the world is divided into US(A) and THEY, no neutrals;

· Manichean, our party is Good, their party is Evil; and

· Armageddon, there can be only one outcome, the final battle.

Known as polarization, the DMA-syndrome is found in many conflicts.

Fundamentalism is permanent pre-polarization. (Galtung, 2002a)

While not pathological, *per se*, there is evidence that there are strong tendencies for certain personality characteristics to be predominant among terrorists. Post (2004) characterizes them as action-oriented, aggressive, reactive individuals, who tend to have fragmented or violent family backgrounds and who are seeking excitement and have a tendency towards externalization and splitting—psychological mechanisms often correlated with narcissistic and borderline personality disorders. "Such individuals find the polarizing, absolutist rhetoric of terrorism extremely attractive" (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 129).

Many of the terrorists interviewed by researchers have reported that belonging to the group was the first time they felt a sense of belonging, empowerment, and significance. "When a group has a disproportionate number of individuals with fragmented psychosocial identities with a strong need to strike out against the cause of their failure, extremely

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[26] DMA is Galtung's term for Dualist, Manichean, Armageddon.

powerful forces result" (J. M. Post, 2004, p. 133). Galtung (2002a) disagrees but sees the

pathology as being a collective phenomenon:

There is also the CGT-syndrome[27] well known in harder varieties of the

three Abrahamitic religions, Judaism/Christianity/Islam:

· **C**hosenness, a Chosen People under God, A Promised/Sacred Land;

· **G**lory, a glorious past and/or future;

· **T**rauma, a people under permanent PTSD

DMA, combined with narcissism (C, G) and paranoia (T), is a deep collective

pathology, intolerable at the personal level, but recognized as devotion and

patriotism, at the collective level. Wahhabism, state religion of Saudi Arabia, and

Puritanism, civic religion of the USA, qualify. Their joint Armageddon, fall 2001.

(Galtung, 2002a)

Projecting one's own shadow on the Other is common but not yet a sign of

psychological pathology, however Galtung (2002a) maintains that the unopposed verbal

outpourings of one-sided beliefs, carefully selected data, and aggressive policy with no

mention or consideration of the importance of deeper considered self-reflection of one's

own shadow is not only brain-washing propaganda but itself pathological (pp. 4-5). In US

public policy discussion the terms terrorism and fundamentalism only apply to the Other.

US exceptionalism and entitlement is so much a part of the US self-image that it becomes a

truism. Galtung maintains that all six DMA-CGT criteria are satisfied:

· The strong you-are-either-for-us-or-against-us division.

· The very frequent use of the epithet "evil," out "to get us."

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[27] CGT is Galtung's term for Chosen, Glory, Trauma.

- The inevitability of a final, decisive battle to "crush" them.

- The unheard of crime of hitting the sacred land.

- "The world/USA will never be the same" (like invulnerable).

- 9/11 trauma as uniqueness, like <u>shoa</u> [sic][28] something new in history.

  (Galtung, 2002a)

Galtung (2002a) indirectly expresses a role theory when he remarks that "Bush and Bin Laden then become Osama Bush and George bin Laden." Role theory is the idea that a field of interaction is patterned by various parts, called roles, that shape its atmosphere (Mindell, 1989c). Roles are the momentary actors like oppressor, oppressed, terrorist, leader, lover, healer, sage, and victim (Arnold Mindell, 2002c, p. 179). Each group has its own names for these roles. Roles tend to be fluid, appear momentarily, and then are replaced by other roles. Similarly, any given individual may first be in one role and then in another or, alternatively, may remain stuck in one particular role (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 142). Galtung's statement can be taken to mean that either character can be seen as being an oppressor or oppressed, depending upon one's point of view and politics.

<u>Amnesia and the Collective Unconscious</u>

Just as identity is inseparable from group feedback,

so all behavior is interdependent.

—Thomas Cooper

Cornell West's examination of ontological rootlessness and what the classical American pragmatic philosopher Josiah Royce called communities of memory and hope

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[28] Probably a transcription error. *Shoah* is the Hebrew term for the holocaust.

point to a disconnection that is often assumed to be a contemporary phenomenon (West, 2004), however Plato (1997) warned that:

> Discovery of the alphabet will create forgetfulness in the learners' souls, because they will not use their memories; they will trust to the external written characters and not remember of themselves. . . You give your disciples not truth but only the semblance of truth; they will be hearers of many things and will have learned nothing; they will appear omniscient and will generally know nothing; they will be tiresome company, having the show of wisdom without the reality. (Plato, quoted in (T. W. Cooper, 1998))

This is obviously arguable. In fact, Carl Jung disagreed with Plato, maintaining that consciousness only appeared through written script. "Man has developed consciousness slowly and laboriously, in a process that took untold ages to reach the civilized state (which is arbitrarily dated from the invention of script in about 4000 B.C.)" (Jung, 1964, p. 6).

What was Plato referring to? What is it that the modern literate learners' souls have forgotten? A more contemporary sage, Mamoudou Konyate, a Mali shaman speaks to that which is missing in literate cultures:

> Other people use writing to record the past, but this invention has killed the faculty of memory among them. They do not feel the past anymore, for writing lacks the warmth of the human voice. With them, everybody thinks he knows, whereas learning should be a secret. The prophets did not write and their words have been all the more vivid as a result. What paltry learning is that which is congealed in dumb books. (Konyate, quoted in (T. W. Cooper, 1998))

This view is perhaps extreme, and there certainly are contrary opinions, however this is the view of a Mali shaman, an indigenous elder, attempting to understand what it is that has made Western culture so lacking in relatedness to the earth, the environment, to others, and to what in 1934 C.G. Jung called the collective unconscious:

> A more or less superficial layer of the unconscious is undoubtedly personal. I call it the personal unconscious. But this personal unconscious rests upon a deeper layer, which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn. This deeper layer I call the *collective unconscious. . .* It is, in other words, identical in all men [and women] and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in every one of us. (Jung, 1968, p. 3)

This collective unconscious has a field effect wherein people react in response to something that is not only beyond their personal psychology but is also outside of awareness. Freud (1964) wrote of a collectively psychotic humanity:

> If we consider mankind as a whole and substitute it for a single individual, we discover that it too has developed delusions which are inaccessible to logical criticism and which contradict reality. If, in spite of this, they (the delusions) are able to exert an extraordinary power over men [and women], investigation leads us to the same explanations as in the case of the single individual. They owe their power to the element of *historical truth* which they have brought up from the repression of the forgotten and primeval past. (pp. 257-269)

Seeking to understand six hundred year discrepancies between Egyptian and Israeli records and ancient accounts of celestial and terrestrial traumas, a psychoanalyst,

Immanuel Velikovsky (1982), argued that humanity acts like an amnesia victim seeking to repress traumatic experience. Velikovsky saw humanity as conveniently remembering its progress after devolution but not remembering the disturbing catastrophes it had suffered or the losses to culture or consciousness. In other words, humanity is unaware of its collective amnesia and its collective unconscious. The consequences of this lack of awareness may explain the willingness by some to attack their enemies rather than to try and find more related solutions to their conflicts.

Galtung (2002a) maintains that the lack of awareness is not merely a case of collective amnesia but is fueled by systemic efforts to keep information from public awareness.

> Equally or more significant [than US exceptionalism and projection] is the total absence of mention [in public policy debate within the US] of the terrorism exercised by the USA on other countries, like the 67 cases of intervention since 1945 alone. Twelve million deaths, about equally divided between overt action (Pentagon) and covert action (CIA), are practically speaking unknown to most Americans, and made invisible even by US research in international relations; with the notable exception of Chalmers Johnson's admirable book *Blowback* [(Johnson, 2000)], quoting CIA as seeing terrorism partly as an "unintended consequence" of past US action. (p. 4)

Islamic fundamentalism is only one of the unintended consequences of US action. There are other venues of religious fundamentalism and violence, such as the assaults against abortion clinics in the US. Killing for God is a particularly complex form of terrorism because the locus of authority is not only outside of the individual and outside of

the terrorist organization, it is outside of humanity—authority to kill is presumably granted directly by God. Christian Crusaders acting under the authority of God and Pope Urban II slaughtered Jews and Muslims beginning in 1095 in response to rumors of Turkish atrocities committed against Christian pilgrims. Countless masses of people were tortured and killed during the burning times of the various inquisitions and witch hunts of medieval Europe. Right wing Christians have killed countless people of color, gays, and women's health clinic workers in the US, all in the name of God. Jewish settlers in late 1940's vacated what they later maintained was the unoccupied land of Palestine through mass executions in the name of God and Zion. And more recently, Islamic terrorism has become a wide spread phenomenon in part as a reaction against Israeli excesses and Western political, economic, and military domination.

Some say the Koran is basically a book of love. Others say it is filled with violent proclamations such as,

> Fight ye the chiefs of unfaith . . . Will
> Ye not fight people who violated their
> Oaths, plotted to expel the messenger, and
> Were the first to attack you? Nay, it is Allah
> Whom ye should more justly fear;
> If ye believe. Fight them and Allah will
> punish them by your hands.   Koran (9:12-14)

Some, primarily Sufis,[29] say that Jihad, or holy war, is an internal struggle for moral purity, awareness, and connection with Allah. One senior Sufi—who some refer to as the Sufi pope—Sidi Shaykh Muhammad al-Jamal ar-Rafai'i as-Shaduli of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and Islamic Supreme Court Justice, says clearly and emphatically that "only Allah can kill" (Sidi, 2004). The conflicting interpretations of the Koran and the Bible have helped fuel tensions between Christians and Muslims for over a thousand years.

In one recent, courageous, and creative attempt to address this misunderstanding, a Yemeni Judge, Hamoud al-Hitar, challenged convicted, imprisoned al-Qaeda terrorists to debate him in a Koranic duel: "If you can convince us that your ideas are justified by the Koran, then we will join you in your struggle," Hitar told the militants, "but if we succeed in convincing you of our ideas, then you must agree to renounce violence" (Brandon, 2005). Western antiterrorism experts warned that this high-stakes gamble would end in disaster but two years later, three hundred and sixty-four young men have been released because of dialoguing with Judge al-Hitar and none of them have left Yemen to fight anywhere else.

Speaking of the Koranic dialogues with former Yemeni terrorists, Faris Sanabani (Brandon, 2005), a former adviser to Yemeni President Abdullah Saleh and editor-in-chief of the Yemen Observer, a weekly English-language newspaper said,

> It's only logical to tackle these people through their brains and heart. If you beat
> these people up they become more stubborn. If you hit them, they will enjoy the
> pain and find something good in it—it is a part of their ideology. Instead, what we
> must do is erase what they have been taught and explain to them that terrorism will

[29] There is a great deal of diversity among those who claim to be Sufi. Generally speaking, Sufism is an ancient form of mystical Islam that struggles to bring people closer to God through an inner Jihad, which is a war against inner demon's and inner infidels fought through self-reflection and prayer. (The Nixon Center, 2004)

only harm Yemenis' jobs and prospects. Once they understand this they become fighters for freedom and democracy, and fighters for the true Islam. (Brandon, 2005)

Some freed militants were reportedly so transformed that they led the army to secret hidden weapons caches, assisted the Yemeni security services in locating Islamic militants, and provided the intelligence that led to the assassination of Abu Ali al Harithi, Al Qaeda's top commander in Yemen, in a US air-strike. (Brandon, 2005)

According to Alan Godlas (2004; The Nixon Center, 2004), a Sufi and professor of Islamic studies at the University of Georgia, the International Security Program of the Nixon Center held a conference in Washington DC on October 24, 2003, to discuss ways to promote Sufism as a possible antidote to Islamic extremism. This effort translates into an attempt to get people involved in a deeper level of dialogue, self reflection, and an inner (vs. external) Jihad.[30]

The view that terrorists are not crazy, pathological monsters is making some headway in the social policy debate in DC. Harlan Ullman (1996), a senior associate at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, is the principal author of *Shock and Awe: Achieving Rapid Dominance*. Published in 1996, Ullman's book laid out a new approach to warfare tailored to that era's shrinking military budgets. Instead of overwhelming the enemy with troop strength—as called for in the Gulf War doctrine formulated by Colin Powell whom Ullman taught at the National War College—Ullman proposed that the US destroy enemy morale with a concentrated series of strikes at many different kinds of targets. Disoriented by the resulting havoc, the enemy would quickly be

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[30] The inner Jihad refers to fighting one's inner demons and infidels, striving to be closer to God through inner purity, rather than killing external infidels through violence.

"shocked" and "awed" into surrender and casualties would be kept to a minimum (Ullman, 1996).

After reading Brandon's (2005) article on Koranic dialogue in Yemen while participating in a roundtable discussion on nonviolent approaches to ending Islamic terrorism, Ullman (2005) recently published an article in the Washington Times in which he presented a view that Osama bin Laden should be viewed as a rational thinker with clear goals and tactics who could be invited to dialogue:

> Suppose, . . . Osama bin Laden's reasons and strategy for confronting the United States were fully rational and that he was not a crazed fanatic as many assume? After all, he helped drive the Soviets from Afghanistan, ultimately leading to the great collapse of the Soviet Union.

> And further, suppose the case put forth by the White House and uncritically endorsed by both sides of the aisle in Congress, that bin Laden was simply out to destroy America and all that it stood for because of hatred of our values, society and embrace of liberty and freedom was as flawed as the conclusion Saddam Hussein possessed WMD. Would that revelation change our policies and induce us to deal with al Qaeda and the threat of radical Islam differently?

> . . . . careful review of bin Laden's pronouncements and statements reveal a remarkably consistent message. Bin Laden has detailed a list of grievances against the United States. These reflect attitudes widely accepted throughout the Arab and Muslim world as to why American policy is disliked and opposed even by so-called moderates. From them arise major demands, including: the end of US aid to Israel; the elimination of the Jewish state and replacement with an Islamic Palestinian one;

withdrawal of Western forces from Muslim territory; restoration of Muslim control over energy; replacement of US protected Muslim regimes that do not govern according to Islam; and the end of US support in the oppression of Muslims by Russian, Chinese, Indian and other governments. (Ullman, 2005)

This line of thinking runs counter to the traditional policy discussion wherein the conception of the Other maintains that they have no motivation beyond evil. This traditional conception goes beyond dehumanization to "verminization" (Galtung, 2002a, p. 7) and is necessary to maintain public support for US policies which have clear economic benefits to US interests alone.
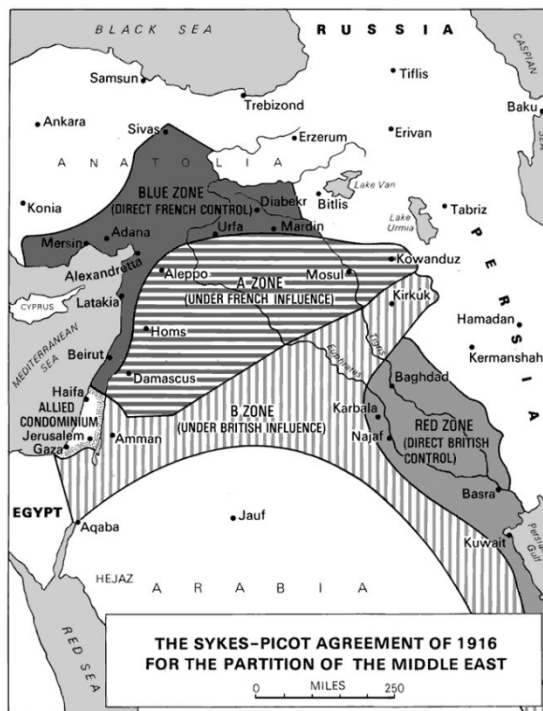
Figure 7: Sykes-Picot Agreement (FirstWorldWar.com, 2000)

The position that those who do not support this policy position are anti-American, naïve, or at worst a part of a cover-up; has catastrophic consequences and eliminates the possibility of dialogue and rational, considered action. Ullman (2005) maintains that the US

should consider bin Laden as a rational thinker with clear goals and tactics, which is surprisingly one-sided as it does not also consider the emotional and irrational forces that may be motivating bin Laden; and yet bin Laden has detailed a list of grievances against the US that can be seen to be other than extreme, isolated views, for which there is broad popular support, having a certain linearity. But bin Laden has also drafted *fatwa* (religious directives) for Muslims to kill all Americans and found compliant Imams to endorse them.

Bin Laden's (2004) views reflect attitudes widely accepted throughout the Arab and Muslim world reflecting 80 years of Arab humiliation since Sykes/Picot (see Figure 7 on page 146).[31] Johan Galtung (2002a) details the historical and psychological justification for bin Laden's positions:

> Motivation is part of explanation, and explanation is not justification. Much of Hitler's success can be explained in terms of Versailles humiliation; nothing can justify what he did. *Tout comprendre est tout pardonner*[32] is false. But without explanation we cannot remove possible causes, like on 9/12 [September 12th, 2001, the day after the attacks of 9/11] announcing the withdrawal of US bases in Saudi Arabia and the recognition of Palestine as a state. No explanation, no rationality. Darkness. (pp. 7-8)

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[31] The Sykes-Picot agreement was a secret understanding that was concluded in May 1916, during World War I, between Great Britain and France, with the assent of Russia, for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The agreement led to the division of Turkish-held Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine into various French and British-administered areas. The agreement took its name from its negotiators, Sir Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France. Some historians have pointed out that the agreement conflicted with pledges already given by the British to the Hashimite leader Husayn ibn Ali, Sharif of Mecca, who was about to lead an Arab revolt in the Hejaz against the Ottoman rulers on the understanding that the Arabs would eventually receive a much more important share of the territory won. (BBC, 2001)

[32] To fully understand is to completely forgive.

Some days after September 11 CNN had a program where a psychologist gave advice to parents with children asking difficult questions. Thus, one young boy had asked "What have we done to make them hate us so much that they do such things?" A mature question, very different from the answer: "You could tell your child that there are good people in the world, and evil - -" That boy had arrived at the Piaget stage of reciprocity, seeing the action of Other at least partly as influenced by the action of Self (and vice versa), as opposed to the autism/absolutism of the adult psychologist, seeing evil action by Other as essentialist, uninfluenced by anything Self can do. That exonerates Self, and provides a good sleeping pillow for consciences that are probably sluggish in advance. . . .

Reciprocity does not only mean Self-searching, what have I done wrong, and just as importantly, what is the good I should have done to elicit different behavior in Other. It also means Other-searching, asking Other what he wants Self to do, or not to do, and suggesting to Other things he could do and not do. But all that presupposes dialogue, and dialogue presupposes coming together directly (Larry King Live, calling on George Bush and Osama bin Laden to discuss precisely the questions above) or indirectly (inviting both of them to dialogues with four wise persons, like Carter-Gorbachev-Mandela-Robinson. (Galtung, 2002a, p. 10)

One of the main privileges of belonging to a mainstream group is not having to be self-reflective, self-searching, and not having to consider other views and experiences as being relevant (Summers, 1994b). Western mainstream media from President Bush down

to local television and newsprint tend to present a mostly coherent view that the US position is congruent, justifiable, and right.

> The main privilege of belonging to a mainstream group is not having to be aware of how one excludes the minority. . . Social institutions including the media, education, government, corporate institutions, and advertising promote the values, culture, and images of white, middle-class America, effectively annihilating the reality of those who are not part of that culture. This centrality, dominance, and ethnocentricity of the mainstream is a privilege that makes others resentful. Working with social conflict means educating the mainstream about its privilege. (Summers, 1994b, p. 62)

This view from a social psychologist suggests—while great advances have been made to determine the causes of conflict, to address poverty, and to promote development—that the root cause of a great deal of conflict will remain hidden from public debate and consciousness for some time unless further shifts occur. Fortunately, it is not only acts of terror that are speaking to the need for these shifts. Considering the following: former US presidential candidate Pat Robertson made the following remark on his daily *700 Club* television program:

> You know, I don't know about this doctrine of assassination, but if he thinks we're trying to assassinate him, I think that we really ought to go ahead and do it. It's a whole lot cheaper than starting a war. . . and I don't think any oil shipments will stop. (CNN, 2005) . . . . We don't need another $200 billion war to get rid of one, you know, strong-arm dictator. It's a whole lot easier to have some of the covert operatives do the job and then get it over with. (Reuters, 2005)

One of the main privileges of belonging to a powerful mainstream group with a lot of centrality is the ability to get rid of anyone who threatens one's centrality or even one's sense of comfort. From the point of view of marginalized individuals, groups, and nations; Robertson's statement is apt to further inflame reactions against US imperialism.

Political Trauma

Nothing that I can do will change the structure of the universe.
But maybe, by raising my voice, I can help in the greatest of all causes
goodwill among men and peace on earth.
— Einstein

Political trauma is trauma that is caused through acts of war, terrorism, and political marginalization or aggression (J. M. Post, 2004). It is especially complex but it is not only an individual psychological issue. The individual neurological, psychological effects alter the course of history as much as the changes in group dynamics. Political trauma often tends to silence people further exacerbating the political situation by destroying a feedback mechanism (Audergon, 2004).

Although trauma is usually examined as an individual experience, it is a collective dynamic. Whole communities are traumatized and dynamics of trauma involve all of us and affect the course of history. An orientation to understanding trauma is needed that is at once personal, communal, and political. . . . understanding the dynamics of trauma is essential for facilitators of conflict resolution in zones of conflict and for post-war reconciliation and community building. . . . In addition to international tribunals and truth commissions, there is a need for community forums throughout society to work with issues of accountability and collective trauma concerning past and current conflicts. Trauma is also relevant to such issues

as understanding dynamics of revenge, the silence accompanying atrocity, and historical revisionism. (Audergon, 2004, p. 16)

A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City (Anonymous, 1954/2005) is a first person diary of experiences in Berlin beginning on April 20th, 1945, the first day that the Russian artillery could be heard from the city. In the following passage she details her sense of the collective nature of shared trauma and of the diversity in resilience she observed in the women around her.

> I look at the sixteen-year-old girl, up to now the only person I know who lost her virginity to the Russians. She has the same dumb, self-satisfied look she always had. I try to imagine how it would have been if my first experience had come in this way. But I stop myself—it's unimaginable. One thing is for sure: if this were peacetime and a girl had been raped by some vagrant, there'd be the whole peacetime hoopla of reporting the crime, taking the statement, questioning witnesses, arrest and confrontation, news reports and neighborhood gossip—and the girl would have reacted differently, would have suffered a different kind of shock. But here we're dealing with a collective experience, something foreseen and feared many times in advance that happened to women right and left, all somehow part of the bargain. And this mass rape is something we are overcoming collectively as well. All the women help each other by speaking about it, airing their pain, and allowing others to air theirs and spit out what they've suffered. Which of course doesn't mean that creatures more delicate than this cheeky little Berlin girl won't fall apart or suffer for the rest of their lives. (Anonymous, 1954/2005)

Arlene Audergon (2004, 2005b) has developed a table establishing parallels between personal, communal, and global Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), extending the APA's DSM-IV category (See Appendix 1: Audergon Chart of Communal and Collective PTSD on page 380).

One recent example of collective trauma is the atrocities committed at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. These events clearly traumatized individual prisoners but they have also had profound impact on world opinion, on Arab perspective of US actions, and have provided additional impetus for the Iraqi insurgents and al-Qaeda to further their anti-democratic/anti-US struggle.

> In understanding the full range of meanings generated by Abu Ghraib, however, one important perspective needs to be included: how the events appear to ordinary Arab citizens. For them, the horrors inflicted in the prison are not primarily about the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers. They are, rather, about *autocratic power structures that have controlled, humiliated, and ultimately dehumanised [sic] Arab citizens for most of the past century of modern statehood* [emphasis added]—whether those powers were European colonial administrations, indigenous Arab elites, occupying Israeli forces, or the current Anglo–American managers of Iraq. As such, a comprehensive and honest analysis of the Abu Ghraib scandal should address a wider set of issues than has so far been the case in the international media and political institutions. (Khouri, 2004)

Louise Cozolino (2002), a clinical psychologist and professor of psychology, writes, "Evolution designed a brain that reacts quickly to a variety of subtle environmental cues. These same capabilities have negative consequences when applied to a complex and largely

nonconscious psychological environment." (p. 236) The cues, both subtle and gross, of conflict dynamics trigger rapid reactions in the brain. These reactions become stronger when "unresolved and unintegrated trauma" (p. 257) result in neural disorders producing symptoms that reflect the physiological dysregulation and fragmentation of multiple networks of implicit and explicit memory (Siegel, 1999). "For each of us there is a point at which anxiety and fear cross the line into trauma. Trauma can cause severe disturbances in the integration of cognitive and emotional processes." (Cozolino, 2002, p. 257)

The trauma that trigger these patterns and their resultant reactions are not limited to one's own directly experienced life-threatening events (Cozolino, 2002, p. 259) but may also be connected with collective and historical events. Children of Holocaust survivors, for example, have an increased susceptibility to Post Trauma Stress Disorder (Yehuda, 1999) suggesting a "transferred vulnerability through interaction with their traumatized parents" (Cozolino, 2002, p. 260).

Leadership

"When, exactly, in the course of human events does the leader affect the march of history?" has long been a question of scholarly debate. Historians often portray history as an unfolding of events as a consequence of historical forces in which leaders were as much the pawns of fate as nations. In 1943, Sidney Hook distinguished between two kinds of acts of leadership: eventful and event making. Eventful acts are acts made at a powerful crossroads in history, and event making acts are the creation of powerful crossroads in history. Similarly, the early literature in political science was concerned with the interplay of power and political events were considered the result of political forces. The role of

leadership was reduced by political scientists to that of a mere functionary until 1977 when Glen Paige published *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (Paige, 1977).

One of the early successes of political psychology, while singularly important in its own right, recognized the symbolic importance of leaders as demonstrated by the following case.

At the end of World War II, US policy makers had limited experience with psychological advice but benefited from anthropologist Ruth Benedict's recommendation that the US allow Japanese Emperor Hirohito to remain on the throne, if only in a ceremonial capacity.

> She accurately perceived that to depose and perhaps even execute the emperor would completely humiliate the Japanese and deprive them of symbolic identity as a people. The German experience after World War I had shown that a people suffering complete humiliation—the thorough loss of dignity and self-respect—may seek revenge against the authors of the loss. By following Benedict's advice, the United States laid the groundwork for its current strong alliance with Japan, a relationship that has flourished despite the US nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (Montville & Davidson, 1981, p. 146)

Political and social psychology have made great advances since WWII. Analysts now consider that decisions are made on several highly subjective levels, each of which must be considered. From the outer level, which sees a nation as a rational actor, it made no sense that the Soviet Union was placing offensive missiles in Cuba because they had made no attempt to camouflage the installation. Therefore, the missiles were assumed to

be defensive despite the fact that U2 reconnaissance imagery revealed them to be identical to other offensive missile installations located in the USSR.

The second level considers that "nations" do not make decisions. Decisions are made by competing bureaucracies and often inefficiently, hence the failure to camouflage the installations.

In the third level, bureaucracies do not make decisions. Each overall bureaucracy acts through a senior policy making group and group dynamics must be considered. During the Cuban missile crisis, as President Kennedy and his staff were approaching a consensus to initiate a Naval blockade, Adlai Stevenson proposed to offer the Soviets a way to "win" and save face by proposing that the Soviet removal of the weapons in Cuba would be matched by the removal of our outmoded offensive missiles in Turkey. After Stevenson left the room a General ridiculed him for being a "weak and cowardly old man," and it then became virtually impossible for anyone in the group to consider Stevenson's proposal seriously (J. M. Post, 2004, pp. 16-17).

At the fourth level, decisions are made by individuals. Analysis considers them both as rational decisions makers and as individuals who are driven by emotion and irrational forces. The fourth level often assumes, however, that the individual decision makers are operating with valid information.

It was not until January, 1992, at a meeting chaired by Cuban President Fidel Castro in Havana, Cuba, that former US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara learned that 162 nuclear warheads, which included 90 tactical warheads and 72 strategic warheads, had already arrived in Cuba (Morris et al., 2003). The Soviet missiles and warheads had been moved to the launch sites in anticipation of a US invasion as tensions escalated

(McNamara, 1995, p. 341), a decision that had been approved by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. When McNamara asked Castro if he would have recommended using the nuclear weapons against the US had we invaded, Castro claimed that not only would he have recommended it but that he did recommend it to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev knowing that Cuba would also have been destroyed (Morris et al., 2003).

It wasn't until January 1992 in a meeting chaired by Castro in Havana, Cuba that I learned 162 nuclear warheads, including 90 tactical warheads, were on the island at the time of this critical moment of the crisis. I couldn't believe what I was hearing. And Castro got very angry with me because I said, "Mr. President let's stop this meeting. This is totally new to me. I'm not sure I got the translation right.

Mr. President I have three questions to you. Number one, did you know the nuclear warheads were there? Number two, if you did, would you have recommended to Khrushchev, in the face of a US attack, that he use them? Number three, if he had used them what would have happened to Cuba?"

He said, number one I knew they were there. Number two I would not *have* recommended to Khrushchev, I *did* recommend to Khrushchev that they be used. Number three, what would have happened to Cuba? It would have been totally destroyed. That's how close we were. (Morris et al., 2003)

Secretary McNamara later reported that four Soviet submarines, each carrying nuclear tipped warheads, were trailing the US combatants near Cuba; and, "each of the sub commanders had the authority to launch his torpedoes. . . ." and "were out of communication with their Soviet bases" (McNamara, 2005, p. 33).

A fifth level of analysis considers personality and individual political behavior (J. M. Post, 2004, pp. 16-17). The father of political psychology, Harold Lasswell, proposed the following equation: *p}d}r=P* (1930, p. 75). This defines *homo politicus*, the power seeker, P, in which P's personal needs (p) are displaced (d) onto public policy and rationalizes it (r) as being in the public interest. This model parallels Freudian thinking and maintains that the political power seeker is compensating for feelings of low self-esteem and inferiority. Analysis suggests this model fits certain leaders, such as Idi Amin and Saddam Hussein, for example, particularly well (J. M. Post, 2004, 2003).

Efforts to integrate analytical concepts from social and political psychology into public policy debate have lagged. Think tanks and large institutions such as the US government, the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, and the policy analysts who drive them, find it easier to focus on quantitative and impersonal measures for perhaps the same reasons that, as previously mentioned, Carl Jung remarked, "One does not become enlightened by imagining figures of light, but by making the darkness conscious. This procedure, however, is disagreeable, and therefore not very popular" (Jung, 1968). Secretary McNamara (2005) framed this fifth level as follows:

> We are at a critical moment in human history—perhaps not as dramatic as that of the Cuban Missile Crisis, but a moment no less crucial. Neither the Bush administration, the congress, the American people, nor the people of other nations have debated the merits of alternative, long-range nuclear weapons policies for their countries or the world. They have not examined the military utility of the weapons; the risk of inadvertent or accidental use; the moral and legal considerations relating to the use or threat of use of the weapons; or the impact of current policies on

proliferation. Such debates are long overdue. If they are held, I believe they will conclude, as have I and an increasing number of senior military leaders, politicians, and civilian security experts: We must move promptly toward the elimination—or near elimination—of all nuclear weapons. For many, there is a strong temptation to cling to the strategies of the past 40 years. But to do so would be a serious mistake leading to unacceptable risks for all nations. (McNamara, 2005, p. 35)

What does it mean to debate the merits of nuclear weapons at Lasswell's fifth level of analysis—meaning, through the lens of personal power, rationalization, and symbolic thinking? Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (1986) thinking paralleled this sentiment when he, referring to the tragedy of injustice, wrote:

> History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but . . . groups are more immoral than individuals. We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given; it must be demanded by the oppressed. (p. 292)

Further, he poses that there is a need for the work accomplished by the role of the terrorist but calls for it to be accomplished nonviolently.

> Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. (M. L. King, Jr., 1986, p. 291)

One view places the burden of nonviolence on the social change agent while others would ask the mainstream, its leaders, and its agents to listen more carefully so that the need for the change agent to "turn up the volume" will not be felt. As previously mentioned, however, C.G. Jung observed that this procedure is disagreeable and therefore not very popular—meaning that the mainstream is not likely to listen more carefully without the volume being turned up. Recent events, such as the attacks of 9/11 and the transit bombings in London and renewed violence in Israel, suggest that there is no shortage of people who are interested in turning up the volume:

> . . . just last summer, at a recent meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry said, "I have never been more fearful of a nuclear detonation than now.... There is a greater than 50 percent probability of a nuclear strike on U.S. targets within a decade." (McNamara, 2005, p. 35)

In the preface for her book *The War Hotel,* Arlene Audergon (2005b) writes:

The War Hotel is about how our psychology is used as fuel for violent conflict. We are active and complicit. We get outraged and we go silent. Throughout history there have been "experts" who know how to use human nature to divide communities and carry out atrocities. The manipulation of our psychology to create violent conflict is deeply disturbing. Yet there's something profoundly hopeful here. If we are the players in violent conflict, our awareness can make a difference. (p. ix)

Audergon essentially maintains that it is not only leaders who are active participants but everyone of us as well. Secretary McNamara's thinking parallels Audergon's when he remarks on the importance of public debate of nuclear weapons. Whereas Plato focused

on the role of philosopher-kings (meaning extremely wise leaders) and Socrates, like the early political scientists, focused on power, Mindell (1992) maintains that leadership is a role that is fluid and often moves among various participants in a given field of interaction. This is not to say that individual psychology is not also important. Consider the following:

Johan Galtung (2002a) proposes a clear example of a US alternative response to 9/11 that could have been championed by President Bush. This liberal scenario is one-sided, perhaps farcically so, and yet it is entirely possible that a charismatic American leader could have succeeded in garnering public support for this approach:

> Americans; the attack yesterday on two buildings, killing thousands, was atrocious, totally unacceptable. They have to be captured and brought to justice by an appropriate international court, with a clear UN mandate.

> However, my address tonight goes beyond this. I have come to the conclusion that there have been and are serious flaws in our foreign policy, however well intended. We create enemies through our insensitivity to the basic needs of the peoples around the world, including their religious sensitivities. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the necessary steps will be taken to

> · Withdraw our military bases from Saudi Arabia,

> · Recognize Palestine as a state, details can follow later,

> · Enter into dialogue with Iraq to identify solvable conflicts,[33]

> · Accept President Khatami's invitation for the same with Iran,

> · Pull out militarily and economically from Afghanistan,

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[33] Despite Saddam Hussein's many atrocities there remains, arguably, the possibility of a certain linearity to his acts.

·   Stop our military interventions and reconcile with the victims.

That same evening 1.3 billion Muslims would embrace America; and the few terrorists left would have no water in which to swim. The speech would cost half an hour's work to write, ten minutes to deliver; as opposed to, say $60 billion for the Afghanistan operation ($50 billion for Yugoslavia in 1999, plus much more later) and so on [plus the cost of the Iraq war and reconstruction and the escalating overt and hidden costs of increased homeland security and the war on terrorism]. So, what are the psychological/political costs? (Galtung, 2002a, p. 10)

From one perspective, there is something entirely hopeful about this scenario. Why was it not adopted? What is it that we are not prepared to pay, psychologically and politically, to embrace this line of thinking? The possibility of the end of US dominance and the fear of others is a ghost—an unspeakable possibility in public debate. Galtung furthers:

The allegiance of the Arab/Muslim masses and their government he [President Bush] lost with Afghanistan. The allegiance of the conscious Western people he lost right after. The sense of no goal beyond crushing[34] made him lose the Western governments and other allies. The US population, stunned and stifled, is also on its slow way down. A substantial portion of the rest of the world will follow.

Maybe that is all to the good. Empires do not last forever. Maybe this will also liberate the creative US people, deprived of democracy when most needed, to create a better America, without, for instance, 35% illiteracy in its capital. An

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[34] Galtung's assumption parallels the assumption of terrorist's irrationality and the projection of pathology and evil. Bush's goals may actually be clear and entirely rational, however covert.

America that could join the world like one nation and state among others, equal

before the law, equal to each other, facing the problems of the world. (2002a, p. 13)

In effect, the "average" US citizen actively or tacitly supports the acts and policies

that maintain US dominance out of fear. This too is an act of leadership.

Political philosopher Robert Tucker also saw leadership as a role. In *Politics as Leadership,* Tucker detailed the importance of what he called "nonconstituted leaders" (leaders without a consensus reality title such as president or prime minister) (1981). Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Mohandas K. Gandhi, for example, had no formal political authority. Audergon maintains that the forces of war operates inside of us as well:

When we imagine that our psychology is separate from politics, we support violent

conflict. In fact a central assumption of war makers is that this expertise will remain

their private turf. The less aware we are of how our individual and collective

psychology shapes us, the more malleable we are. If we believe in and agree with

this central assumption that we will remain unaware, we are in effect those "war

makers." Most people believe that forces of war operate out-side them. To deal

with these forces more creatively, rather than only being swept along, we need to get

to know our part. (2005b, p. xv)

Conversely, when we imagine that our psychology is integral with politics, we can

fight violent conflict by uncovering its roots in our own psychology. The responsibility for

peace no longer would lie solely with our governments, military, and policy makers. The

more we are aware of how our individual and collective psychology shapes us, the more

able we are to see through propaganda and attempts to subvert our interests. If we believe

in and agree with the central assumption that we can develop our awareness and find more

creative solutions than violent assaults, then we no longer support war actively, implicitly, or functionally. "Most people believe that forces of war operate out-side them. To deal with these forces more creatively, rather than only being swept along, we need to get to know our part." (Audergon, 2005b, p. xv)

The roots of an awareness-based paradigm of conflict resolution lie in conflict psychology, Taoism, Buddhism, physics, mathematics, indigenous shamanism, and elsewhere. The psychological roots are discussed in the following section. The spiritual roots are explored in Section Three beginning on page 195. These sections are integrated with the earlier discussions of conflict resolution, Process Work, and deep democracy.

Section Two: Awareness-Based Paradigms in Conflict Psychology

> The range of what we think and do
> is limited by what we fail to notice.
> And because we fail to notice
> *that* we fail to notice
> there is little we can do
> to change
> until we notice
> how failing to notice
> shapes our thoughts and deeds
> ~ Daniel Goleman 1985, p. 24) [35]

Daniel Goleman's (1985) statement appeared in his book *Vital Lies, Simple Truths: The Psychology of Self-Deception* and came from his clinical psychotherapeutic experiences, but it speaks to the field of conflict psychology and facilitation as well. The

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[35]   This quote is widely misattributed to R.D. Laing but appears in Goleman's (1985) book *Vital Lies, Simple Truths* with the following introduction: "To put it in the form of one of R.D. Laing's 'knots':" (p. 24): "Knots" being a reference to an earlier text by Laing (1972). So it is in the form of Laing but not by Laing.

range of our options is limited by our consciousness and awareness and self-deception. For the purposes of this research, an awareness-based paradigm is one that strives to notice the range of what we notice and fail to notice, to find meaning in those patterns and limitations, and to expand the range of what we can notice. Consciousness is awareness of awareness (Mindell, 1989c). It is a disciplined practice of learning to deepen one's perceptions, to unfold the meaning of experience, and to use perception and meaning for the benefit of others. The fields of leadership, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution are not yet dominated by awareness-based paradigms. While there are those who argue compellingly for the benefits of such a shift, the world is still struggling with these issues in what can be called conventional paradigms of leadership and conflict resolution.

The point here is not to replace one paradigm with another, but to use an awareness-based paradigm to encourage, support, explain, and augment other systems of leadership, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution. Gandhi believed that individuals have a right to perceive and live in their own manner, and so, too, there is something "right" that needs to be understood more deeply about various conventional paradigms of leadership, governance, and conflict resolution.

But also there is something akin to a spiritual process, a psychological growth path, and the evolution of human consciousness in the background. Dr. King, supporting the importance of nonviolent direction action, wrote the following in *Testament of Hope*.

Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, we must see the need of having nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men to rise

from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood. (M. L. King, Jr., 1986, p. 291)

And consider the following from Audergon:

Public awareness is also a psychological and spiritual matter—a process of discovering as individuals and collectively what makes us respond and what makes us silent. We are each unique in how we perceive and contribute to this world. We are also each limited and stretch the boundaries of our identities as we meet challenges and grapple with the unknown. Gandhi believed that individuals have a right to perceive and live in their unique manner, and at the same time can dissolve the notion of "self" and "other" by attaining identification with humanity and all of creation. Gandhi's political leadership came from the notion that spirituality and politics were identical. He saw our internal and external worlds as part of a single pattern. Politics was a spiritual activity and all true spirituality culminated in politics. Chuang Tzu, an ancient Chinese philosopher, recognized that the same patterns emerge inside us and within the world, and inner development and leadership could therefore not be separated. Arny Mindell's notion of "deep democracy" suggests that society needs dialogue and interaction that includes not only our political positions, but also our deepest rifts and the emotions of history, as well as access to the underlying creativity that precedes our polarizations of conflict. Awareness of how we identify and what we consider "other," in both our inner and our outer worlds, allows us to facilitate conflict, rather than only be sunk in it.

So, to recognize our part in violent conflict and to find alternatives, public awareness involves getting informed, developing freedom of thought, and a

psychological and spiritual process of becoming aware of the inner and outer
dimensions of conflict.

Although some political leaders and warlords have exploited the
psychological and spiritual dynamics of conflict for the purpose of power and
profit, at the expense of unspeakable tragedy, the responsibility and the possibility
to "profit" from our awareness of these dynamics lie with all of us. (Audergon,
2005b, p. xviii)

These ideas of awareness-based paradigms are far removed from our current
systems of governance, leadership, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution. Ambassador
John McDonald said, "Governments don't even understand me when I talk about that. We
work with the people. We work with the heart. We look at the root causes of the conflict.
We look at the hate and the fear and the lies that separate." (McDonald, 2002)

Efforts to integrate these ideas within mainstream conflict resolution include the
proposed US Department of Peace, which has yet to gain widespread support in Congress
(Congressmen Kucinich, 2003), a parallel effort in the EU government, and the UN
Agenda for Peace.

The UN Agenda for Peace, which former UN General Secretary Boutros-Boutros
Ghali developed in 1992, is the most powerful U.N. document since the UN charter
(McDonald, 2004). It lays out the next fifty years for the world in terms of the way we
collectively are attempting to deal with conflict. The four parts are preventive diplomacy,
peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post conflict peacebuilding. The UN Secretary General
Kofi Annan now has more than a dozen special representatives at the Under Secretary

General level. Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy chair, Ambassador McDonald, reports that,

> The whole process of preventive diplomacy has been ignored by the world. I have been working for at least five years to try to get the State Department to put in an office on preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution. Now the one step forward that has been made, this was launched by a group of about forty non-governmental organizations (including our own) and we put together a document which was presented to the foreign ministers in 1999 in Tokyo on how the G8 could develop and focus on conflict prevention. And finally, at the Okinawa G8 meeting in 2000, they came out with a document, which recommends action, so the G8 at the senior, at the top level, heads of state, has formally in their reports favored an emphasis on conflict prevention and on conflict resolution, preventive diplomacy. (McDonald, 2002)

The State Department finally has responded by creating the office of Conflict Mitigation and Management within the Office of Transition Initiative at USAID. Similarly, the World Bank now has an office of conflict resolution. The mainstream conflict resolution machinery appears to be slowly creeping towards an awareness-based paradigm. One difference, however, is that conflict resolution, peacebuilding, deep democracy, and consensus building are still viewed by bureaucracies as being the choice of last resort: it is turned to only to stop overt violence, which means that people do not really value the experience of others or understand how rank issues fuel conflict. Arnold Mindell (2005a), (a conflict facilitator and theorist) says:

Democracy is a terrific idea. I think most, many of us think that (democracy meaning that people have equal rights and that the citizens have power—*demos kratos*) people have power and not just the big dudes at the top, whoever those dudes and dudettes might be. It's just, as you know, consensual reality that usually's focused on. Which means folks don't think about being on top of somebody else... you know... rank and all that.

. . . for democracy to work it has to be more than a consensual concept. And that's easier to say than it is to do, because to do what I'm saying... In other words I'm implying that democracy has to be an inner experience, almost a spiritual experience or a psychological experience, depending upon what you call that. But that would mean you are aware that one part of you is ruling at a given moment and another part of you is at its mercy, and you use your awareness to let the one that is at its mercy eventually also have some voice in yourself. In the grandest sense of making a more peaceful world, without some form of innerwork, you just can't do it. And we know it because we have more democracy than ever and we have as much war as we've ever had. (Mindell, 2005a)

The consequences of a lack of innerwork and signal and rank awareness in governance include the contradictions discussed in the following section.

Governance, Development, Security, Sovereignty, and Political Psychology

> Prevention is the worst possible option,
> except for all the others.
> —(Jorgensen, 2003)

Robert Kaplan (2002, p. 87), political pundit, conflict scholar, and journalist for the Atlantic Monthly, maintains that "Good governance can emerge only from a sly

understanding of men's passions" (p. 87). That understanding reveals a clear link between global development, war, and terrorism; and between psychology, deep democracy, awareness, and conventional conflict resolution:

> Today's warriors come often from the hundreds of millions of unemployed young males in the developing world, angered by the income disparities that accompany globalization. Globalization is Darwinian.[36] It means economic survival of the fittest—those groups and individuals that are disciplined, dynamic, and ingenious will float to the top, while cultures that do not compete well technologically will produce an inordinate number of warriors. . . An age of chemical and biological weapons is perfectly suited for religious martyrdom. (Kaplan, 2002, p. 119)

In an article called "No Country Left Behind," former US Secretary of State Colin Powell (2005) maintains that "no country should be left behind in development" (p. 28). Summarizing Bush administration policy on the relationship between development and terrorism, Secretary Powell explains:

> We see development, democracy, and security as inextricably linked. We recognize that poverty alleviation cannot succeed without sustained economic growth, which requires that policymakers take seriously the challenge of good governance. At the same time, new and often fragile democracies cannot be reliably sustained, and democratic values cannot be spread further, unless we work hard and wisely at economic development. And no nation, no matter how powerful, can assure the

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[36] The term Darwinian is used in the quote and throughout this paper to refer to the widely accepted mis-interpretation of Darwin—survival of the fittest—even though Darwin's actual thinking differed somewhat from this position (Arcana, 2004).

safety of its people as long as economic desperation and injustice can mingle with tyranny and fanaticism. (2005, p. 30)

Powell sees "development, democracy, and security as inextricably linked" and yet in the following paragraph denies any "direct" link between poverty and terrorism, which is a grave threat to development, democracy, and security.

Development is not a "soft" policy issue, but a core national security issue. Although we see a link between terrorism and poverty, we do not believe that poverty directly causes terrorism. Few terrorists are poor. The leaders of the September 11 group were all well-educated men, far from the bottom rungs of their societies. Poverty breeds frustration and resentment, which ideological entrepreneurs can turn into support for—or acquiescence to—terrorism, particularly in those countries in which poverty is coupled with a lack of political rights and basic freedoms. (Powell, 2005, p. 30)

The implication here is that the terrorist's agenda exists independently of the conditions of social injustice and oppression that create or maintain the poverty, and yet Powell admits that:

The root cause of poverty is social injustice and the bad government that abets it. Poverty arises and persists where corruption is endemic and enterprise is stifled, where basic fairness provided by the rule of law is absent. In such circumstances, poverty is an assault against human dignity, and in that assault lies the natural seed of human anger. . . . The United States cannot win the war on terrorism unless we confront the social and political roots of poverty. (Powell, 2005, pp. 30-31)

Daisaku Ikeda (2004), a Japanese Buddhist scholar of peace and founder of Soka

Gakkai International,[37] supports Powell's "soft" approach of fighting the war on terrorism

through economic development in Soka Gakkai International's 2004 Peace Proposal,

"Inner Transformation: Creating a Global Groundswell for Peace."

> What must be done to forestall the risk, inherent in the essential asymmetry of a
>
> "war" against terrorism, that it will become a deadly quagmire? Since it is probably
>
> unrealistic to expect self-restraint on the part of the terrorists, those who oppose
>
> them must put priority on the exercise of self-mastery—a quality that grows from the
>
> effort to consider and understand the position of the "other." This effort must take
>
> precedence over the use of hard power. Equally essential are the courage and vision
>
> to address the underlying conditions of poverty and injustice that are enabling
>
> factors in terrorism. (2004)

Unfortunately, programs of economic development often fail to benefit the

intended recipients. Nor does representative democracy itself ensure successful

development.

People's attitudes regarding terrorism tend to be extremely polarized. There is a

liberal tendency to romanticize terrorists as being freedom fighters who selflessly fight

oppression (Nassar & Ibrahim, 2003) and Western imperialism in defense of the down-

trodden masses as well as, on the other hand, a conservative tendency to see terrorists as

cowardly criminals who shun normal means of communication in favor of tyranny

(Netanyahu, 1995).

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[37] Soka Gakkai International (SGI) is a Buddhist association with more than 12 million
members in 190 countries and territories worldwide.

In "The Stupidity of Power vs. the Palestinian Resistance," two activists with the Alternative Information Center—a Palestinian NGO in Beit Sahour, Palestine—write in support of the *freedom fighter*:

Although our backs have been pushed against the wall, our chests continue to face the tanks, and our hearts are with all of those who are resisting the occupation. Our eyes, the eyes of every single Palestinian—man or women, old or young, disabled, sick, or imprisoned—are firmly fixed on the goal of freedom and independence, and finally peace. There is no going back. We have never been as close to our freedom and independence as we are these days.

Surrender to the Israeli occupation means death. Resistance to the Israeli occupation means life and dignity even in the face of death. (Nassar & Ibrahim, 2003, p. 47)

In "Fighting Terrorism," however, former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, a noted expert on fighting domestic and international terrorism, says:

The citizens of free societies must be told again and again that terrorists are savage beasts of prey, and should be treated as such. Terrorism should be given no intellectual quarter.

Like organized crime, the battle against terrorism should be waged relentlessly, resisting the attempt to glorify or mystify its perpetrators or their cause in any way. Indeed, the point of departure for the domestic battle against terrorism is to treat it as a *crime* and terrorists *as criminals*. . . . the fact that terrorists are *politically* motivated criminals is irrelevant, except in providing clues for their apprehension. (1995, pp. 22-23)

This seemingly intractable polarization is at the heart of many violent conflicts. Radical

Islamic terrorists are responsible for 7 out of 8 (87%) deaths from terrorism (55% without

9/11) that have occurred in democratic nations within the period from 2000 to 2004, and

70% of the fatalities were caused by terrorists originating in countries deemed to lack basic

freedoms (Freedom House, 2005a, p. 8).

While the agendas and motivations of terrorists are often unclear, what is clear is

that the oppression and poverty in their own countries is highly correlated to their acts.

"Moreover, terrorists from dictatorial and repressive societies that brutalize their

inhabitants are themselves significantly more brutal than terrorists born and acculturated in

democratic societies" (Freedom House, 2005a, p. 9).

Global Trends in Freedom					
	Free Countries		Partially Free Countries		Not-Free Countries
1973	44	29%	42	28%	65	43%
1983	53	32%	56	33%	58	35%
1993	72	38%	63	33%	55	29%
2003	88	46%	55	29%	49	25%
	By Population				
2003	2.773B	44%	1.356B	17%	2.210B	39%
2004	2.812B	44%	1.220B	19%	2.387B	37%

Table 3: Global Trends in Freedom (Freedom House, 2005a, 2005b)[38]

President Fidel V. Ramos was president of the Republic of the Philippines from

1992 to 1998. Prior to winning the presidency, he was involved in the People's Power

Revolution of 1986. While serving as president he introduced a comprehensive Social

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[38] "Russia entered the ranks of Not Free countries in 2004 for the first time since the breakup of the Soviet Union" (Freedom House, 2005a, p. 1). This caused the increase in people living in not free countries in 2004.

Reform Agenda, leading the Philippine economy to grow dramatically. He stresses the symbiotic connection between democracy and human development:

> Since my early years as an infantry captain in the 1950s, I have come to realize that the symbiotic connection between democracy and human development is quite complex. Democracy does not automatically ensure development, and neither does sustained development reliably guarantee people's freedom. Yet, democracy does reinforce human development, and human development strengthens democracy. The two reinforce each other. (Ramos, 2003)

Powell claims that "Our true aim is to eradicate poverty by challenging the leaderships of developing countries to take their nations' futures into their own hands" (Powell, 2005, p. 31). It then follows that the US must be committed to supporting human development as well as economic development, democracy, and security if it is to end terrorism and war. Furthermore, it follows that it would help the US to further these goals if US policy and the practice of its leaders and representatives allowed an awareness-based paradigm to help demonstrate concern for the welfare of others in all levels of dialogue and negotiation. The following scenario describes a situation wherein the signals indicate that the facilitator's metaskill does not demonstrate concern for the other:

> Signals of rank imbalance and complex roles are often evident in photographs. In 1998 a picture was published throughout the world showing the IMF's Managing Director "a short, neatly dressed former French Treasury bureaucrat. . . standing with a stern face and crossed arms over the seated and humiliated president of Indonesia. The hapless president was being forced, in effect, to turn over economic sovereignty of his country to the IMF in return for the aid his country needed. In

the end, ironically, much of the money went not to help Indonesia but to bail out the "colonial power's" private sector creditors. (Stiglitz, 2003, pp. 40-41)

One might wonder whether the imposition of this one-sided and expensive "bail out" contributed to the demise of Indonesia's stability and economic recovery. Ongoing problems in Indonesia include: widespread poverty, terrorism, transition to democratically elected governments after four decades of authoritarianism, banking reform, cronyism and corruption, human rights violations, and armed separatist movements (CIA, 2004, p. 2004). "Indonesia has suffered great upheaval since 1998—the year of the "bail out"— resulting in demonstrations and armed conflict" (Lonely Planet, 2004).

Some maintain that anti-US terrorism is, in part, caused by the lack of openness on the part of US policy to the experience and suffering of others (Galtung & Fischer, 2002; Johnson, 2000; Sen, 2000; Stiglitz, 2003; Vassiliou, 1995). Development itself, while seen by some as being a major key to large scale conflict resolution, has not yet been shown to be a viable way to end poverty, social injustice, or to employ the hundreds of millions of young, enraged, disenfranchised, and disenchanted men and women who may become warriors and terrorists because of what economists call structural frictions. One long standing assumption in capitalism is that the best way to help the poor is to grow the economy and wait for the benefits to trickle-down. Joseph Stiglitz, Chairman of Council of Economic Advisers under President Clinton and Chief Economist and Senior VP at the World Bank, maintains that this *trickle-down* theory was never more than a belief, something less than a hypothesis (2003). Also, huge social rank imbalances often make it easy to be one-sided, assuming that all of the power is in the hands of one side and seeing the other side as the victim.

The IMF, of course, claims that it never dictates but always negotiates the terms of any loan agreement with the borrowing country. But these are one-sided negotiations in which all the power is in the hands of the IMF, largely because many countries seeking IMF help are in desperate need of funds. (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 42)

Stiglitz presents a strong case for the insensitivity of the IMF, the World Bank, and US policy towards the interests of the citizens in developing nations; an insensitivity which he describes as a "failure to be sensitive to the broader social context" (2003, p. 73). But what is the broader social context and how does it relate to conflict resolution? Stiglitz argues that there is a *social contract* involving fairness that binds citizens together and to their government (2003, p. 78). This contract is key to conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and peacekeeping. A breach of this contract is the basis for the sense of injustice that creates terrorism and inflames war. Amartya Sen, Nobel prize winning economist, clarifies the definition of development beyond that of increased GNP by focusing on human freedoms that relate to this social contract:

> Development can be seen, it is argued here, as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Focusing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with industrialization, or with technological advance, or with social modernization.
>
> Development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states. Despite unprecedented increases in overall opulence, the

contemporary world denies elementary freedoms to vast numbers—perhaps even the majority—of people. (Sen, 2000, pp. 3-4)

Good governance is required for development to further the removal of major sources of repression. The US Agency for International Development's (USAID) Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance reports:

In a statistical study of over 160 cases of internal conflict, Ibrahim Elbadawi and Nicholas Sambanis (2002) find a significant negative correlation between democracy and civil war. Similarly, Ted Gurr (1994) shows that in democracies, ethno-political groups are far more likely to express dissatisfaction through peaceful protest rather than through violence. Finally, using World Bank measures of good governance Hugh Miall (2001) finds that 70% of countries that score well experience no violence, whereas only 37% of countries with bad governance remain free from conflict. (Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, 2004)

More recently, "good governance" has been identified as a structural preventer of internal conflict. Policy makers and NGO's alike are pursuing the aim of improving governance, particularly in developing countries, as a means of reducing poverty, improving development in general, and preventing conflict and humanitarian emergencies. Indeed, the promotion of good governance is seen as a critical element in promoting conflict prevention and conflict management (European Commission 2001). Is "good governance" a deep preventer of ethnic conflict? . . . In an effort to address this question, indicators of good governance derived from the World Bank were used in conjunction with Minorities at Risk data. (Miall, 2001, p. 10)

Results of the study, applied to 113 countries, are shown below:

	No violence	Small-scale violence	Large-scale violence
Good Governance	26 (70%)	10 (27%)	2 (5%)
Fair Governance	17 (45%)	16 (42%)	5 (13%)
Bad Governance	14 (37%)	12 (32%)	11 (29%)

Table 4: Incidence of Violent Ethnic Conflict in 1995-8 in 113 countries, by Quality of Governance

(Miall, 2001, p. 12)

Results are based on measuring six dimensions of the quality of governance, defined by the World Bank:

> Voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. . . . Each of these six governance research indicators combines a large number of underlying measures of perceptions of governance. In the 2000/01 indicator, we drew on 194 separate measures compiled by 17 different sources obtained from a variety of international organizations, survey institutes, risk-rating agencies, and think-tanks. (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2002, p. 2).

There may be some circularity in the findings. Political stability, for example, is also highly correlated with longevity of governance for both democracies and autocracies. The risk of internal instability is highest during and after changes in system of governance (McDonald, 2004). Voice and accountability, while difficult to define, are not only attributes of good governance but also correlated with civil unrest (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2002).

With so much evidence backing the need for change, and a strong force of activists working globally to ensure that change happens, the tide is turning. The US government, the UN, the IMF, and the World Bank have changed their rhetoric and now talk about poverty. Stiglitz maintains that many critics are skeptical that there is any real commitment to change: "They see the changes as simply the institution's facing the political reality that they must change. . ." (2003, p. 215), which is very different than a serious commitment to change.

The lack of change and the resultant double signals surrounding half hearted efforts towards change fuel the appearance of Dr. King's "nonviolent gadflies" (see quote on page 158) to create the social tension necessary for change. In terms of the views presented by Stiglitz, Sen, Ramos, and others above; in order to embody a serious commitment to change towards a deeper sense of good governance, leaders would need to actively embrace importance of the social tension and ensure the inclusion of marginalized groups and experiences and explicitly address the social contracts that exist globally. In "Listen or Die: The Terrorist as a Role," political psychologist Dr. Alexandra Vassiliou maintains:

> The role of the terrorist is the role of the person who adopts a behavior and communication style that is rebellious, challenging, disrupting, and threatening. These aspects of their behavior can be seen in both the content and the style of their communication. . . . Typically, when a person experiences herself as a terrorist, she is working for her highest ideals and sense of justice; she also may be gaining vengeance for present and past wrongs. People in the terrorist role . . . will break accepted group communication styles and safety rules in order to force a group to accept their unpopular opinions. . . . (Vassiliou, 1995, pp. 64-65)

There is evidence—the skeptics mentioned by Stiglitz and the misleading one-sidedness of Secretary's Powell's statements on terrorism—that implies that the agendas of terrorists are unrelated to the failed social contracts, poverty, and suffering of those they champion.

The exclusion of the terrorist's message from public discourse (as opposed to her means of communication) means that economic development will continue to exclude the underprivileged minorities from a meaningful level of engagement in society: a level of engagement called for by Secretary McNamara, Gandhi, Dr. King, and others. What qualities of engagement and dialogue are needed? Can dialogue obviate the need, desire, or tendency for violent terrorism? David Bohm presents one approach in his concept of coherent dialogue.

Coherent Dialogue

David Bohm (2004) maintains that our thinking—even the thinking behind what we see as highly evolved systems such as law, democracy, and technology—is itself a problem that he likens to a virus: ". . . thought pervades us. It's similar to a virus—somehow this is a disease of thought, of knowledge, of information, spreading all over the world," and calls for a transformation of the nature of consciousness (p. 58). This parallels Goleman's (1985) earlier observation that our options are limited by our awareness and our thoughts. Bohm metaphorically likens human thought and consciousness to light. Normal light is chaotic, random, and incoherent, whereas a laser's light is directed, focused, and coherent. Similarly, human thought and human consciousness is primarily incoherent. People often tend to react to their own bodily responses, defending various thoughts without understanding why and without fully understanding the thought and its consequences. "The

natural self-defense impulse, which we got in the jungle, has been transferred from the jungle animals to those opinions" (Bohm, 2004, p. 39). Research in neuroscience confirms Bohm's theory—the lateral amygdala short-circuits our rational, neo-cortical response and triggers an action even before the threat has been consciously registered (Schafe, Nader, Blair, & LeDoux, 2001) (LeDoux & Muller, 1997).

Bohm (1981) maintains that through dialogue and perhaps only through dialogue can people learn to develop coherence in thinking. This is similar to Buckminster Fuller's (1981) views stated in *Critical Path* where he called for the development, reliance upon, and necessity of the intuitive wisdom and comprehensive informed-ness of each and every individual (what Bohm calls coherence) as being critical to ensure our continued fitness for survival as a species (p. ix).

Bohm (1981) maintains that three things stop us from developing coherence: thought itself, fragmentation, and reaction. Reaction is what happens when someone defends a thought automatically, without taking time to understand more deeply the thought and its consequences and relationship with other thoughts. Reaction is basically defensive and is believed to be related to the brain's mechanism in forming memories about unpleasant or traumatic experiences (LeDoux & Muller, 1997) and often results in a projection onto others as well as a block that prevents the individual from seeing various patterns in herself:

> It seems then that the main trouble is that the other person is the one who is prejudiced and not listening. . . . The very nature of such a "block" is, however, that it is a kind of insensitivity or "anesthesia" about one's own contradictions. Evidently then, what is crucial is to be aware of the nature of one's own "blocks." . . . When

we come together to talk, or otherwise to act in common, can each one of us be aware of the subtle fear and pleasure sensations that "block" [her or] his ability to listen freely? (Bohm, 2004, p. 5)

The second difficulty, fragmentation, is what happens when we forget that everything is connected. Various fragmenting thoughts become very important ideals over which we fight horrific wars in our homes, at work, and between nations.

One of these difficulties is *fragmentation,* which originates in thought—it is thought which divides everything up. Every division we make is a result of how we think. In actuality, the whole world is shades merging into one. But we select certain things and separate them from others—for convenience, at first. Later we give this separation great importance. (Bohm, 2004, p. 10)

The deepest difficulty has to do with the active nature of thought itself. To a certain extent thought creates reality and has dire consequences. "Fragmentation is one of the difficulties of thought, but there is a deeper root, which is that thought is very active, but the process of thought thinks that it is doing nothing—that it is just telling you the way things are. . . ." (Bohm, 2004, pp. 10-11). The whole ecological problem, for example, is due to thought. Implicit in our thinking has been the belief that the world and its ability to clean up our mistakes and absorb our toxins is infinite.

There is a whole pool of knowledge for the whole human race, like different computers that share a pool of knowledge. This pool of thought has been developing for many thousands of years, and it is full of all sorts of content. This knowledge, or thought, knows all of that content, *but it doesn't know what it is doing.* This knowledge knows itself wrong: it knows itself as doing nothing. It

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therefore says, "I am not responsible for any of these problems. I'm just here for you to use." (Bohm, 2004, pp. 59-60)

In effect, thought does not exist independently of everything else because thought has consequences. Helping society to develop coherent thought and dialogue is a large task, which may be beyond the small field of conflict resolution. And yet, it may ultimately be the only approach that will work. In a sense Bohm begins to simplify the task by pointing out that ". . . practically all the problems of the human race are due to the fact that thought is not proprioceptive" (Bohm, 2004, p. 29). This parallels statements made by Albert Einstein in 1934 in the first of three letters to Friends of Peace:

Small is the number of them that see with their own eyes and feel with their own hearts. But it is their strength that will decide whether the human race must relapse into that state of stupor which a deluded multitude appears today to regard as the ideal.

O that the nations might see, before it is too late, how much of their self-determination they have got to sacrifice in order to avoid the struggle of all against all! The power of conscience and of the international spirit [both based on thought, fragmentation, and reaction] has proved itself inadequate. (1954a, p. 108)

Bohm's proprioception, extended to include vision by Einstein, is further extended by Mindell (and others) to include all of the channels of perception (Mindell, 1982, 1989c; Arnold Mindell, 1995, 2002c). Coherent thought includes the awareness and congruence of proprioception, vision, hearing, smell, touch, taste, speech, and movement. This paves the way for development of a practicable approach to developing coherence *en masse* through dialogue. This is one view. There are many thoughts that are against any one

approach to dialogue, leadership, and governance and it is unlikely that attempts to foster coherent dialogue will overcome them easily. The difficulties include psychopathology, trauma, ignorance, egoism, nationalism, racism, sexism, and greed.

Much research on the effects of severe psychological stress has focused on stress-related psychopathology. Perhaps war, violence, and extreme conflict are all the result of psychopathology. Further work remains to be done to explore the effectiveness of various approaches such as dialogue, systematic desensitization, positive imaging, movement, energy, and body work, and process oriented worldwork on the physiological reactivity of individuals and groups involved in conflict. One thing is clear, "unconscious emotional memories formed by the amygdala and related brain areas can never be converted into conscious memories" if they are not also formed by the hippocampal memory system (LeDoux & Muller, 1997, p. 1725). What this means is that the psychological source of emotional reactivity is often unconscious and can not be made conscious. This is significant because, as is well known in studies of trauma, extreme stress, and psychopathology, there are many factors that can cause emotional memories to be formed unconsciously without an associated hippocampal memory (Charney, 2004). That is not to say, however, that the autonomic emotional reactions can not be made conscious and overcome, nor that reactivity, pathological or not, is itself the root of conflict.

Bohm's approach to dialogue involves "suspending" thought. He uses a visual metaphor of holding a thought in front of oneself so that it can be examined and reflected upon, rather than accepted as absolute truth and fought over. William Ury notes that

The polarities turn out to be false polarities. In these questions, there are no absolutes; everything is a matter of degree. In seeing only absolutes, one misses the

critical degrees, yet it is in these degrees that lie the answers to the questions of how humanity has gotten along in the past and how we can get along in the future. (Ury, 1999, p. 51, p. 51)

Ury (1999) has researched indigenous methods of conflict resolution in various settings. Among the Semai people in the Malaysian rain forest, for example, when conflict emerges, "people zealously seek to avoid taking sides" (1999, p. 6) and the Kua Bushman will talk and talk and talk for days until the problem is completely worked through. If someone leaves, they bring her back. If she will not come, the whole group goes to her and continues the talking. Every conflict takes place within a third party—the community. It is this third party that provides the facilitation and the structure of containment for the work of dialogue.

There is a trend towards third party or community intervention in the US, which is appearing in the form of peer mediation training in public schools, shelters for women and children, crisis lines, town meetings, independent media, and open dialogue. "Unlike the ultimate arbiter in the form of a king or authoritarian state, the third side is not a transcendent individual or institution who dominates all, but rather the *emergent will of the community*" (Ury, 1999, p. 14). That *emergent will* changes over time. It is a *timespirit* (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 42), something akin to the *zeitgeist*, but which suggests that something active is happening in the background, as if certain changes in society are trying to happen. Feminism and reactions against sexism and violence towards women are examples of timespirits: the *emergent will* of the people that will no longer tolerate gender violence. Similar timespirits are driving the trend towards dialogue and democracy. It was a

timespirit against racism that caused the world to support the anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa.

> "You must believe," declared South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, "that this spectacular victory [over apartheid] would have been totally, totally impossible had it not been that we were supported so remarkably by the international community" (Ury, 1999, p. 18).

The international community—playing the role of the third party, outsiders in the sense of being outside of South Africa, and insiders in the sense that racism is a global problem effecting us all—fills the role of the conscience of South Africa. Zealously seeking to avoid taking sides, that conscience supported both white and blacks to change.

The struggle towards peace is not a linear path. As previously mentioned, in his last book, *Critical Path,* R. Buckminster Fuller (1981) maintains that there is a critical path (referring to critical path project management analysis) leading towards, or away from, our continued fitness for survival as a species. Classical international relations and conventional conflict resolution theory and praxis see this path as being linear but Fuller maintains that it is not:

> Conventional critical-path conceptioning is linear and self-under-informative. Only spherically expanding and contracting, spinning, polarly involuting and evoluting orbital-system feedbacks are both comprehensively and incisively informative. Spherical-orbital critical-feedback circuits are pulsative, tidal, importing and exporting. Critical-path elements are not overlapping linear modules in a plane: they are systemically interspiraling complex of omni-interrelevant regenerative feedback circuits. (R. B. Fuller, 1981, p. vi)

The issues of conflict, trauma, oppression, and governance are global and effect all of humanity. While much of the work (the community dialogue and the local interventions) must happen at the grassroots level there is also a great need for a great institution to provide leadership and policy in a cohesive spherically expanding and contracting, spinning, polarly involuting and evoluting orbital-systematic manner. The United Nations is, despite its many weaknesses and failings, the only structure in existence dedicated to the attempt to build a global society.

The United Nations

Behind the formation, existence, and continued operation of the United Nations lies a deep vision for the world and the thoughts of various world leaders, visionaries, spiritual and grass roots leaders, psychologists, and conflict resolution professionals have coalesced in an attempt to develop a greater understanding of the dynamics of conflict.

In 1992, UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali issued a report entitled "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peace-keeping," a report which has far reaching consequences for the attempt to build a sustainable, nonviolent global society:

> The sources of conflict and war are pervasive and deep. To reach them will require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons. . . . I consider: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping—to which I have added a closely related concept, post-conflict peace-building. (Ghali, 1992, pp. 1-2)

The concept of peace is easy to grasp; that of international security is more complex, for a pattern of contradictions has arisen here as well. As major nuclear powers have begun to negotiate arms reduction agreements, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction threatens to increase and conventional arms continue to be amassed in many parts of the world. As racism becomes recognized for the destructive force it is and as apartheid is being dismantled, new racial tensions are rising and finding expression in violence. Technological advances are altering the nature and the expectation of life all over the globe. The revolution in communications has united the world in awareness, in aspiration and in greater solidarity against injustice. But progress also brings new risks for stability: ecological damage, disruption of family and community life, greater intrusion into the lives and rights of individuals. (Ghali, 1992, p. 3)

Towards this end, Ghali (1992) proposed the following goals for the UN:

> Our aims must be:

- To seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results;

- Where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict;

- Through peace-keeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers;

- To stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war;

- And in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. It is possible to discern an increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples, and which is finding expression in international laws, many owing their genesis to the work of this Organization. (Ghali, 1992, pp. 3-4)

Since the collapse of the European empires, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War, the nature of violent conflict has shifted predominantly to intrastate conflicts: conflicts over which the UN has no jurisdiction. Boutros-Boutros Ghali (1992) proposed that the time for "absolute and exclusive sovereignty" has passed (p. 4):

The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State. Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress. The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of leaders of States today to understand this and to find a balance between the needs of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world. Commerce, communications and environmental matters transcend administrative borders; but inside those borders is where individuals carry out the first order of their economic, political and social lives. The United Nations has not closed its door. Yet if every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood, there

would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being

for all would become ever more difficult to achieve. (Ghali, 1992, p. 4)

The appropriate limits to sovereignty has been extensively discussed by various UN

departments, agencies, think tanks, conflict and political scholars since the early 1990s

(Hübner, 2000). One proposed amendment to the UN charter would grant authority for

UN intervention within sovereign nations if armed ethnic conflict was threatening to

overwhelm the nation's resources to cope. UN Security Council Resolution 794 was passed

in 1992 authorizing the use of military force to accomplish a humanitarian intervention

under Chapter VII of the Charter (Marks, 2001).[39] Other considerations to appropriate

limits to sovereignty include globalization, labor, security, terrorism, energy, water,

demographics, environment, fairness, and fear.

The political reality of getting UN members, particularly the Security Council

members, to agree to an intervention is another and very political issue. Speaking to the

World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization in February of 2004,

President Mkapa of Tanzania said,

> There is a Chinese proverb that says: "You cannot cover a fire with paper." It is
>
> common sense. . . . The world can no longer hope to cover the fire of discontent
>
> with the current process of globalisation with paper. It cannot work. The time to act
>
> decisively is upon us. . . . The growing poor of the world feel short-changed if not
>
> cheated, and are getting increasingly restive. . . . We can say authoritatively that
>
> discontent is pervasive.

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[39] Chapter VII of the UN Charter, "Action with Respect to Threats to the PEACE, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression," grants authority to intervene militarily.

At one level we are increasingly interconnected, and at another level we are increasingly drifting apart. This is an untenable situation, and soon a mutually damaging rupture will occur. But we also found out that the vast majority of people desire to be a part of, and to have a stake in the benefits offered by, the globalisation process. . . .

Developing countries are complaining about unfair rules, or fair rules applied unfairly, and see no hope in the face of the current power asymmetry in global governance. Workers in rich industrialised countries are complaining about jobs moving out to China, India and Mexico, to middle income and least developed countries, which countries in turn complain about lack of market access, transfer of technology and labour mobility. Developing countries are demanding the same ladder that rich industrialised countries used to get where they are today. Technology is widening rather than narrowing the skills and productive gap between developed and developing countries. We strived to look at globalisation through the eyes of the people in all societies. We can say authoritatively that discontent is pervasive.

Globalisation has increased our interdependence, and there is no hope of disentangling ourselves. But it has also brought into sharp distinction the imbalances that exist in our world. And the closer we get to one another the more we see and experience the unfairness of the system, exacerbating underlying political, social, economic and cultural frustrations, uncertainties and in some instances outright anger. For many, desperation is setting in as the sheer scope of present social and economic change appear to outstrip the capacity of national

governments or citizens to control, contest or resist the undesirable effects. The limits to national sovereignty and democratic political action, in many countries, are ascribed to globalisation. Countries with impoverished, disadvantaged and desperate populations are potential breeding grounds for present and future terrorists. We cannot cover fire with paper. (President Mkapa, 2004)

Collectively, the thoughts of world leaders, visionaries, spiritual and grass roots leaders, psychologists, and conflict resolution professionals presented here reflect a great deal of understanding of the dynamics of conflict both at a macro and a micro (inter and intrapersonal) level. Boutros-Boutros Ghali's realization of the importance of intervening at the earliest possible moment, Mkapa's awareness of the global breeding grounds for discontent and terrorism, and McNamara's stance on weapons and public dialogue combined with the views of Jung, Lasswell, Laing, Goleman, King, Gandhi, Mindell, Audergon and others, combine to frame a path of intervention that begins with a deeply personal exploration. Ury calls those people who are on this path *the new warriors* (1999).

The New Warriors

The work of centralizing psycho-spiritual awareness in conflict work can be done by the UN, world, national, or organization leaders but it can be done by you, me, and everyone else. Here are three examples of Ury's new warriors:

In Rwanda, a Tutsi woman who watched her husband and son hacked to death by a deranged Hutu who was caught up in the madness of the Rwandan genocide of 1994, was also attacked by that same man but lived. Years later she was doing truth and reconciliation work in the prisons. She saw him there but he saw her too and hid. It took her months to get close enough to talk to him. He naturally assumed

that she wanted to kill him. Years later, thanks to her efforts and the time and care she spent working with him, he is now free. This man not only returned to the same village where the woman still lives, but they share the same roof. (Watchtower, 2004)

In Washington, Democratic and Republican Congress people met together on a weekend in March of 1999. The animosity between them had become so bitter that the Congress couldn't function. They met to improve their working relationships and to transcend party politics. (Ury, 1999, p. 138)

During the last two centuries, no two liberal representative governments with juridical rights for their citizens have gone to war with each other (Ury, 1999, p. 96).

These are not unrelated acts. They are part of the same trend and the same timespirit. The spirit of deep democracy is growing at a grassroots people-to-people level as well as at a global level. This is not primarily or even necessarily an altruistic movement. Martin Luther King said that the choice for black Americans struggling against racism during the civil rights movement of the 1960s was between nonviolence and nonexistence (1986). Nelson Mandela wondered what kind of country would be left for blacks to inherit if they did not cooperate with the whites (1995).

There is a shift in consciousness from a view that says I will cooperate once I understand the benefits to me to a view that says I will cooperate because I believe that it ultimately will increase the benefits to me although I may not directly understand exactly how in this moment. This is not an altruistic view, which might say something like: I will

cooperate even though it will cost me a lot because I believe it is the right thing to do. Not that this distinction matters, ultimately. But the former is more readily sellable.

The skills of conflict resolution are intensely personal, require years of practice, and a deep personal transformation. On a practical level, conflict resolution practitioners can improve their ability to understand a conflict, to facilitate it effectively, and to transform it by first discovering all of the roles and tensions of the conflict reflected within themselves and their own relationships. There is a path of warriorship inherent in the exploration of these roles and tensions and their associated rank, power, and privilege issues. This warriorship requires developing skills at all levels of consciousness by closely following signals (nonverbal body cues, linguistics, synchronicities, their own sensory experience, etc.) and discovering the deeper meaning that often lies hidden behind them. In practice, this requires developing an attitude of openness to deep democracy: a belief in the importance of the feelings, experience, and visions of others.

John Paul Lederach says, "The journey toward reconciliation is not a path for the weak and feeble. Facing oneself and one's own fears and anxieties demands an outward *and* an inward journey." (1999, p. 24) This is a difficult journey not only for the people in conflict, but for the facilitators, meditators, citizen diplomates, and peacebuilders who want to help and ultimately, ideally, for all of us.

In summary:

- A key level of analysis for understanding the world of conflict is the internal awareness of leaders and conflict practitioners.
- There are psychological theories that support this assumption.
- There is data from large scale conflict that supports this view.

· The skills and metaskills of warriorship and eldership can be learned and can

improve an individual's ability to lead or facilitate conflict.

I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our
governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days
governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.
—Dwight D. Eisenhower

Section Three: Spirituality & Awareness-Based Paradigms

The most fundamental forum is your own heart.
Both as a facilitator and as a human being,
you must learn to hear yourself there. – Arnold Mindell

This section explores the spiritual basis of awareness-based paradigms. In

connection with the focus on conflict, spirituality is viewed from the perspective of the

spiritual warrior and eldership. For the purpose of this study, the warrior is someone who

has the courage to know herself or who faces her own fear. (Parry, 1991, p. 6) These are

examined through the lens of Process Work.

Spiritual warriorship is a disciplined practice of learning to deepen one's

perceptions, to unfold the meaning of experience, and to use perception and meaning for

the benefit of others. In the following quote, Einstein describes the merits of diving into the

world of "objective perception and thought":

. . . one of the strongest motives that lead men to art and science is escape from

everyday life with its painful crudity and hopeless dreariness, from the fetters of

one's own ever-shifting desires. A finely tempered nature longs to escape from the

personal life into the world of objective perception and thought. (Einstein, 2004)

Einstein's remarks highlight a connection between innerwork and its outer impact.

When one endeavors to use or to direct one's inner experience in a particular way that

includes a self-reflective metaposition, that is innerwork. The merits and importance of innerwork extend beyond relief from the dreariness of everyday life. Just as people often begin psychotherapy to relieve their own suffering, the benefits of their work often extend beyond their own inner life, and have positive impact on their relationships, their work life, and their communities.

Similarly, while spiritual warriorship gives direction and meaning to the world of perception, as Gandhi maintained, it is ultimately a political practice. What is the practice? What are the techniques? What is the impact on the outer world? And what is the underlying philosophy and attitude of a warrior?

> . . . a warrior is defined as "an impeccable hunter of personal power." The quest for personal power is a quest for evolution, not for domination. It is a quest designed to bring you face to face with your magnificence. You will discover barriers to manifesting this magnificence, and you will find that you need to change your mind. (Spencer, 1993, p. x)

Innerwork is about changing your mind. Gandhi's practice of inner work and spiritual warriorship led him to spend years meditating on the *Bhagavad Gita* (Gandhi, 2000). What did he learn from this? This section explores these questions through examining various traditions of innerwork and spiritual warriorship and discusses their relevance to the facilitation of conflict.

Forms of Innerwork

Many indigenous traditions practice innerwork in various forms: ritual, trance dance, vision quest, sweat lodge, chanting, and hallucinogenic experiences. Meditation, one

form of innerwork, is the foundation of the Eastern traditions of Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sikhism.[40] There are also innerwork practices in the Abrahamic traditions as well: chanting, Sufi zikr, meditation, and prayer, for example.

The goal of innerwork varies. A common debate in Christianity, for example, deals with whether or not innerwork is a practice meant to align the worshiper with the orthodox divinity outside of oneself or the divine that exists within (Pagels, 1989). There is a similar divide in Islam wherein some want to fight an external *jihad,* killing infidels, and others see the struggle as being an inner *jihad* (especially in Sufism), struggling for inner moral purity, awareness, and alignment with Allah (Pourafzal & Montgomery, 1998). Buddhism sees the struggle as being between various forces in the mind, "To practice Buddhism is to wage a struggle between the negative and the positive forces in your mind" (The Dalai Lama, 1995, p. 1).

Innerwork can also be practiced without a religious foundation. Einstein, for example, said, "My religion consists of a humble admiration of the illimitable superior spirit who reveals himself in the slight details we are able to perceive with our frail and feeble mind" (Einstein, 2004). Hafiz, a 14th century Persian poet who is claimed by many Muslims and Sufis as being one of their own—despite the fact that he rejected all religiosity as being dogmatic, and despite the fact that over half of his work was destroyed for being anti-Islamic—wrote, "Love is my religion. The cosmos is my book," (Hafiz, 2003).

One non-religious form is *Vipassana*—the basic technique of meditation taught by Siddhartha Gotama, the Buddha, twenty five hundred years ago—which involves nothing more than maintaining awareness of the body and its sensations without judgment,

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[40] Sikhism: A religious group that broke away from Hinduism during the 16th century and advocated a monotheistic doctrine, incorporating some aspects of Islam (Encarta, 2005).

attachment, aversion, or reaction. S.N. Goenka, a Burmese Vipassana teacher, says that Vipassana meditation by itself is not Buddhism: Buddhism is what has happened over the centuries as Siddhartha's teachings and this technique melded with other traditions after his death (Vipassana Meditation Center, 2001).

Another form of innerwork is *pranayama*, a simple technique of meditation that involves controlling the breath in order to heighten awareness. Yoga and other forms of bodywork become innerwork when the locus of attention shifts from the mechanical and health benefits of the practice to the inner benefits. Another yogic technique from Hinduism and Sufism is to hold awareness of the body's energy centers, the chakras, and to open them to the free flow of energy (Mindell, 1982).

Relevance of Innerwork

> If you bring forth what is within you,
> What you bring forth will save you.
> If you do not bring forth what is within you,
> What you do not bring forth will destroy you.
> —Jesus, The Gospel of Thomas – 70

Why do innerwork? What is the point? When is it needed? What can it do? What is the difference between the more extroverted methods of Western psychotherapy and innerwork in general or the innerwork of spiritual warriorship and how do these relate to conflict resolution?

Taken to an extreme, innerwork can be said to be a way to avoid life and its difficulties. On the other hand, avoiding one's inner experience and living only through extroverted experiences has its own problems. According to Arny Mindell this lack of inner

experience on the part of clinical psychologists causes certain problems and the same concerns can be extrapolated to conflict facilitation. This lack of inner experience:

- Cuts us off from an empathetic understanding of introverted processes such as silence, non-verbal communications, withdrawn states, catatonia and comatose conditions.

- Makes us fear, neglect, and inhibit our own and our clients' internal experiences when these try to surface.

- Makes it difficult for us to deal with negative transference situations, and so forces the work out of our given psychological programme [sic].

- Makes us depend excessively upon colleagues, police, and hospitals.

- Tends to make clients overly dependent upon us since little effort is made to teach them how to work alone. (Arnold Mindell, 2002e, p. 4)

Various techniques, taken on their own, tend to fragment experience. For example, Patricia Deer researched the effect of massages on people involved in conflict resolution workshops (Deer, 1999). The people, of course, reported great benefits from the body work. Although beneficial bodywork alone does not necessarily do anything to bring awareness to the relationship between the body's tensions and the source of the tensions (Mindell, 1982).

Similarly, family systems or relationship therapies do not necessarily highlight or integrate the relationship between family and relationship dynamics and the individual's worldly difficulties, body symptoms, or inner world. Due to the inherent interconnection between the body's stresses and relationship dynamics, and the connection between relationship dynamics and world channel issues, Process Work sees this fragmentation as

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being potentially dangerous. Having a massage to relieve the stress without also processing the tension itself, is like painting a wall to hide the cracks. It may work in that the wall appears to be fine and the client feels good momentarily, but the wall will still fall down.

Process Work provides various tools to further the ability of facilitators to work with their own awareness, signals and double signals, somatic experience and states of consciousness, in a long term process of development as well as enabling them to unfold these experiences in the middle of complex interactions.

Process Oriented Innerwork

There is a philosophical attitude behind process oriented innerwork. Developing this attitude is itself a spiritual path and requires a discipline of noticing, unfolding, understanding, and integrating that which does not necessarily go along with the our normal and everyday identity and experience. It is an attitude of curiosity, a belief in the importance of all of the parts, and a reverence for the magic of it all.

This attitude requires a fluid identity and a fluid identity requires the discipline of a spiritual warrior. Spiritual warriorship is a disciplined attitude towards one's spiritual development. In other words, someone who takes a disciplined approach to "daring the truth" about oneself, learns to follow her own inner process and ultimately takes responsibility for her troubles.

This section's opening poem by Howard Thurman, a black preacher and mystic, the first black dean at a white university, co-founder of the first interracially pastored church in the US, and spiritual advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr., reflects the level of integrity and personal self reflection that is part of a spiritual warrior's path (1999).

"Critical" self reflection is not the same as self criticism. Critical self reflection includes an attitude of unconditional love for one's self and for others and for all of the parts, feelings, thoughts, attitudes, dream figures, tendencies, and flirts and may be the *sine qua non* of eldership. Dr. King wrote:

> A . . . point that must be brought out concerning the method of nonviolence is that this method not only avoids external physical violence, but also [avoids] internal violence of spirit. At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity the oppressed people of the world must not succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter or indulging in hate campaigns. (1986, p. 87)

How does one go about avoiding internal violence of spirit? The first step is to become aware of the internal violence. The Dalai Lama writes: "Changes begin when you first identify and recognize your delusions, such as anger and jealousy" (The Dalai Lama, 1995, p. 1). Whether seeking to "dare the truth" about oneself, find the religion of love, the "book" in the cosmos, develop Einstein's "illimitable superior spirit who reveals himself in the slight details," or to identify and recognize one's delusions, the process begins and ends with perception.

The attitude and the fluidity brought about by this path is called eldership in Process Work. An elder is someone who supports others and their experiences, their pain and troubles, even their violence (in a particular way) while encouraging them to use their awareness to change. ". . . an altruistic wish is naturally present within our hearts in the acknowledgement that others are just like us in wishing to be happy and to avoid suffering" (The Dalai Lama, 1995, p. 5). Mindell, expanding upon this, writes:

The fluid ego[41] is more flexible than the chronological observer who relates

everything to his [or her] time and space, seeing the world in a solid, frozen static

state. The fluid ego lets go of his identification with time, space and cultural

tradition, with his conscious intent and primary processes.[42] He temporarily lets his

definition of himself and the world stop and experiences its tendencies and

strangeness as part of himself. He steps over his edges,[43] follows his secondary

processes,[44] guided by momentary experiences and not by a prearranged reality

program. When this person gets sick or has trouble with his world he experiences

his body and world as a dreambody or a dream-world process, not as a disease or

outer problem but as something which he is trying to express. Conflicts in

relationships are battles he is having with himself, moods are gradients and paths

along which he may temporarily choose to move. He becomes an unpredictable

and mercurial person who lives in one world, participating in it as if it were him and

as if he were one of its vital parts. He does not observe synchronicities but feels

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[41] This quote comes from Mindell's earliest work, which was written in 1983. The term ego is not used generally in Process Work and could be replaced here with the terms fluid identity or fluid primary process. Once an ego or a rigid primary process becomes expandable and fluid it is no longer an ego. Because it changes, the ego is less of a role and more of a time-spirit. (Mindell, 2005b; Mindell, 2005b)

[42] Primary Process: The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's normal identity. It is a process because it changes with time.

[43] An edge is the limit of what we can perceive, think, communicate, or believe we can do. Structurally speaking, an edge separates the primary from the secondary process. (Revar, 2004)

[44] Secondary Process: The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's disavowed identity. It is a process because it changes with time. The secondary process includes experiences that we do not perceive as belonging to our personal identity. We perceive them either as happening to us or as emotions and experiences that we do not identify with: such as anger, fear, power, and spiritual connection. Often we project these aspects onto people we view as the enemy or people who we see as being inherently different than us. We may marginalize or admire these qualities, assuming inferior or superior traits in other groups.

processes occurring in outer channels and experiences events as "agreements," of his path.[45] (1989a, p. 65)

Hence, inner work is a practice of perception leading to greater awareness. And yet, awareness is not enough for change to occur. One must not only want to change. According to Dr. King, the desire to change also has to be held with an internal nonviolence of spirit. That are various approaches to helping people understand and cultivate these attitudes. One approach, known as Spiritual Eldering, is discussed in the next section.

Spiritual Eldering

The Wise are wise only because they love.
» Paulo Coelho

Spiritual Eldering was developed by Rabbi Zalman Schaachter-Shalomi, president of the Spiritual Eldering Institute and World Wisdom Chair at Naropa Institute, and focuses on the importance of meaning and love:

> . . . after you grow out of the issues of libido and the issues of power (so you are done with the Freud stuff and with the Adler stuff), you get a little bit more into the young creative artist of Rank and then Jung and the archetypal great visions. But when you get somewhat older, you see that what keeps you going every day is the fact that you have covenants of love and meaning with other people—and that you are looking forward to the next stage of life to be able to fulfill your part in these covenants. (Lakritz & Knoblauch, 1999, pp. ix-x)

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[45]   Mindell put "agreements" in quotation marks with an endnote referring to Castaneda's *Journey to Ixtlan* (Castaneda, 1972).

This model clearly describes personal development as a linear process and equates this growth process with a chronological process, which it often is, although elders of all ages often appear even if only to fill the role of eldership momentarily. Aging, and the effects on the body, are one metaphor, one source of experience, that helps people develop the wisdom of eldership.

The term "spiritual eldering" was coined by Reb Zalman to provide a moniker for the potential and process that is open to adults in the context of growing older. It is the path of possibility that lies within the aging process, a pilgrimage of sorts toward finding meaning, purpose and wisdom in our years. For sojourners from all faiths and belief backgrounds, however, we sometimes find it difficult to understand the core ideals of "spiritual eldering" and "sage-ing"---the concept of "conscious aging." . . . . What does it mean to say that Conscious Aging represents a new form of "growth" in later adulthood? It means that Conscious Aging amounts to a higher level of functioning correlated to the distinct chronological stage of later adulthood. Both level and stage, hierarchy and chronology, are included in this definition of "Conscious Aging." (Spiritual Eldering Institute, 2003)

A process oriented view maintains that the spiritual elder, the sage, and the one who ages consciously, are roles. As roles they are not necessarily tied to chronological stages of development, nor available only in later adulthood. Also, while the patterns Rabbi Zalman described previously of working through Freudian and Jungian stuff may be common patterns, Process Work does not stress any developmental model. These too are roles and processes that happen at various times throughout life and can happen at any age. Perception can be used to bring awareness to these roles and processes. What are the basic

practices of using perception to develop awareness? Vipassana, which means *insight*

meditation, is one of many examples of a practice that is based on sensory perception.

The Sacred Path of the Warrior

> Loneliness is a word to describe the agony of being alone.
> Solitude is one to describe the joy of being alone. –Tillich

In *Shambhala: The Sacred Path of the Warrior*, Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche

(1984) presents "a manual for people who have lost the principles of sacredness, dignity,

and warriorship in their lives" (p. 25) and boldly names the first section "Creating an

Enlightened Society" (p. 25).

> The Shambhala teachings are founded on the premise that there is basic human
>
> wisdom that can help to solve the world's problems. This wisdom does not belong
>
> to any one culture or religion, nor does it come only from the West or the East.
>
> Rather, it is a tradition of human warriorship that has existed in many cultures at
>
> many times throughout history. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 25)
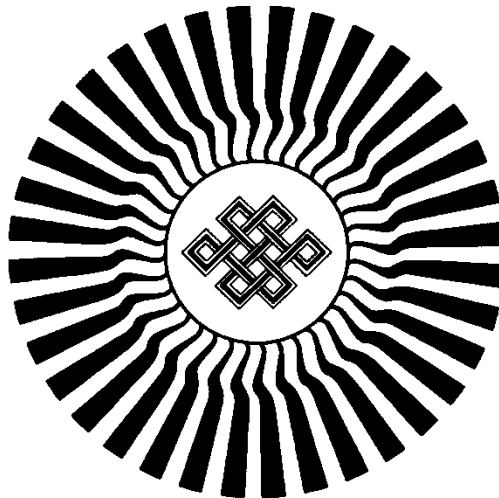
Figure 8: Great Eastern Sun from Tibetan Shambhala Tradition (Trungpa, 1984, p. 57)

This practice of looking towards expansive, positive possibility is referred to as looking towards the Great Eastern Sun (see Figure 8 below). Its opposite, the setting-sun world, includes attitudes, views, and practices that are based on fear or are not sustainable as they do not appreciate and care for themselves, others, or for future generations. "Having never developed sympathy or gentleness towards themselves, they cannot experience harmony or peace within themselves, and therefore, what they project to others is also inharmonious and confused"(Trungpa, 1984, p. 35).

This practice is based on "seeing what is needed and how things happen organically" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 58). It sees life as a natural process without imposed order or hierarchy. The natural hierarchy and brilliance in the world is "the innate wakefulness of human beings" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 58). The difficulty in realizing that innate wakefulness lies in being honest with ourselves. "We have to shed any hesitation about being honest with ourselves because it might be unpleasant" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 59).

This practice of looking toward the Great Eastern Sun while also being aware of the other setting-sun world parallels the Sufi concept of bi-luminosity as described in poems by Hafiz. *Tabalvor-e* mozaaf, a Farsi phrase, refers to the quality of bi-luminosity, or of

> . . . the process of simultaneous enlightenment from two sources, both from personal involvement in the human mystery and from direct perception of divine inspiration. Bi-luminosity embraces humanity's initial perception of duality and purposefully projects a balanced world of unity. (Pourafzal & Montgomery, 1998, p. 45)

To be a warrior is to learn to be genuine in every moment of your life. That is the warrior's discipline. Discipline, in this sense, is not about punishing yourself for failures.

Rather, it is about becoming "thoroughly gentle and genuine," while working to overcome selfishness and promote egolessness in yourself and others.

> Discipline shows you how to make the journey of warriorship. It guides you in the way of the warrior and shows you how to live in the warrior's world. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 71)

This is basically an awareness process of gradually increasing and extending one's sensitivity, discriminating awareness, and skillful intelligence towards oneself, others, and the world while developing gentleness, compassion, and warmth for others. This cannot be done without first developing gentleness, compassion, and warmth for oneself.

> A human being is a part of a whole, called by us "universe," a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest . . . a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty. (Einstein, 2004)

"In the Shambhala tradition meditation is simply training our state of being so that our mind and body can be synchronized" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 37). Also, there is a metaskill of curiosity towards the world around us. There is a skill of gentleness, which is like a bow, and sharpness, which is like an arrow. The two, joined together, bring an ability to discriminate between indulging in either the setting-sun world or the Great Eastern Sun. Shooting the arrow, whether your awareness is on target or not, there will be a message. There will be feedback.

When you trust in those messages, the reflections of the phenomenal world, the world begins to seem like a bank, or reservoir, of richness. You feel that you are living in a rich world, one that never runs out of messages. A problem arises only if you try to manipulate a situation to your advantage or ignore it. Then you are violating your relationship of trust with the phenomenal world, so then the reservoir might dry up. But usually you will get a message first. If you are being too arrogant, you will find yourself being pushed down by heaven, and if you are being too timid, you will find yourself being raised up by earth. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 73)

The unwavering sun of discipline provides a path of exertion and joy that allows you to make your journey, while the bow and arrow principle provides a weapon to overcome temptation and penetrate the vast reservoir of resources in the phenomenal world. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 74)

Windhorse

The final aspect of the warrior's discipline is meditative awareness. The two principles of discipline and the bow and arrow require the attitude and practice of meditative awareness with each breath so that balance may be regained with each misstep, and so that the messages of feedback from the world can be noticed, interpreted, and integrated. Learning to live this way, to stay grounded in the saddle of warriorship, to stay open to your own basic goodness while avoiding any tendencies towards depression, shame, or addictions to various sources of energy, leads one to find her own self-existing source of energy. This is called *windhorse* in the Shambhala tradition. *Wind* is the strong, exuberant energy of basic goodness while the *horse* is the principle that basic goodness can

be ridden. Following the discipline of warriorship helps in overcoming fear and in harnessing the wind of goodness.

In order to experience fearlessness, it is necessary to experience fear. The essence of cowardice is not acknowledging the reality of fear. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 47)

Trungpa maintains that fearlessness is developed by working with the softness of the human heart. "When we slow down, when we relax with our fear, we find sadness, which is calm and gentle" (Trungpa, 1984, pp. 48-49). Sadness brings tears. It is the openness to perception and to these feelings, to sadness and to loneliness, emotions that are generally avoided, that is the path to fearlessness. This is the first glimpse of the Great Eastern Sun, "the sun of human dignity, the sun of human power . . . the rising of human warriorship" through synchronizing mind and body (Trungpa, 1984, p. 54).

༄༅། །དོག་སྐྱུག་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་ས་སྲེད། །ཁྱམས་པའི་མདོང་རང་དག་ཏུ་བཅུག
ཧྲག་ཏུ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པ་ཡི། །རྦ་ཆེ་ངགས་ས་བའི་ནོ་ལ་བསྐུན།
འཧྲོགས་ལ་མེད་པའི་གྲིབ་བསིལ་དུ། །དགའ་ཆེ་སྐྱོ་བའི་རྡུང་ག་ཡབ་གཡོག
དེ་ལས་ན་ཚོ་དགྱས་པ་ན། །ལྱིད་པའི་རྣོས་ག་ར་སྐུ་ཚོག་ས་ཀྱེས།
རང་བྱུ་ཇེ་ད་མོའི་ར་བར་བྱེད། །དེ་ལས་ན་ཚོ་ཆེ་རྒྱས་པས།
གདོད་སྨྱེ་གཉི་འཧྲད་སྲེལ་བའི་ཕྱིར། །དཔའ་པོའི་མདའ་ར་དག་ཏུ་བྱེད།
དེ་ལས་ན་ཚོ་ཆེ་རྒྱས་པས། །གདོ་མའི་རང་ག་ཤེས་སད་པའི་ཕྱིར།
མཇོས་སྲིང་གཉི་འཧྲད་ལྱུན་པ་ཡི། །ཨེ་ཡེ་སྲེ་པར་བལྱུ་རུ་བཅུག
དོག་སྐྱུག་ཅན་གྱི་ས་ལས་དེ་ཉིད། །དཔའ་པོའི་ས་ལས་སུ་འཅྱུར་སྲིད་ཅིང་།
ཧྲག་ཏུ་གཉིན་པའི་གཉི་འཧྲོ་དེ། །ཧྲིག་མཐའ་མེད་པའི་མཁའ་ར་འཧྲལ།
དེ་ཚོ་ལ་ར་ཆེན་ཉི་མ་མཐོང་།།

Figure 9: Sacredness: The Warrior's World (Trungpa, 1984, p. 88)

Figure 9 above translates as:

> That mind of fearfulness
> Should be put in the cradle of loving-kindness
> And suckled with the profound and brilliant milk
> 　　Of eternal doubtlessness.
> In the cool shade of fearlessness,
> Fan it with the fan of joy and happiness.
> When it grows older,
> With various displays of phenomena,
> Lead it to the self-existing playground.
> When it grows older still,
> In order to promote the primordial confidence,
> Lead it to the archery range of the warriors.
> When it grows older still,
> To awaken primordial self-nature,
> Let it see the society of men
> Which possesses beauty and dignity.
> Then the fearful mind
> Can change into the warrior's mind,
> And that eternally youthful confidence
> Can expand into space without beginning or end.
> At that point it sees the Great Eastern Sun. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 89)

The warrior is sensitive to every aspect of her experience, including her own sadness and loneliness. "What the warrior renounces is anything in his experience that is a barrier between himself and others. In other words, renunciation is making yourself more available, more gentle and open to others" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 65).

Although the warrior's life is dedicated to helping others, he realizes that he will never be able to completely share his experience with others. The fullness of [her or] his experience is his own, and he must live with his own truth. Yet he is more and more in love with the world. That combination of love affair and loneliness is what enables the warrior to constantly reach out to help others. By renouncing his

private world, the warrior discovers a greater universe and a fuller and fuller broken heart. That is not something to feel bad about: it is a cause of rejoicing. It is entering the warrior's world. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 69)

Warriorship, in this sense, is not a state, a static way of being, or a destination. It is a journey, a path, and a process. "To be a warrior is to learn to be genuine in every moment of your life" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 70). It is not for the purpose of gaining "unnatural power over the phenomenal world, but rather the discovery of innate or primordial wisdom in the world as it is" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 103). In Tibetan, this natural wisdom is called *drala*—from *dra,* "enemy," and *la,* "beyond": meaning that which is beyond conflict or dualism. The key is in realizing that our own human wisdom is not separate from nature.

> The point of warriorship is to become a gentle and tamed human being who can make a genuine contribution to this world. The warrior's journey is based on discovering what is intrinsically good about human existence and how to share that basic nature of goodness with others. There is a natural order and harmony to this world, which we can discover. But we cannot just study that order scientifically or measure it mathematically. We have to feel it—in our bones, in our hearts, in our minds. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 126)

The Politics of Shambhala Warriorship

> The most unpardonable sin in society is independence of thought.
> » Emma Goldman

Warriorship is not only a personal path: It is also collective and political. One expression of the greater vision of warriorship lies in a connection and comradeship with the greater human society and appreciation for the world and our collective challenges. In

this sense, it is not enough to feel compassion and connection with others. Abstractly caring for others is not enough. The practice has to be grounded in the actual experiences, signals, "messages," and feedback of others as they exist now, in the moment.

"When corruption enters a culture, it is because that culture ceases to be *now*; it becomes past and future" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 96). This means that the culture is no longer able to experience the messages that are present for it now, in the present moment. The culture is attached to some moment of the past or the future. It can no longer experience now. In essence, there is no feedback loop. A culture that ceases to be *now* has become like a panicked horse running wild with no rider to direct it or to calm its fear. It is reacting to a ghost role, a dream figure from another time.

Ram Dass is famous for saying "be here now," which is also the title of one of his books. The comedian Lily Tomlin lightened this up a bit when she said, "Don't be late for now!" These are humorous aphorisms for living authentically, but there is a greater vision behind them. "The vision of enlightened society is that tradition and culture and wisdom and dignity can be experienced *now* and kept *now* on everyone's part. In that way there can never be corruption of any kind at all" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 97).

In the Shambhala tradition, the practice of personal growth is inherently political. The vision that there can never be any kind of corruption, is just that: a vision and a high dream. The Shambhala vision is not a fantasy: it is a high dream to be pursued.

> Any perception can connect us to reality properly and fully. What we see doesn't have to be pretty, particularly; we can appreciate anything that exists. There is some principle of magic in everything, some living quality. Something living, something real, is taking place in everything. (Trungpa, 1984, p. 99)

This is the ground of *nowness,* which is connecting to the essence of sentience, before it is shaped by the form imposed by history. It is, in a sense, a primordial essence. It is a cosmic mirror, free from bias or distortion, hope or fear. The ground of now-ness, the foundation to being in the moment, is the vastness of perception: feelings, sounds, sights, smells, tastes that we have never experienced before.

Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche (1984) describes in great detail how to follow the path of a warrior although he does not address the sorts of problems that keep people from being able to actually walk the path. Castaneda (1972) provides some practical techniques, and a parallel philosophy for warriorship, which is summarized in the next section. Following that, drawing on Trungpa, Mindell, and Castaneda; Jytte Vikkelsoe (1997) addresses one major obstacle to spiritual warriorship, which is the effects of trauma, in her model of trauma and the wounding cycle beginning on page 221.

A warrior could be injured but not offended, he said. For a warrior there is nothing offensive about the acts of his fellow men as long as he himself is acting within the proper mood.

The other night you were not offended by the [mountain] lion. The fact that it chased us did not anger you. I did not hear you cursing it, nor did I hear you say that he had no right to follow us. It could have been a cruel and malicious lion for all you know. But that was not a consideration while you struggled to avoid it. The only thing that was pertinent was to survive. And that you did very well.

If you would have been alone and the lion had caught up with you and mauled you to death, you would have never even considered complaining or feeling offended by its acts.

The mood of a warrior is not so far-fetched for yours or anybody's world. You need it in order to cut through all the guff.

I explained my way of reasoning. The lion and my fellow men were not on a par, because I knew the intimate quirks of men while I know nothing about the lion. What offended me about my fellow men was that they acted maliciously and knowingly.

I know, I know, don Juan said patiently. To achieve the mood of a warrior is not a simple matter. It is a revolution. To regard the lion and the water rats and our fellow men as equals is a magnificent act of the warrior's spirit. It takes power to do that. (Castaneda, 1972, p. 151)

The title of *Journey to Ixtlan's* (Castaneda, 1972) first section, "Stopping the World," refers to a practice of shifting one's consciousness or view point (which Castaneda[46] refers to as shifting one's assemblage point) from consensus reality to another

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[46] Carlos Castaneda is a complicated character. There are many critics who claim that his adventures with don Juan Matus, his alleged Yaqui Indian informant, sorcerer, and mentor, never happened. Also, Castaneda's earlier books resonated with the drug culture of young Americans of the 60's causing further criticism. However, in his later books Castaneda admitted that the substances weren't actually necessary and claims that don Juan said that he (Carlos) had only taken them so many times because he was stupid. The philosophy presented through his books, whether authentically indigenous or fictionalized or not, contributes to this study of the innerwork of spiritual warriorship. His third book, Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of don Juan, provides the most concise presentation of this philosophy. My attention here is on the philosophy and attitude of warriorship and not on the techniques presented by Castaneda.

level. This parallels Plato's (1997) description of consensus reality being like a shadow in a cave—it is related to the dancers casting the shadow but it is not reality.

Similarly, Castaneda (1972) maintains that since birth we all endure the best of efforts of those around us to instill in us a genuine conviction that the shadow is reality but what we hold in mind as the world at hand (the shadow) is merely a description of the world (p. 9). One aspect of this is to use events in the world surrounding us, interpreting them as messages from a separate reality. For example, when the wind suddenly blows rattling the bushes, it may be the wind affirming a statement that was just made. This seems irrational and mysterious, and yet:

> The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and all science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger, who can no longer pause to wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead: his eyes are closed. (Einstein, 2004)

The path of warriorship involves cultivating an openness to and respect for the mysterious. One particularly unusual aspect of the mysterious is our identity. Castaneda (1972) proposes the following approach to and importance of developing a conscious ability to dissociate from this identity in the next section.

Erasing Personal History

> "Your father knows everything about you," he said. "So he has you all figured out. He knows who you are and what you do, and there is no power on earth that can make him change his mind about you."
>
> Don Juan said that everybody that knew me had an idea about me, and that I kept feeding that idea with everything I did. "Don't you see?" he asked

dramatically. "You must renew your personal history by telling your parents, your relatives, and your friends everything you do. On the other hand, if you have no personal history, no explanations are needed; nobody is angry or disillusioned with your acts. And above all no one pins you down with their thoughts." (Castaneda, 1972, p. 30)

One of the consequences of watching the shadows is that we develop a personal history and think that we are who we are. This results in a rigid and static identity. Erasing personal history means realizing that personal history is no more who we are than a movie we watched last night is who we are. Castaneda (1968) also refers to this as dropping your identity. In a sense it is not possible for me to be anything other than a white male, for example. On the other hand it is possible for me to develop greater fluidity around my identity than merely that of a white male. Dropping one's identity takes what don Juan calls power. It is difficult to do. We feel threatened, lonely, and uncomfortable without it. Dropping our identity is what don Juan calls a magnificent act of the warrior's spirit. It takes power to do this. "It is best to erase all personal history . . . because that would make us free from the encumbering thoughts of other people" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 32). Self importance is one aspect of personal history.

> You're so damn important that you can afford to leave if things don't go your way. I suppose you think that shows you have character. That's nonsense! You're weak, and conceited! (Castaneda, 1972, p. 41)

Behind this attitude is the idea of taking personal responsibility for everything: for one's decisions and for the troubles that one encounters in life. Even an inner critic, or isolating one's acts as mean or evil, is based on self importance.

Nothing is as important as this day.
» Goethe

Whatever you are doing now may be your last act on earth. There is no power that can guarantee that you are going to live for one more minute. If you knew that, you would be a hunter and not waste your last act on earth in some stupid mood. You agree. But agreeing is only another stupid mood and a way of avoiding changing. You must, instead of agreeing, act. Change. The change I am talking about never takes place by degrees; it happens suddenly. And you are not preparing yourself for that sudden act that will bring a total change. There are some people who are very careful about the nature of their acts. Their happiness is to act with the full knowledge that they don't have time; therefore, their acts have a peculiar sense of power. There is a strange consuming happiness in acting with the full knowledge that whatever one is doing may very well be one's last act on earth. I recommend that you reconsider your life and bring your acts into that light. (Castaneda, 1972, pp. 109-110)[47]

I have often heard this expressed as, "if you knew that today were your last day, what would you do?" But, for me, that is not quite right. If I know that today is to be my last, I will do very different things than I will do if I live each moment as if it might be my last. In the former case I might choose to repair a relationship, be with friends, walk in the forest, or to hold a lover. But if I live as if each moment might be my last I will address relationships as soon as any problem is apparent, I will walk in whatever forest surrounds

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[47]   This paragraph has been paraphrased to make it more readable.

me in every moment, and I will hold my lover in every moment, together or apart. Living

as if each moment may be the last while maintaining awareness is the goal of warriorship.

Dreaming

The Wise are wise only because they love.
—Paulo Coelho

Don Juan dismisses nighttime dreams completely. "They are only dreams. Like the

dreams of any ordinary dreamer, they don't have power." (Castaneda, 1972, p. 118) But he

embraces *dreaming*: "You call them dreams because you have no power. A warrior, being

a man who seeks power, doesn't call them dreams, he calls them real." (Castaneda, 1972,

p. 119)

> *Dreaming* is real for a warrior because in it he can act deliberately, he can choose
>
> and reject, he can select from a variety of items those which lead to power, and then
>
> he can manipulate them and use them, while in an ordinary dream he cannot act
>
> deliberately (Castaneda, 1972, pp. 119-120).

In a sense *dreaming* is more real than consensus reality. "In *dreaming* you have

power; you can change things; you may find out countless concealed facts; you can control

whatever you want" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 120). This is similar to Jungian active imagination

(Jung, 1997) and process oriented lucid dreaming (Mindell, 2000a).

"A man hunting for power has almost no limits in his *dreaming*" (Castaneda, 1972,

p. 126). For example, don Juan uses seeming inconsistencies in the visual channel—a rock

or log that looks like an animal in the twilight—as opportunities to "stop the world,"

allowing the imaginal *dreaming* to unfold in a powerful vision and stopping the normal

projection of consensus reality images onto the setting. Whether this happens in nighttime

or daytime *dreaming* is irrelevant. Power kept the animal alive. That reality is as real as that in which it is only a rock.

Don Juan's views regarding warriorship seem extremely onesided in moments when he makes statements against victimhood. For example, "Nobody is doing anything to anybody, much less to a warrior" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 139). From a particular point of view there are no victims and no oppressors and every experience is a chance to gather power through increasing one's awareness. On the other hand, differences in rank and privilege clearly give some people the upper hand while others are unable to defend themselves. Somebody is doing something to them. Although, they also have an opportunity, despite horrific abuse, to adopt a warrior-like attitude and find meaning in the experience as, for example, Viktor Frankl, Anne Frank, Elie Weisel, and others were able to do even in the hell of Nazi death camps. Unfortunately, it is a rare individual who manages to accomplish this feat in life. Don Juan maintains that a warrior could be injured, but not offended. It takes power to maintain this attitude, to stay centered, and to not be offended while being injured.

It also takes power to intentionally maintain the sort of visual and auditory inconsistencies that we normally refer to as hallucinations. Castaneda, however, maintains that consensus reality is only so surprisingly consistent because it is so well known to us. Einstein allegedly said, "Reality is merely an illusion, albeit a very persistent one." Castaneda maintains that any other realm can be as easily accessed once it is well known. Power, in this sense, is about developing the ability to notice, experience, sustain, and access other realities fluidly. "Stopping the world" involves suspending our normal projections of reality so that we can experience another.

Don Juan describes well-being as a condition one has to groom, a condition that is initially unknown. Paradoxically, it first must become familiar so that it can be sought. "He said that the only thing I [Castaneda] knew how to seek was a sense of disorientation, ill-being, and confusion" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 221). Either way, the amount of work is the same, but the emphasis differs. Changing the emphasis takes power. Our everyday mind says, "Is this true," and tries to find the rational consensus explanation for experience. From the perspective of someone who is hunting power, trying to develop her warriorship, it does not matter. "The most difficult part about the warrior's way is to realize that the world is a feeling" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 232). Our normal visual, audio, and proprioceptive connection with the world is an illusion, which is not to say that the world does not exist; only that it does not exist as we normally experience it. Consequently, this is not something that can be taught through talking or writing and reading. "When one does something with people . . . the concern should be only with presenting the case to their bodies" (Castaneda, 1972, p. 233).

Maintaining an awareness of the world as a feeling becomes especially difficult for traumatized people. The following model—developed by Dr. Jytte Vikkelsoe—examines the psychological effects of trauma and the role of warriorship in overcoming various psychological and psychiatric challenges induced by trauma; challenges that have a direct impact on cycles of violence.

> Your comrades are not simply the lowly phantoms you once despised,
> and their shots are not the attacks that make you bleed.
> Rather, they are the voice of history
> asking you to repay culture by expanding your sense of yourself to include others.
> Either remove yourself from your acts and see your trouble as a debt you owe history and
> Fight like a hero or die like a phantom.
> » Mindell

Conflicts are often related to prior trauma. Often, those traumas are perpetrated by individuals or groups who have themselves been traumatized and the wounding cycle continues. Jytte Vikkelsoe (a social, clinical, and process oriented psychologist) presents a model of the wounding cycle as shown in the following figures. Initially, there is a wounding experience. This may result in a psychological fragmentation, which in turn may result in the traumatized victim unconsciously becoming an oppressor. It hardly matters where within this cycle the pattern may momentarily appear to have been initiated.

<p align="center">Wounder</p>
<p align="center">↗   ↘</p>
<p align="center">Wounded Fragment ⇦ Wounding Experience</p>
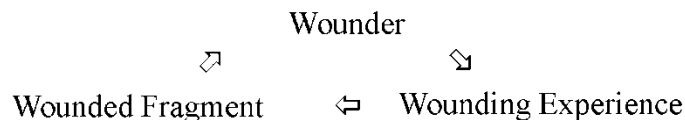
Figure 10: Wounded Wounder Cycle (Vikkelsoe, 2001)

For example, this cycle sometimes occurs in children who grow up with a father who expresses power too severely or too often: it then becomes very difficult for the children to integrate their own power. It is as if the child then vows not to hurt others and so splits off (dissociates from) the figure or behavior that expresses itself so forcefully losing conscious access to power. That split off figure then expresses itself unconsciously, and the wounded fragment becomes the next unconscious wounder.

Wounded Fragment

⇗   ⇘

1º	2º
Experience of Powerlessness	Power Goes Underground
⇩	⇩
Why me?	Lacking a better role model, the first
Experience of being a victim.	attempts at power lead to the
Things happen "to" you.	Wounded Wounder.
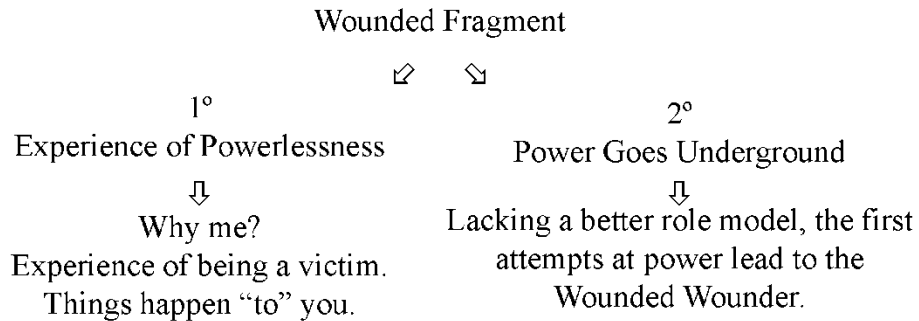
Figure 11: 1º - 2º Power Fragmentation (Vikkelsoe, 2001)[48]

The "wounded fragment" that is split off is actually power. Power is secondary. Power goes *underground* and the person is left with a primary process experience of powerlessness. The original wounds can come from an outer reproach or accusation in a relationship conflict. The inner wounder then integrates the energy of qualities of the original reproach or assault and continues to use it against the person internally and against others externally, and sometimes far more violently than the original reproach. For example, the US assault against Iraq was clearly far more extensive than any Iraqi assaults against the US. I also sometimes react with misguided aggression when I have been hurt.

The primary process[49] is the defensive victim and the secondary process[50] is the aggressive attacker. There is a deadlock between these two inner forces. From the outside,

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[48] The symbols 1º and 2º refer to the primary and secondary process. In other words, feeling powerless is often more known and closer to someone's identity than the experience of being powerful, which is less known and further from her normal identity.

[49] Primary Process: The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's normal identity. It is a process because it changes with time.

[50] Secondary Process: The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's disavowed identity. It is a process because it changes with time. The secondary process includes experiences that we do not perceive as belonging to our personal identity. We perceive them either as happening to us or as emotions and experiences that we do not identify with: such as anger, fear, power, and spiritual connection. Often we project these aspects onto people we view as the enemy or people who we see as being inherently different than us. We may marginalize or admire these qualities, assuming inferior or superior traits in other groups.

someone's fragmented expression of power is often experienced as reactivity by others. It is as if there is an unseen role present, a ghost, that is reminding the person of past wounds and humiliations so that from the point of view of the outside observer the reaction appears to be out of proportion and unrelated to the present interaction.

There is no conscious relationship between the two parts, which are split off from each other. Only when the two parts are integrated—when she becomes aware of her power, self importance, reactivity, and also of her victimhood—does she become whole and then becomes a wounded healer. This would all be easy, of course, were it not enormously difficult. There are inner figures opposed to one's seeing oneself as powerful. Identifying with the wounding and the victimization is easier than identify with one's power. In a sense spiritual warriorship is about working on the tensions between these inner figures consciously through our own innerwork, in relationship, or in community or organization dynamics.

Some traditions have authority fights violently (hence the war in Iraq). Others prefer a form that avoids physical violence. The idea here is that through fighting you try to get to the essence of what happens when you physically fight, so that, over time, you can transcend the *need* for physical fighting. In a sense, this approach is one-sided and comes from a paradigm that is often, and unfortunately, associated with maleness and patriarchy.

Process Work and its practice of innerwork is one way to do the work of integrating power. Process Work does not value fighting over any other practice. Spiritual warriorship, in a process oriented sense, is a very special aspect of one's inner attitude toward one's own growth and not something to be lived in the world. Practicing Process Work does not make

the transition from fighting easy. It still involves a great deal of work. Also, the Process

Work paradigm does not guarantee success. In a sense, it may not be someone's process to

change. That is up to fate, the Tao, God, or the dream lines of Aboriginal mythology. The

practice of process oriented innerwork is discussed in the following section.

Wounder

⇩

Wounding Experience

⇩

Wounded Fragment

  ↖   ↘

1°   2°

Powerlessness Feeling   S   Power Underground

⇩   p   ⇩

Self Importance   l   Victim

             i

⇩   t   ⇩

Reactive Pattern   Remains Hidden

    ↘   ↗

Unconscious
Wounded
Oscillation
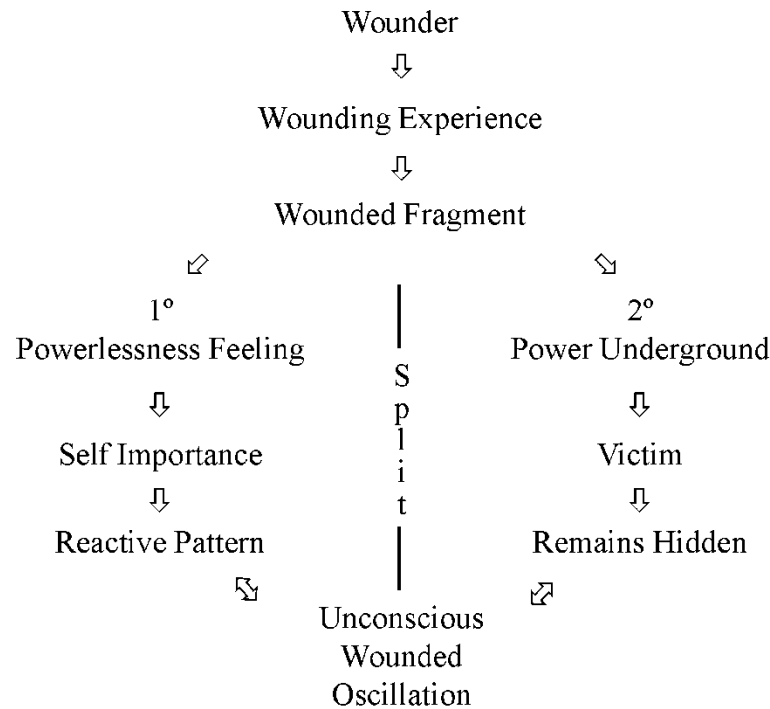
Figure 12: Wounded Pattern (Vikkelsoe, 2001)

Gandhi, Nonviolence, & Political Innerwork

> Strength does not come from physical capacity.
> It comes from an indomitable will.
> » Gandhi

The innerwork of spiritual warriorship is directly related to political nonviolence.

The practice of nonviolent resistance referred to by Gandhi as *satyagraha* involves a strong

commitment to innerwork in order to avoid the natural tendency to react violently.

I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. . . I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she would, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour. . . But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces, if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose. . . Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. (Gandhi, 1942, p. 3)

That Gandhi does not believe India nor himself to be helpless speaks of the victim, the role of one who believes herself to be helpless. Shifting one's consciousness from identifying as a victim to identifying with one's strength and developing indomitable will takes what Castaneda called power. It is a magnificent act of a warrior and yet, as Gandhi describes below, it can happen in an instant:

We in India may in a moment realize that one hundred thousand Englishmen need not frighten three hundred million human beings. A definite forgiveness would, therefore, mean a definite recognition of your strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come a mighty wave of strength in us, which would make it

impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront on India's devoted head. . . We feel too downtrodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world. . . This *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration. (Gandhi, 1942, p. 4)

Wrestling with Death

My life is my message.
» Mahatma Gandhi

In Castaneda's terms, it takes real power to defy the whole might of an unjust empire. Gandhi spent forty years meditating on the Bhagavad Gita—"The Song of the Lord," an ancient Hindu spiritual text—to gain the power and wisdom to be able to defy the British Empire. (Gandhi, 2000)

. . . When I first became acquainted with the Gita, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that, under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind, and that physical warfare was brought in merely to make the description of the internal dueling more alluring. (Gandhi, 2000, p. 16)

"Therefore, says the Gita, 'Have devotion, and knowledge will follow.' This devotion is not mere lip worship, it is a wrestling with death" (Gandhi, 2000, pp. 18-19). This wrestling is continuous concentration on God. Gandhi maintains that continuous concentration is the ultimate sacrifice. The s*annyasa* (renunciation or sacrifice) of the Gita is all work and also no work. This is the *wu wei*, or doing-not doing, of Taoism. *Ahimsha* is non violence and *satyagraha* is its application as truth-force in nonviolent confrontation. Speaking in 1926 of his wrestling with death through struggling to understand the Gita, Gandhi said

. . . after forty years' unremitting endeavor fully to enforce the teaching of the Gita in my own life, I have, in all humility, felt that perfect renunciation [of attachment to outcome or personal gain] is impossible without perfect observance of *ahimsa* [non violence] in every shape and form (Gandhi, 2000, p. 23).

Einstein perhaps felt the same, and came to the same conclusion when he wrote:

[She or] he who joyfully marches to music rank and file, has already earned my contempt. He has been given a large brain by mistake, since for him the spinal cord would surely suffice. This disgrace to civilization should be done away with at once. Heroism at command, how violently I hate all this, how despicable and ignoble war is; I would rather be torn to shreds than be a part of so base an action.

It is my conviction that killing under the cloak of war is nothing but an act of murder. (Einstein, 2004)

The marchers have devotion but without wrestling with death the devotion is blind faith in authority and "heroism at command." These warriors use violence to support a particular civil structure. The n*ew warriors,* described below struggle to allow positive and much needed change to occur in civil structure.

The New Warriors

The Warrior's job is to bring change to the Tribe.
» Yaqui teaching

Thousands of people around the world are actively involved in peacebuilding efforts, efforts bringing change to their tribes. These are the new warriors. They are bringing children from warring groups together in the Middle East, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in Africa for dialogue and conflict training and simply to bond and become friends. They are leading dialogue groups in conflict zones all over the world, bringing people together with their enemies, and running reconciliation groups that bring people together with their abusers. And they are filming documentaries and running media projects throughout the world educating people about conflict, about conflict resolution, and about the "other;" those individuals who they have been taught to hate. These are the new warriors. They are people who are using their own inner worlds, awareness, power, vision, time, money, and compassion to change the global tribe.

Only a few are called by their own hearts, their own dreaming process, to follow the warrior's way. In a sense, being a warrior is different than being a social activist fighting for peace in much the same way that the spiritual and social warrior differs from the military

warrior. Social activists are often focused on a worthy goal but because of their attachment to the goal become unaware of their methods. "If we are attached to our goal of winning liberty, we shall not hesitate to adopt bad means" (Gandhi, 2000, p. 9). The "bad" *means* [methods] need not involve overt violence. Often, the "bad" means are emotional and verbal violence, projections, and hatred directed towards others. The military warrior and social activists fight against external enemies; whereas the spiritual and social warrior fights primarily in an inner struggle for awareness and seeks to support the external enemies to learn and to change, while struggling to maintain an intimate relationship with them.

Inner Violence

There is a pervasive form of contemporary violence to which the idealist fighting for peace by nonviolent methods most easily succumbs: activism and overwork. The rush and pressure of modern life are a form, perhaps the most common form, of its innate violence. To allow oneself to be carried away by a multitude of conflicting concerns, to surrender to too many demands, to commit oneself to too many projects, to want to help everyone in everything is to succumb to violence. More than that, it is cooperation in violence. The frenzy of the activist neutralizes his work for peace. It destroys his own inner capacity for peace. It destroys the fruitfulness of his own work, because it kills the roots of inner wisdom which make work fruitful.
» Thomas Merton

The basic assumption behind innerwork, spiritual warriorship, and its place within the field of conflict resolution is that the violence of our own inner lives is projected onto others and for that we fight wars because it is easier to fight an external war than it is to make our own violence conscious. This is the first half of innerwork: to discover those qualities of one's inner experience that are *not the best*, to examine them, and to integrate the power behind them.

The second half is to develop an openness to the sort of non-linear experiences and messages that seemingly come from beyond. Awareness in this sense is its own goal and yet

is not enough. To sit and meditate for the benefit of humanity is beautiful and powerful. But the wisdom that comes from meditation needs to be brought into the world.

There is a change of heart in shifting from seeing others and one's enemies as being bad, evil, or the source of the world's problems to seeing the roles, history, feelings, and experiences involved in the conflict as inner and outer experiences with a great deal of complexity. There is another change of heart in shifting from hoping for the eldership of a superhero who can arise and lead the world to solve its world problems, to seeing eldership and leadership as a role and believing in our own power, wisdom, and courage. Richard Lamm (2004), former Governor of Colorado, said that "peace is neither the absence of war nor the presence of a disarmament agreement. Peace is a change of heart." The inner work of spirituality, in all of its various forms, traditions, and paradigms, is one way to create that change of heart.

Relevance of Innerwork

The premise of these teachings about innerwork is to find out who you are, be that person, and use your awareness to change towards your highest vision. This is not about becoming an enlightened superhuman Bodhisattva. Nor is it about creating a utopian society. It is about the very difficult nuts and bolts tasks of working towards creative, positive change, using the only tool we have: our own momentary subjective experience.

As shown, warrior traditions have existed in many cultures at various times, and are still alive in places today. These ideas seem foreign to me, from the standpoint of my primary identity as a more or less mainstream, somewhat liberal, straight, primarily white, American male. "While it is easy enough to dismiss the kingdom of Shambhala [and all of the "fantasy" of warriorship] as pure fiction, it is also possible to see in this legend the

expression of a deeply rooted and very real human desire for a good and fulfilling life" (Trungpa, 1984, p. 27).

Spencer thought that the European warrior tradition, largely maintained through mythology, was lost and has never been prevalent in American culture (Spencer, 1993). It does not matter whether this assertion is objectively true or not. It is resonance with one's subjective experience and connection with primordial wisdom that matters.

Plato (1997) called for a race of philosopher kings, Madison (Hamilton et al., 1999, No. 49) thought it impossible, Buckminster Fuller (1981) thought it mandatory for our continued survival as a species. Why not work toward it?

This idea will appeal to some and not to others. Don Juan taught that some paths have heart and others do not. The question of whether or not to work towards a race of philosopher kings and queens is perhaps too far removed from our daily lives to have relevance. But don Juan's question may have more immediate relevance.

Does this path have a heart? If it does, the path is good; if it doesn't it is of no use. Both paths lead nowhere; but one has a heart, the other doesn't. One makes for a joyful journey; as long as you follow it, you are one with it. The other will make you curse your life. One makes you strong; the other weakens you. (Castaneda, 1968, p. 150)

Qualitative inquiry cultivates the most useful of all human capacities:
The capacity to learn.
—Michael Patton

The purpose of this research was to conduct an investigation into the role of eldership and the inner attitudes and metaskills of conflict facilitators in various settings. The following section develops the conceptual methodology used and details a practical system of qualitative inquiry while simultaneously considering the basic research question (presented on page 241), which asks, "what inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner?"

Patton (2002) defines phenomenology as a qualitative research methodology that asks, "what is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person or group of people" (p. 104)? My focus was on the lived experience of people involved in conflict at all levels and the ways in which they used that experience to intervene.

A variant of phenomenology known as heuristic inquiry focuses on the experience of the principle researcher as well as others. It asks the question, "What is my experience of this phenomenon and the essential experience of others who also experience this phenomenon intensely? Heuristics is a form of phenomenological inquiry that brings to the fore the personal experience and insights of the researcher" (p. 107).

Heuristic inquiry involves in-depth interviews, dialogue with co-researchers, and a systematic observation of self and others. It assumes that one can be fully engaged in a rich experience while simultaneously conducting inquiry (p. 108). Heuristics further differs

from phenomenology in four major ways: it emphasizes interconnections and relationship (as opposed to detached evaluation), it focuses on the personal meaning and significance of experience (as opposed to structural description), it embraces the researcher's deepest experience and intuition, and it centralizes individuals and their experience while phenomenology tends to lose track of individuals in favor of descriptive analysis of the overall structural phenomenon (p. 108).

> Heuristic research epitomizes the phenomenological emphasis on meanings and knowing through personal experience; it exemplifies and places at the fore the way in which the researcher is the primary instrument in qualitative inquiry; and it challenges in the extreme traditional scientific concerns about research objectivity and detachment, as in autoethnography. In essence, it personalizes inquiry and puts the experience (and voice) of the inquirer front and center throughout. (Patton, 2002, p. 109)

The personal nature of heuristic inquiry supports the relevance of inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs explored in the basic research question. Furthermore, the deeply personal, intuitive nature of heuristic inquiry affords several aspects of fluidity (Patton, 2002, p. 109). Heuristic researchers should expect to be confronted with new concepts and perceptions while gathering data. Accordingly, the focus of the research may change during the inquiry process and may become completely clear only after having conducted the research. Research not only **may** be but **should** be conducted from a broad range of perspectives, and therefore multi-sited, with varying dimensions (temporal, cultural, gender, ethnic, geographic, etc.) given to the meaning of *site*, as will be discussed presently.

Finally, the critical analysis is focused on uncovering structural patterns among experience across the dimensions of inquiry. How do people transform difficult moments in relationship or conflict? What are the inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs that help with this transformation?

This study comprises a heuristic, multi-sited ethnographic investigation. The research was heuristical in the sense that it focuses on conscious perceptual experience and awareness of the co-researchers and multi-sited in that data was gathered across a broad range of temporal, ethnic, functional, and geographical dimensions; and ethnographic in the sense that it investigates ways in which people facilitate conflict so as to behave and to help others to behave in socially acceptable ways.

In a section entitled "Supporting Democracy Through Process Use: Helping the Citizenry Weigh Evidence and Think Evaluatively" (p. 188), Patton (2002) asks, "So what is the connection between qualitative inquiry and democracy" (p. 188)? And what is the connection between qualitative inquiry and deep democracy?

> Start with the premise that a healthy and strong democracy depends on an
> informed citizenry. A central contribution of policy research and evaluation, then, is
> to help ensure an informed electorate by disseminating findings as well as to help
> the citizenry weigh evidence and think evaluatively. This involves thinking processes
> that must be learned. It is not enough to have trustworthy and accurate information
> (the informed part of the informed citizenry). People must also know how to use
> information, that is, to weigh evidence, consider inevitable contradictions and
> inconsistencies, articulate values, interpret findings, deal with complexity, and
> examine assumptions, to note but a few of the things meant by "thinking

evaluatively." Moreover, in-depth democratic thinking includes political

sophistication about the origins and implications of the categories, constructs, and

concepts that shape what we experience as information and "knowledge". . . (p.

188)

Hannah Arendt (1961) believed that people need to practice thinking. She

published *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought,* to which two more

exercises were later added. She maintains that an ability by the masses of the *demos* to

engage in political thought can be won only through practice, which her *Exercises* address,

and that "if the mind is unable to bring peace and to induce reconciliation, it finds itself

immediately engaged in its own kind of warfare" (p. 8). In a sense, the dialogues and

interviews involved in qualitative inquiry are themselves a form, particularly when the topic

deals with political thought, of action research. While that was not the purpose of this

research it is a byproduct particularly for the principle investigator.

Arendt (1961) maintained that "the task of the mind is to understand what

happened" (p. 8) and this *understanding* is informed by the past, which if not integrated in

thinking creates a gap between past and future:

> The trouble, however, is that we seem to be neither equipped nor prepared for this
>
> activity of thinking, of settling down in the gap between past and future. For very
>
> long times in our history, actually throughout the thousands of years that followed
>
> upon the foundation of Rome and were determined by Roman concepts, this gap
>
> was bridged over by what, since the Romans, we have called tradition. That this
>
> tradition has worn thinner and thinner as the modern age progressed is a secret to
>
> nobody. When the thread of tradition finally broke, the gap between past and

future ceased to be a condition peculiar only to the activity of thought and restricted as an experience to those few who made thinking their primary business. It became a tangible reality and perplexity for all; that is, it became a fact of political relevance. . . . the fighting experience gained by "him" who stands his ground between the clashing waves of past and future. This experience is an experience in thinking. . . and it can be won, like all experience in doing something, only through practice. . . (Arendt, 1961, p. 14)

This *experience,* in thinking as well as other aspects of human experience, in terms of understanding and shaping the interactions between individuals and groups, is the experience under investigation.

Early critical ethnographic work was based on classic Marxist and neo-Marxist critical theory but quickly expanded as new identity and post-colonial movements emerged. "These literature reviews underscore the growing disenchantment with the positivist notion of an objective social science that produces value-free ethnographies" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 217). Due to the early Marxist theory, the values associated with early ethnographic work tended to focus on perceived power differentials and struggles towards egalitarianism. Process Work sees this as a static framework and examines perceived power differentials through fluid role theory while examining multiple dimensions of rank and power and the dreaming, mythology, or processes behind them. Process oriented role theory is used to expand *standpoint theory* (Haraway, 1998) and the notion of *situated knowledge* (Harding, 1998) from static experiences into a dynamic field.

While critical ethnography replaces grand positivist notions of universalistic, objective views with historically and culturally sensitive viewpoints; a process oriented view

of ethnography augments historically and culturally sensitive viewpoints with a fluid framework of roles, fields, information flow, processes, and timespirits. While the goal was not to explicitly conduct participatory action research, Process Work's contribution to ethnography is itself a social process in that it engages people in a participatory and collaborative manner, it is potentially emancipatory and it is critical and reflexive (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 566-567).

> Anthropologists are concerned to demonstrate the social and cultural entailments of phenomena, though they must in the demonstration simplify the complexity enough to make it visible. What appears to be the object of description—demonstrating complex linkages between elements—also makes description less easy. (Strathern, 1991, p. xiii)

Observation then must be made from several different viewpoints so that the underlying patterns can be revealed. As Strathern (1991) points out, changes across some dimensions obscure the patterns of interest while changes across others reveal them. Multi-sited ethnography provides a methodology for maintaining a framework while changing dimensions when conducting investigations.

The use of multi-sited spaces for heuristic ethnographic research is an evolving phenomenon. Marcus (1998) maintains the following:

> Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sties that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography. (p. 90)

The establishment of the form of presence is a constructivist practice of representation and investigation involving various modes or techniques (Marcus, 1998, p. 90). These various modes of construction include the following approaches: Follow the People, Follow the Thing, Follow the Metaphor, Follow the Plot, Story, or Allegory, Follow the Life or Biography, Follow the Conflict (pp. 90-94). Each of these provides a thread that can be used to construct the representation that is used to inform the investigation. A process oriented adaptation of this is being used herein where the mode employed is to follow the thread of the underlying structural pattern by tracing signals, synchronicities, and experiences.

As previously described, Process Work includes a concept of *conservation of information* (Mindell, 1982). Information manifests as structural patterns that can be investigated through the tracking of the signals, roles, and figures representing them. This essentially turns a constructivist multi-sited ethnography into a deeply heuristic, multi-sited ethnography because the representations are based in direct sensory-grounded experience. Process Work is the lens used in analysis of field literature and research data rather than a research methodology, however many of the tools and principles of Process Work conceptually extend Strathern's (1991) application of chaos theory to ethnography to include concepts from quantum physics (Mindell, 2000c) and shamanism (Mindell, 1993).

I employed multiple data gathering methods including interviews with conflict professionals, personal explorations and reflections, and participant observations. Data was analyzed from a process oriented perspective and an assessment was made as to further contributions which Process Work and further empirical studies could make. In general, the themes that evolved in the findings came from two situations: first, noticing moments

where co-researchers would reveal that they noticed something about a particular conflict or intervention but that they had not used to form an intervention or to further their structural analysis of the moment and second, noticing repeated patterns in co-researcher reports or field sites.

Field Observations

Field observations were made at a NATO sponsored conference on conflict resolution at the Russian Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, in Jordan, Israel, the West Bank, at a conference of the Global Partnership for Prevention of Armed Conflict at the United Nations,[51] at President Clinton's Clinton Global Initiative's inaugural conference in New York,[52] while working for Ambassador John W. McDonald at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in Washington, D.C.,[53] while facilitating dialogues while monitoring elections in Sri Lanka and in Jenin in the West Bank, Palestine and while facilitating dialogues in the Middle East as staff facilitator for the 2006 Breaking The Ice expedition,[54] through observation of aspects of public discourse regarding World War II and US foreign policy, on street corners, and in everyday interactions.

Pratt (1995) maintained, "We cannot move theory into action unless we can find it in the eccentric and wandering ways of our daily life . . . . [Stories] give theory flesh and breath" (p. 22).

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[51] See www.gppac.net
[52] See www.clintonglobalinitiative.org
[53] See www.imtd.org
[54] See www.breakingtheice.org

Interviews

Interviewees were chosen purposefully and selected for their background as conflict professionals, social activists, and spiritual or social leaders. Interviews were conducted in-person when possible and otherwise by telephone. Interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis. The interviews ranged from fifteen minutes to two hours each. Sixteen interviews were conducted.

Interviews were approached as informal conversations directed by a rough interview guide. The initial interviews confirmed my suspicion that facilitators are not necessarily aware of what they are doing as they do it, although they very much do have a specific methodology engaged and the two do not necessarily correlate. Consequently, I did not ask standardized questions because they would have led to superficial responses. Michael Patton maintains that standardized questions offer "little flexibility in relating the interview to particular individuals and circumstances" and "standardized wording of questions may constrain and limit naturalness and relevance of questions and answers. (Patton, 2002, p. 349)"

My approach, initially, was to initiate informal conversations guiding the interviewees towards discussing case stories of their conflict work. Once a setting has been described and specific difficulties remembered, the interviewee were internally closer to their original experience and better able to reflect upon that experience with a deeper understanding than standardized questions might produce. Moustakas says that, "Self-dialogue is the critical beginning; the recognition that if one is going to be able to discover the constituents and qualities that make up an experience, one must begin with oneself" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 16).

Patton (2002, p. 349) maintains that informal conversational interviews "increase the salience and relevance of questions" (p. 349), and because "interviews are built on and emerge from observations, the interview can be matched to individuals and circumstances" and adds that an outline guide "increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. Logical gaps in data can be anticipated and closed. Interviews remain fairly conversational and situational" (p. 349). The interview questions were open ended: designed to elicit information about skills, experiences, and attitudes pertaining to conflict and facilitation as well as case histories, examples of heated moments they facilitated, and insight into how they were dealt with and what the facilitator's experience was at the time.

Research Questions

The basic research question was:

· What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner?

Subordinate research questions include:

· What needs do people have in terms of emotional safety and protection from retaliation while involved in conflict work?

· Is it potentially abusive for facilitators to allow the expression of strong emotion?

· How do facilitators handle personal attack?

Interview Guide

These questions were intended to provide a rough roadmap and a method of remembering the primary points of interest during the interviews:

- What does the respondent do when an emotionally charged moment erupts while facilitating?

    - How open is she to the expression of strong emotion? Does she support it? Is she afraid of it?

    - Is she aware of her own somatic experience in hot spots? Does she use it? How?

    - If she stops the process at hot spots—why? What is the belief against them? If she supports them—why? What is the belief in favor of them?

- How does the respondent deal with being attacked?

    - What is her inner experience?

    - Is she aware of his somatic experience? Does she use it? How?

    - Does she believe in stepping out of the role of facilitator and interacting personally? If not, why not? If so, what is her responsibility to the rest of the group?

- What is the spiritual basis, if any, for her approach to facilitating?

    - How does she use that to prepare?

    - How does she use that in the midst of conflict?

    - How is spirituality a part of the work itself?

- What is God's role in healing conflict?

Interviewees

Nine of the interviewers were conducted in person in the interviewee's office, five by telephone, and two by voice-internet connection. They were recorded and later transcribed. Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to over two hours with the average being close to one hour.

The questions of the interviews guideline were used occasionally to bring the interview back on track. In general, however, the interviews were unstructured and the interviewees, with little guidance, were generally forthcoming with theories, views, and anecdotes from their field experiences that provided rich data that was directly relevant to the research questions.

- Ambassador McDonald   Former US Ambassador to the UN and chair of Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy
- Rich Rubenstein   Professor of Conflict Resolution at GMU's ICAR
- Amanda Byron   Professor of Conflict Resolution, PSU, and President of Oregon Peace Institute
- Claudia L'Amoreaux   Dialogue trainer, consultant, and philosopher
- Halim Byron   Islamic Chaplin and conflict facilitator
- Pat McLagan   International corporate consultant and conflict professional
- Ambassador Zac Nsenga   Rwandan Ambassador to the US
- Shamil Idriss   CEO of Search for Common Ground
- Dennis Sandole   Professor of conflict resolution at GMU's ICAR
- Mel Duncan   CEO of Global Nonviolence Peaceforce
- David Grant   Global Nonviolence Peaceforce trainer
- Sara Terry   War correspondent and photographer for Christian Science Monitor
- Arny Mindell   Founder of process oriented psychology
- Amy Mindell   Co-founder of process oriented psychology and international conflict facilitator, facilitation trainer, and consultant

· Alison Moultrie	White South African social activist and psychotherapist
· Max Schupbach	Process oriented therapist, teacher, facilitator, theorist, conflict resolution practitioner
· Julie Diamond	Linguist, Process Worker, and Dean of PWCP Masters in Conflict Resolution program
· Pamela Machakanja	Assistant Director of Institute for Peace, Leadership, and Governance at Africa University Zimbabwe

Field Sites

Personal phenomenological experiences and reflections from field work are reflected in the findings, conclusions, and recommendations. The data is reflected in a way that is shaped by my own subjective experiences in keeping with the use of process oriented role theory to expand *standpoint theory* (Haraway, 1998) and the notion of *situated knowledge* (Harding, 1998) from static experiences into a dynamic field. Field experiences are described in terms of a fluid framework of roles, fields, information flow, processes, and timespirits. As previously mentioned, while the goal of the research was not to explicitly conduct participatory action research, Process Work's contribution to the study is itself a social process in that it engages people in a participatory and collaborative manner, it is potentially emancipatory, and is critical and reflexive.

· Middle East	2004: Researched IMTD proposal for creation of Regional Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution.
	2006: Facilitated dialogues in the Middle East as facilitator for Breaking The Ice peace expedition to Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Libya.

·	Israel	2003, 2004, 2006: Participated in and facilitated peace/conflict dialogue groups.
·	West Bank	2003, 2004, 2006: Participated in and facilitated peace/conflict dialogue groups. 2006: Co-facilitated leadership training seminar in Jenin, West Bank, Palestine with Max and Ellen Schupbach. Co-created a West Bank training program.
·	Jordan	2004: Discussed regional security and conflict resolution efforts with Major General advisor to Prince El Hassan. 2006: Discussed internal security and conflict concerns with intelligence officers and private citizens.
·	Russia	2004: Presented paper and participated in NATO sponsored conference on conflict resolution at the Russian Academy of Science in St. Petersburg
·	US	2005: President Clinton's Clinton Global Initiative's inaugural conference in New York 2003, 2004: Director of Institute for Multi Track Diplomacy in Washington, D.C. 1999-present: Facilitated various dialogues and conflicts and forums relating to sexism, racism, war, etc.
·	UN	2005: Staff facilitator at conference of the Global Partnership for Prevention of Armed Conflict
·	Sri Lanka	2005: Elections monitor during presidential election, northern territory along border with LTTE held area.

· Palestine	2006: Elections monitor during parliamentary election, Jenin. Diplomatic liaison working between Breaking the Ice (BTI) and Chief of Staff of President Abbas and Gran Mufti of Al Aqsa Mosque to support BTI expedition, further communications, arrange meeting between BTI and Abbas's office, organize press conference, and respond to death threats against BTI participant from West Bank. Co-facilitated leadership training seminar in Jenin, West Bank, Palestine with Max and Ellen Schupbach. Co-created a West Bank training program.
· World	2004-present: Director Global Process Institute Observation of aspects of public discourse regarding World War II, Apartheid, terrorism, US foreign policy, and life on street corners, cafés, media, relationship, and in everyday interactions

Limitations

Limitations occurred due to researcher bias, selection bias, limited sample size, co-researcher bias, and potential unfamiliarity with concepts of eldership, rank, signals, dreaming, etc., on the part of the interviewees.

Researcher bias included my own assumptions regarding the importance of awareness, fluidity, and eldership; the very things which I was studying.

The selection process was biased by opportunity. I did seek out a diverse group of people drawing on conflict professionals, facilitators, diplomats, clergy, and therapists; and while most of those individuals who were selected have extensive international experience, they were primarily US citizens.

While the interview selection size was limited to sixteen, the multi-sited nature of the research provided a much broader range of data.

Ethics Review

All interviewees were asked to read and sign an informed consent form (See Appendix 6 on page 395). All interviewees had the option to remain anonymous and to discontinue participation at any point. The study committee deemed that **IRB** review was not necessary do to the nature of the research, hence no **IRB** review was requested.

*A large group of us were crowded into the Gestapo hall, and at that moment the
circumstances of all our lives were the same. All of us occupied the same space, the men
behind the desk no less than those about to be questioned.
What distinguished each of us was only our inner attitude. —Etty Hillesum*

Due to the deeply personal, intuitive nature of heuristic inquiry, I was confronted

with new concepts and perceptions while gathering data. Anticipating the need for fluidity

in heuristic research, Patton (2002, p. 109), predicted this. Findings discussed in the

following section extend beyond the initial inquiry into the inner skills, attitudes, feelings,

and beliefs that help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and

productive manner.

Accordingly, the focus of the research changed during the inquiry process and is

only now becoming completely clear and findings are grouped into the following themes

described below. As mentioned previously, the themes that evolved in the findings came,

generally, from two situations. First, noticing moments where co-researchers would reveal

that they noticed something about a particular conflict or intervention but which they had

not used to form an intervention or to further their structural analysis of the moment. And

second, noticing repeated patterns in the co-researcher reports, field observations, or my

own conflicts. While there is a great deal of overlap between the individual themes, each is

presented separately within its own context and drawing upon research data. The themes

are summarized in the following outline:

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[55] Quotations taken from the interviews have been edited for readability. The following
symbol ... is used to indicate pauses or incomplete sentences: as opposed to . . . which is
used to indicate omitted text.

Summary Outline of Themes

· Process & Programs: Concretized and ritualized programmatic procedures and interventions often prevent people from noticing the wisdom in what is happening.

· Emotion, Chaos, Fear, & Edges in Facilitation: Groups are often frozen by facilitators' fears and edges against strong emotion and seemingly chaotic interactions.

· Interventions & Context: Facilitative intervention is often patterned and limited by facilitators' contextual structural overview.

· Facilitative Innerwork Theory in Practice: awareness of one's own inner, momentary experience can provide a road map for effective facilitation.

· Eldership: a spiritual metaposition that is powerful and important in facilitation.

· Deep Democracy: a Communal System of Direct Relatedness.

· Goals and Philosophy of Conflict Resolution Interventions: Hopelessness and focus on immediate tangible outcomes often prevent people from using deeper levels of experience and self-intuited wisdom.

Process & Programs

There is a difference between the way the term "process" is used in Process Work and the way it is generally used in the broader conflict resolution field. Conflict resolution facilitators tend to refer to their approach to a given situation or holding a specific group event as a process (A. Byron, 2002; McDonald, 2002; Nsenga, 2003; Rubenstein, 2002a ; Sandole, 2003) whereas when Process Workers refer to *process* they are basically referring to nature and the constant flow of information, signals, and experiences (Mindell, 1982; Whitehead, 1979). They are referring to something that is—no matter how disavowed,

marginalized, or unnoticed—organically, of its own energy or dreaming or Tao, already happening.

In process oriented terms the search for a static pattern to apply to a given situation is often referred to as a program (Schupbach, 1998). Sometimes programs are good although adherence to a program often fails to lead to deeper awareness or resolution. For example one program might be to bring the parties together, identify their needs, conduct a negotiation leading to an agreement or, failing that, to the BATNA (Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (A. Byron, 2002; Ury, 1999)), and deal with communications problems if need be. The procedural methodology of this program is not necessarily bad. The only problem is that when it does not work there is nowhere to go because the program is limited and doesn't take advantage of the facilitator's or the participant's awareness.

The philosophical difference between these two approaches is critical. Consider:
. . . and so if the approach to process [referring to a structural approach to an intervention] is that it's analytical in the sense that you're trying to get at the underlying motivations and the underlying factors, how do you get there when people all walk into a session thinking that they know what the conflict is all about and the temptation on the part of people from a legalistic and power based society like ours is to treat them in the way that lawyers treat clients, is to assume that the client knows his own interests and your job is to negotiate with the other side or to facilitate a negotiation (Rubenstein, 2002a).

Rubenstein's (2002a) goal was to get at the hidden, underlying motivations and factors. He recognized that an analytical, legalistic power-based approach had limitations

and wondered what "process" or approach to use to accomplish this goal. And yet, because

he was focused on finding a process to impose, he missed the signals of the process that

actually was happening. His own words portrayed his awareness of the dynamics at play

among the various facilitators and interveners. He was interested in the underlying

motivations of the parties to the conflict, but what he was actually noticing was the

underlying motivations of the facilitators. In short, the facilitation team was operating from

a power-based paradigm that was less interested in the underlying experience of the conflict

parties than it was in facilitating an agreement, even though the agreement may not be

related to the underlying dynamics. In another situation:

> So, . . . you. . . have a dialogue, or whatever you want to call it, in which the parties
>
> aren't shooting at each other but they're holding their weapons behind their backs
>
> and the power differences are dominating the discussion. So, the question that
>
> Burton and other people have been asking for a number of years is how do you get
>
> to the level of needs? How do you get to the level of what people's most cherished
>
> values and most imperative needs or vital interests [are] when [in] many cases the
>
> people that are involved don't know themselves? (Rubenstein, 2002a)

Again, Rubenstein's (2002a) words portrayed his keen awareness but he was

searching for an external "process" that would provide a solution and narrowly defined the

roles and high dreams as "needs," which led to a primary response and a consensus reality

focus, and so missed the relevance of the signals that he was already aware of. How did

Rubenstein know that they were "holding their weapons behind their backs and the power

differences are dominating the discussion"? Ambassador Nsenga (2003) furthers this idea,

"Through observation you can know what the problem is which they have not even told you. And you can use it to your advantage to know the approaches to take."

A process oriented approach would ask, what are the signals of the weapons and power differences that are evident in the moment. By bringing awareness to those signals and working on them in a psychologically symbolic and metaphorical level the conflict parties can become aware of power, their use of power, their power differences, and of the way they use power in relationship and dialogue as a weapon. The goal of this is not to down those with power but to support power for all participants. In particular the goal is to support the use of power with awareness.

What is the alternative to a program in this case? As demonstrated, Rubenstein had the exact awareness needed to intervene in a direction that may have helped the group focus to unfold the underlying process and bring awareness to their motivations and dynamics. The only element missing was a structural paradigm that values awareness.

Professor Rubenstein (2002a) mentioned that, within the field, efforts to think beyond programs of third party mediation are limited. For example, while mediation has been shown to work in certain classes of well ordered, solvable disputes, it often becomes the only tool in the box. "As soon as there's a conflict they think how can I mediate it? Maybe mediation's a good thing to do and maybe not" (Rubenstein, 2002a).

For example, resource based conflicts on the surface appear to be well ordered, solvable disputes, but resource based conflicts are not solely conflicts about material resources. They are also conflicts involving people and they overlap or become identity based conflicts (Rubenstein, 2002a). They are also conflicts that require a different level of

expansive thinking than simple, legalistic mediation can provide. Rubenstein addresses this issue:

> How can you talk about conflict resolution involving a diminishing resource without talking about doing anything about the resource? We could talk ourselves blue in the face about Iraq and so on and then the left will say it's all about oil. Well, I think so too, I mean I think that's a lot of what it's about. But what does that imply for conflict resolution? Somebody's gonna jump up and say, "well, let's have an alternative to oil." I mean, "let's have solar energy." Sure and absolutely. But it leaves a whole bunch of questions out in the open to deal with. Mediating something, at least in the old fashioned way has not much to do with this. One question is, if you want to develop alternative sources of energy, how are you going to do it? What's the next step there? But assuming that's not gonna happen overnight.
>
> You have an economy that's based largely on petroleum. Is there some other way to organize the exploitation of that resource? Who's talking about alternative methods of a new global oil regime. That feeds into the question of, you have these resources all over the place and *we* want them. We want, if not a monopoly, at least a lock on as many resources as possible that is, from the United State's point of view, also a way to exercise power over and against Europe and Japan. You have what they used to call inter-imperialist competition going on. It's ferocious in the case of Iraq. That's really causing these disagreements about Iraq... I think.

And, so while that's going on, everybody's lapsing semiconsciously back into these old Leninist [ideas]... right out of Lenin's essays on imperialism. What's the alternative? The alternative, I imagine, would involve establishing the right of people who live in a particular region of the world to control the resources in that part of the world. As least to have as much [and] a stronger say in how they are used and for what purpose and how the proceeds are going to be used to develop the region and so on.

But the last thing that the United States or Europe wants is autonomous regions. I mean they want OPEC—a little trade association that they can manipulate. So, those questions are also unanalyzed at this point. And the conflict resolvers have kind of described for themselves a very dramatic role which involves them coming into a conflict situation and doing some kind of magic thing that helps the parties to live together. (Rubenstein, 2002a)

Each facilitator, facilitation team, NGO or government agency, and each conflict participant has their own biases, assumptions, fears, and expectations about conflict and about how to resolve the conflict. Generally, these biases and assumptions are unconscious and often unchallenged. One key difference in terminology and philosophy of addressing conflict is apparent in the use of the term *process*. To some, a process is a set of steps or procedures used to transform the situation, educate the people, and reach resolution. Even though I have a belief in following a process, when I failed to appreciate the signals of the Jerusalem Peace Circle I reframed my belief in deep democracy in a way that sounded like a static program which disrespected the feelings of those who have suffered so much. Consider the following description of a "process":

First of all we, process is very important... part of process is what some people call

ritual. . . . And one of the rituals—we have several rituals we follow without even

calling them that. First of all, whenever we sit down together for a couple of days or

for a week at a time we break bread together. We have a meal at the beginning of

the process and we also have a meal as a sort of a closing ceremony. . . . breaking

bread together has been a sign of peace since time began. (McDonald, 2002)

To others a set of static steps is a *program.* Some programs, because they provide a

static series of procedures to be followed, are not completely open to signals and feedback.

From this viewpoint a *process* is something that is already happening. Process Work, in a

sense, is contemporary Taoism in that it seeks to follow nature.

Programs and rituals are extremely important and have their place. Consider the

use of the circle as a universal ancient symbol of communal wisdom. There is no *head* and

thus there is no implied hierarchy. This respects the feelings and rank issues among

people. During the Vietnam war, diplomats argued for years about the shape of the table

because of the enormous rank, power, and hierarchy issues involved—and, of course,

because they were not really ready to meet. Also,

When you meet in a circle without barriers (like desks and tables and chairs and so

forth) it allows the energy to flow across the circle. Allows you on an individual

basis to judge the people on the other side of the circle... [allows you to notice] how

the energy flows... helps you to realize that you can start to develop trust in

relationship. (McDonald, 2002)

Interestingly, that same awareness that notices the energy flowing through the

relationships also notices something deeper behind some of the programs. For example,

one program may be to work with the sides separately and get to know them before bringing them together with the other. Behind this program there may also be an awareness process that says, "I feel unsafe bringing the sides together because I do not yet trust their emotional grounding and ability to learn together." This is a process oriented decision that is grounded in signals and feedback from the various parties.

Ambassador McDonald describes a training workshop with Liberians:

When we were doing our first training with Liberians... first of all we took them to Ghana because it was a safe haven. You have to have a place to meet which the people feel comfortable in. Very important that they don't feel threatened by the environment they're meeting in. And we were involved in the middle of the Liberian civil war and there was no safe haven in Liberia and we got funds and had our training in Ghana the first time. We had nine people, seven men and two women, seven Christians and two Muslims, after the sixth cease fire. They'd been in conflict four years. We had the number three level [the third person hierarchically down from the leader] of each of the war lords. These are the tribes that are killing each other. And they had never met before and there was obviously tension as we broke bread together. But once we got in the circle, only nine people, we had four facilitators, we spent a half a day having them tell their story about the conflict and then what it meant to them. . . .

We went around the circle. Let 'em sit wherever they want. And sometimes if they start out, as you say half and half, later they will mingle. Take it as a natural... wherever you start, say start on your left and just go around the circle and let it happen as it happens.

Well, two interesting things happen in that opportunity to speak.

First of all, everyone coming into that circle in this Liberian experience felt they had been traumatized and mistreated, and so forth, more than anybody else in the country because everybody looks at their own problems. By the time they had finished hearing each other's stories they realized that everybody in that circle had been equally traumatized. (McDonald, 2002)

Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald (2002) worked with Cypriots for nearly two years before they reached a point where people from each side were willing to meet with the other. McDonald (2004) later provided training independently to Pakistani Kashmiris and Indian Kashmiris before bringing the two groups together for a joint training in Nepal in the fall of 2004. The need for this separation, however, and the difficulty in obtaining funding for this project resulted in a several year delay between the initial trainings and the two groups finally coming together.

Kate Jobe (2005a) and Joseph Goodbread—two process oriented facilitators who have worked in India, Ireland, the Balkans, and throughout the former Soviet Union for years—report that they also work with the most powerfully reactive individuals and groups. But they do not separate the groups. Rather, they stop the heated processes during the training settings to further the training by bringing awareness to the fight and unfolding the hot spot. The primary process of the groups are "we are here for training" and the fighting is secondary (Jobe, 2005b). Bringing awareness to the fighting is part of the training.

Shamil Idriss (CEO of Search for Common Ground previously introduced) offered the following views on the importance of balancing certain structural, programmatic elements with process:

Susan Collin Marks is the vice president here, and in my view is one of the best facilitators I've ever seen. She's a real mix of the two, in my view. She's incredibly intuitive, but she also believes there are certain things you should do. In a meeting you should have ground rules. You should set ground rules. You should have a chance for people to introduce themselves or to be presented to each other. . . that starts to open things up.

And I think I kind of follow a lot of those. But when you're talking about how do you act as a facilitator, when you're in the moment, which is what this was all about, I don't have any rules for that and I doubt that she would. It's a scary place to be. She has always said, and this is a phrase that drives some people crazy around here because they've heard it so much and it bugs them, and it's jargon, the whole "trust the process" phrase. That you just trust the process, you go into it.

And it's interesting that John and I, John the president of the organization [Search for Common Ground], and I talked about this just a week ago because we're setting up a different kind of meeting. We were totally in agreement, we were going back and forth, it's a three day meeting, that there's going to be a moment towards the end of the first day or the beginning of the second day or both, where the whole thing seems like it's going to hell. It just feels like it's wrong and things aren't going anywhere, there's been an argument... not that that always happens but our experience is that that crisis moment hits at some point and you trust that the process will work itself out. (Idriss, 2003)

Emotion, Chaos, Fear, & Edges in Facilitation

Conflict work is nearly always emotional and there is a great deal of diversity as to the ways in which facilitators approach their work with strong emotions and reactivity. There is a constant concern over the threat of violence. Facilitators have to maintain awareness of the possibility for the eruption of emotional, verbal, or physical violence in any moment although emotional, verbal, and physical violence is already happening or there would not be a problem. In Rwanda,

> If you murdered in my family. My family would try to murder in your family. So it becomes revenge after revenge after revenge after revenge. So *gachacha,*[56] what *gachacha* used to do, people used to be brought from their side and say, "Look, our son killed people from your family. It's bad. And we want to break this cycle." (Nsenga, 2003)

One goal is to break the cycle of violence. Concern for high levels of emotional interaction that can erupt during the work can constellate an edge wherein facilitators are unwilling to be as direct as they might be or unwilling to allow the participants to work at a more heated level because of their own fear.

Professor Sandole commented on his openness to strong emotion:

S: How hot are you willing to let the emotions go?

D: It's a bit tricky. They may escalate rapidly to physical violence.

S: Has that happened?

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[56]   *Gachacha* is the indigenous Rwandan form of restorative justice.

D: No. But it could when you have people in the same room who look like those who have been shooting at them. But, I've been lucky in that I've had people in the room who are intellectuals, basically...

S: As opposed to?

D: As opposed to people who might not be as well educated. But the intellectuals, in many cases, are just as capable of committing a war crime as anybody else.

S: And maybe just as emotionally reactive?

D: Yeah they are. But because they're intellectuals they're more able than others, who have not been so well educated, to see an intellectual point. You don't have to draw out multiple pictures for them. For example, the concept of cognitive dissonance, I might have to be very graphic and long winded if I have a bunch of shoemakers in the room, but if I have a bunch of philosophy professors it might be a little bit easier. Even though they're just as emotional as a shoemaker and just as likely, as I say, to commit a war crime. (Sandole, 2003)

Some facilitators are open to more chaotic styles of interactions, others not. Ambassador John McDonald (2002)said, "As facilitators, you have to control the situation." What constitutes control in this context? How is this different than Susan Collin Mark's approach to "trust the process?"

Another conflict facilitator described a situation where the facilitator, who was very much in favor of more chaotic, emotional styles of group processes was working with two groups who were involved in violent conflict. At one especially chaotic moment when

people were shouting and yelling at each other, another facilitator, who was more oriented towards maintaining control, walked back into the room and said, oh no, no, let's sit down and quiet down and talk about this like human beings. The first facilitator was so furious he threw him out of the room because he knew what was happening and he was comfortable with the high level of emotion, which was somehow needed because people had just begun to talk about their real concerns and what they cared about.

This story brings several points to mind. First, the facilitation team members had not worked together preparing their own understanding of the level of emotion that they were comfortable working with. Second, the facilitator who had just reentered the room stopped being a facilitation team member when he failed to support the work that was underway. Third, the other facilitator also stopped being a team member when he fired his colleague. Finally, he marginalized a role that must also have been needed in the group, which might have said something like, I'm scared and I want things to be more quiet, calm, and linear.

Shamil Idriss expressed a view that offers a middle way. The conflict workers need to be able to express the views underlying the emotions but may want to find a way to direct the venting away from the other party. Furthermore, he has a clear sense of his own feeling sense as being an important part of what guides his interventions and facilitation:

> SI: In my view first I think the expression of strong emotion in a conflict situation... it's important that whatever's underlying those emotions gets expressed. And maybe the emotional outlet—the venting, the frustration, all those kinds of things—maybe the outlet for that doesn't necessarily have to be with the person that you're really angry with at the time. But what's

underlying that, what's driving that, that needs to get communicated somehow, at some point to the other party... I think.

SS: Do you think there's sometimes a problem with wanting that expression to come out in a particular way that risks silencing the thing that's underneath it? So is it better to just let it out rather than to silence it?

SI: It's totally, I don't have a real strong sense of it's always this way or always that way. Maybe this is not such a good way to go about it, I don't know, but it's more of a feeling. What's the feeling in the room? What happened just before that expression might come up? Did the other person express something where they made themselves vulnerable? And so that vulnerability... maybe it's okay for the other person. It makes them vulnerable? Are they caught up in a dynamic? So now I'm talking as a third party because that's how you set this one up, it's not when I'm in it. But I think it's kind of more the atmosphere and trying to be attuned to where the different parties are. (Idriss, 2003)

Shamil models a sort of fluidity that is based on his belief in the importance of following his own experience, allowing his personal antenna to guide the work.

Sometimes the most important thing is to use humor. Sometimes the most important thing is to suggest a break. Sometimes the most important thing is to maybe say something that helps to protect the person who seems to be most vulnerable. Sometimes it's just to acknowledge, oops I messed up on that one. I don't know. I feel like I'm not being very helpful in my responses but it is very experiential. (Idriss, 2003)

There's an enormous amount of awareness, fluidity, and centeredness reflected in the ability to say "oops, I messed up on that one." When asked about how he responds when attacked, Shamil replied: "There are the ways in which I deal with it that I feel proud of afterwards and there are the ways in which I deal with it that I feel afterwards gee I wish I hadn't done it that way" (2003). Shamil gave the following example of a moment where he felt himself to be slightly one-sided but then corrected the situation gracefully:

SS: Have you ever inadvertently said something that really inflamed one of the parties?

SI: Yeah. Let me think of an example. You were at the film event [A conflict resolution documentary film series sponsored by SFCG]... The way that... I wasn't happy with the way that I said what I did about Rwanda. And I knew as soon as I said it. I knew as I was saying it that the Rwandan Ambassador [Zac Nsenga] probably would be very bothered by the way... and you probably don't remember but I was talking about the Rwandan role in Congo and somebody had said, a Rwandan man in the back of the room had said, "this is fine talking about the film but what are you doing, the international communities, to really support things in Rwanda?" And I found myself in a lot of those kinds of settings and there is a part of me that gets bothered a little bit by that intervention from time to time because I find often times it comes from people who themselves are not doing a whole lot and are too often looking to the international community. And the mischievous side of me in my head is thinking, what I'd like to say is, "what are you doing? We'll talk about the international community next

but you are Rwandan and this is primarily a Rwandan problem. What are you doing?" But I know that comes across as sort of combative and that won't actually get anywhere. That'd be more like a smart point to make that'd make you popular with a lot of the people in the room but it'll make that person feel like dirt. And so I stayed away from that but I knew as soon as I was saying it, "that Rwanda has gotten a good deal from the international community"... I can recognize that saying that is one thing. I have a sense for how that will be heard, especially by Rwandan officials.

SS: That Rwanda has gotten a good deal with the international community?

SI: Right. Because taken out of context if you go back to the genocide, what I was talking about was after the genocide, there's been a great deal of guilt among the international community there's been more money both as an amount and in a consistent way, more money over a longer period of time invested into Rwanda and the rebuilding there than in most other post conflict situations in Sub-Saharan Africa. And that's what I meant. But when you just say they've gotten a good deal that brings up all kinds of emotions around, "What are you talking about they got a good deal. People just sat around and refused to use the world 'genocide' during the fighting just so that they wouldn't have to get involved. And Kofi Annan ignored the warnings..." all this kind of stuff.

SS: Right. It's true but it has an element of being a little one-sided.

SI: Yeah. And even if it is true for what you mean it to be, it will fit into people's context and if their context is "what did the international

community do in 1994," it'll really upset them. And understandably so. And I feel that there is a balance, for me... What I struggle with a little bit is the balance between really trying to be sensitive to that and empathetic to that, to how people will take things, and the arrogance of thinking you can somehow manipulate or control people's reactions, that you can be sure of where they're coming from... I think there can be a little tendency to arrogance there, a little bit, at times.

SS: Say more... to assume that we could facilitate so well that there would never be a reaction has a little bit of arrogance to it?

SI: No. Because I think most people who facilitate will want reactions... you mean reactions to you? If you said something that will inflame somebody?

SS: Yes.

SI: Yes. I think there's maybe a little arrogance to that. And I also think there's probably a little bit of arrogance to managing, for instance. To managing staff for instance, to giving somebody feedback on a job that they're doing. One of the things that I've been trying to learn over the last couple of years is I've been so caught up in trying to phrase something in such a way that the person will understand but will be okay, will be able to hear it, that I put it in a way that's too convoluted for them. I'm not clear. You lose clarity because you spend so much time...

SS: Being politically correct...

SI: Right. Watching out for the... People can take it. People are adults. And... be kind, this is me talking to myself, especially the last year on this job, I've

had more interactions like this than in any other job, the management load is a lot higher... Be kind but be clear. A lot of times in managing being clear is more important than most other things. You always want to be kind but you've got to be clear or you're not helping you're creating more problems. I get into a conversation with somebody that I feel like I've phrased perfectly but they didn't understand the main point and I've spent ten minutes talking around it rather than just coming out and say it. Now I more often will just come out and say what I mean to say.

SS: Maybe there's two things you're trying to say. I really care about you and I want to work on my relationship with you and at the same time I have to say this wasn't the best and I don't know how to say that directly.

SI: Yes. Or I feel you need to work on this. And I find that people most often actually really appreciate that more. I don't have a lot of experience. I have several years of management experience but not a lifetime's worth or anything and I'm realizing more and more that that clarity... one of the big problems we have here and that I see in a lot of organizations is the lack of clarity between managers and the people who they are managing because of the desire to avoid conflict, or because of assumptions that somebody is not good at something and you box them. And people appreciate much more getting feedback that is clear. (Idriss, 2003)

There is a structural consideration involved in this as well. If you want people to come together and be polite and speak nicely to each other, then you invite the moderates

and exclude the extremists (Rubenstein, 2002a).The consequences are that the work will likely not address the underlying tensions that are preventing settlement of the issue.

> It's so important in lots of cases to get the extremists, at least as much as you can, into the process because they are going to express these underlying issues in a way that the moderates won't. It takes an Osama bin Laden to say, "Get American troops off the sacred soil of Saudi Arabia." The Saudis aren't going to say it. The Saudi people aren't going to say it and the Saudi rulers aren't going to say it. The moderate Muslim people aren't going to put it that way. So there's a tip-off from Osama that a kind of basic identity question is being posed here. (Rubenstein, 2002a)

Rubenstein implies that Osama is a figure, playing a role that is creating the social tension needed for transformation. Osama is, in a sense, is Dr. King's gadfly.

While working for the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, I spoke to a group of journalists from across the Middle East on a panel at the Delphi Institute, a Senate funded think tank and dialogue forum in Washington, DC. The first two panelists presented views paralleling White House administration policy regarding terrorism, the war on terrorism, the role of journalism, and foreign policy. The journalists were familiar with these views and listened attentively but quietly.

I presented a basic view of role theory and the function of Osama in the global field. Osama isn't just Osama. That is, he is an individual and also he is an icon for various views. In the west he represents the worst of terroristic criminality. But in the Muslim world he represents various sentiments that don't have a way to be expressed openly in public

discourse. The journalists were engaged and anything but quiet. One panelist agreed that this somehow represented a polar view and the other was incensed.

Some of the fury in the Middle East is less easy to describe than the presence of American troops on sacred soil. There is a sense that there is a form of *cultural pollution* stemming from the dominance of Western culture: clothes, music, media, electronics—much of which people want but not in the way in which they are appearing. Western cultural hegemony is difficult to understand from a Western perspective because "I am not a hegemon" and "I am not oppressing anyone." And yet there is a shift that can happen wherein I begin to realize that many people are surprisingly consistent in the way they report their experiences of cultural pollution. Professor Richard Rubenstein said,

> Yeah, you don't know that unless you talk to the so-called nuts. And then it turns out that instead of it being just a couple of so-called nuts, and everybody else are moderates, that the masses are furious about this or feeling the same kinds of insults and they have Osama speaking for them... so you don't exclude the [extremists]. (2002b)

There are various approaches to dealing with heated moments. The facilitator's assumptions about chaos and strong emotions is an important factor. Some may delay the work because of their own edges and fears. One approach to momentarily defusing the heat is to use humor or a twist of perspective: "at times if you come back with a disarming approach that is unexpected, instead of escalating, you turn to something completely different" (Duncan, 2003). This approach also relies heavily on the charisma and rank and store of good intentions of the facilitator and is fabulous when it works. But at times the change of levels may be experienced as aggression or a deflection.

Some facilitators acknowledged their use of some spiritual practice, such as Zen, or breathing exercises to help guide them through complicated moments. "I do at times stop and breathe, you know, and do the Thich Nhat Hanh meditation, 'I breathe in, I breathe out, present moment, precious moment.' There have been times when I even close my eyes and do that." (Duncan, 2003) This helps to provide a center or a metaposition. A certain level of meta-awareness seems to be necessary for people to be able to do deep work without retraumatizing themselves and others.

Dennis Sandole (2003) uses the past as a framework for explaining the moment. Emotions rose while he was facilitating a group of Armenians and Azerbaijanis. His approach was to "Try to give them an appreciation for the role of history, historical memory, and people's identities" (Sandole, 2003). Johan Gultung (2002b), however, maintains that the solution has never been found in the past and never will be. But Barbara Tint (2002, 2005), a conflict professional with Portland State University, has found that the collective memory of the past is an important factor and is very much related to current conflict. Numerous proposals, for example, to remove Arabs from Israel/Palestine have been discussed since as early as 1895 when political Zionism was founded by Theodor Herzl (Simons, 1988, p. 3), indicating the persistent nature of the collective memory.

Process Work attempts to see how the past is happening in the present. If the same events or forces were not still occurring symbolically or on a process level, there would hardly be any reason for them to be discussed with such strong affect: they would not be a problem. Focusing on how things are happening in the moment (either directly or through the metaphor of the past) is, as previously mentioned, where the heart of the emotion, heat, and conflict lie.

The man looked down at the city of Sarajevo, into which he had been shooting his

fifty caliber machine gun for the better part of a year and did not see what had once

been a magnificent city. . . but rather the campsite of the Turkish army that had

conquered the Balkans in the 14th and 15th centuries. Somewhere he must have

known that the people he was shooting at were civilians—after a year of siege, 3,500

of the dead were children—but he could not see anyone in that urban bowl except

armed invaders. His job was, of course, not to murder. One cannot murder

invaders. One defends oneself against them. "We Serbs are saving Europe," he

said. (Rieff, 1966, p. 103)

While working with Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Sandole (2003) reported that,

"Well it sort of gets out of your hands a little bit. There's only so much you can do." The

Armenians felt that the Azerbaijanis were Turks intent on continuing the genocide that

Turkey started in 1915. The Azerbaijani felt they were merely defending their state, which

was occupied by Armenian forces. Sandole used a historical metaphor to "get them to look

at themselves indirectly, by focusing on another conflict that's similar" (Sandole, 2003)

because the group is too emotionally reactive to work on their own conflict directly.

Process Work does the same thing, basically, and sees a historical metaphor as being one

of many ways to use roles to work more indirectly. Other roles, such as victim, oppressor,

hegemon, warrior, nurturer, are a more direct metaphor and at times allow participants to

more closely focus on how the same dynamics are happening in the moment in the room.

This allows people to step in and out of the roles, getting to know them within themselves,

and to explore the tensions between the various roles.

Many aspects of the work being done by the global peace movement focus on interpersonal bonding even though the importance of interpersonal bonding is debatable. Co-researchers held diverse opinions regarding the importance of bonding. Ambassador McDonald (1991) maintains that bonding is one of the key elements of conflict resolution training:

> Whenever we sit down together for a couple of days or for a week at a time we break bread together, we have a meal at the beginning of the process. And we also have a meal as a sort of a closing ceremony. . . breaking bread together has been a sign of peace since time began. And it is difficult for some people to do that, but once they see it is a simple thing about sharing some food, why it is non threatening, why they seem to get over that at least at the start. (McDonald, 1991)

Others note that it is only one experience, that it is one-sided, and as such there may be too much emphasis placed upon bonding.

> I find that one needs time. One needs a lot of time to develop a relationship between representatives of warring parties, who get bonded. But then you have to go home again to the respective constituents who might assassinate them for having slept with the devil. (Sandole, 2003)

Still others see a focus on bonding as being misplaced, unrealistic, and undesirable.

> Participants come to problem-solving dialogues to learn about intergroup conflict. The facilitators, who remain non-judgmental, do not attempt to adjudicate differences between the opposing parties and do not give advice. They do not attempt to generate "interpersonal trust among the participants across national lines.

Such an effort would neither be realistic nor even desirable" (Kelman, 1991, p.

153). (V. Volkan, 1999)

Interventions & Context

It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it.
And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.
—Eleanor Roosevelt

Professor Sandole (2003) describes three levels of interaction: the cognitive level,

the evaluation level, and the affective level. Emotionally reactive parties are said to be at the

emotional level and he often finds that he is at times attempting to intervene at a cognitive

level, which does not work, so he shifts levels by telling a story to "stop the entropy."

Stopping the entropy is sometimes important and telling the stories of similar conflicts

helps to create a cognitive meta-position in the participants.

Another direct approach is helping people shift in these levels is to help them

notice their bodies, their reactions, and their signals and to frame these signals in terms of

the conflict, roles, and rank issues so that their meta-communicator is built in a state-

oriented way in relationship to their own reactions, traumas, and chosen conflicts.

Patricia Deer (1999) demonstrated that there is a strong relationship between

somatic experience and conflict resolution by researching the effect of massages on conflict

participants. But massage does not make use of the body in a way that capitalizes on the

meaning within somatic experience. In a sense these approaches pathologize some states or

levels of consciousness and prefer others. Behind this pathologization is a sort of emotional

hegemony of consciousness which marginalizes dreaming.

Professor Sandole (2003) views the momentary level of physical discomfort and reactivity through the lens of a model of cognitive dissonance: "It is physiological. People feel a sense of acute personal discomfort and they're not sure why."

> I view dissonance as a breakdown between preferred and actual states of affairs that, sort of, sets off an early warning system that something is not quite right with what you expect the world to be like and what it actually is like. And the world may be you and your relationships with other people. So the anxiety is an early warning red flag. It says, "Pay attention." But it is so diffuse and so vague that people are not even aware of the fact that they are experiencing anxiety. In fact, most of us can not even distinguish one emotion from another. I mean, we might be able to cognitively label fear if we see a train coming at us. Or if there is a person with a gun who is threatening to kill us we might be able to identify that as fear. How do we identify shame vs guilt vs being threatened vs depression, for instance, vs an anxiety attack? (Sandole, 2003)

Furthermore, he considers it to be unethical to push people into dissonance.

> It may be unethical. People have to eventually come to terms with their views perhaps no longer being valid. But if their views are part of who they are, that is tricky because maybe they are no longer valid. Them. Not their views only, but them. (Sandole, 2003)

And yet, in an environment where people are already shooting or bombing each other, maybe it is not ethical to not push them. Is the standard to pushing "whatever it takes" short of having people leave the work and return to the streets of fighting? "I think it's unethical to stand by and watch Rwanda take place in April, 1994 or Srebrenica in July,

1995. In both cases the international community stood by. (Sandole)" But how is the *international community* (as represented by the facilitation team) already standing by? How is this happening in the moment in a group process if the facilitators are at an edge because of their own fear of chaos, emotion, and conflict, and unwilling to push more deeply?

Helping to amplify the experience that Sandole refers to as cognitive dissonance can help to make secondary processes more evident and help with the unfolding and exploration of their meaning (J. Diamond, 2005). Consider the following case from WWII: aspects of this example are very painful, the statistics and stories and many people's reactions to them are very strong.

During WWII, General Curtis LeMay (2005a) developed the bombardment tactics and strategies that created the fire storms and left Nazi Germany in rubble. He was then transferred to the Pacific where he led the air war against Japan. He incinerated every major Japanese city, killing half a million people and leaving eight million homeless and then oversaw the dropping of the atomic bombs. For many people these facts, when presented so starkly, are, in and of themselves, revisionist because they do not present the context in which those decisions were made. There is a complex discussion surrounding the fire bombings and the use of atomic weapons, which happened at the time and has been analyzed continuously since. Former US Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, was at that time a young officer reporting directly to General LeMay. Asked later about the morality of the campaign, LeMay (2005a) replied:

> Killing Japanese didn't bother me very much at that time . . . I suppose if I had lost the war, I would have been tried as a war criminal . . . Every soldier thinks

something of the moral aspects of what he is doing. But all war is immoral and if

you let that bother you, you're not a good soldier.

In a sense this is a very human response. It is part of the human condition to be able to

reflect on the morality of one's actions and to be able to detach or dissociate from various

feelings and thoughts. Bringing greater awareness to our actions is part of a larger peace

process and could benefit each of us. Learning to reconnect and integrate those feelings

and thoughts is a keystone of deep democracy and Process Work.

Although LeMay may not have been deeply self reflective (at least not publicly) it is

notable that he had even that much awareness of his own very human process of

dissociation under enormous pressure. Psychological research into cognitive dissonance

has found that people tend to unconsciously alter their views to justify prior actions

(Festinger, 2005). Certain views then become unthinkable and people will react violently

against those who present views that challenge their beliefs.

According to cognitive dissonance theory, there is a tendency for individuals to seek

consistency among their cognitions (i.e., beliefs, opinions). When there is an

inconsistency between attitudes or behaviors (dissonance), something must change

to eliminate the dissonance. In the case of a discrepancy between attitudes and

behavior, it is most likely that the attitude will change to accommodate the

behavior. (Festinger, 2005)

Lemay's inconsistencies may have further shifted his attitudes, cementing him into

an especially one-sided position. Consider the following quotations from LeMay:

· If you kill enough of them, they stop fighting.

- I think there are many times when it would be most efficient to use nuclear weapons. However, the public opinion in this country and throughout the world throw up their hands in horror when you mention nuclear weapons, just because of the propaganda that's been fed to them. 3 October, 1968

- My solution to the problem would be to tell [the North Vietnamese Communists] frankly that they've got to draw in their horns and stop their aggression or we're going to bomb them into the stone age.

- I'd like to see a more aggressive attitude on the part of the United States. That doesn't mean launching an immediate preventive war. . . . Native analysts may look sadly back from the future on that period when we had the atomic bomb and the Russians didn't . . . That was the era when we might have destroyed Russia completely and not even skinned our elbows doing it . . . China has the bomb . . . Sometime in the future—25, 50, 75 years hence—what will the situation be like then? By that time the Chinese will have the capability of delivery too . . . That's the reason some schools of thinking don't rule out a destruction of the Chinese military potential before the situation grows worse than it is today. It's bad enough now. (LeMay, 2005a)

During the Cuban missile crisis LeMay (2005b) proposed that we "fry" Cuba and called the peaceful solution "the greatest defeat in our history." How were the rigidity and one-sidedness of LeMay's attitudes solidified by his experiences in WWII? The roles reflected in LeMay's position are still a part of the field effecting US foreign policy. How

can they be made more conscious and worked with more directly? Consider former US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

Secretary McNamara reported to LeMay during WWII and was involved in the planning of the attacks on Japan. He also went on to be directly responsible for planning and execution of the US war in Vietnam and yet he developed a great deal of moral self reflection and he made this public in his book *In Retrospect* (McNamara, 1995) and in the documentary *The Fog of War* (Morris et al., 2003). Consider the following:

Human fallibility and nuclear weapons will destroy nations. Is it right and proper that today there are 7,500 strategic offensive nuclear warheads, of which 2,500 are on 15 minute alert, to be launched by the decision of one human being? (Morris et al., 2003)

The spirit of eldership is present in the way that McNamara, now a senior statesman and "elder" in the US, dares to discuss the undiscussable publicly—questioning the morality of US military tactics and strategy in WWII, in Vietnam, and in the Cold War:

I don't fault Truman for dropping the nuclear bomb. The US Japanese war was one of the most brutal wars in all of human history. *Kamikaze* pilots, suicide... unbelievable. What one can criticize is that the human race prior to that time, and today, has not really grappled with what I'll call the rules of war. Was there a rule then that said you shouldn't bomb, shouldn't kill, shouldn't burn to death a hundred thousand civilians in a night?

LeMay said if we lost the war we'd all have been prosecuted as war criminals. And I think he's right. He, and I'd say I, were behaving as war criminals. LeMay recognized that what he was doing would be thought immoral if his side had

lost. Well what makes it immoral if you lose and not immoral if you win? (Morris et al., 2003)

The facilitation of conflict is extremely difficult.

Not only is the work technically difficult, requires years for skill development, extensive preparation for practioners to build historical understanding, and requires hours, days, weeks, and months of preparation for the few hours of actual intervention; it is emotionally exhausting, often creates painful body symptoms and induces complex and generally undesirable extreme and altered states of consciousness.

Such preparation can be viewed as a spiritual path, although many facilitators eschew this view seeing facilitation as a purely technical process. This polarity is a central issue within the field. There is, as yet, no definitive answer regarding whether a spiritual level of belief, experience, or awareness is absolutely necessary, however even those who eschew the spiritual describe sentient essence experiences, which are basically analogous. It is the connection with this inner feeling that mysteriously informs the work.

> I do at times stop and breathe. You know, and do the Thich Nhat Hanh meditation, I breathe in, I breathe out, present moment, precious moment. There have been times when I even close my eyes and do that. . . First of all my body calms down because I'm usually taking very short breaths by that point. And secondly it changes the awareness of the group because all of a sudden I've stepped back from engagement. (Duncan, 2003)

> It's that experience of really tapping into the humanity, even of the woman who was bashing me for what she felt like was harsh... That feels more like a spiritual experience than anything else. I don't know if you've ever had this, it's a

very strange but beautiful experience, it's going to sound very hokey but... and I have no control over when this happens or not, often times it's when I'm in public transportation or just up against the sea of humanity. It's an experience of love. Not love... it's just looking at people and being fascinated by the diversity and looking at someone's face and almost being able to sense how much that person has gone through with sort of a craggled face sitting there looking very tired with sort of a sparkle in their eye. I don't know what that is but I've definitely had that experience at different times where there is a sense of almost family. And it comes and goes because the metro is also smelly and stinky and whatever else. But it's an amazing experience. I don't know where it comes from or why but I love that feeling. It just makes you really happy. (Idriss, 2003)

> SS: I feel like I'm talking to Dr. King.

> SI: Right. I wish!!! [laughs] (Idriss, 2003)

Facilitative Innerwork Theory and Practice

Innerwork is Critical. An ability to track and use one's own inner experience while in the midst of complex and heated interactions is critically important in order to stay awake to the constant flow of signals, roles, and information; to stay centered emotionally and psychologically; and to use the wisdom that is being provided by one's own somatic and psychological process.

Mel Duncan (2003), Director of the Global Nonviolent Peaceforce, describes an especially powerful and transformative moment of innerwork during a course on Sufi mysticism:

In 1997 and '98 I was fortunate enough to get a fellowship and spend about a year and a half studying the connection between grass roots organizing and spirituality. And so, my first stop was at a place called the University of Creation and Spirituality in Oakland, California. And I was in a class first semester on the mystics, studying a variety of the mystics, and we had just started a class on Rumi. I'd never heard of him and the class was being taught by a Sufi. And so here I am on the first day of class and she's kind of introducing things and they presented the difference between western style debate and eastern style debate. In the west we try to intellectually dominate our opponent and whereas in the east you try to illuminate what that person is saying. And so with that I started day dreaming about the time that I used to appear on a public television show in Minnesota, which was at the end of ... and I was on a political panel periodically which would have the left and the right and I was always there to be the smiling skewer of the left and I did my job well and I liked it. And we were encouraged to mix it up, by the producers, before we would go on. Don't hesitate to interrupt. Don't hesitate to mix it up. And I loved the role, you know, people stopped in the supermarket. It was great for the ego.

And one night I came home and Georgia my wife was waiting for me and she said, the only thing good about you tonight was your shirt. And it happened to be a shirt that she had bought me. And she really challenged me. What was I contributing to the public good having a bunch of guys talk over each other and not listen.

And so I'm day dreaming about all this back in Oakland at the school with the Sufi and I *come-to* to her [the Sufi teacher] staring at me. And she didn't know who I was and I didn't know who she was...and her [sic] staring into my eyes and saying, "and your job is to enter the heart of your enemy." You know... and I wondered... I looked quickly to see if... and the rest of my class was still sitting there... and I wanted to say, "Lady! Are you talking to me?" And I wrote in my notebook, "enter the heart of my enemy, that's the place to rip it out." And then I wrote in my notebook, further on down, "Don't go back to sleep. This could change your life." And then she started talking about this Vietnamese monk I'd never heard of: some guy named Thich Nhat Hanh. And from then on, Stan, through that entire... through that entire sojourn I was challenged at the way I looked at the world from a dualistic point of view.

And I'm a little embarrassed to admit now that my method of analysis really was not that different from President Bush's. I just choose better enemies than he does. And instead I was being challenged time and time again to organize, to work from a place of our unity as opposed to a place of our duality. And that the duality was more illusion than it was reality. And so a year and a half later I was sitting in Plum Village with Thich Nhat Hanh to study this deeply and Thich Nhat Hanh emphasized that we're not in a place to take sides. We've had enough people take sides. And we really need to find this place of unity and have that be the basis of our work. So... That's kind of a long story but that's how I get to the reference point where I am. (Duncan, 2003)

Obviously, not every moment of innerwork is quite this profound. Shamil Idriss (2003) describes what is perhaps a more common experience of centering through innerwork:

> I think the centered part is really important to me because my antenna are most off when I'm not centered. You know, my ability to tune in to where other people are and the atmosphere in the room and to whether somebody has a need that maybe, as a facilitator, I am not aware of, those things all diminish the more focused I am on other things, like what's the next thing on the agenda or personal issues I've got going on? (Idriss, 2003)

Mel Duncan (2003) describes an innerwork tool that he sometimes uses to catch himself when thinking dualistically that the other is violent, not him:

> I think the first thing is to always recognize the divinity that is in the other person and [to recognize] that I share a part of that divinity and a part of that trueness. And also recognizing that I certainly have the potential to be violent as well and to recognize that in myself and so then it becomes more of a choice.

> When asked, what is God's role in healing conflict, Mel responded,

> > M: Well, my first comment is to help illuminate the divinity that is within all of us and to help connect that light.

> > S: And partly what your field force is doing is modeling that?

> > M: You know I really believe that we are the hand of Jesus. The heartbeat of God. And I'm not any more that than a Tamil tiger with an automatic weapon. (Duncan, 2003)

Practical Case Study

      I was invited to teach a class on conflict to a group of young Jewish Americans as part of a month long training in democracy, conflict resolution, and leadership conflict held at George Washington University. I knew that they had been receiving great training throughout the month. I was nervous and the voices of many critics arose: "What can I contribute? What if they don't like me? What if they don't like Process Work theories and think this is too far out?" I had had some discussions with the program's organizer. She was excited and thought that the group would love something different, something less theoretical than what they had received, and something less like a lecture telling them about conflict and the efforts of various NGO's and government agencies.

      The evening before the training I sat staring at the emails and notes from our telephone conversations. I felt the nervousness in an unusual place: it was along the front surfaces of my arms, stopping just short of my hands. There was an unusual coolness in the sensation and it felt like something was lifting the surface of the skin or ever so gently pulling on the hairs. I experimented with amplifying the sensation by pulling up on my shirt with one hand. That did not feel quite the same. It did not have the same feeling quality. I tried pulling up on my arm hairs. That definitely was not it either.

      I let the inexplicable energy raise my arms slowly while my hands dangled at the wrists. This felt more interesting. I followed the movement and let my arms guide me. I began to feel like a puppet, a marionette, being guided by the strings of a puppeteer. I stayed with this state and the experience of being guided by the puppet for many moments and then I realized, I am not the puppeteer. I am, and I am not. There is a Puppeteer that is the Tao, and there is me that is my own puppeteer. All that I would have to do the next

day would be to follow the basic advice that I was going to be teaching anyway: make an intervention, notice the feedback, and update your structural hypothesis considering the roles, ghosts, and rank issues.

The following morning, after very brief introductions and a description of my work at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, I explained that multi-track diplomacy and deep democracy were both steps in the same direction of greater communal awareness, intimacy, and solidarity through diversity. I gave a twenty minute introduction to group process and asked for two volunteer facilitators.

The group began a group process with the two volunteers acting as designated facilitators. We were sitting in a circle in a large room. I noticed that I was really excited and then I thought, "oh, that might be a problem!" I stopped myself for a moment, scanned my body, and looked at each person in the circle. I was really excited and was not yet noticing the atmosphere of hesitation.

Until that moment, their group work had only included conflict simulations on preassigned topics with preassigned roles. Their hesitation was telling me that they did not yet understand what was expected. I asked them to facilitate a group process on anything. Their first task was to find consensus on a topic. It would not matter if the conflict existed in the group, between two individuals, or in the world at large because either way the basic roles of any of these conflicts exist within each of us. Working in this way is not only a good way to help ease conflict but it is also a powerful way to develop facilitation skills and awareness.

I walked around the circle demonstrating how to speak from various roles in different positions in the room. Suddenly I felt a rush of energy. What was that? I stepped

back. People began to move around the room and get animated and speak freely. People moved, at times, into different positions within the circle, each of which began to be associated with particular political positions.

The dialogue centered on interfaith dating, relationship, intermarriage, and the views of their parents, aunts, uncles, rabbis, and communities. One of the views expressed was something like, "Thou shalt not date nor marry non-Jews!" I noticed that I had a somatic reaction to this. I hated it. I hated the world that supported it. Suddenly I noticed the sound of a fire truck outside, not an unusual event in the city, but unusual in that it had captured my attention and I felt frightened. What did the fire truck mean? What was I afraid of? I noticed that I felt hot. A part of me was enraged. I noticed that I had been one-sidedly against certain views. The kids were not free to stand against that view in their relationships with their parents so I—of course, being the only non-Jew in the room and the only "authority figure"—had the reaction for them internally. Rather than have the reaction externally, I used the experience to frame an intervention. I moved to a position opposite of the location where the "Thou shalt not" view had come from and said, "Can someone speak against that role from over here? What would this side say?" Several people stepped into the new position and a focused group process evolved.

Eventually the group noticed a parallel to the issues in Israel and Palestine and the whole focus shifted from a personal to a political level. People speaking for a secular state were in one spot, more Zionist, fundamentalist people in another, and a third group supported a religious life and community but did not want to impose a religious state onto

the system. I know that groups often shift topics when they collectively come to an edge,[57] but I did not yet understand the edge.

The interactions continued with people at times moving out of one group and joining another as they noticed something had shifted in their own views and feelings. I noticed at one point that all of the people were in one half of the circle and there were no people in the other half. How fascinating! What did that empty space represent? I pointed out the empty space and asked the group what they thought it represented. One of the participants stepped into the empty space to see if she could feel what was there. She spontaneously closed her eyes and went inside for a moment. She suddenly said that from this space all that mattered was her connection with God. Religion mattered only in so much as it helped her to develop that connection. She was no longer interested in external Zionism. Many people joined with her and began to discuss religion as a small pond that is intended to show the way to a greater ocean. Not everyone agreed. Some still carried the dream of a Jewish State. Others felt differently and the group process continued.

Perhaps this is not an issue that can be solved but instead is a complex process of awareness. Society has not solved this issue, and any one group can not be expected to either, but some of the participants were deeply moved by the experience.

In that moment, dreaming together became more interesting than the creation of outer enemies. The shadow and the edge had been to see that the external rules of interfaith dating, the politics of Israel, and even aspects of the externalities of their own religion—all of which were intended to support them in their relationship with God—were

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[57]   An edge is the limit of what we can perceive, think, communicate, or believe we can do. Structurally speaking, an edge separates the primary from the secondary process. (Revar, 2004)

all aspects of something that was also preventing some of them from connecting more deeply with all of the different roles.

And me? I was ecstatic. I felt a strong electric buzz. I could not stop grinning and I loved the group for their courage and creativity.

Awareness of Sexism is Fundamental to Conflict Facilitation

One of the obstacles to inner diversity and fluidity is reflected in the labeling of various styles, qualities, tendencies, or properties of human behavior as masculine or feminine (Peace X Peace, 2004). Considerable debate exists as to whether these distinctions are based on nature or nurture. Recent advances in science—such as brain imaging and understanding of hormones and the molecules of emotion (Pert, 1997)—are providing additional insights that indicates that there are indeed quantifiable, functional differences in brain structure and function. For example,

> Men and women's brains respond to pain differently, researchers have found. Scans showed parts of women's brains linked to emotion were stimulated when they felt pain. But the researchers, from the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) found that, in men's brains analytical areas showed greater activity. (Chang et al., 2003)

Despite the physiological basis of difference that exists between men and women, there is great diversity within these broad categories of gender and a great deal of debate as to the relevance and source of those differences. Those qualities often defined as *masculine* or *feminine* clearly exist across gender boundaries. Further research is needed to explore the effects and limitations of the tangible neurological differences, distinguishing

them from the dreaming in the background. Apple computers and Windows based PC's are very different on the inside and yet, for the most part, they do the same thing.

However different the functionality of men's and women's brains, the various qualities often labeled as *masculine* or *feminine* appear to be characteristics of both men and women to varying degrees. Assigning static labels of *masculine* and *feminine* may serve to rigidify a distinction that is at best tenuous or at least artificial and certainly misunderstand. This stratification pathologizes both men and women and places restrictions on our high dreams for the growth of individual women and men as well as for humanity. The point is not to trivialize the differences between men and women. Riane Eisler (1968), in *The Chalice and the Blade,* refers to as the culture of relatedness and the culture of dominance. Clearly there are differences. Alice Walker (Lanker, 1989) writes:

> I feel safe with women. No woman has ever beaten me up. No woman has ever made me afraid on the street. I think that the culture that women put out into the world is safer for everyone. They don't put out the guns, they don't encourage the shooting. If you value your life, whether you're a man or woman, if you had a choice, you would choose the culture that lets you live, rather than the culture that is trying to kill you.
>
> I couldn't be a separatist, a racial one, and I can't be a sexual separatist. It just seems to me that as long as we are both here, it's pretty clear that the struggle is to share the planet, rather than to divide it. (Lanker, 1989, p. 24)

There are clearly differences in the *cultures* of men and women. And yet those distinctions are not completely or clearly polar when applied to individuals or any potentially innate differences between the genders. There are men and women who excel

in fields normally dominated by each. And there are men who do not kill as there are women who do, whether it be with their hands, their tongues, or their politics.

However unclear the issues of innate difference or tendencies towards dominance, it is clear that a culture of patriarchal dominance has prevailed over the past five to ten thousand years (Eisler, 1968; Lerner, 1997; Stone, 1976). Further research is needed to explore the long term timespirits involved in the formation of patriarchy. Against what was it intended? What were the high dreams? Against what were the relatedness cultures intended and what were their high dreams? Is it possible that relatedness and dominance cultures developed so differently not because of innate differences in gender but because of diversity: one community was driven by a projection onto and identification with the life giving Goddess earth mother and another community by power and their search for resources? In effect, it may not be genetics but random diversity of thought that made the difference. For various economic and political reasons one paradigm has dominated in many parts of the world.

Eisler (1968) suggests that the opposite of patriarchy is not matriarchy—those terms are each based on dominance—leading her to use the terms dominance culture and relatedness culture. But, to what extent did the Goddess culture leave men in a position of substandard functionary, not dominated in the sense of the opposite of patriarchy but denied access to not only the life giving qualities of woman (at a time when the biological role of men in procreation was not clearly understood) but also to spiritual identification and connection with the Goddess? Just because the dominant paradigm is not one of dominance does not necessarily mean that nothing is marginalized.

The Greek roots of the word hierarchy, *hieros* and *arkhia*, mean sacred rule (Eisler, 1968, pp. 118-119). To be ruled by that which is sacred implies that there is a dreaming process to be followed. The rigid hierarchies of the patriarchal mainstream create rigid roles for men and for women and prevent sacred rule by marginalizing dreaming. It may be that the marginalization of dreaming is the fundamental issue of oppression out of which comes sexism, racism, environmental disasters, and war.

While an openness to dreaming would ideally lead to a relatedness culture, paradoxically, to be sustainable it may also need to be open to power: not to dominance, *per se*, but to elder those qualities that are often referred to and pathologized as masculine and to not only support but honor rather than marginalize power. Similarly, pathologizing patriarchy and its *rigid* hierarchy marginalizes the sacred rule and visions behind the patriarchal high dreams. In other words, it is important to explore the ways in which men and women, relatedness and dominance cultures alike, marginalize dreaming, albeit in different ways. There are practical considerations that result from the marginalization of various patterns of approaching life, relationship, and conflict:

> Conflict resolution can be viewed as weakness and the communication skills that go with it can be viewed as weakness by people who are more into *real politik*. . . . People who feel that you deal with conflicts by having more power than the other might feel that what you just said are signs of weakness that might open you up to more attacks, more intimidation. . . . It's the power of being logical. . . . As opposed to the power of having a gun and I'm going to put it to your head and you will do my bidding. (Sandole, 2003)

Eldership

Mindell's (1992) definition of eldership involves support for various roles and experiences. Rich Rubenstein (2002a) describes his desire for developing conflict resolution interventions that support "everybody" this way:

> You should be able to talk to everybody about this stuff. You should be able to go into an audience of right wingers and make just as much sense to them as to an audience of liberal sympathizers. (2002a)

Not everyone agrees with this conclusion. Rubenstein (2002a) described one case where a conflict resolution professional

> Would do things like go to South Africa in the last days of apartheid and lecture the ANC [African National Congress] about the need to satisfy the basic human rights of the whites as well as the blacks. He got himself in a lot of trouble on that trip actually because—what he was trying to do was always to say we're not simply what they sometimes call progressives but that if we're able to develop the analytical tools and the practical tools, and so forth, of identifying the problems that cause violence and help people solve them, well everybody should be interested including the rich. (Rubenstein, 2002a)

This approach, however, justifies a sort of one-sided social action that is likely to inflame some people. Are conflict resolution facilitators mere technicians developing and applying the "analytical tools and the practical tools, and so forth, of identifying the problems that cause violence" or is there a deeper spirit to be followed? Amanda Byron (2002) (professor of conflict resolution at PSU and former director of the Oregon Peace Institute) says that:

A: Mutual understanding is sort of a lofty goal, right? And mutual respect is also lofty but far more attainable, where issues of deep-rooted morality are involved. So, so how can you facilitate a dialogue where they're able to understand, develop some kind of mutual respect for the different positions where they stand? It's magic. I don't know.

S: It's magic? Great. Can you say more about magic?

A: No... In the Sufi healing that I do, we talk about the role of facilitator as someone who provides a container of safety for the process and ideally, there's not only that person's skill and capability for containment but there's also an invitation of divine presence to assist in that process of holding people's hearts as they engage in the process. So, sometimes that magic is very strong and sometimes great strides are made and sometimes the results aren't immediately apparent. So, I don't know, I haven't been able to exactly quantify.

S: Is this something that you see as part of conflict resolution work or something that you see as your own growth and training and development as a person?

A: I think that it's my own process of understanding what I mean by transformative mediation and transformative conflict resolution which is a term that's used in the field to describe something that is not necessarily what I mean when I talk about transformative conflict resolution. So I'm responding personally to your question of "what do you do" or "what do I

do as a facilitator" and that's what I do. Which is a process that involves all of my different skill sets and interests.

S: How is it different than what you mean when you talk about transformative conflict resolution?

A: It's different because to me it's much deeper. It has a far more spiritual foundation. Whereas [when] I talk about transformative mediation in a class on mediation, I'm just lightly discussing the possibility of transformation occurring as a result of conflict. Sometimes transformative mediation is discounted in the conflict resolution field as being sort of touchy-feely and it's also called therapeutic mediation and its seen as [having] kind of a real psychological component to it.

S: Which is seen as being bad?

A: This is one of my triggers in life, it's a soft form.

S: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

A: Soft skills. As opposed to...

S: Hard skills.

A: Yeah, more of a devaluation of emotional integrity. . . .

S: Is the field changing?

A: I don't know. It's a really good question. My sense is that some people have better magic than other people. (A. Byron, 2002)

It is difficult to discuss any aspect of conflicts and interventions with compassion and care for all of the people and feelings and views involved. Consider the roles of hard skills vs soft skills in the following case surrounding the Smithsonian Institute's

controversial displays of the Enola Gay (the B-29 that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima) at the National Air and Space Museum in 1995 and the permanent exhibit, which opened in 2004 near Dulles Airport. Controversy surrounding these exhibits has prevented the inclusion of any depiction of the effect of the atomic bombs on Japan or the Japanese people who suffered.

The following analysis refers to the original plans for the display exhibit in 1995:

For what the [original] plan [which was discarded] calls the "emotional center" of the exhibit, the curators are collecting burnt watches, broken wall clocks, and photos of victims—which will be enlarged to life size—as well as melted and broken religious objects. One display will be a schoolgirl's lunch box with remains of peas and rice reduced to carbon. To ensure that nobody misses the point, "where possible, photos of the persons who owned or wore these artifacts would be used to show that real people stood behind the artifacts." Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will recall the horror in their own words.

The Air and Space Museum says it takes no position on the "difficult moral and political questions" involved. For the past two years, however, museum officials have been under fire from veterans groups who charge that the exhibition plan is politically biased. (Air Force Association, 1994)

There are those who felt that a display that included graphic portrayal of the horror created was revisionist. In a way, it was revisionist because it did not also adequately support the experience of those who made or supported the decision to use atomic weapons. And yet, not depicting the horror is also revisionist and allows us to dissociate collectively, enabling us to support wars without connecting with a deeper experience of the

suffering created, the suffering averted, and a deeper human yearning to find another way.

Yet another view expresses the same sentiment in a different manner: because of liberalism and our lack of awareness of the horrors of oppression and tyranny, we are unwilling to connect with a deeper experience of the suffering averted. In a way the least violent and most creative thing I know how to do is to connect with all of these experiences and views, to feel the horror, to feel the pride, to struggle to be more open to appreciating history and all its complexity, and to understand the experiences and thinking of others, even of LeMay.

The unwillingness to be confronted with emotionally charged information that depicts diverse viewpoints is itself a powerful aspect of conflict. In a sense, conflict escalates into violence because of the emotional violence inherent in this marginalizing of the experience of others.

Last year the Enola Gay was moved to permanent display at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum's Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center, near Dulles Airport. Two *Hibakusha* (survivors of the atomic bombings) attended the opening ceremony for the display because they wanted their experience to also be represented at the opening.

> They were both moved and distressed, they said, to see the Enola Gay all polished up and perched on a pedestal like a giant sports trophy. And also distressed to see that the exhibit contained no information whatsoever about the effect of the bomb on those below. (Fromming, 2004)

Some of the American men who had served in the war approached them shouting, "You started it!" The Japanese men reportedly bowed their heads and said, "We know." (Fromming, 2004) Their eldership in such a complex situation is deeply moving.

Eldership, which Mindell has defined as an ability to understand, empathize with and support conflicted individuals or groups on all sides of an issue simultaneously and compassionately, also means, sometimes, to support the one-sidedness of yourself or others in the interests of peace or wholeness or to avoid further suffering. The Japanese men's support for the one-sidedness of their attackers is deeply moving. This was a moment that could easily have escalated violently. There is a profound difference between saying "I know" out of eldership and saying it from fear of confronting others or being unable to take one's own side out of disempowerment or victimhood. It also differs from becoming the B-29 psychologically and metaphorically and bombing people in retaliation.

A alternative option to one's initial spontaneous reaction is only possible once someone has worked through the issues involved with feelings of victimhood and disempowerment and feelings of aggression and revenge. Speaking from freedom and wisdom with the option of creative alternative responses and choosing to simply say "I know" in the face of your attacker's anger is an act of enormous power and courage and eldership.

The examples used leading up to this section are strong. But often these are the roles that pattern our interactions because these *chosen traumas* and other ghosts are present in the interactional mathematics of the moment. If peace is to be deep and meaningful and sustainable it has to include some level of inner development and education. I asked Arny Mindell the following question:

S: Where is that inner development and education going to come from?

A: It usually comes from near death experiences, which is what war is all about.

I have to ask myself, why do people love to go to war so much. There's a

million reasons: economic and social and political and personal and cultural and whatever. And another one is that people seek almost a near death condition to get away from their everyday self. So, bringing that to light earlier wouldn't hurt anybody. Bringing to light the idea that some of us, most of us, I think, seek to be rid of ourselves a little bit, and that's the beginning of innerwork. Not having your own identity dominating all of that. (Mindell, 2005a)

Near death experiences are one of many altered and extreme states of consciousness. Some cultures value different states of consciousness more than others. For example, mainstream western culture values a state of consciousness that goes along with linear productivity and a high paced work ethic and a calm tone in conflict. Consequently, few of us are comfortable with our own extreme states while in conflict or while facilitating conflict. Learning to be not only comfortable but excited by them and learning to use them for growth and transformation is essentially an act of shamanism, and is definitely not for everyone. At the beginning of our interview I asked Amy Mindell about her high dream for the world. This is her reply:

> A: I think my high dream is that there are various elders around the world who are able to process the kinds of things that come up in different places. That are able to hold the kinds of experiences that people have. Not that everyone has to change, become aware and work on everything. But that there are different people in different places who are somehow able to bring some awareness and can go more deeply into what's happening. So that we

don't just repeat history but something new can happen. I think that' s my

larger hope.

S: Where will those elders come from?

A: Where do they come from?

S: Yes.

A: Well when I think of the various experiences Arny and I have had when

we're traveling, and I think you've probably had that experience too, there

seems to be in a room of a bunch of people almost always at least one

person who just naturally has that ability to just hold and be there for

everybody. That's not necessarily somebody who's trained in anything. But

they just are somehow born that way or have that feeling or [are] able to

have a little bit of distance from what's happening. That seems to happen

again and again and it's always the most amazing thing. And so touching to

me when that happens. So there are those people and then there's of course

facilitators and political people or anybody who is really interested in

developing that kind of skill and is able and has the kind of heart and

feeling to do that. I think there's a lot of people who would like to do that.

And a lot of people who are trying to train to do that, so it will come from

those areas as well. And I think, I don't know, I've met a lot of kids who are

learning conflict resolution in school and who are wanting to go towards that

or have big dreams and they will certainly may come from them as well.

S: And you do it so quickly. You're really fluid with it.

A: What do I do quickly?

S: You work on yourself quickly.

A: Sometimes...

S: Sometimes it takes...

A: Sometimes it takes awhile. I mean, I aspire to that. I would like to. But I think parts of me are very normal. Like most of us. When you're hurt or you feel downed it's so natural to want to fight back or to really dig your heels in or you just sink or something and get miserable. And I think sometimes that can go on longer inside of myself than I want and then I have to really find out what that's about. If I'm in the middle of a group and that happens then I try to do that quickly. I don't think I'm always successful but I try. You know. It's interesting. It's fascinating. (Mindell, 2005a)

When Ambassador Zac Nsenga, the Rwandan Ambassador to the US, describes the indigenous Rwandan system of restorative justice, *gachacha*, he talked about the importance of the elders and the respect which people have for them and for the traditions of *gachacha*.

It was powerful because people respected it. Even now, I'm telling you, it never stopped. *Gachacha* never stopped. Even when people were living in the villages. Still the council of elder men, people who were... in a village people who were reputable, who were always called in to listen to some of these conflicts. They are there and they will be impartial. These mannered men who come and who will tell you the truth whether you like it or not. And then tell you this is what I feel, and another one, this is what I feel. And then they respect these men. . . . They must be

respected. They must be seen, they always known that these are people who never... go around a corner as to reach their point. People who are impartial. And there are always people, elderly people who really take this role in the community. In most African countries actually it still takes place. Even in Congo. The local leaders. The kings. Those are still the people who still command respect. There is nothing you can do about it. If you want to reconcile these people must be brought. They must be used. (Nsenga, 2003)

Gachacha is essentially one form of deep democracy. Rather than giving the responsibility and locus of authority to the retributive court system, it is a communal system that takes responsibility through direct relatedness.

Deep Democracy: a Communal System of Direct Relatedness

The marginalization of readily available signals, double signals, and rank differences prevents the development of a healthy, communal system of relatedness. This can be shown in individual therapy, in relationship conflicts, and in large scale conflict and oppression.

There is something of a mantra in psychotherapy that people do not wake up until their losses are great enough. This realization occurs in many different ways. For example, it is basically the principle behind LeMay's assertion that when you have killed enough of your enemy, they will stop fighting. It is also the principle behind terrorism as well as state sponsored authoritarianism. The nature of the *losses* is quite complex, however. In war, it is generally physical death, the destruction of functional economies, and the destruction of nations. Losses may also include the loss of identity or the loss of attachment to an idea or ideal.

1903, the US and Panama signed a treaty allowing the US to build the Panama Canal. The treaty gave the US ten miles of land across the whole country in perpetuity. In 1904, the Panamanian government wanted to reopen negotiations because they realized that they did not like the word perpetuity. The US Ambassador responded telling the Panamanians that we like the word. It took seventy-two years, numerous riots, several deaths, ten years of negotiations, and thirty years of transition before the issue was resolved. It was almost a hundred year process before the Panamanians again had control of their country. (McDonald, 2002)

It was not the riots or the deaths that made the US change its policy. Numerous countries riot and people die because of other US policies that remain unchanged. What was different? How was our identity threatened by the situation? Why did it take violence before the US was willing to respond to the feelings of others? What is the shift that happens when a Jewish woman on the way to Auschwitz notices that she and the Gestapo agents are one as in the story from Etty Hillesum on page 248? This is deep democracy.

In Rwanda, the indigenous system of restorative justice was replaced with a system of classical retributive justice during colonization.

> The problem is the classical justice now as we know has come and has tended to overshadow them [the elders and the system of *gachacha*]. If you go to courts it undermines that system [and the dreaming] that was there before. Which still people command that kind of respect. In some societies in Africa is still there. In Africa... in Uganda... is still kings. These are very powerful institutions. People still respect. Especially those ordinary people. Those have not gone to school. Have not

learned the modern, you know. In some countries they accept this customary role. Once something is respected you have to take it seriously. . . .

[Now] Someone has committed a crime has to go to prison. . . .it is actually a system that came after colonialization. Rwanda before didn't have prisons. *Gachacha* would deal with this. There was no such a thing as prison. If you didn't accept you would have to be an outcast. You had decided to leave and go to another land somewhere. You become an outcast.

That system of respect not only provided a mechanism for restorative justice and communal life, it also provided a mechanism that was in part behind the genocide in 1994. Political leaders were able to use the deep respect and culture of relatedness within the community to promote the violence. The consequences of becoming an outcast and the need for community respect were so great that people were unable to challenge the order to kill.

S: Did that [being outcast] happen often?

Z: Yeah. It did. But not very quiet because people were bound by community. You were born son of somebody but you also, you also had a relationship with the neighborhood. You were people. Because you know, you had to behave because otherwise nobody would give you cow. You can bring dishonor to your family. You can't marry. Even you go to someone has got booze or beer. They used to get this beer together and they drink, nobody will allow you because you're an outcast. Your peer group will refuse you too. Some of those normals which you did in society which you did you fear. Even up to now. In my village if I see an elderly person, even if I am

an Ambassador, I will stand up from this and the elderly person will sit and I will go and I wait. Because this kind of thing is still there, this is an elderly person and you have to respect them. You respect them, then the other people respect you. And you know, you come, for a whole day go to your village, and take this one not our son, but is a son from our village. That's why when modern politics came in, people use, I could go to village and tell them, and they believe me. They would believe me because this is our son he can't be telling us wrong things. So they listen to me. So that's why in Rwanda someone could come and say, just go and kill. Yeah. So maybe I listen. Not necessarily because of what they get but because of the trust and the belief. But of course also because of poverty they thought they would get something from there. What I want to emphasize is the power of somebody who you know from the village is very powerful. In fact, the power of somebody you know, this one is so and so's son, is very powerful. So and so's son is a good man. We can't... it is easy anybody's from the village so and so to come up has a belief and then they can cause problem if they wanted. (Nsenga, 2003)

Following the genocide, 120,000 people were placed in prison. Over the years the courts of the classical justice were unable to cope with the large numbers. The process of *gachacha* was eventually used.

When *gachahca* was being discussed in the beginning of 1998 and 1999 the survivors thought it was a trap and a trick of trying to use these people. . . . For

them they thought they killed our people, they should be killed. Or they should be tried. (Nsenga, 2003)

But there was fear on both sides. The prisoners were afraid of being released as a trap to kill them, but the people were also afraid of the prisons because they had killed.

. . . when the *gachacha* trials began to be discussed, many people were suspicious that the government was trying to, under pressure, release people to leave. People who killed their relatives. People who.. [were] not [yet] tried [and convicted and punished]. People who they thought should be killed. You know people become irrational. I imagine you mention something irrational when people are... you know... initially irrational in a sense... after the genocide they were almost in a coma. They didn't know what happened. Whatever time they started seeing the atrocities ... you were leaving the house... they weren't even frightened. They were in that state you were in, you were not even thinking. You don't know what happened. But after some time you start feeling pain, but you have nobody to come and help you. Maybe you are elderly. People start looking at themselves... That was the time we start having people going berserk. Someone going on the street. Someone lady no... maybe who should not have gone with clothes off. That time came in. (Nsenga, 2003)

Despite the enormous fear and the many complications, politically, logistically, and otherwise people eventually realized that the classical justice system simply could not handle the overwhelming numbers of 120,000 cases.

So now half the time they realize, including an organization called Ibuka (IBUKA, 2004), dedicated to people remembering the genocide, if these people are to

remain in prison two hundred years before they see justice then what will that benefit? Some of them have start looking at it and passing the information and say what we benefit. Those people they have not been taken to court because this is a huge big problem. These people are being fed. Huge billions Rwandan francs every year. They are healthy. They are fed. They have clothes. So.. for us we are suffering here we don't even have anything. So... now this has helped, some of them realize, they can come, help repair some of these things. Community service. It doesn't mean that they are 100% happy, but they have to accept it. Eventually the people [in Rwanda] see it as inevitable thing. (Nsenga, 2003)

The international community didn't agree. International standards of criminal justice were not upheld by *gachacha.*

They are still looking at it from the lenses of an international justice. You know. And they are not looking at it from a system trying to solve a real, real problem on the ground. They want a *gachacha* to solve a problem that is not on the ground. *Gachacha* is serving this situation in Rwanda, which can not be solve by the traditional way we know about justice. . . .

There are very many, those who are skeptic. And what the government has done is to make sure through the police, look, we are going to release these people but their security is at stake. But also the security of those survivors is at stake as well. In terms of some may break down and therefore we have to get health counselors nearby, so the Minister of Health is important person for *gachacha* community service. Minister of Interior. Minister of Health. Minister of Youth. Minister of Finance. Minister of Justice. It is a multi-ministerial commission that

looks, each one has got its own aspects that it looks at. The Minister of Health has to have the capacity to deal with issues regarding the psycho-social aspects in the case. The Minister of Internal Affairs has to make sure that these people who are released don't harm others, through the police, they also make should not be harmed. So this is a multi-million... it requires a lot of money because of the logistics involved. And so far when they are released nobody has died. And you haven't had any case of people breaking down. . . . [The] *gachacha* trials just started in 2002. Although it was being earlier on but when it was in the implementation stage, we realize some more financial and logistical difficulties. Learning over 10,000 courts and managing over 250,000 judges isn't simple. The mechanisms in place to protect those who are released and those who survived isn't simple. You know there were a lot of these dynamics, logistical problems. We sat down, all the ministries, and we looked at what is wrong with it and strategies to be taken, and those strategies cost money and there was no money to begin with. So we sat down and said let us try with a small area, a pilot project over three months, and see how it can possibly be done and to be able to project how many for the purposes of planning ahead, how many prisoners would remain, how much money, food, health care, and so... we sat down and deduced the speed. And twelve areas were done over the whole country over three months as a pilot study.

The *gachacha* is about seven steps. The first step, first meetings, whenever the judges and the jury are there, at the first level, they deal with issues of registration. They want to know the public tell them, and those who confessed come say, they kill so and so and so and so, they do an inventory of how many they

killed in that area. The names. Where they were, those who were killed. This is number one.

Number two: they go and bring another thing... until reach number seven, a judgment. So this sitting is not today, and then you are released. All of the *gachacha* courts are going through all of these now. Because the truth included how many were killed, who were they, who killed them. The next step will be probably, other types of registration. You know they collect and record the information. And that time will come with the judge. And based on what you have found, what you deal with these people. And then there will be appeals. Some will come and say yes but I want to appeal. Because you know people are saying that they have not told the truth. If you come and tell wrong things now, you come to the community and you say... the community they say you said you didn't kill, you are wrong. So this can be appealed and on and on until they reach the agreement. You can appeal. You know. But I think from the previous three months, it has been that people mostly don't even need to appeal because by the time people come and talk, you want to talk truth. (Nsenga, 2003)

At the time of the interview over 23,000 people had been released and returned to their villages with the consent of the villagers.

Yeah. I'm telling you, you haven't had another catastrophe even when 23,000 were released. If anybody had died you'd have seen it in the press everywhere. But if one person had died, you would have heard. You would have heard that the *gachacha*... people have died... (Nsenga, 2003)

The transformations that were involved in this whole process are enormous. In one exemplary case, there was a woman whose husband and child were killed by one man (Nsenga, 2003; Watchtower, 2004). She was also attacked by the man and left for dead in a pool of blood. She survived and through her faith and spiritual practice began to work with the prisoners, teaching forgiveness and supporting the *gachacha* process. She happened to see the man who had attacked her and eventually won his trust. When he was finally released and returned to the village he had nowhere to stay because his home had been destroyed. The woman took him in and let him live under the same roof. "Now everybody in the village is saying this woman is mad, that's all they are saying. But the woman is saying, those who know I'm not mad, I know what I'm doing. Through the church I have forgiven." (Nsenga, 2003) Seeing that the man had no way to make a living, she got some chickens and helped him get established in the poultry business.

That many must be in more pain than the lady now. Because they tell me if the man can come and say, when I look at the scar and I know this used to be a very beautiful lady I feel hurt. This is what the boy now says. I feel hurt by seeing you in that... especially when I know I'm the one who did it. So now he knows he's not going to be killed. He has seen the woman is very serious. There is a chicken poultry farm around. He is getting eggs, is getting money. And the woman is happy. And the... one of the sons survived. They all forgive him.

Maybe the time will come and the boy will say, I accept it now. But you see, the history, somewhere he still remembers what he did. He killed the people. (Nsenga, 2003)

Forgiveness is a powerful, important, and complex part of eldership and deep democracy. It is important because it can be pivotal in efforts to resolve conflict. It is powerful because of the effect it sometimes has on people. And it is complex because efforts to encourage forgiveness often marginalize other experiences that need to be supported as well, but there is also at times a certain brutality in the refusal to forgive that blames the other party. Not everyone forgives. The elders in Rwanda are continuing to work with those who cannot yet or for whom it may never be right to.

S: Are the elders also still working with the people who can not forgive?

Z: Yes. Especially churches. There is one church where it has failed. The Catholic church has been very adamant because the role it played has not come up and even asked for forgiveness. The Anglican church has asked for forgiveness because of the role their churches has played in the genocide. And people look at it has healing purpose and are very happy about it.

They believe now it is not the church who did it. There are people in the church who did it. You see, they are now trying to make a difference. It was not done by the church. It was done by individuals in the church. So that's why people like this [the lady described above]... most likely she was hacked in the church, most likely. She bears a living example of this, most extreme. And now there are examples of churches doing that. (Nsenga, 2003; Watchtower, 2004)

The ability to separate the acts of various individuals from the churches reflects an enormous capacity for fluidity and an inherent belief in role theory. Similarly, the ability of

the Rwandans to forgive the Hutus in general and large numbers of individuals for heinous crimes is remarkable and unprecedented, especially so from my Western perspective that doesn't expect such forgiveness or fluidity in others. Unfortunately the international community was not supportive of the Rwandan's creative, indigenous, and deeply spiritual *gachacha* process.

And now people say, that is contrary to international human standard. Yeah! Indeed. We are even 100% not according to international standards, but so what? What we do? Tell us what we do? It is not because we have no alternative we are doing the wrong things but it is because it is something that we have seen being done that has helped our society before to live together. This is genocide. Fine. But it is better than calling for amnesty. *Gachacha* is better than calling for amnesty. If you call amnesty and it doesn't solve the problem, will you come and will you regulate? I mean, what we are doing is something where, there is no room for trials here. If there is something that I do and that helps you, there is nothing that can help 100%, but if *gachacha* can help 60%, that will be very good. That's a lot. (Nsenga, 2003)

The resistance to see what is right about Rwanda's solutions to its own problems, designed and implemented in its own unique socio-cultural, political atmosphere involves a certain marginalization experience. There is a role that says, the procedures of the International Criminal Court are the only valid procedures, *gachaha* is not valid. There is a lot at stake in maintaining our collective Western marginalization of experience and our adherence to authoritarian democracy. Arny Mindell said that, ". . . I think we all do have a form of deep democracy but it happens only when we sleep at night. Only then do all our

sub personalities and the things we don't like thinking about much and the people we don't like thinking about much: all that appears with a lot of power" (Mindell, 2005a).

Moments of deep democracy also happen during our waking hours and are directly relevant to conflict work and peacebuilding. Shamil Idriss describes through his own experiences his realization that even being attacked is a spiritual experience and the depth of his feeling connection with the diversity of humanity:

SI: When you asked the spirituality question, I feel like that's, more than in formal religion right now because of the community side with the American Muslim community because it's struggling to find itself a little bit, it's that experience of really tapping into the humanity, even of the woman who was bashing for me for what she felt like was harsh... That feels more like a spiritual experience than anything else. I don't know if you've ever had this, it's a very strange but beautiful experience, it's going to sound very hokey but... and I have no control over when this happens or not, often times it's when I'm in public transportation or just up against the sea of humanity. It's an experience of love. Not love... it's just looking at people and being fascinated by the diversity and looking at someone's face and almost being able to sense how much that person has gone through with sort of a craggled face sitting there looking very tired with sort of a sparkle in their eye. I don't know what that is but I've definitely had that experience at different times where there is a sense of almost family. And it comes and goes because the metro is also smelly and stinky and whatever else. But it's an amazing

experience. I don't know where it comes from or why but I love that feeling. It just makes you really happy.

SS: I feel like I'm talking to Dr. King.

SI: Right. I wish!!! [laughs] (Idriss, 2003)

Deep democracy in the broadest sense—which includes awareness of various levels of consciousness and the dreaming behind symptoms and experience—is not only a personal phenomenon. There is also a political aspect to it as well as a collective spiritual path. In this sense conflict resolution includes the personal therapeutic work done by anyone. Not only are political forces relevant in therapy, but therapeutic forces are relevant in politics. "Psychology has a big chance [of] making, eventually, an effect on politics. . . but the therapists themselves have to be educated beyond just helping people, they have to be into awareness too" (Mindell, 2005a), however the collective edge and judgment against therapy and against dreaming prevents politicians from being more open about their experience. The culture as a whole has to open and support their ability to bring dreaming into diplomacy, governance, and the courts.

The possibility that this may never happen, or my "belief" that it may never happen, at times makes me hopeless. Speaking of her own hopelessness, Amy Mindell (2005a) said,

I think I get hopeless when I don't feel I can work with myself very well. I see the world and I see, you know, things cycle and there's a lot of pain and difficulty and stuff. And then there's a lot of really hopeful things that happen. But I think if I study myself it's when I get to my own edges, inside in my own development, or I

get very stuck and I feel like I'm not able to make the changes that I'm hoping everybody else is going to make.

Or I start to get frustrated with other people but then I realize it's really me that's at an edge, that I'm not able to develop in the way that I'm hoping I will. And then I start to sort of see that around. Or I project it around and I don't work more deeply on myself. I think that's what makes me hopeless. And then I start demanding or hoping that everybody else will do it instead of me. That's where I get hopeless. I think. . . .

Though I don't always realize it consciously. I start to look outside and get upset but then I realize that I'm not making the steps I'm hoping everybody else is going to make. And that I really have to look at that and see what does that mean and what can I learn and how can I go deeper into my one-sidedness or desire for a certain thing? What can I do with that one-sidedness inside of myself? How can I go further? If I can do that then maybe I can share that with somebody else and maybe be helpful. That's what I think. (Mindell, 2005a)

The applicability of these ideas and tools of conflict resolution are extended by John Burton (1993) to a political system in which the values and the analysis techniques would not be an adjunct to power politics but would be an alternative to power politics. Burton's focus, however, was still on problem solving and not awareness, meaning that the signals and structures needed to accomplish the shift towards conflict resolution as a political system—which means deep democracy—will continue to be marginalized. For example, the basic premise that conflict resolution as a political system could possibly replace (rather than work with) the roles, pressures, and functions of power politics suggests

a high dream in which the roles of power are not present in a way that challenges the new system. It is one system of governance attempting to marginalize another. In other words, it is power politics masquerading as liberalism. It is "not making the steps I'm hoping everybody else is going to make" (Mindell, 2005a).

The marginalization of dreaming has directly relevant consequences in relationship, in conflict, in politics, and in the world. Consider the possibility that even Nelson Mandela's substantial eldership may not create a change in South Africa that will survive him. Nelson Mandela often receives a standing ovation when he speaks publicly in South Africa as he did at the funeral of his friend, colleague, and mentor Walter Sisulu in 2003. President Mugabe of Zimbabwe also received a standing ovation from the black South Africans at that funeral and again at President Thabo Mbeki's inauguration ceremony in Pretoria in April 2004 (South African Press Association, 2004b). "Of the foreigners [present at the inauguration], Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe was perhaps the most enthusiastically welcomed, with the crowd starting to clap and whistle even before his arrival was officially announced" (South African Press Association, 2004a).

Why? Because he stood up against the white colonialists in Zimbabwe, nationalized their businesses and farms, and threw them out of the country. Despite the end of official apartheid, the spirit of racial hatred still runs deep in South Africa as evidenced by Mugabe's standing ovations.

One white South African psychotherapist and social activists reports:

There is a lot of dissent against the ANC [African National Congress]. In some ways it's a pity that more conflict wasn't allowed to happen. There is so much feeling in South Africa which hasn't had a chance to be expressed. And the whole

world looks at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and thinks, "how great!" But there was only a certain kind of horror that has been allowed to come forward. Only the grossest atrocities against people's bodies. So there is all kinds of stuff that hasn't been expressed yet.

One of the reasons that I listen to *kwaito*[58] is that it speaks a strong language about what it's like to be young and black in South Africa today. There's all kinds of feelings around the place where the past and the present and the future are meeting. There's a lot of envy, but there's also a lot of pride.

I'm looking at a newspaper advertisement for a beer. There's a young man saying "I hate being black" and then it says, "I'm not someone else's black. I'm my own black and I love being black." And then there's the sales pitch, "Refresh your soul."

There is still so much anger with black people in so many ways that hasn't found a place for public expression. The politicians do a little and the new black middle class are doing well, but the people haven't yet gotten their hands on any economic change. (Moultrie, 2005)

Powerful leadership has the effect of gaining momentary consensus but of stopping a deeper dialogue, which then remains incomplete as is reflected in this simple yet complex beer ad's simplified reflection of a complex identity struggle for black South Africans. This has been demonstrated repeatedly throughout the world as great leaders have managed to

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[58] Just as many of the influences on hip hop come from the streets of New York and California, *kwaito* is known as the musical voice of young, black, urban South Africa. Like hip hop, . . . *kwaito* (pronounced "key-toe") is not just music. It is an expression and a validation of a way of life—the way South Africans dress, talk and dance. It is a street style as lifestyle, where the music reflects life in the townships, much the same way hip hop mimics life in the American ghetto. (Swink, 2003)

gain the consensus of their people and their enemies for peace and negotiated and signed peace accords, only to see violence re-commence at the first spark. It has been said that African peace accords are signed only at the beginning of the rainy season when it is too miserable to fight and the roads too muddy for transporting the combatants or when both sides need time to buy more bullets (US Institute of Peace, 2004).

Clearly, Mandela brings something far more lofty to the table than this, but such signals as evidenced by the receptions given President Mugabe indicate that there may also be a powerful secondary process of racial hatred which is momentarily held at bay by Mandela's charisma and the romanticism of his life and struggles. He is no less able to garner the consensus of his people than Hitler or Saddam Hussein were, although obviously to very different ends.

Since the goals of these two leaders were so different why make this comparison? Because it demonstrates that the people and the underlying social dynamic have not changed. Whether people make war because their leaders beat the drums or make peace because their leaders wave olive branches is, in a sense, psychologically equivalent. In short, there is "nobody home" psychologically. What good fortune for those in power that people do not think.

Mandela's eldership has momentarily halted the violence, but has not yet supported black or white people to change at a deeper level. This parallels the events where Marshall Tito helped to keep Yugoslavia united despite its ethnic differences until after his death, at which time the divisions came forth in a violent war.

It has already been demonstrated that deep democracy can be taught, that deep democracy and process oriented concepts can help to process tensions and alleviate

conflict in groups, organization, and communities; and that process oriented concepts can, at times, help to explain the successes and failures of various conflict interventions (Audergon, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Arnold Mindell, 1995, 2002b, 2002c; Mindell, 2003, 2004; Schupbach, 2005a). But can Process Work help in a broader context such as South Africa?

I asked Max Schupbach if he thought that it might be possible to approach Nelson Mandela or another political figure directly to ask if they would agree with the observations detailed above regarding the reactions by many black South Africans to President Mugabe: why not use a public figure or an opinion leader to help change the opinion or to help bring information across that the mainstream might initially have a resistance against? Dr. Schupbach said that, in a sense, this question says, why not approach a public figure like Mandela and ask him to help centralize Process Work. The intention is not to centralize Process Work, *per se*, at least not for the benefit of Process Work. The intention is to centralize Process Work for the benefit of South Africa, but the result, centralization of Process Work, is the same.

Implicit in this approach is a criticism of the South African approach to governance and leadership. The "general model or paradigm in South Africa is not that awareness brings change but that following a particular paradigm, which is *Ubuntu*,[59] brings change" (Schupbach, 2005b). The suggestion to introduce deep democracy to South Africa itself,

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[59] Ubuntu (a Zulu word) serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or world view enshrined in the Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, i.e. "a person is a person through other persons." At bottom, this traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes human being as "being-with-others" and prescribes what "being-with-others" should be all about. (Louw, 2005)

however, implies a criticism of South African government and of *Ubuntu*. There is a suggestion of the superiority of Process Work over the South African paradigm of governance. The South African government does not have a paradigm of awareness and deep democracy and neither do any other nations at this time. The problem with attempting to bring my belief that awareness work and deep democracy is a better system of governance to others is that the action reflects a lack of awareness. There is no signal coming from Mandela or the South African government expressing interest. In Schupbach's view,

> You no longer are aware of the difficulties, the problems, and the context in which *Ubuntu* has happened. You are no longer using awareness. You are now using something like a Newtonian force to replace it, which goes against the [Process Work] paradigm itself. It no longer follows a dreaming process but it now follows a more primary process that says, if awareness then we have more solutions. (2005b)

> What I'd like to be able to do with other people is not insist that they become fluid. But that I could be fluid as a facilitator in appreciating and going deeper into what people are really experiencing and understand them at a greater depth. Once that happens, we have often seen that things naturally begin to flow more easily between the sides once people feel deeply understood. Then sometimes fluidity is possible. Knowing that's in the background... I would like things to be very fluid but then I'd like to be fluid enough to really go into the static nature of things too and appreciate it. . . . If you go into one side who's holding on really strongly to what it believes, if I can appreciate that, then I feel there is potential movement or hope or something new can happen. . . . I've tried to change

people and I've tried to be very hopeful and, you know, make things more fluid,

and sometimes that happens and it's really great and people can switch roles and

there's a lot of movement but on the other hand if I am unable to appreciate the

thing that's not moving and go deeply into it, it doesn't usually go so well. . . .

I also love diversity, that some people are going to be holding on to certain

things and others other things and I like the beauty of that. Our world wouldn't be

as beautiful, I think, if everybody was only flowing and everybody had the same

belief. I like diversity and I also truly love those moments when unity, at the

essence level, occurs as well. (Mindell, 2005a)

I have a tendency at times to think, "How could I help bring this kind of thinking

out into the world more?" I asked Max Schupbach this question and he responded:

By realizing you don't have to bring it out into the world. It's already in the world.

It's inherent in every organization, in every person, in every nation, in every belief

system. All you got to do is help people to discover it by, to begin with, meeting

them where they're at. Process Work doesn't have to be brought into the world. It's

already present everywhere. It's a natural organic process that happens with or

without your interventions. If you help with interventions it at times facilitates it,

meaning [that it] makes it easier.

You don't have to bring it there. Just help people discover it. But in

order to do that the attitude is that people and groups are ok where they're at and

that is the first step. That people are not just ok, they are great where they're at.

And in case anyone is ever interested in discovering something naturally or want to

know more, then you should help them. Help them discover it more. Everybody wants to become aware.

Quantum Mind (Mindell, 2000c) says becoming aware is ontologically[60] built into nature. The moment you have a field, and an event, and an observer and you have a science that says observation (meaning consciousness, meaning facilitation) plays a role that is inseparable from what natural events are all about; you're also saying that the universe is self aware and that the awareness process is ontologically built into everybody, into every thing, into every stone, into every chair, into every television set, into every person, into every animal out there. It's just a question of time. How do we discover it and how do we play with it? (Schupbach, 2005b)

For example, in April of 2004, I traveled to St. Petersburg, Russia to attend a NATO sponsored conference on conflict resolution, which the Russians call conflictology, at the Russian Academy of science. I presented a preliminary view of this dissertation, a process oriented view of conflict theory, in a paper called *Shadows of Peace* (Siver, 2004b) (See Appendix 7 on page 396).

The conference was the first attempt on the part of Russian scholars to develop an academic field of conflict resolution in Russia and the papers presented were extremely wide ranging. NATO had provided the funding, but what to do with it? The conference drew on a wide range of disciplines, each trying to see what it might contribute to conflict resolution.

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[60] Ontology: The branch of metaphysics that is concerned with the nature of being (Encarta, 2005).

One of the papers presented differential equations modeling the effect of laser light on chemical reaction rates. Laser light differs from normal light because of its property of coherence. This is a powerful metaphor and is very similar to David Bohm's (2004) use of the word coherence in discussing dialogue. The equations and their variables were too far removed from human experience to be of value. We do not yet know how to quantify the variables of human experience in a meaningful way. We are barely beginning to be able to notice, articulate, and analyze experience through qualitative methodology.

The formation of a capacity for conflict resolution, academically or otherwise, in any given nation, community, or organization, must have a tendency to follow the path that the field itself has taken in its own evolution—there is a field, an event, and an observer so the awareness process is also ontologically built into the evolution of conflict resolution. The equations were not only a mathematical symbol for a particular model, their use was itself a symbol for the vision for a deterministic methodology for stability and peace.

This same tendency is repeated in other fields. For example, in "The End of Rational Capitalism," John Foster (2005), editor of The Monthly Review, presents a brief history of the evolution of the various dominant ideologies of economic thought over the past century. Foster describes shifts such as when the myth of the self-regulating market displaced the myth of rational capitalism as the dominant ideology. He uses the term *myth* to mean fallacy but also recognizes the deeper dreaming in the background. Consider: "the new mythology of a rational capitalism did not simply emerge from the heads of two economists. It reflected the spirit of an age . . ." (Foster, 2005). The spirit of an age— whether it is referred to as dreaming, a *timespirit* or *zeitgeist*—reflects deeper forces than we yet know how to quantify.

In some as yet to be discovered mathematics of awareness, the forces pattern events in the field and these patterns will eventually be noticed by observers as the field struggles towards self-awareness. The economic stability that was originally attributed to the structural success of capitalism in post-WWII America, is now attributed to several transitory factors such as:

- The buildup of consumer liquidity in the United States during the Second World War, which immediately after the war fed a consumer spending boom;

- The second great wave of automobilization in the United States, which was associated with the growth of suburbs and the building of the interstate highway system and powered the steel, glass, and rubber industries;

- The rebuilding of the European and Japanese economies following the war;

- The stability associated with unchallenged U.S. hegemony over the world economy, marked by the absolute dominance of the dollar. (Foster, 2005)

Each of these four factors has an underlying dreaming: the buildup of consumer liquidity during the war was created by a wide spread desire to save and conserve in order to support the war effort and the spending boom after the war was fueled by a desire to enjoy the good life the victors felt they deserved.

Behind the wave of automobilization was an expansion of the dreaming of personal freedom and mobility, automobiles reflecting in the movement channel, an

amplification of a process of personal mobility, power, and freedom. Also, consider Henry Ford's idea of a car for everybody. This was not only a great business and marketing visionary. He was also expressing a role that countered a position that said that only the affluent should be able to afford that level of personal mobility, power, and freedom (Schupbach, 2000a).

The rebuilding of the European and Japanese economies is more complicated. Why did we rebuild their economies and not those of other nations? Japan and Europe became, in a sense, outriggers to the ship of American hegemony and bulwarks against Marxist and Maoist communism (Johnson, 2000).

American hegemony can be considered to have been unchallenged only in the most superficial of economic terms where the "absolute dominance of the dollar" is the sole measure.

Foster (2005) adds several long term structural factors to the list:

· The emergence of massive and continuing military spending in the United States, justified originally in terms of the Cold War arms race, but geared principally to the maintenance of the imperialist system;

· The development of the modern "sales effort"—or an economy geared to high consumption and supported by marketing and the development of a system of consumer credit or mass indebtedness;

· The rise of a qualitatively new financial superstructure operating somewhat independently from the productive base of the capitalist economy, and leading to a financial explosion. (Foster, 2005)

These factors also have a dreaming in the background. Massive military spending is related to fear and aggression—partly valid and partly projected—and a desire for stability through dominance. Behind the fear is a sense of powerlessness. Power then becomes projected upon physical weaponry.

Consumption is based on a high dream: behind materialism there is a dreaming of a better life, free of hardships and want, but sustained through patterns of consumption that are not necessarily related to real or meaningful needs. Finally, behind the financial system is partly a vision for capital efficiency but also a new system of dominance and a new form of imperialism.

The point to this argument is not that economic theory is flawed, although many economists maintain that it is (Sen, 2000; Stiglitz, 2003), or even that the basic premise of the traditional conservative economic analysis—that stability is inherently a quantitative, economic phenomenon—is flawed but that any field related to human behavior (whether it is focusing on individual behaviors or the resultant aggregate) has fractal-like parallels in the process model of consensus reality, dreamland, and essence.

Consider the following analysis, which was presented by Max Schupbach (2000a): Marx said that the economic situation creates a spiritual belief that reframes the economic situation. He said you have to look at the economic scene because that creates the psychological or spiritual scene. Let's say you have a hierarchical structure. That creates the thinking in people's minds that will allow them to go along with the injustices. The thinking works like dope in the sense that Marx referred to in his famous quote about religion being the opiate of the masses was not actually so much against religion as it was pointing out that there is so much suffering that the masses need an opiate (Marx, 1844). Consensus reality

is unjust. How you deal with that is that you dope yourself coming up with all kinds of spiritual beliefs so that you do not have to face the injustices. A lot of the thinking, roles, and rank issues in the analysis are actually dreamland figures.

Schupbach (2000a) continues: The neo-Marxists said that capitalists have taken over by integrating the middle class and that consumerism is taking people away from who they are. Finally, Schupbach's analysis of Max Weber turns this around. Weber did not quite say this, but laid the foundation for the idea that behind consumerism there is a spiritual experience in the background that is not just sick. The beliefs, goals, visions, and high dreams behind consumerism also need to be supported and unfolded. Once their deepest essence is more known, people may (or may not) choose to pursue those visions more directly and also may be more free to notice and support the roles that are against consumerism (such as increased awareness of the needs of others, environmental sustainability, etc.).

Consider the American joke: "He who dies with the most toys wins." Behind this joke is a sarcastic doubt about the meaningfulness of the way we are living (Schupbach, 2000a) and behind the sarcasm there is a signal that says, I know this is not meaningful but I do not yet know what to do differently.

This brief analysis of economic theory is meant to demonstrate the applicability of Process Work's concepts of roles, rank issues, dreaming, essence, in a field that is often considered to be a structured, quantative, rational, and fairly deterministic. It is also meant to demonstrate the relevance of the qualitative, psychological, dreaming and essence of economics to conflict resolution. There is a very human tendency to seek overly simple solutions, as demonstrated by some of the presenters at the Russian Academy of Science's

Conflictology conference. The history of conflict resolution has been and continues to be one of searching for the simplest model and, over time, realizing that more elements of complexity are needed in order to more accurately model the data. The economist John Kenneth Galbraith states that the complexity of various aspects of life, including conflict, are overwhelming and people tend to adopt what he calls conventional wisdom, which has to be simple, convenient, comfortable, and comforting (Galbraith, 2001).

The emotional economics of experience may not be quantifiable but the equations modeling their dynamics are already known to us intuitively, if not empirically. Former Deputy Secretary of Defense and current World Bank President Paul D. Wolfowitz once wrote that a major lesson of the Cold War for American foreign policy was "the importance of leadership and what it consists of: not lecturing and posturing and demanding, but demonstrating that your friends will be protected and taken care of, that your enemies will be punished, and that those who refuse to support you will regret having done so" (Purdum, 2005). Contrast the roles behind this position with that of the World Bank's stated mission to end poverty.

The options for gaining access to World Bank aid provided by the role posited by Wolfowitz are limited to a form of conformance that strains the limits of human malleability. Imagine what roles might react against what is often perceived as imperial hegemony. One need not only look to history to see these dynamics repeated again and again.

> S: I just read an email on a string [email listserv] where a woman was writing that she'd just discovered that her children have to watch a segment of news every morning, which is great except in between every news story is an ad

encouraging them to join the military. And then there is no debate about it and even the anti-war teachers are afraid to talk about it: they just tune it out, and they're afraid of losing their jobs.

A: Yeah. They haven't had any education in this. It's mostly consensual. Everything is outside: it's the news, it's the world, it's not you and me. I don't know how you're going to change the world without changing both you and me and us and our friends and stuff like that. And that's a major job. That's bigger than changing world war situations. That's a really big job. The smaller job will then just happen: the job with the planet and the wars and what have you. That's what I think. Doing both at the same time is really... doing the outer world thing and working hard at that and working hard on yourself and your relationships.(Mindell, 2005a)

People often tend to gravitate towards people, communities, and media that support their interpretation of events, their high dreams and low dreams as well. WWII is often attributed to the unfairness of the Treaty of Versailles, for example, which supported Germany's low dreams but not its high dreams:

We have seen how Germans after World War I, humiliated from defeat, were in a collective "low dream" and easily awakened into a high dream of redemption and power in the 1930s under Nazi rule. The legacy and horror of genocide of Jews in Europe emerged into a high dream of hope for refuge and the new state of Israel. The struggle of the Palestinian people under occupation has created a high dream of liberation. (Audergon, 2005b, p. 25).

Similar dreams shape US policy, reactions for and against it, the lack of reactions for or against it, wars, oppression, liberation, and every aspect of human experience and conflict. Getting to know ourselves as oppressor and victim, as liberator and defender, our high and low dreams, our power and powerlessness gives us greater fluidity, more options, greater access to compassion, to more considered "rationality," and hope. Finding role models for this sort of personal peace work can be extremely difficult.

Process Worker Robert King (2005) demonstrated his personal efforts to see various aspects of himself and to develop his eldership when he sent the following email to an international group that was discussing the firebombings of Japanese cities during WWII.

From: Robert King

Date: Fri Mar 18, 2005 2:37 pm

Subject: Re: [pw-local] I and some others

Dear Friends,

I appreciate everyone for sharing their heart-wrenchingly moving stories about and reactions to the firebombing and use of atomic bombs on the people of Japan. I have listened, cried and screamed in my heart but I have kept silent in the world. I have also read with keen interest how the issue of responsibility calls forth diverse viewpoints, all of which I can accept.

And I know all our hands are dirty. But I'm left with an unshakable feeling that I need to speak or I won't be able to live with myself. In the movie "The Fog of War" General LeMay admitted that if the US had lost the war we would have been put on trial for war crimes, for the war atrocities we committed against the Japanese

people. That is, since there was no power greater than ours to hold us accountable for our actions we could get away with it!

That's when my bomb exploded in moral outrage. I saw how we, my country, is still doing this in Iraq now, just consider the leveling of Fallujah and the torture at Abu Graib and the many other past and present abuses of our military might and still no real accountability. Then I realized that I am the US government avoiding responsibility and thus perpetuating all the things that I scream and cry about by using my privilege to stay hidden in the "safety" of my silent invisibility. There's no one to hold me accountable so I think I can get away with avoiding crossing one of my biggest barriers, which is to expose my reactions on email, which, if you haven't already noticed, I rarely if ever do. I struggled from the time of Arny's email till now before I could write this! I feel ashamed about this and I apologize for taking so long and writing such a long reply. I feel very bad for what my country did, is doing and my part in it. And I will do everything I can to react and not to suffer in silence when there is abuse happening in me or in the world! That's what my heart screams to the people in your stories. Thank you for being patient and hearing me out.

love Robert

(or from "the slow, lame goat" as Rumi's poem best describes me) (R. King, 2005)

A Self-Reflective Example of Innerwork Under Attack

Inspired by and in direct response to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's Millennium Development Goals recommendation for increased interaction between IGOs (International Governmental Organizations, such as the UN) and NGO's (Non

Governmental Organizations), Dr. Paul Van Tongeren, director of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention,[61] raised two million dollars, mainly from European governments, to respond. His response took the form of the creation of the GPPAC, the Global Partnership for Prevention of Armed Conflict.[62] I was invited to participate in a three day GPPAC conference held in the UN in New York and was asked to be the "technical process facilitator" for a small working group, which was focused on drafting recommendations for creating civil society networks and improving interactions between the UN and others IGOs, the networks, and NGO's.

First, I noticed my excitement on one hand and inflatedness on the other at being invited to the UN. All the more so to be in the role of facilitator at any level. After sitting with this and struggling to find a sense of humility I was able to bring some awareness and balance to my experience.

Before the conference began I had received emails introducing me to the three workgroup organizers I was to be working with. I wrote to them to introduce myself and to ask that they forward some of the material they had been working on to help me be better prepared. I wrote twice but still, although they responded cordially, they did not provide any materials. I took this as a signal that there was a certain level of openness to my participation and a certain level of exclusion; which seemed fairly natural given that they did not know me, they had been working hard to prepare the material and were unclear about my role, and they may have felt some threat to their own roles.

On the 18th of July, when I finally met and sat together with the three organizers, it became very clear that there were authority issues in the atmosphere between the three of

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[61]   http://www.conflict-prevention.net/
[62]   http://www.gppac.org/

them and also involving my role as a facilitator. What to do? Facilitating the process does not only or even necessarily mean chairing of the actual event but being treated so roughly is painful.

I began to remember that "the facilitator" is a concept, a dream figure, and an archetype and that facilitation is a role. In a sense this means that facilitation is something that happens as self organizing systems—such as work groups with all of their competing voices, views, feelings, visions, signals, roles, and tensions—begin the dynamic process of following themselves, marginalizing various voices, and integrating others. Facilitation is a momentary phenomenon wherein someone helps the group to notice a direction that it is taking or not taking and consciously self correct towards a preferred direction. This is an awareness process and involves everyone. If I assume that I am the facilitator then, in a sense, I am attached to one role and attached to keeping others from that role. And then I am in an authority fight with my team members. How to be a team player, support the team, help to facilitate the moments, and support the group while detaching from the authority issues?

During that initial meeting one of the organizers reacted aggressively (this is something of an understatement) as I made a statement regarding my role. My intention had been to detach from facilitation of the content and to clarify the sense with which I understood the GPPAC guidelines for process facilitators. It was a complex moment but served to make very clear a choice that I had between facilitating the process vs being seen as the facilitator. I choose the former and was then able to support the organizers and the group and have space to make interventions bringing awareness to moments when the pace

and the language excluded some, when people were not quite hearing each other, and when the group was sidetracked on matters it did not really care about.

On the 19th I arrived an hour early at our conference room in the UNDP building only to find that we did not have a conference room. There had been a mix up and the room was assigned to a UNDP group and fully occupied for the afternoon. I miraculously found a sense of calm and trust in the rightness of all of this and after talking with people in various offices in the area was shown to a conference room that we could use for the afternoon. I spent the rest of the time moving chairs, plants, fans, etc., with the help of our reporter who had arrived by then.

I opened the group by welcoming the people, introducing the topic and the organizers, and inviting the participants to introduce themselves. From that point on I consciously strove to come in as little as possible, only intervening to bring awareness to the process when I felt it would be most helpful. As time ran out I pointed out the time and checked with the group around our initial consensus to end on time. The consensus held and we closed. After half an hour's mingling and further introductions I wanted to return the chairs so as to leave the conference room and surrounding offices in the same shape we had found them and I asked the other team members for help. The same organizer I had had the earlier hotspot with barked a command that I should do it. It hurt. What to do? I know my awareness is not the best when I am hurt. On the other hand, I knew that the three organizers were preparing their notes for the work group meeting to be held in 30 minutes and for the next day. Strictly speaking, I should have been part of that effort. The working group guidelines said so. I had the third party voice of authority of the conference organizer's guidelines on my side. But that is only another way of saying that I had a choice

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of being "right" and amplifying an authority fight or moving the chairs because they needed to be moved and it would help to give the three the space they needed to do what they were doing. I schlepped [Sanskrit word for carried. ;-)] the chairs, which became something of a walking meditation as my heart rate, hormonal system, and ego came back into balance.

The organizer with whom my relationship was becoming increasingly complicated and I went to the work group meeting together. Towards the end she turned to me and asked how I was with not being allowed to facilitate. I thought, she thinks that because she is the facilitator that she is the facilitator and she thinks that because she is the facilitator that I am not the facilitator. What this means is that there is a difference between being attached to the identity of being the facilitator and being able to facilitate the moment. I said that I was completely happy to sit at the feet of three masters and do everything that I could to support the process. True on both counts. The three of them are actually completely outstanding, brilliant, talented, and amazing; and there was much that I could do and did do to support the process both logistically and psychologically.

On the second day I again arrived an hour early to find that our room had been usurped by locals. This time, however, the schedule was on our side and they eventually and somewhat begrudgingly chose on their own to move elsewhere after I had patiently asked them what they thought we should do.

The facilitator is one role. Another common role in groups is the one who excludes. Every group over time has to deal with its own exclusionary nature. Part of the workgroup discussion of recommendations for civil society networks dealt with the inclusion of various individuals and NGO's. There is a certain rigidity that comes from a

spirit of political correctness (I am in favor of political correctness but am using this term in a particular technical context wherein it refers to a rigid rule that is at times less than helpful in terms of bringing awareness to or ending the oppression it is intended to) that says something like, "Thou shalt not exclude." Process theory supports a diversity of views, which paradoxically means that it also supports exclusion. I said something to this effect and the group understood that the issue was not to rigidly prevent exclusion so much as to avoid unconscious marginalization and exclusion of others while supporting the possibility of the occasional need to consciously exclude. In fact, preventing exclusion basically excludes the voices that have valid reasons for excluding others.

Over time I noticed that the more I picked up the role of the *schlepper* [he who schleps], and actively supported the exclusion of me as facilitator, the more I was included by the group and the organizers as a facilitator. Process theory says that if a role is occupied by some one in a field, that one way to get them to drop the role is to occupy it even more strongly or congruently.

Given my opportunity to support the group to develop its recommendations; given the context of conflict, abuse, and atrocity in the background; and given the decades of combined expertise in working with civil society network of the organizers, I would be happy to mop floors if it would help them do that voodoo that they do so well and I wanted to thank the universe for allowing me to participate in whatever capacity I could be there and learn and help out.

Goals and Philosophy of Conflict Resolution Interventions

The immediate goals of conflict resolution are often unclear. In the largest sense they are in that almost everyone wants peace and an end to violence, and in the immediate

sense in terms of a momentary intervention, but the predominant conflict resolution paradigms are primarily short-term and solution oriented. What long term, systemic changes need be effected and at which levels? Why is there so much pressure placed on peace accords between national leaders? What is the relationship between external conflict and our internal experiences?

> One of the things about conflict I find most interesting is how quickly we want to start talking about resolution and what works with conflict with the sort of underlying intention of like, how do we solve it, how do we move through it. (A. Byron, 2002)

Obviously peace and resolution are both important. But Arny Mindell (2005a) sees the big job, the hardest job, as being the one of changing ourselves and of doing our own inner work. If we do that, if enough of us do that, the small problems, like war,[63] will take care of themselves:

> I don't know how you're going to change the world without changing both you and me and us and our friends and stuff like that. And that's a major job. That's bigger than changing world war situations. That's a really big job. The smaller job will then just happen: the job with the planet and the wars and what have you. That's what I think. Doing both at the same time is really... doing the outer world thing and

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[63] Taken out of context this statement might be extremely inflammatory. War and the suffering and slaughter it produces are absolutely appalling. I can also understand how Dr. Mindell might have meant these words: perhaps formulated in a particular way to make people think; perhaps as suggestive of the very immediate actions that we can take not to achieve inner peace (which is not promoted as a goal but as an important part of a facilitator's ability to function cognitively and to think psychologically under stress) but to enhance our fluidity and awareness and to find greater access to ways to easy momentary tensions; and perhaps to redirect attention to the things that can be done and away from the hopelessness of the overwhelming nature of war, about which people often feel powerless.

working hard at that and working hard on yourself and your relationships. (Mindell, 2005a)

Professor Richard Rubenstein (2002a) supports this attitudinal shift in terms of the important of inner experience but notes that the field has been heavily dominated by people with a legal background and a different outlook:

The conflict resolution area has not been much into changing attitudes about anything in part because of the original highly practical orientation of the field, it's cross association with alternative dispute resolution, [and] it's domination in the early stages by people who weren't terribly interested in either theory or in politics.

This statement is obviously quite controversial. Many people see that the others are the problem and not themselves and at times express views such as, "those people, they are the problem, they will never change." Others see conflict as an opportunity for growth and change, and a

. . . spiritual pursuit that . . . forces people to move beyond their reactivity of daily life and sort of take responsibility for what their true feelings and impulses are and engage at a level that's deeper than they're familiar with engaging in. Deeper in the sense that they're having to delve deeper into themselves to find out what they're real response is, instead of how they think they should respond. And dig deeper in the sense that they have to show themselves in a way that leaves them vulnerable and leaves them open to being seen. . . .

I see that as being a Western European kind of cultural thing where we want to have very polished veneers and if we don't pass our idea of muster, which of course no one actually does pass their idea of muster... (A. Byron, 2002)

Professor Amanda Byron (2002) introduces the role of the *evaluator*: the one who determines who passes muster and who does not and what are the standards. This ghost often shapes conflict and hinders efforts towards its resolution because driving issues and motivations behind the conflict, which often involves people's identity and sense of self-worth, remain hidden. Often, a particularly strong experience will happen that allows, or forces, people to notice the ghosts:

> I see people so hungry for an opportunity to move inside that veneer, deeper than that veneer of confidence and capability and have that cracked. However that cracks, whether it's through an intellectual discussion or an emotional impulse or a tragedy or conflict. I mean... these are things that crack us open and there's a lot of terror involved with being cracked open. But there's also, again, there's great opportunity for transformation and beauty that can be trivialized in these sorts of trite expressions of like... "Oh, yes, well the only way to really learn about yourself it to come up against some hard knocks in life," or "oh well, conflict allows us to learn more about ourselves and our human behavior and our nature." But there's something very absent from that emotionally. . . . It's like... emotional instability is a sign of health, not a sign of... (A. Byron, 2002)

The idea that emotional instability is a sign of health is based on an awareness that emotional stability—in the sense of its involving emotional rigidity or rigid identities, a rigid primary process—marginalizes other aspects of existence. Halim Byron (2003), an Islamic Chaplin, Sufi energy healer, and peacebuilder, expands this idea:

> Marshall Rosenberg said that the cultures whose languages don't contain the word "to be" don't have mental illness. It's when people say "I am this and you are that"

they try to make everything stop and stay still. . . It's people's definitions that cause

the problems… adhesions. So we call it mental "is-ness" instead of mental illness. . .

Then in order for people to really get to a point to where they can take

responsibility for it there has to be some kind of trauma. . . . And I don't know why

that is, but very few people are able to go from a position of strength, into a position

of surrender. . . .

What we find is that we have trauma and it's like there's right use of trauma.

And if we can get past the place where we feel victimized by our problems, you

know, and whiney and put upon… this is, for me, an example a result of what I'm

calling secondary emotional trauma. The whining is a big key that we're in that.

And whenever we're in whining we're looking outside. . . . And if my problems are

outside then the way to deal with them is by being strong, smart, rich, and

competent. . . . So I'm tough, looking out at the world, and I'm really smart and

I'm saying, you know "I'm strong and this won't do."

If the solution is inside with Allah then I have to travel this whole way

through all this fighting stuff to get to the place where I have any kind of interaction

with Allah. But if I can be on the other side of that… If I can be on the other side of

that in the weakness, in one of these addresses that I'm talking about. If can find a

place where I'm vulnerable, where I'm weak, where I'm ignorant, where I'm

incompetent, you know, where I'm a mess. If I can sit in one of those addresses…

Then Allah is right there cause I'm all the way on the inside. (H. Byron, 2003)

The idea that struggling to develop our identification with the places where we are

vulnerable, weak, ignorant, incompetent, and a mess is a *good* thing is a challenging

concept. Sometimes it takes trauma to crack the veneer. In this sense, perhaps there is a "right use of trauma," at least after the fact. Trauma can be personal or it can be communal, or it can be global (see Appendix One on page 380). Consider the following example where a violent act against one person traumatized an entire community which then struggled to come to terms with some sense of the right use of that trauma.

Following the murder of James Byrd Jr., in Jasper, Texas, I spent some time working with people in Jasper along with a colleague. We organized an open forum between the townspeople, the KKK, the New Black Panther Party, and the Nation of Islam, and also participated in an open forum that was convened by the Mayor's Task Force on Racism. The later forum was held at a local black Baptist church in Jasper. There were many white and black people who had come together to talk about "the problem."

The facilitators, one black man and one white man from the mayor's task force, began by describing how they had lived in town their whole lives and had been friends and played ball together—essentially they were offering evidence that Jasper does not really have a problem. They then framed "*the problem*" this way: "We have to identify the few weak members of society and educate them" (Mayor's Task Force on Racism, 2000).

A discussion followed but there was notably flat feedback from the group. The facilitator's framing of the problem and their proposed solution did not resonate with the people. At one point I overcame my own edge against speaking in public and against speaking as an outsider and started to talk about how some people see racism as being an internalized phenomenon— the weak parts of myself are the ones that need to get educated. The room lit up as the black people came alive, moving, beaming, and talking

and supporting what I was saying in that wonderful southern Baptist style calling out, "Say it brother! You know it! It's internal!"

The white people, for the most part, seemed to be looking around the room in amazement, perhaps wondering "Oh my! What's happening?" The mayor's task force facilitators looked at each other and looked around and looked at me as if to say all at once, "Oh my God what's happening" and "We were afraid this would happen." I imagined that my intervention did not go along with their agenda and did not support their goals, which is not necessarily either good or bad.

Process oriented field theory suggests that it is nearly impossible to discuss racism in such a charged setting without having the ghost of the racist appear in the room. In a sense the parts of a larger system also exist holographically within the subsets (Mindell, 2000c). One way to work on the ghost, after first gaining consensus from the group and from the designated facilitators, would have been to step into the ghost and speak from the position of a racist. Others could have interacted with the role and still others could have taken on the role. It had already been a full evening and that seemed like something best left for another event. One of the problems with the tendency to focus on solutions and long term goals is that "the problem" and the actual tensions and signals related to it become invisible. Sometimes, however, the ghosts have their own ideas.

I noticed one white man who was sitting in the pew behind me glaring at the floor. His head was bent down and his shoulders and arms and hands appeared to be tightly knotted. I did not have the awareness to speak to him in that moment but I wish that I had. I had been focused on the field tensions but had forgotten to speak to both sides or all sides in the people and the facilitators. The man's experience, his thoughts, his feelings,

and his reaction to my one-sidedness were also important. I do not know what he would have said. Dreaming into it, I imagine that he might have said something like, "I am not a racist! I'm a good man and I came here to help *these people*" and then we could have further followed our curiosity and explored his signals and the reaction from others to see where to go.

I notice now that I dreamed into him a position of someone who is unconsciously racist but who knows why he was knotted down and glaring at the floor. I imagined that his own edge against exploring the possibility of his own internal racism was very strong. Given the hour and the excitement of the group, I was edged out to use my awareness to unfold his actual feelings and also wanted to protect him from being forced to work publicly on something which is so painful and so difficult for all of us.

One problem with this is that he potentially left feeling hurt and carrying an emotional time bomb, which may have gone off in some distant moment with no awareness of how it was connected to that night. Others in the room clearly noticed his signals also and while in another setting they too might have dreamed into the racist and suffered again from not being able to interact more directly, in this setting it felt more like they noticed it as confirmation of the internal unconscious nature of racism and it actually simultaneously supported and grounded the excitement.

A similar thing happened in April of 2004. I was in the West Bank, Palestine at a two day peace conference on the 26th and 27th in Hama Kom. It was in the middle of the second *intifada* and tensions were already high and there had just been a suicide bombing outside the central bus station in Jerusalem and so tensions were especially high. On top of that, tensions were critically high because those two days were the Israel holidays of

Memorial Day and Independence Day. Jewish holidays begin and end at sunset. Memorial Day commemorates all the Israeli soldiers who have fallen in the fight against the Arabs. Independence Day celebrates the formation of Israel and the high dream of a Zionist state. Israel was covered with tens of thousands of Israeli flags and the posters commemorating those days. The Memorial Day poster was especially inflammatory to many Palestinians because it showed an Israel soldier with an automatic weapon entering a Palestinian home. The Palestinians refer to these days, the destruction of their villages and the losses of war and the creation of the refugee problems as *al-nakba*, "the disaster."

The conference was facilitated by a diverse group of peace workers. As people began to speak; telling personal stories of their lives, the lives and histories of their parents and aunts and uncles, their grandparents, and their people; I noticed a pattern. Each person who spoke presented a disclaimer before they began. For example, a Jewish Israeli woman began by saying, I don't want to be seen as unsympathetic to the Arabs, but this is what happened to my family. Similarly one Arab began, I don't want you to think I'm one of those Arabs who want to drive the Jews into the sea, but this is what happened to us. More and more people spoke with similar disclaimers.

Feeling the mounting tensions of the disavowed ghosts, I raised my hand asking the facilitators if I could speak. Immediately there was a reaction from one of the facilitators, a Rabbi , who clearly did not want an American to speak and said "No!" America plays an important role in the complex dynamics of the Middle East but was an unwelcome ghost to this facilitator. A process oriented perspective welcomes all the ghosts although this man had a different perspective, which I wanted to support. What to do? Spontaneously the group came alive and supported me to speak. The man folded his arms and caved over

slightly. His body posture was very similar to that of the man in Jasper but then he said, "alright, but make it quick." What to do? I decided to follow the group's consensus and support by speaking and to honor the man's position by making it very brief. I first supported what was happening and said something like this:

> So touching to see people coming together, connecting as people, sharing stories and concerns and searching together for answers and peace, following a path to peace through noticing our shared humanity and the common suffering between people. And also I notice that as each person speaks they also frame a ghost of the way that each of us does not want to be seen. Getting to know these ghosts and the tensions between them is also a path to peace that we might want to explore together.

I spoke slowly allowing time for my words to be translated into Arabic and Hebrew. There was a moment's pause as the group reflected on this view. The man nodded his head softly. I noticed that I started to breathe again. The change in the group was not so dramatic as that night in Texas but I could feel it. It also did not dramatically shift the direction of the group. Sometimes bringing awareness to what is being marginalized is enough for the moment and nurturing those rare moments of togetherness and peace are important too.

The view that emotional instability is almost a sign of health comes from a place of valuing, rather than pathologizing, marginalized experience. But emotional stability is also important and should not be pathologized or marginalized. Shamil Idriss, CEO of Search for Common Ground, sees his emotional stability and ability to remain centered as a key facilitation skill:

SS:[64]What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy and productive manner?

SI: I think sort of a strong sense of identity first. Sort of a confidence in one's own identity. Being centered.

SS: What is being centered?

SI: I think knowing what values you stand for, what's important to you. Why things are important to you. Feeling like you don't need to prove yourself. Being comfortable enough with who you are that you don't feel you have to prove it, through your reactions, to those around you. I think most people, I think a lot of people, myself at least, I'd like to think that I am that way but it comes and goes. There are times when you feel truly very centered and that you can deal with anything, and there are times when I get a little off kiltered whether it's because I get emotional about something or whatever. It might be that I do feel like I'm trying to prove myself. I can usually catch myself when I'm doing it, or I can look back on it and say that really wasn't coming from a place that I like to be, which is to be a bit more centered and comfortable with who I am. But if somebody insults you or somebody says something to you that puts you off or they say something that gives you the impression that they think less of you than they should think, that you don't react to that because you're comfortable with who you are. (Idriss, 2003)

It is also important to see where the momentary workshops, trainings, and interventions fit into a larger systemic, structural overview of the conflict and efforts towards

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[64]   SS: Stanford Siver. SI: Shamil Idriss.

resolution. Ambassador McDonald breaks peacebuilding down into three levels: political peacebuilding, economic peacebuilding, and social peacebuilding. Political peacebuilding encourages the political leaders to agree to stop the war and sign a treaty. Economic peacebuilding refers not only to economic development but also to the restoration of infrastructure. Social peacebuilding, the third level, is primarily the responsibility of NGO's and involves efforts to reestablish positive relationships among the people. Ambassador McDonald describes his attempts to explain this to a World Bank official who had worked in Bosnia:

> The third level is social peacebuilding. Governments don't even understand me when I talk about that. We work with the people. We work with the heart. We look at the root causes of the conflict. We look at the hate and the fear and the lies that separate... and that's the area that the banks should be focusing on and that's the area that we need deep financial support to continue. And then he [the World Bank official] thought about that... And then he said, "We built three hundred houses in Bosnia for returning refugees and they're still empty." And then I said, "I would expect that." And then he seemed quite surprised and he said, "why is that?" And I said, because of where you built them. You built them in a community where there had been conflict and the people you wanted to move in were afraid to move in and the people, the neighbors, were also afraid. So I said, as I said a moment ago to you, fear is everywhere on both sides. And you didn't recognize that and you didn't even think about talking with the people... and stick them anywhere you wanted to build the houses. You never got any approval. What you have to do is get people oriented rather than government oriented and see if you can't start your

process that way... I never did get any money from him but at least he heard me. . . . Change is more frequent when you have someone from inside working with someone from outside of the system. And what usually happens is that middle management in the system kills the ideas because they're afraid to change. (2002)

Behind any intervention there is an implicit goal, which is often unconscious and unexamined. Mel Duncan, Director of the Global Nonviolent Peaceforce, says, "You can't parachute into a conflict zone with a rucksack of good intentions and expect peace to break out" (*Global Nonviolent Peaceforce Video*, 2005). But what is the goal of the overall intervention as well as each momentary intervention? Certain conflict workers focus on the overall systemic approach to peacebuilding and focus less on the momentary dynamics of the people they are working with. Others believe that the *system* is inaccessible—"Show me the system, I want to get at it" (Schupbach, 2000a)—except through people and so understand that working with the momentary dynamics of the people is directly relevant to the overall system.

This difference between a systems oriented and a process oriented approach has several consequences. A systems oriented approach assumes that a rigorous procedure can be followed that will create bonding among key people within key sectors of society and that they will then create peace. A process oriented approach assumes that there is no peace because there are unresolved tensions and that by bringing awareness to those tensions people can learn to process the tensions, develop their ability to shift their thinking, and learn to metacommunicate by monitoring their feelings, experience, and reactions. Whether or not the people bond becomes of secondary importance. The main thing is that they become aware of the way in which they are a part of a larger field of

tensions. Relationships then improve when trust is built that others share their ability to process the tensions together.

In practice the difference between a systems oriented and process oriented approach are not so great because even systems oriented facilitators and trainers also bring in their own experience and cannot be unaffected by the field. This creates a feedback loop even if it is not consciously a part of their stated paradigm. The feedback loop is most effective if the facilitator can consciously notice and respect the feedback signals.

Noticing my own fear at the thought of attempting to intervene with groups that are actively shooting at each other (whether with guns or words), makes me understand that sometimes the structural approach of calling in the UN peacekeeping force or the local police is also a process oriented intervention. A role arises that says, we need an authority figure, we need the police to come in and intervene. That process also needs to be supported as does the police/authority figure itself.

One of my own biases as a facilitator is that often the shortest way to a sustainable resolution is through collective innerwork and group work and awareness. Another is that the strong expression of emotion is often a good thing. I also challenge this assumption. Sometimes it is a good thing. Sometimes it may even be critical to shifting a frozen polarity. Other times it may too readily retrigger reactions based in fear and trauma. The criteria for determining the momentary efficacy of strong emotion may lie in a determination of whether it serves to relieve or to increase tension and suffering.

The goal is to learn together, not to create the wars and traumas of the past in the moment, thereby risking not only retraumatization but further escalation and intractability of the conflict. Even so, it is often more difficult for learning to happen when there is a

ghost or facilitator who marginalizes various communication styles and emotions. On the other hand, it is also more difficult for learning if people are triggered beyond their capacity to maintain or develop awareness. Sandole (2003) noted that,

> People become quite emotional on occasion. And the emotion could be destructive for the process or it could be constructively put to use. That's where the third party, if lucky and trained and experienced, might make a difference. (2003)

Ambassador Zac Nsenga (2003), the Rwandan ambassador to the US said,

> You have to be patient and allow each one to tell the story, to tell the whole story. If it is the one who's time it is to talk let them talk. At least initially, you want them to finish all that they have to say. Because if you cut them short they say, oh... you don't want me to finish my story. You have to be patient. Initially, talk and talk and when they are through then the other side. . . .
>
> It is very, very difficult. Sometimes, if you're not very patient you can easily lose temper and lose patience and even want to go away. And I can imagine in modern conflict resolution one day I have these rebel groups here and there, sometime people come up and they say, put pressure and say you must come up with something. I think life is a losing patient. It is necessary sometimes to scare. It is necessary to scare but I think my case was because there were two people, but once they are so many on the table it is not possible to control so many because each one is talking with the other side and the other one is talking with the other side. And you know I was not constrained by time. That's number one. I was not constrained by any resources. But I imagine if you enlarge this, make it bigger, like Africa, there is a lot of impatience. There is money. There is time. And there are

so many who want to talk from here and there. Many, many groups. In other words if you're only reconciling two people, it is easier because there are not very, very many problems to talk. (Nsenga, 2003)

In June of 2003 I was in Jerusalem at a meeting of the Jerusalem Peace Circle. There are over 200 peace groups and NGO's operating in Jerusalem and many of them gather together once a month to learn together and share their experiences and plans.

The circle broke quickly into small groups and I wound up in a group that was interested in discussing their shared experience around how they were only managing to reach and work with people who already agreed with them. In the US this is often called preaching to the choir. I had the thought that they were noticing a signal that was coming from the other people—the people that were not interested—but what was it they were saying "no" to?

The small groups came back together into the larger circle and the group began to discuss some of the various extreme positions that they are against. It is a familiar pattern: those people with that attitude, they are the problem. I spoke to the frustration and suggested that perhaps by exploring those extreme positions and the conflict more deeply that we could learn something about what is behind them, what is right about them at a deeper level.

Suddenly a Palestinian man erupted furiously, "Are you saying there is something right about this conflict?" I had missed the signals and instead presented a program, which was not well received. I felt his suffering and imagined the message that he must have heard, that of an American man who, it must have seemed to him, only saw the suffering of the conflict as a learning opportunity. I started to cry and said, "No. That would be too

much to say. There has been so much suffering and there is nothing right about the suffering." He immediately softened and lowered his head gently and simply said, "*habibi*," (beloved).

Our interaction must have taken less than ten seconds and yet the entire atmosphere of the group and the room shifted from one of frustration and pain to a feeling of unity and understanding. The group had been focusing on various polarities that divided them. There was an edge against feeling more united and sharing a deeper essence of shared humanity.

Awareness is Not the Goal

One ghost associated with Process Work is the idea that if we have greater awareness then we have more choices and solutions available to us. This idea, however (as mentioned previously) leads to a program that follows a static primary process and is closed to awareness (Jobe, 2005a, 2005b; Schupbach, 2005b). Similar consequences of an awareness-based paradigm and openness to diversity prevent the imposition of Process Work or an insistence on the centralization of the paradigm.

In other words, there is basically a double bind preventing the dissemination of the paradigm or implementation of recommendations beyond venues wherein the signals indicate a clear interest. Those signals of interest, where they do exist, however do not necessarily indicate an interest in Process Work. The interest might be in Process Work, in awareness itself, in a personal connection with a particular facilitator, in receiving help to solve an immediate problem, in gaining an ally in fighting another group, for support in crossing an edge, or in connection with individuals who may provide access to some other much needed resource.

Initially this may sound like a polarity between structure and fluidity, but structure and fluidity can co-exist and greater awareness can lead to greater fluidity as well as to greater structure even simultaneously. The central concept here lies not in a perceived polarity between structure and fluidity but in the importance of knowing one's own goals, realizing that one's own goals may be different than the goals of others, getting to know their goals, and noticing feedback.

There are Diverse Views Regarding Desired Outcomes

There is diversity of thought within the field as to its goals. For example, "Well, changing attitudes about imperialism. . . the conflict resolution area has not been much into changing attitudes about anything" (Rubenstein, 2002a), meaning that taking social action to change society has not been a goal due to the "original highly practical orientation of the field" (Rubenstein, 2002a). On the other hand, there are those who see large scale change as being an absolute requirement for the resolution of various conflicts. Vamik Volkan (1999) sees unofficial diplomacy as follows:

> It consists of informal interactions between influential members of opposing groups with the goal of developing strategies to influence public opinion and to organize resources of manpower and material in ways favorable to the resolution of conflict. (V. Volkan, 1999)

A shift occurs when people move beyond their initial reactivity towards viewing conflict as an arena for learning.

> It becomes a spiritual pursuit, really. . . it forces people to move beyond their reactivity of daily life and sort of take responsibility for what their true feelings and impulses are and engage at a level that's deeper than they're familiar with engaging

in. Deeper in the sense that they're having to delve deeper into themselves to find out what their real response is instead of how they think they should respond. And dig deeper in the sense that they have to show themselves in a way that leaves them vulnerable and leaves them open to being seen. (A. Byron, 2002)

I'm constantly monitoring . . . [the participants]. . . Is this working? Can we go someplace with this? . . . I think it's opening one's eyes more and more, I wouldn't say it's progress... There is somewhere to go in regards to enhanced understanding of one's self and the other and the relationship between oneself and the other. That's where you want to go. . . If they ask you in, or otherwise want you in, no matter what they say you can kind of sense the curiosity about that relationship, how to make it better. Sometimes it's a bit like being a physician. Kind of hard to accept what people say their symptoms are. You have to use other filters. Other sources of information. You listen at multiple levels. There's the text and the meta-text, the hidden text, the sub-text. There we could use a lot more theory on how to do all that. But listen to what people are saying. How they're saying it. Look at the body language. And I like to say this comes from experience but we should be able to distill from this experience a theoretical basis for what to do when. But what to do when is happening under very rapidly shifting circumstances? Everything we learn is rendered in terms of static two dimensional space. The pages of a book. But what we're talking about here are dynamic processes that are multiply dimensioned and constantly shifting. And there is complexity and chaos and catastrophe theories, would seem to play a bit of a role but it's kind of hard to harness them. [It's like a methodology for following myself] but not me alone, following me in embedded temporary, long term relationships. Conflict

resolution is about human behavior writ large. You have to know something about

psychology, anthropology, sociology, religion, economics, history, communications,

physiology, the physiology of anger. (Sandole, 2003)

Although non-cooperation is one of the main weapons in the armory of satyagraha, it should not be forgotten that it is, after all, only a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice. . .
Avoidance of all relationships with the opposing power, therefore, can never be a satyagrahi's object, but transformation or purification of that relationship. —M.K. Gandhi

Violence is a choice.
(Williams, 2005)

Introduction to Conclusions

Looking back over the first fifty years of the field of conflict resolution, little has changed since "realists saw conflict resolution as soft-headed and unrealistic, since in their view international politics is a struggle between antagonistic and irreconcilable groups, in which power and coercion were the ultimate currency" (Miall et al., 2004, p. 3). Others see the whole conflict resolution enterprise as misconceived because it attempts to reconcile interests that should not be reconciled, fails to take sides in unequal and unjust struggles, and lacks appropriate analysis within a properly global perspective of the forces of exploitation and oppression (p. 3). The field of conflict resolution is as polarized in its internal politics as it was fifty years ago and is as polarized in its internal politics as it is in its external politics and intervention.

Despite the popularity of *prevention* in the 1960's, little sustainable change has resulted. The 1970's brought enhancements in the tools and language of analysis and "a realistic analysis of situations and an assessment of the costs and consequences of policies that were based on false assumptions and perceptions" (Burton, 1996, p. 4). Unfortunately,

enhanced analysis has not resulted in a commensurate change in policy and values that could correct the inequities or false assumptions and perceptions.

Many beliefs remain unchallenged such as Burton's (1996, p. 34) belief that mediation is an art (p. 34). A view that it is an "art" places the skills and knowledge required to practice excellence beyond the range of description, although it could also be said that a view that it is not an art assumes that fixed procedures can be developed for resolving all conflicts in a prescribed, methodical manner.

Burton's (1996, p. 34) view that mediation frequently "does not reveal hidden issues and mediators frequently do not have the training required to bring these to the surface" (p. 34) reveals a belief that a deeper level of awareness and process is needed. Furthermore, his belief that "what appears to be a dispute can turn out to be a conflict and mediation in these circumstances can be dysfunctional" (p. 34) would seem to explain much in terms of the failure of international conflict resolution efforts. For example, the Israel/Palestinian conflict is being treated as if it were a dispute over a geographic boundary. Enormous efforts have gone to finding an accord based on the physical location of a boundary when the prevailing conflict boundary lies in the hearts and histories of the people.

Furthermore, the field of conflict resolution, with some notable exceptions, is primarily focused externally. Facilitators are seen as neutral third parties who are not a part of the conflict field in much the same way as physicists formerly assumed detached objectivity. Individual conflict practitioners and facilitators generally do not operate as if their own subjective experiences are relevant, instead believing that they are something to be dealt with independently in much the same was as a classical Freudian analyst might

notice her counter transference but not understand it as being potentially meaningful to the therapeutic process. Furthermore, the range of phenomena and co-incident information that the field generally assumes to be relevant is fairly narrow when compared to the full breadth of human experience available.

Concluding Discussion of Research Questions

1. What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner?

    · The belief that conflict can be dealt with directly in a creative, healthy, and productive manner, no matter how challenging, and that relying on the use of force and authority is not necessary and does not lead to optimal or sustainable solutions.

    · An understanding that, despite having been profoundly and repeatedly injured, the problem is complex, the Other is not evil and is not the sole source of the problem, and the Other may also be open to change.

    · A spirit of curiosity towards the conflict, other people, and the actual details of the process and its signals as they unfold. Without this curiosity potentially meaningful signals that are not yet understood are discarded and lost.

    · One fundamental skill is an ability to have conscious, deliberate access to various metaskills, such as an ability to "be peace."

2. What needs do people have in terms of emotional safety and protection from retaliation while involved in conflict work?

    · In conflict work, people are often in extreme states of consciousness. They dissociate, are unaware of their somatic experience, and do not have access to

their feelings. Consequently, people are often unable to notice when they have been hurt. A great deal of the resultant reactivity stems from this lack of access to somatic experience.

- People need for the facilitation team to foster greater safety by slowing things down around hot spots, being awake to their own somatic experience and feelings, connecting empathically with others, and bringing awareness to double signals, double binds, and rank issues.

- People need to feel that the facilitation team supports their views, beliefs, and experiences and accepts this as a logical conclusion of their subjective history, both personal and collective: start where people are.

3. Is it potentially abusive for facilitators to allow the expression of strong emotion?

- There is considerable debate on this topic within the field but one thing is clear, if the expression of strong emotion is to be supported then there has to be a strong container and a skilled facilitator who is prepared to catch subtle signals of escalation and abuse immediately and to intervene while protecting those with less power in the moment. This follows from the conclusions, previously stated, that safety comes not from the marginalization or prevention of the expression of strong emotions but from the way the facilitation team cares for the group and its various parts.

- It is potentially abusive for facilitators to allow the expression of strong emotion if they fail to protect those with less access to power in the moment, fail to focus on the hot spot and to allow space for reactions, or fail to connect with those who may feel hurt or silenced by the expression.

- It is also potentially abuse and counter productive for facilitators to prevent the expression of strong emotion, thereby marginalizing the experiences of people who know no other way to express themselves than through strong emotion. People often report that they feel a relief from tensions when they are finally able to express themselves and have been heard.

4. How do facilitators handle personal attack?

- There are ways that facilitators are proud of the way they handled personal attacks and ways of which they are not proud. Examination of both are equally important because of the potential learning.

- Name the hotspot: Simply naming the moment as being a complicated hotspot provides space and time for the group to focus on it. This is important for the safety of the group, the attacker, and the attacked as well.

- Stop the work: Some facilitators stop the work and call a coffee break and then deal with the attacker privately.

- Avoid retaliation: Track your own feelings and your metaskills. If you have been hurt, might react and use this as an opportunity to put the attacker down. This might momentarily stop the criticism against you but, in a way, you want that criticism because it points to the direction that you, the group, or some individuals may need to go for their own learning.

- Publicly allowing the attack: Making space for the attackers and supporting them within the group is difficult ("Say more, this is important and I want to understand what you are saying.") but critically important, as is allowing them a chance to express the attack further either publicly or privately. Groups and the

attackers are learning also and need you and your process to help them grow. Use your metaskills to support the attacker and to welcome the criticism.

· Challenge the attacker to change you: "Show me the change you want. How could I have better dealt with that moment? I think you know the right thing to do now."

· Others use the attack as a chance to learn together: against what was the attack meant? "You sound like you are talking to someone over here, a role who might say ..."

· Framing the attack: Restate the attack in terms of the context of the group's momentary dynamics. This can help to clarify the attack and the role it is against, simultaneously bringing awareness to the system framed by the polarity.

· Reframing the attack: Was the disturbance meant as an attack, rather than as a constructively critical, detached, or supportive comment which didn't come out exactly right?

· Framing your response: Some facilitators use a metaskill in group processes of actually framing what they are going to do. They don't just do it but frame it and tell the group what they are going to do first.

· Innerwork: When attacked, facilitators will often take a moment to do innerwork, scanning their bodies, looking for something that flirts with them, as a way to shift their awareness and gain access to a metaskill or to the fluidity that may be needed to deal with the attack or the attacker in a constructive manner. This can be very dangerous to do during a heated scene because the facilitator's

coolness and detachment may send a signal of rank unawareness and lack of concern for the group of the attacker's experience.

· Metacommunicate: Facilitators will often metacommunicate about their experience. "Hang on... that is a strong statement directed as me personally. I need a moment. What is happening? I understand there must be something you are trying to tell me but in the moment I notice that I can't really even think because I feel hurt..."

· Match the energy: Match the energy of metaskill of the attacker. Woof back momentarily and then drop it and check for feedback. People often need to feel their own strength and need a strong response in order to help them work something out internally.

· Self reflection: If you get attacked, it often means that you are marginalizing or downing something in the field. Track back and see what it is.

· Understanding the structure: Facilitators may notice how the attack is less of a personal dynamic and has more to do with the group's dynamics. Groups that are missing a sort of eldership don't make individuals feel wanted. The attack may be a signal that the group needs help in developing its own eldership.

· Track your inner state: Some facilitators take care to track their own feelings and inner state of consciousness after an attack. This is important because the victim is such a powerful role that it is very difficult to notice and to shift out of. This makes it harder to process all the roles and to be more fluid, which is needed to avoid being oppressive. Some facilitators notice that they feel like a victim within a group and are furious after an attack. Along with this, there is

often a feeling of satisfaction from being the underdog and from knowing "I am right." The experience of satisfaction and righteousness tend to be repressed because there is a lot of pain that comes with the attack. Other states are important to track as well. Often these states give facilitators increased access to fluidity, signal and structural awareness, and metaskills especially after an attack.

Non Polarizing Facilitation Eschews Pathologization

Despite the horrific consequences of world events and the enormous suffering, non polarizing facilitation precludes pathologization of behavior, attitudes, positions, and even abuse, no matter how foul. That principle does not mean that a process oriented position supports abusive or oppressive behavior, only that it does not pathologize it but seeks to unfold it and understand it more deeply so that it can help people shift into deeper understanding and have access to greater fluidity while simultaneously supporting those individuals, organizations, and roles that will directly take action against the offending behavior.

The spirit of eldership—meaning that which is open to all people, groups, positions, behaviors, and attitudes—is also open to those who will stand against abuse and is free, at times, to occupy the role of the social activist, defender, or executioner.

The conflict resolution machinery and its various paradigms, agencies, and practitioners have had many successes as well as many failures and limitations, as can be said for any field. The high dream for peace that many hold is often translated into a hope that a conflict resolution, peacebuilding paradigm will evolve that will provide a panacea for ending violent conflict for all time. That high dream often leads to the aggressive

centralization of a particular paradigm or intervention that is not sensitive to the context with which the current efforts have evolved.

Openness to inner diversity and fluidity has to be cultivated in facilitators.

As has been demonstrated, an awareness-based program can provide a framework for innerwork, among other tools, that can help practitioners avoid the pitfall of centralizing their own paradigm, however, "I don't see very many people that do it [conflict facilitation] doing the personal work. And they end up being really angry and shouting at each other about the right way to do conflict resolution." (H. Byron, 2003) Some people are interested in being angry and shouting at each other about the right way to do inner work. Some people want war. Others want to fight with their inner figures so that they can avoid bringing more fire into the world. Some recognize that more fire is sometimes needed in some settings. Even Gandhi admitted that there were times to fight (Gandhi, 1982). The openness to diversity and fluidity that is the desired outcome of conflict resolution trainings, forums, and interventions has to be cultivated in peacebuilders and conflict facilitators. Etty Hillesum (1997) further states:

> I really see no other solution than to turn inwards and to root out all the rottenness there. I no longer believe that we can change anything in the world until we first change ourselves. And that seems to me the only lesson to be learned from this war.

> . . . or from any war, large or small, internal or external, raging in the world today.

Facilitators are Often Unaware of Critical Signals and Structural Patterns

Facilitators are often unaware of critical signals—meaning those signals that when unfolded or understood, would lead to a positive shift in the conflict or the relationship between the conflicted parties or help the facilitator to avoid polarizing or inflammatory interventions.

For example, Professor Sandole (2003) traveled to Turkey to work with a group of Macedonians and Albanians. Before the formal work began he was getting to know some of the Macedonian organizers and explained that his mother was Albanian. Structurally speaking he was saying that he identified as being the enemy of the Macedonians, thus polarizing the field between them personally. Similarly, when I spoke to exploring together what was *right* about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict (see page 349) and triggered a reaction from a Palestinian man in the Jerusalem Peace Circle, I had been momentarily unaware that the term *right*, as I had used it, is actually highly technical jargon requiring a clear introduction and a great deal of care in its use and so had inadvertently appeared to be siding, psychologically, with a ghost role that believed that oppressing the Palestinians was right.

Facilitators are Often Aware of Critical Signals but do not Use Them

Many facilitators are often aware of critical signals—meaning those signals that, when unfolded, will lead to a positive shift in the conflict or the relationship between the conflicted parties—but either do not recognize the potential significance of the signals or have an attitude of curiosity that would let them "trust the process" and unfold the signals.

For example, I observed an American peacebuilder interacting with a Palestinian woman at the Calendia checkpoint in between Jerusalem and Ramallah in the West Bank.

The woman asked if he was American. He said yes and the woman started to speak with a lot of feelings about the occupation. Frightened, the man said, "Oh no... I'm neutral." Immediately tensions escalated. She was enraged and began shouting about the horrible things that are happening to the Palestinians.

He had noticed her signals but failed to interpret them structurally. Had he done so, he might have supported her to go further with expressing her anger and with being more clear about the policies and actions that she is against. The anger wasn't directed against him personally. Her signals might even have been seen as a gambit for relationship and meaningful interaction. He might, if it had been right for him, also have sided with her views against those policies, or at least detached from the target (Bush, Cheney, and Rice) and supported her anger, rather than claiming neutrality. Claiming neutrality is a complicated response which denies association with the problem, leaves the oppressor as an unoccupied ghost in the field, and fails to compassionately support her experience. By expressing neutrality, he was essentially expressing a lack of empathy, which further inflamed the woman. Being neutral does not mean failing to support someone's experience with empathy.

Hot Spots are Critical Signals

A hot spot is a moment in a group process when a strong reaction erupts. The initial signal of the reaction may take the form of a frozenness that indicates that the actual critical reaction has not yet occurred. There are many ways to respond to hot spots:

There's no formula. Sometimes the most important thing is to use humor. Sometimes the most important thing is to suggest a break. Sometimes the most important thing is to maybe say something that helps to protect the person who

seems to be most vulnerable. Sometimes it's just to acknowledge, oops I messed up on that one. I don't know. I feel like I'm not being very helpful in my responses but it is very experiential. (Idriss, 2003)

Facilitators often steer away from these hot spots. This denial marginalizes the reaction and the experience behind it losing the opportunity to unfold the deeper meaning behind the reaction and the initial trigger, which also, in turn, may need further support to be unfolded and more clearly expressed, however there are mixed views on the efficacy of allowing the expression of strong emotions:

- · As facilitators, you have to control the situation. (McDonald, 2002)

- · As long as it doesn't come into personal verbal attacks or physical violence. (Duncan, 2003)

- · People become quite emotional on occasion. And the emotion could be destructive for the process or it could be constructively put to use. That's where the third party, if lucky and trained and experienced, might make a difference. . . . It sort of gets out of your hands a little bit. There's only so much you can do. (Sandole, 2003)

Professor Sandole's (2003) preferred approach to handling heated moments is to bring in a historical reference from a different conflict. This brings the participants back from what he calls the affective level, to the cognitive level:

Try to give them an appreciation for the role of history, historical memory, and people's identities. I usually use Northern Ireland where Irish Catholics in particular, republicans, those who want to have a united Irish republic, remember the defeat at the battle of the Boyne on 12 July, 1690. . . . I try to get them to look

at themselves indirectly, by focusing on another conflict that's similar. To make the same point I would have made, but they're too emotional to . . . . they're at the affective level and I'm coming in at the cognitive level and it's bouncing off the brick wall. And the only way, I find, one way to stop that entropy is to tell a story about something else. (Sandole, 2003)

Hot spots do not necessarily need to be addressed directly. For example, during the Israeli Independence and Memorial Day and Palestinian *Nakba* dialogue on the West Bank of the Dead Sea (see page 341), I noticed the hot spot that had erupted when I asked if I could speak and the Rabbi had a strong reaction. I supported him by pausing. Then after noticing the group's feedback that I should speak, I again supported the Rabbi by speaking quickly so that I would take as little time as possible and spoke with a belief that what I was going to say would itself defuse the tensions between us.

Somatic Experiences are Often Critical Signals

The momentary somatic experience and states of consciousness of facilitators are often critical signals. Unfolding their meaning through innerwork in the middle of a forum, training, or group process can provide critically useful information regarding the work and the figures and energies that are present in the field and can help the facilitator understand how best to formulate an intervention.

As Professor Sandole (2003) stated, people are often not aware of what they are feeling. Facilitators need to stay awake to their own somatic experience as a way to ensure their own safety and that of the participants and as a means to inform their work.

S: How hot was the reaction?

D: It was pretty hot.

S: And what happened inside your body? What'd you feel?

D: I felt there was a chance I might not get out of the country.

S: Like... alive?

D: Yeah. (Sandole, 2003)

It is often hard to pin point the exact somatic or psychic experience, which may be experienced as a vague atmosphere or mood that prevails in the room.

> It's more of a feeling. What's the feeling in the room? What happened just before . . . But I think it's kind of more the atmosphere and trying to be attuned to where the different parties are. . . . There's a sort of antenna, I don't know what the term is for that. (Idriss, 2003)

Dreamed up Reactions are Critical Signals.

A facilitator's dreamed up reactions are often critical signals. When a facilitator notices that she suddenly has a strong emotional reaction or judgment against a participant or against a particular viewpoint, it is likely that the reaction itself is meaningful. There is a tendency to *overcome* the reaction and to remain neutral, however this approach marginalizes the reaction and loses the information that could be gained through unfolding the reaction.

Neutrality is a Myth

Because of dreamed up reactions and normal human one-sidedness, facilitators are rarely neutral. Neutrality is essentially a myth imposed by the field's assumption that neutrality is a desired, although impossible, goal. More important than neutrality is awareness of momentary siding with one party, assumptions, and emotional reactions,

which can be used to deepen the dialogue and gain further understanding. Furthermore, an assumption of neutrality can blind a facilitator to her own lack of neutrality and, as previously shown in the example of the Palestinian woman at Calendia (page 363), unconscious claims to neutrality themselves can be inflammatory because of their unrelatedness.

Double Signals are Key Tools

Developing an ability to notice, track, and unfold double signals is a fundamental tool of facilitation. Working with the double signals of another requires first gaining consensus, basically a contract, from that person to having her double signals worked with.

Rank Awareness is Critical

Because of the prevalence and power of rank differentials and the tendency for inadvertent abuse of rank, rank awareness is absolutely critical to facilitation. Facilitators must have a broad understanding of rank and an immediate understanding of their own rank in its many dimensions relative to the participant's, as well as an understanding of how to fluidly communicate awareness of that rank and model effective use of rank.

> In the moment [of conflict dialogue] it might be difficult, [to talk about rank differences or abuse] but if you train them before you bring them together in the conflict resolution mode you might be able to get at that pedagogically, at the cognitive level. Because you've already been there. You speak the same language. You can't assume you speak the same language if you take them cold. . . . But not everyone trains. McDonald and Diamond are unusual in that they train before they bring them together to discuss their conflict. (Sandole, 2003)

Conflict is Holographic

The basic patterns of a conflict will exist at various levels. For example, the pattern of a conflict may appear in a conflict within a facilitation team as its members notice that they have each been dreamed up to take on roles that stem from the conflict and that the tensions that exist between them mirror the tensions that exist between the roles and their dream figures in the larger conflict's pattern.

Consider the following from an interview with organizational consultant Pat McLagan (2002):

> You've got all these nested levels of being from the inner self to the relationships to the communities and groups and to how the universe works. And organizations are part of that whole nested system. But people spend a tremendous amount of time at organizations and they play out an awful lot of their status and rank issues there, and very complex relationships. And particularly I think organizations are interesting partly because people spend so much time there so a lot of their views... a lot of people's views of relationship and self are either formed or shaped inside of there. But also the fact that organizations are theoretically purposeful entities. I think the fact that they're purposeful accelerates, it puts more pressure on having those relationships work. So it's like, I think that organizations can be like an accelerator of where we're going to go. I think organizations if they're really well done and are fostering a sense of deep democracy which I would really like to see and which I think they're struggling to do with all the issues of dealing with diversity and stuff like that... with dealing with participative management and participative

governance. Dealing with trying to have more creativity, people bringing more of themselves to work.

I think organizations are maybe one of the best potential hopes for transforming all the other areas from intrapsychic to everything else. So I'm very, very interested in the role of organizations and institutions and how they're governed and how people behave in them as the place where we help kind of change the name of the game. I believe that that's where the real high potential is. I don't think it's in social institutions as much and I think it happens very slowly at the interpersonal level and the psychiatric kind of level. If you can get a whole organization, a couple of leaders and some committed people, transforming organizations it can cause a consciousness shift I think that's pretty large. So I'm pretty excited working there even though it feels sometimes like a deadly place to be. (McLagan, 2002)

Organizations are purposeful microcosms that often contain, holographically, the patterns of the broader conflict. The people within organizations are not removed from conflict and the same problems are repeated within the organization. Accordingly, a facilitation team can use awareness of the holographic nature of conflict to better understand a conflict and to further their ability to work with the process by first exploring its parts and tensions among themselves. For example, when the facilitation team members previously described (see page 260) got into a fight over whether or not to allow heated levels of emotional expression within a group process. Behind this fight were polarized roles that the group itself had not yet processed. The facilitators could have used that moment to help the group explore its own openness to and feelings against what was

happening. Doing so might have led to a greatly improved sense of safety within the group. Another aspect of the holographic nature is that

> intelligence is decentralized. It's rampant. It's pervasive in the system. So, it's not
> any one; you know, the whole notion of dissipated structures, self-organizing
> systems, that sort of thing. . . . To me the role of eldership and all that is to be more
> wisely conscious and the presence of a wise consciousness is sort of like synapses in
> the system that kind of help facilitate communication across all of these pieces of
> the puzzle where you can't institutionalize the communication and the relationship.
> (McLagan, 2002)

Extremists are Important

There is a tendency to exclude extremists from peacebuilding and conflict resolution processes. This tendency is supported, in part, by a lack of awareness of the ways in which the extreme views are also held within, and are important to, aspects of the mainstream and are held within the facilitators. Furthermore, extremists are often marginalized simply because people have a tendency to marginalize others. In other words, one of the root causes of conflict is the marginalization of various people, groups, views, and experiences. This marginalization does not fully stop once conflict transformation efforts are underway. Conflict transformation efforts may actually be disguised tactics to further marginalize others.

> . . . it's so important in lots of cases to get the extremists, at least as much as you
> can, into the process because they are going to express these underlying issues in a
> way that the moderates won't. It takes an Osama bin Laden to say, get American
> troops off the sacred soil of Saudi Arabia. . . . so there's a tip-off from Osama that a

kind of basic identity question is being posed here. . . . And then it turns out that

instead of it being just a couple of so-called nuts, and everybody else are moderates,

that the masses are furious about this or feeling the same kinds of insults and they

have Osama speaking for them so you don't exclude them. (Rubenstein, 2002a)

Awareness of Feedback is Critical

In a sense there is no "wrong" intervention. Obviously, some interventions will

work better than others and some may elicit a strong negative reaction. In any case, it is

important to be precise in noticing the feedback to the intervention and to work with the

feedback. For example, recall the previously described moment when I triggered a hot spot

in the Jerusalem Peace Circle (see page 349). My "mistake" actually led to a deeper

discussion and feeling of connectedness but only because I managed to respond directly

and empathically to the person and his signals.

An Ability to Work with People in Extreme States of Consciousness is Critical

People who have endured extreme conflicts and trauma, either personally or within

their communities and nations, are rarely in normal states of consciousness when doing

conflict work. Facilitators must be skilled at working with these extreme states of

consciousness, especially if increased levels of emotional expression is to be supported

while protecting the group from further injury or abuse.

In the previously described interactions when I triggered a hot spot in the Jerusalem

Peace Circle (see page 349) and when intervening in the Independence/Memory Day/*al-

Nakba* circle in the West Bank (see page 342), there were signals indicating something

other than a *normal* state of consciousness. In the former the man's posture stiffened, his

eyes were wide, and his tone of voice suggested that he was in a great deal of pain. In the latter, the Rabbi's tone and posture suggested extreme anger and then profound humility. Awareness of these states is important. Also important is an awareness of these and other momentary states of consciousness within the facilitator. Questions such as: How do I react when hurt? Do I notice when I am hurt? Do I notice when I am angry or detached? These must be addressed. An ability to maintain awareness of these states of consciousness must be developed, over time, in one's training as a facilitator.

The People are the Issue

Many practitioners attempt to separate people from the issues (see Ury, 1999). This attempt creates an artificial separation, dissociating people from their experience.

> Fisher and Ury are wrong, it is the people. The people are the issue. You don't separate issues from people when you're dealing with an emotional conflict because the people are the issue. That's who you ethnically cleanse. You cleanse people. They are the issue. (Sandole, 2003)

Artificial distinctions—such as those between people and issues, past and present, me and not me—marginalize important information, concretize edges, and hinder efforts towards transformations by focusing on short cuts to immediate solutions.

Conclusions Summarized

1.   What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy, and productive manner?

   ·   The facilitation of conflict is extremely difficult.

   ·   Awareness is not the goal.

- There are diverse views regarding desired outcomes

- The importance of bonding is debatable but there are clear advantages to focusing on the tensions, that which isn't bonded with the Other.

- Non polarizing facilitation eschews pathologization.

- Openness to inner diversity and fluidity has to be cultivated in facilitators.

- Facilitators are often unaware of critical signals and structural patterns.

- Facilitators are often aware of critical signals but do not use them.

- Hot spots are critical signals.

- Somatic experiences are often critical signals.

- Dreamed up reactions are critical signals.

- Neutrality is a myth.

- Tracking double signals is a key tool.

- Rank awareness is critical.

- Conflict is holographic.

- Awareness of the marginalization of feelings and subjective experience is fundamental to conflict facilitation.

- Extremists are important.

- Awareness of feedback is critical.

- Innerwork is critical.

- An ability to work with people in extreme states of consciousness is critical.

- The people are the issue.

2. What needs do people have in terms of emotional safety and protection from retaliation while involved in conflict work?

- People need to feel that they will be protected, that their views and experiences and stories will be heard.

- People need to feel that facilitators are sufficiently aware that they will be able to notice signals of escalation, injury, dissociation and other extreme states.

- People need to feel emphatic support from facilitators.

- People need to feel that someone is present who will be able to slow things down, to name and to bring attention to hot spots, and who will be able to prevent abuse.

- In order to accomplish this, facilitators must be aware of the felt experiences and extreme states of individuals and groups.

- Facilitators must also be awake to their own somatic experience and feelings, connecting empathically with others, and bringing awareness to double signals, double binds, and rank issues.

- People need to feel that the facilitation team supports their views, beliefs, and experiences and accepts this as a logical conclusion of their subjective history, both personal and collective: start where people are.

3.   Is it potentially abusive for facilitators to allow the expression of strong emotion?

- It is potentially abusive if the needs outlines in the previous questions are not addressed.

- It is also potentially abuse for facilitators to side against the expression of strong emotions or various communication styles by suppressing them.

4.   How do facilitators handle personal attack?

- Name the hotspot.

- Stop the work.

- Avoid retaliation.

- Publicly allowing the attack to proceed with awareness.

- Challenge the attacker to change you.

- Framing the attack.

- Reframing the attack.

- Framing your response.

- Do innerwork.

- Metacommunicate.

- Match the energy of the attacker and then check feedback.

- Understanding the structure.

- Track your inner state.

Reassessment of the Literature Review

The process oriented concepts discussed in this dissertation came from the field of Process Work (also known as process oriented psychology); its subfields of worldwork and deep democracy; and the work of Amy and Arnold Mindell, Max Schupbach, and their colleagues, peers, friends, clients, allies, and adversaries. Their framework for thinking in terms of consensus reality, dreaming, and sentient essence; their use of the body (somatic, proprioceptive, and movement) experience, states of consciousness, synchronicities, hot spots, double signals, and channels as tools; their use of role theory (such as the idea that leadership is a role) within a field; their focus on innerwork and eldership; their non-pathologizing love for experience; and their practice of sitting in the fire by acknowledging that they are a part of the field rather than a neutral third-party are radical innovations deserving of further study and dissemination.

Recommendations for Further Research

A major problem in the field continues to be a lack of research articles and empirical studies on which to draw. Conflict practitioners, in general, have not precisely documented their own implicit paradigm nor researched the effectiveness of their interventions in contrast with other paradigms. Most of the material available is theoretical or anecdotal.

Recommendations for further research therefore include detailed empirical documentation of conflict resolution and facilitation including, for example, exploring correlations between inner work, somatic awareness, signal and rank awareness, structural analysis, extreme states of consciousness, and outcomes.

Further research exploring the social theories of economists such as John Kenneth Galbraith (2001) in process oriented terms could provide additional tools and understanding for Process Workers as well as for the economists. I mention Galbraith, in particular, because his work already embodies a social philosophy that suggests it is heading in the same direction as deep democracy.

Research evaluating the immediate and long term effects of worldwork and process oriented therapy on body symptoms and extreme states of consciousness in war traumatized people, and on the general population in conflict zones, should be done to establish a benchmark for the efficacy of the work.

Research evaluating the immediate and long term effects of worldwork and process oriented therapy on the generation of awareness, fluidity, and eldership on war traumatized people, and on the general population in conflict zones, should be done to establish a benchmark for the efficacy of the work.

Further research is needed on the effects of the expression of strong emotion and various styles of communication.

The neuroscience of fear, anxiety, and trauma in conflict and the neurological effects of interventions, strong emotions, complex dialogue, and other forms of conflict transformation should be studied further.

The effects of a network of deep democracy facilitators and elders in a given community should be further explored and documented.

The effects of Process Work training on conflict facilitators and peacebuilders and on their work should be documented and evaluated.

The effects of establishing a Secretariat for Deep Democracy research and training at the UN should be studied.

A study of the effect and benefits of adopting deep democracy as a central tenet of the proposed US Department of Peace should be conducted.

The mathematics of awareness should be explored. Awareness-based paradigms could be studied in connection with chaos, network, game, systems replication, and economic theories. Studies could include the effect of networked cells of social elders practicing an awareness-based paradigm on social conflict, on nearby cells, and on individuals connected to the cells by n-connections; exploring the effect of awareness on game theory's models and analysis of conflict and economies. As Nash (Nash, Kuhn, & Nasa, 2001) has shown, consumers do not behave "rationally," as previously assumed, acting solely in their own short term self interest. There is, at times, a more complex process at play that includes awareness of collective benefit, win-win, and the effect of an improved economy on the likelihood of greater gain for the individual. Awareness-based

models may be able to further enhance this by demonstrating signals, structures, and roles that are dissonant with the collective maximization of benefit and are therefore unlikely to maximize individual benefit as well.

Appendix 1: Audergon Chart of Communal and Collective PTSD

The following is a list of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms from *the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed. (DSM-IV) (left column) as well as a corresponding list that Arlene Audergon has developed to show the symptoms of group or community trauma (middle column) and collective dynamics of trauma within the wider society (in the right-hand column).

This table is taken from Arlene's book, *The War Hotel: Psychological Dynamics in Violent Conflict* , (2005b, pp. 281-284).

PTSD Symptoms in the Individual	*Group or community signs of trauma*	*Collective dynamics of trauma in the wider society*
A *The person has been exposed to a traumatic event in which both of the following were present::*	A *The group or community has experienced an event or series of events that were shocking and that:*	A *Events have occurred that lie outside fundamental values concerning human rights:*
1 The person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of others	1 Upset and threatened fundamental social values and caused serious threat to the welfare and survival of the group or community	1 This may involve atrocities that crossed boundaries of international humanitarian law and conventions of war
2 The person's response involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror. Note that, in children, this may be expressed instead by disorganized or agitated behavior	2 Caused terror, helplessness, and horror in a group or community	2 Events may have caused widespread terror, uprooting of large populations, and genocide
B *The traumatic event is persistently re-experienced in one (or more) of the following ways:*	B *The community trauma may be re-experienced in some or all of the following ways:*	B *Trauma replays and persists, and history repeats in some or all of the following ways:*
1 Re-current and distressing recollection of the event, including images, thoughts, or perceptions. Note that, in young children, repetitive play may occur in which themes of aspects of the trauma are expressed	1 Recurrent distressing recollection of past events	1 Historical traumatic events and memory are manipulated and experienced as an intrusion, without sense of control or choice
2 Recurrent distressing dreams of the event. Note that, in children, there may be frightening dreams without	2 Group and community "dreaming." often in the replay of polarizations and conflict	2 Traumatic experiences replay in repeating oppression and cycles of revenge. Archetypal roles of oppressor and

PTSD Symptoms in the Individual	Group or community signs of trauma	Collective dynamics of trauma in the wider society
recognizable content		oppressed are mythic in nature and proportion
3 Acting or feeling as if the traumatic event were recurring (includes a sense of reliving the experience, illusions, hallucinations, and dissociative flashback episodes, including those that occur on awakening or when intoxicated). Note that, in young children, trauma-specific re-enactment may occur	3 While talking about or debating an issue, a hot spot is touched and the traumatic event is actualized and reoccurs through strong affects, flashbacks, and visceral responses. This may occur when a group is in an altered state of consciousness	3 The past is not only revived in memory but reoccurs (e.g. while killing Muslims, Serb paramilitaries thought they were defending against the Turks from several centuries past)
4 Intense psychological distress at exposure to internal or external cues that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event (The DSM-III-R, version of PTSD mentions anniversaries as triggers in individual trauma)	4 A group, subgroup, or community may experience outrage, distress, and tensions when a new event symbolizes or resembles an aspect of an earlier community trauma, e.g. when the police who beat Rodney King were acquitted	4 Anniversaries of traumatic events are used to awaken outrage and urge for redemption, e.g. Slobodan Milosevic used the 600-year anniversary of the battle of Kosovo to launch the nationalist movement in Serbia
5 Physiological reactivity on exposure to internal or external cues that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event	5 Reactivity to any issue that relates to the original conflict. When a new event reminds the group or community of a past trauma, the community experiences the atmosphere and tension of the original traumatic event and outbreaks of violence may occur or violence can be readily mobilized	5 Reactivity and mobilization in nationalist movements. Tendency for people to be easily pulled and pushed into polarized reactions, swayed by leadership and disinformation in the media
C *Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma or numbing of general responsiveness (not present before the trauma), as indicated by at least three of the following:*	C *A group or community attempts to avoid the issues associated with the community trauma. There is a lack of responsiveness, or a sense of cutting off from the issues and the pain and outrage involved:*	C *Persistent avoidance of the issues surrounding atrocity and trauma, as a result of privilege on one side and pain and suffering on the other. A general numbing of responsiveness regarding the suffering and trauma in our world:*
1 Efforts to avoid thoughts, feelings, or conversations associated with the trauma	1 Group or community attempts to avoid the topics that touch upon its trauma	1 Society avoids facing past atrocities, carried out by some groups against other groups
2 Efforts to avoid activities, places,	2 Group or community activities	2 Society avoids controversial

PTSD Symptoms in the Individual	Group or community signs of trauma	Collective dynamics of trauma in the wider society
or people that arouse recollections of the trauma	are avoided that could re-trigger trauma or open up troublesome issues	subjects that could touch upon the reality of atrocity that occurred, e.g. the issue of land rights of Native Americans is avoided
3 Inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma (the term "psychogenic amnesia," is used in DSM-III-R)	3 Group or community suffers from amnesia, claiming that the event never happened or it is irrelevant now, and refuses to deal with problems of accountability	3 Collective amnesia sets in: "It was so long ago." Or history is revised out of our collective story. Accountability is sidestepped or refused
4 Markedly diminished interest or participation in significant activities (in young children, loss of recently acquired developmental sills such as toilet training or language skills)	4 Hopelessness and disinterest in group and community activities and community growth. Burn-out is widespread	4 Pervasive hopelessness about politics, low voter turnout, and people feel it's pointless to get involved with social action
5 Feeling of detachment or estrangement from others	5 Widespread feelings of isolation within group or community, lack of community spirit	5 Disinterest towards oppressed groups, desensitization to atrocities, and dehumanization
6 Restricted range of affect, e.g. unable to have loving feelings	6 Restricted ability to recognize the painful issues facing the community. Lack of expression of reactions of outrage and grief	6 Limited feeling about the tragedy of history in social discourse. TV watching. The reaction of society does not match the magnitude of the events
7 Sense of a foreshortened future, e.g. does not expect to have a career, marriage, children, or a normal life span	7 A lack of belief in prospects for the future of the group or community. People leave the group or young people emigrate from the region or country	7 Decision-making occurs with no long-term perspective, with no sense of future and sustainability. Failing and missing leadership
D *Persistent symptoms of increased arousal not present before the trauma) as indicated by two or more of the following:*	D *Group or community agitation as indicated by some or all of the following*	D Collective agitation including some or all of the following
1 Difficult falling or staying asleep	1 Persistence in a dominant pattern of communication and interaction and inability to stop and reflect as a group or community	1 Fear of introspection as a society. Society focuses on productivity, trying to avoid past ghosts. But the ghosts will not rest
2 Irritability or outbursts of anger	2 Irritability and outbursts of	2 Repression, terror tactics, and

PTSD Symptoms in the Individual	Group or community signs of trauma	Collective dynamics of trauma in the wider society
	violence in community	acts of terrorism
3 Difficult concentrating	3 Difficulty establishing focus and clarifying the group or community's issues	3 Lack of focus and commitment to global themes and long-term issues
4 Hypervigilance	4 Group or community is guarded and poised for conflict. Vigilance rises in oppressed communities, guarding against discrimination or attack. Vigilance rises among groups with social rank, out of fear of feeling guilty or losing privileges. Vigilance in standing for oppressed groups may be referred to as "political correctness"	4 Sensitivity and vigilance between nations. Nations are poised for war. Vigilance and reactivity I political discourse and preparation for violent conflict
5 Exaggerated startle response	5 If a person or subgroups says something that touches on a hot spot, the community may be quick to jump, scapegoat, and suppress the issue, or strongly react against it	5 Large sections of society are easily startled after a traumatic event. As an example, after the shocking events of 9/11, many Americans were easily startled, reacting to events that could be symbolically or otherwise linked to events of 9/11 (e.g. jumping someone on the airplane who stood up). Political and military responses are reactive and retaliatory
E *Duration of disturbance (symptoms in B, C, and D) of at least one month*	E *Duration of the above disturbances in B,C, and D, over time: months, years , or decades*	E *Duration of the above disturbances in B, C, and D over months, years, decades, or generations*
F *The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning*	F *The disturbances cause disruption or impairment of group or community function*	F *The disturbances impair the wider society's infrastructure around economic, political, and legal functions. International bodies disrupted (e.g. the UN faced disruptions when the USA refused to consider international opinion and international law)*

(Audergon, 2005b, pp. 281-284)

Appendix 2: Definition of Terms

All definitions are my own working definitions except where noted.

Acausal	Having an unknown or non-causal connection. See teleology.
Attack	A momentary signal wherein one party sends a clear, although not necessarily direct, signal of challenge to the authority or views of another party that also contains a polarizing double signal of aggression.
Awareness	The ability to notice phenomenological experience.
Channel	The specific path in which information is received: visual, auditory, proprioceptive, kinesthetic, relationship, spiritual, and world channels refer to information that is collected by seeing, hearing, feeling, moving, in relationship with another person, in relationship with a divine, shamanic, or spiritual entity, or through an outer event.
Conflict	The following definition of conflict from a causal perspective is taken from the web site of George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution:

> Conflict is the product of unmet needs and unrecognized differences. Often, it is the result of perceived present or future incompatibility of plans, goals or actions. But conflict is also the product of unacknowledged issues as well. [. . .] We describe

	conflict as a dynamic system in which events and understandings constantly restructure and re-interpret the past, present and future. (ICAR, 2000)
Conflict	From a non-causal perspective, two aspects of the background dreaming are manifesting as polarities so that they may be resolved.
Consciousness	Awareness of awareness, i.e., an ability to be aware that one is aware of phenomenological experience.
Consensus reality	The material level of daily existence which most people generally experience and agree upon most of the time.
Deep Democracy	A belief that there is wisdom in, under, or behind all views and that there must be freedom for the expression of diverse opinions and experiences, so that the deeper wisdom came be understood and so that sustainable solutions to complex problems can be found and healthier communities can evolve.
Double Signal	An unintended signal that sends a message that is incongruous with the intended message.
Dream Figure	A psychological symbol—similar to an archetype in Jungian psychology and to spirits in Shamanism. Used to describe an unconscious force that is affecting an atmosphere or influencing behavior.

Dreaming	The metaphysical or spiritual experience and meaning behind behavior, signals, symptoms, and disturbances.
Edge	An edge is the limit of what we can perceive, think, communicate, or believe we can do. Structurally speaking, an edge separates the primary from the secondary process (Revar, 2004)
Eldership	Eldership is the ability to understand, empathize with and support conflicted individuals or groups on all sides of an issue simultaneously and compassionately (Arnold Mindell, 1995, p. 51)
Enmification	The act of creating enmity: deep-seated, often mutual hatred. The process of labeling other individuals or groups as evil, bad, wrong, or the source of difficulty.
Field	An emotional atmosphere or a felt sense of a particular shared consciousness that seems to be transmitted by acausal non-Newtonian means.
Fluidity	Fluidity refers to an ability to notice the one-sidedness of one's own momentary experience or thought and shift into or support other experiences or thoughts.
Fundamentalist	A usually religious movement or point of view characterized by a return to fundamental principles, by rigid adherence to those principles, and often by intolerance of other views and opposition to secularism.

Ghost Role	A role in a field which is unoccupied (no one is representing or expressing the role) but which is nonetheless felt to be present, e.g., a black man entering an all white business club may feel the racism even though no one is doing anything blatantly racist at the moment—racism is often a ghost.
Hot Spot	A hot spot is a moment in a group process when a strong reaction erupts.
Indigenous	Being a member of the original inhabitants of a particular place.
Inner Figure	An archetype, or an anthropomorphized role or viewpoint, e.g., inner child or inner critic, the one who says I should study vs. the one who says I should phone my lover.
Metacommunicator	The role, individual, or inner figure who notices what is happening on a deeper than normal level and communicates about it thereby bringing it to awareness. This can happen intra psychically, in relationship, or in groups.
Metaposition	A standpoint that a person steps into momentarily to help process a conflict by supporting or challenging certain other individuals or standpoints.
Metaskill	The skill, technique, or tone a person uses in intervening or expressing a metaposition.
Nationalism	Excessive concern for the interests of one's nation without regard for the interests of other individuals or nations.

Polarity	A pair of roles, views or positions, that exists in oppositional relationship to each other.
Polarization	A process where individuals in conflict become stuck in opposing roles, e.g., seeing oneself as all good and another as evil or all bad, or believing that either liberal or conservative solutions will solve all problems.
Power	The ability of a person to be forceful or effective in controlling others, expressing his or her views, or standing up for a position in the face of opposition.
Primary Process	The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's normal identity. It is a process because it changes with time.
Process Work	A methodology for finding deeper meaning in human experience by following signals.
Rank	A relative position in society, an organization, community, or relationship that occurs based on perceived differences in various dimensions such as gender, race, age, orientation, appearance, health, education, language, financial status, psychological or spiritual awareness, etc.
Role	A view point or function within a field, generally occupied by various people at different times.
Secondary Process	The underlying motivator or dream figure behind a group's or individual's disavowed identity. It is a process because it

changes with time. The secondary process includes experiences that we do not perceive as belonging to our personal identity. We perceive them either as happening *to* us or as emotions and experiences that we do not identify with: such as anger, fear, power, and spiritual connection. Often we project these aspects onto people we view as the *enemy* or people who we see as being inherently different than us. We may marginalize or admire these qualities, assuming inferior or superior traits in other groups.

Signal

An indicator, generally in movement, language, verbal tone, or other nonverbal signal, that carries meaning.

Tao

The basic, eternal principle of the universe that transcends reality and is the source of being, non-being, and change. The dreaming river, or background process, which is trying to happen.

Teleology

A belief that natural phenomena are determined not only by mechanical causes but by an over-all design or purpose in nature.

Urban Shamanism

Shamanism as practiced by western mainstream people: working with spirits, shape shifting and magic to transform situations and symptoms. A practice—which has roots in Indigenous Shamanism and mysticism—of following seemingly unrelated experiences such as synchronicities,

flirts, somatic experience, momentary visual or auditory hallucinations and nature; accepting them as meaningful for understanding the present moment; and using their message to shift one's own awareness and way of intervening.

Warriorship

The warrior is someone who has the courage to know herself or who faces her own fear It is a condition of openness to actively daring the truth about oneself and a willingness to be vulnerable in expressing one's own inner experience, feelings, and views. To be a warrior is to learn to be genuine in every moment of your life.

Appendix 3: Levels of Experience

LEVEL	CR/NCR	Dual/Non	Signals	PW Concepts	Methods
CONSENSUS REALITY Everyday reality, "real" part of symptoms (i.e.: blood pressure, headache, acid stomach—consensual names and measures) signals and CR part of double signal, i.e., eyes down while relating	CR Consented upon, people will agree about these experiences	Dualistic Parts	Persist, can be formulated in words and observed	Signals, sensory grounded info, double signals, primary and secondary, channels, consciousness	Awareness, observation of signals, amplification, unfolding, edges, etc...
DREAMLAND Dream figures, dream-like aspects of symptoms (i.e.: stabbing pain in head, fire in stomach) subjective experience like "I feel spacey", dreamlike aspect of double signals i.e.: eyes down experienced as going into a cave	NCR Not consented upon. People will not agree on these experiences	Dualistic Parts	Persist long enough to be formulated in words, often repeat, incomplete, secondary	Same as above, incomplete, secondary signals, unoccupied channels, edges, consciousness	Same as above
FLIRT Flickering, non verbal sensations or "flirts", that catch our attention	NCR Not consented upon.	Between dual and non dual worlds	Flickering Signals, persist long enough to notice but very quick and fleeting.	Marginalization Flirts Lucidity Pre-signal	Foggy mind, catching a flirt and going to essence and letting it unfold...
<u>ESSENCE</u> Pre-signals, subtle tendencies and vague intuitions that can't be verbalized = Intentional field, quantum wave, pilot wave, guiding wave, Dreaming, Tao that can't be said, Oneness, immortal self, Mu, golden flower seed, sentient essence	NCR Not consented or agreed upon.	Non-Dual No Parts	Pre-Signals, Subtle, can't be formulated or verbalized, invisible and immeasurable, nonlocal, pre-channel, ground from which ordinary signals in dreamland and consensus reality arise	Marginalization Pre-signals, Tendencies Lucidity	Subtle movement tendencies, slow movement and micro movements to get to the essence of experiences, coma work, asking what was there before the experience was so big, etc...

(Amy Mindell, 2002)

Pathological Disbelief Personality Disorder

There is a pervasive and pathological pattern of disbelief in things, forces, spirits, phenomenon, or experiences that cannot be measured occurring since age 18 years, as indicated by three (or more) of the following:

■ Consistent attempt to deny that which cannot be explained or measured.

■ Failure to conform to psycho-spiritual para-norms with respect to shamanic behaviors as indicated by persistent edges towards performing acts that would support the onset of non-local experience.

■ Deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying (especially towards oneself) by way of denying flirts, body experiences, and dreams that clearly indicate the occurrence of non-local phenomenon, or by way of fabricating pseudo-rational explanations for that which cannot be measured or explained.

■ Irritability and aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated philosophical fights or ideological assaults against those who do not share this affliction, or as indicated by the consistent denial of repeated acts of incongruence.

■ Consistent irresponsibility, as indicated by repeated failure to sustain consistent inner-work behavior or honor spiritual obligations.

■ Lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or rationalizing having hurt, mistreated, or marginalized aspects of oneself or others.

The individual is at least 18 years old (under 18 see Conduct Disorder). There is evidence of Conduct Disorder with onset before age 15 years and the occurrence of pathological disbelief behavior is not exclusively during the course of Schizophrenia or a Manic Episode

Associated Features:
Antisocial Behavior.
Depressed Mood.
Addiction to Consensus Reality.
Dramatic or Erratic or Antisocial Personality.

Differential Diagnosis:
Some disorders have similar symptoms. The clinician, therefore, in his diagnostic attempt has to differentiate against the following disorders which need to be ruled out to establish a precise diagnosis.

Substance-Related Disorder;
Pathological Belief in Authority
Manic Episode
Narcissistic Personality Disorder
Histrionic Personality Disorder
Borderline Personality Disorders
Paranoid Personality Disorder
Adult Antisocial Behavior.

Cause:

The cause of this disorder is unknown, but biological or genetic factors may play a role. The incidence of pathological disbelief personality is higher in people who have pathological disbelief biological parents. Although the diagnosis is limited to those over 18 years of age, there is usually a history of similar behaviors before age 15, such as repetitive denial of flirts, double signals, lying, truancy, delinquency, and substance abuse. This disorder tends to occur more often in straight white men and in people whose predominant role model had pathological disbelief features.

Twin studies have confirmed the hereditability of pathological disbelief behavior in adults and shown that genetic factors are more important in adults than in pathological disbelief children or adolescents where shared environmental factors are more important. (Lyons et a11995)

Cadoret et al (1995) studied the family environment as well as the parentage of adoptees separated at birth from parents. Pathological disbelief Personality Disorder in the biological parents predicted pathological disbelief disorder in the adopted away children. However, adverse factors in the adoptive environment (for example, "marital problems or substance abuse) independently predicted adult pathological disbelief behaviors.

Treatment:

Psychotherapy and Shamanism [See Therapy Section]:
Effective treatment of pathological disbelief behavior and personality is limited. Group Process Work can be helpful. If the person can develop a sense of trust, individual Process Work, inner work, or shamanic journeying can also be beneficial. There is research that supports the use of ritual, body work, yoga, meditation, and hallucinogenic medications for direct treatment of pathological disbelief personality disorder, as has been practiced by various indigenous communities throughout history.

Effective psychotherapy treatment for this disorder is limited and it is likely that intensive, psychoanalytic approaches are inappropriate for this population. Approaches the reinforce appropriate behaviors are likely inappropriate. However, therapies that attempt make connections between the person's actions and their feelings and the feelings of others, between their dreams and their actions, and between their sensory grounded awareness and their behavior may be more beneficial. Emotions are usually a key aspect of treatment of this disorder. Patients often have had little or no significant emotionally-rewarding relationships in their lives. The therapeutic relationship, therefore, can be one of the first ones. This can be very scary for the client, initially, and it may become addictive as the client seeks to find deep and loving connections with others. A close therapeutic relationship can only occur when a good and solid rapport has been established with the client and he or she can trust the therapist implicitly.

Pharmacotherapy [See Psychopharmacology Section] :
Medications should only be utilized to treat clear, acute and serious Axis I concurrent diagnoses. Research has suggested that the use of psycho-spiritual medications is effective, although not necessary, in the treatment of this disorder. However, such substances should only be administered in sacred ritual under the care of a shaman certified by the AMA or the APA.

Self-Help [See Self-Help Section]
Self-help methods for the treatment of this disorder are often overlooked by the medical profession because most psychiatrists have pathological disbelief. Process groups can be especially helpful for people with this disorder if they are tailored specifically for pathological disbelief personality disorder. Individuals with this disorder typically feel more at ease in discussing their feelings and behaviors in front of peers who are in recovery in this type of supportive modality, provided there is a facilitator present who is able to bring awareness to double signals, flirts, synchronicities, dream doors, feelings, dream figures, and sentient essence.

Note
This parody is intended to express the seriousness of pathological disbelief while satirically making light of the mainstream's reaction to viewing its own disbelief as pathology.

12/01/2003

Research Questions

What inner skills, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs help people to deal with conflict directly and in a creative, healthy and productive manner?

What needs do people have in terms of emotional safety and protection from retaliation while involved in conflict work, and is it potentially abusive for facilitators to allow the expression of strong emotion?

How do facilitators handle personal attack?

Interview Guide

What does the respondent do when a hot spot erupts?

How open is she to the expression of strong emotion? Does she support it? Is she afraid of it?

Is she aware of her own somatic experience in hot spots? Does she use it? How?

If she stops the process at hot spots—why? What is the belief against them? If she support them—why? What is the belief in favor of them?

How does the respondent deal with being attacked?

What is his inner experience?

Is she aware of her somatic experience? Does she use it? How?

Does he believe in stepping out of the role of facilitator and interacting personally? If not, why not? If so, what is his responsibility to the rest of the group?

What is the spiritual basis, if any, for her approach to facilitating?

How does she use that to prepare?

How does she use that in the midst of conflict?

How is spirituality a part of the work itself?

What is God's role in healing conflict?

Appendix 6: Informed Consent Form

Dear Research Participant:

I am conducting a study of the psychology of eldership and conflict as part of my doctoral work at the Union Institute and University. I hope information from this research will add to the knowledge base of the field.

If you agree to participate, the interview will be recorded to ensure accuracy and then analyzed and the analysis disseminated in the final dissertation. Unless you specifically grant permission to cite you all responses will be confidential and your name will not be used in any report regarding this research. I promise to honor your words, meanings and experience in my research, analysis and publication.

I am not aware of any risks involved in participating in this project. You are free to decline participation or to withdraw at any time.

Sincerely,

Signature: _____,   Date:
                    Stanford Siver

I, _____, give Stanford Siver permission to interview me and to record the interview and to use any information gathered by me in his research, and to publish the information and the results of this study as a dissertation or other publication.

I expect to be cited if I am quoted directly. ☐

I prefer to remain anonymous, even if quoted directly. ☐

Other:

Signature: _____,   Date:

Please return to: Stanford Siver   Phone: 503-522-9874
                   2058 NW Flanders St. #8 fax: 413-826-5480
                   Portland, OR 97209   email: stanfordsiver@comcast.net

Shadows of Peace

Stanford SIVER

Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy & Global Process Institute

Abstract. Patterns found in large-scale conflict are repeated, like fractals, in community and organizational conflict, in interpersonal conflict, and in each of us individually. In a sense, the larger conflict exists holographically within the smaller unit. This relationship parallels concepts from quantum physics, chaos theory, Taoism, and other spiritual and philosophical traditions. On a practical level, conflict resolution practitioners can improve their ability to understand a conflict, to facilitate it effectively, and to transform it by first discovering all of the parts or roles of the conflict and the tensions and feelings that exist between the various parts within themselves. This is often difficult to do because even seasoned conflict professionals tend at times to have difficulty seeing themselves in a negative light, or difficulty in seeing what C.G. Jung called the "shadow."[65] Conflict practitioners can use the laboratory of their own professional and personal relationships to discover these roles and tensions and their associated rank, power, and privilege issues by closely following signals (nonverbal body cues, linguistics, synchronicities, their own sensory experience, etc.) and discovering the deeper meaning and underlying motivations that often lies hidden behind them. In practice, this requires developing an attitude of openness to deep democracy: a belief in the importance of the feelings, experience, and visions of others.

Keywords. Conflict Resolution, Conflict Transformation, Deep Democracy, Peacebuilding, Process Oriented Psychology, Process Work, Worldwork.

Introduction

> *If we can develop concepts of the relationship with our enemies and*
> *allies that prevail in time of peace, perhaps we can learn to reactivate*
> *them in time of war.*   —Vamik Volkan V. D. Volkan, 1988)

This paper presents one blueprint for developing an awareness-based approach to and capacity for conflict transformation that can be applied to the facilitation of relationships, organizational dynamics, conflict resolution, and diplomacy. This approach emerged from a process-oriented paradigm: a methodology that is based on awareness of our inner state of consciousness and somatic experience, tracks the patterns of group and interpersonal dynamics, and various metaskills (Arnold Mindell, 1995) such as compassion and eldership.

1. Fractals

> *The peace process we all aim for will not necessarily be a result of the*
> *mere signing of a treaty or agreement. It must become a matter of our*

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[65]   In the classical Jungian sense the shadow refers to negative aspects of the unconscious and is thus considered to be a racist term because it associates darkness with negativity. However, in a process oriented context the shadow is as valuable as any other region, no matter how well illuminated, but often the worth of those things that are hidden in the shadows is not seen because of the blinding hypnosis of the mainstream's powerful light.

<div align="right">—King Hassan II of Morocco</div>

Problems that confront us as individuals in our daily lives reflect the same patterns and themes with which society is struggling. The patterns that are found in large-scale conflict are repeated, like fractals, in community and organizational conflict, in interpersonal conflict, and within each of us intra-psychically. In a sense, the larger conflict exists holographically within each smaller unit. The mathematics modeling these relationships parallel concepts from network and chaos theories, quantum physics, Taoism, and other mathematical, spiritual, and philosophical traditions.

68　・古之極。 ・是謂用人之力。是謂配天 人者為之下。是謂不爭之德 不怒。善勝敵者不與。善用 古之。善為士者不武。善戰者

In ancient times
the perfect officer wasn't armed
the perfect warrior wasn't angry
the perfect victor wasn't hostile
the perfect commander acted humble
this is the virtue of nonaggression
this is using the strength of others
this is uniting with Heaven
which was the ancient end

<div align="center">From Lao-Tzu's Tao Te Ching [1, p. 136]</div>

Daisaku Ikeda (founder of the Institute of Oriental Philosophy and Soka University) writes of the importance of "synchronic solidarity with all present life, diachronic solidarity with future life, and solidarity with the life-struggles of the past" (Galtung & Ikeda, 1995). Achieving solidarity with life, with the struggles of the past, and with the future is apparently an enormous accomplishment if the level of disconnection we collectively exhibit is any indication. And yet, on a feeling level we are extraordinarily sensitive creatures. Even though we are not always aware of what we are experiencing or of the underlying motivations behind our behavior, it is clear that many aspects of human behavior are closely patterned by social interactions, societal conflict, and non-local phenomena.[66] People act differently

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[66]　　Non-locality refers to two spatially separate processes that appear to be linked.

depending on the environment they are in; patterns of social interactions and conflict alter our moods, states of consciousness, and behavior.

The variables in the environment can be described as roles, the tensions, communications, and feedback loops that exist between them, and the feelings and signals involved in the interactions. On a practical level this means that as conflict resolution practitioners we can improve our ability to understand conflict, to facilitate effectively, and to help with transformation of conflict by examining the underlying roles, tensions, and signals. We can start by developing these skills in our relationships with our colleagues, friends, family, and community as the relationships exist in times of relative peace. We can use these relationships to become familiar with roles, signals, and feedback loops in our daily interactions and to find the roles and patterns within ourselves. This is often difficult to do. Even seasoned conflict resolution professionals tend at times to have difficulty seeing themselves in a negative light or difficulty in seeing what C.G. Jung called the "shadow." It is often difficult to break with our self-perceptions in order to see those aspects of our persona that are not only peaceful and compassionate but that sometimes are hurtful or even violent. On a more personal level, this suggests that human existence is tragic (in the spirit of classic Greek mythology) (Steiner, 2000) in that human beings are influenced by non-local forces (Mindell, 2000c) they can neither see nor control, that reason and justice are limited, and that traumatic events occur as a normal part of life. We tend to disavow or marginalize those aspects of the tragedy of our lives that are most troublesome or which do not coincide with our normal preferred identity.

We are best at disavowing and unable to see the part that we play in societal, inter-group, and interpersonal dynamics. Conflict practitioners can use the laboratory of their own professional and personal relationships to discover these roles and tensions and their associated rank, power, aggression, and privilege issues by closely following signals (nonverbal body cues, linguistics, synchronicities, their own emotional and physical sensory experience, dreams, etc.) and discovering the message that often lies hidden behind them. In practice, this requires developing an attitude of openness to "deep democracy," a belief in the importance of our own experience as well as the feelings, experiences, and visions of others. Practice shows that groups tend to be more cohesive when various subgroups, roles, or viewpoints are supported to dialogue and interact with the group's dominant views and individuals (Gastil & Levine, 2005). However, most people are philosophically against certain roles and at times enjoy "winning" by defeating and silencing other groups or views. This may be fine in everyday life, but a facilitator's one-sidedness can exacerbate conflict. How can we get to know our own one-sidedness and our own philosophical beliefs regarding roles and views that we are against? How can we help conflicting parties to become more aware of their own one-sidedness and their own implicit beliefs regarding conflict, relationship, sustainability, and peace if we do not know our own?

Consider the following questions and notice your own reactions to them:

· To what extent is terrorism an abnormal reaction to an abnormal situation?
· To what extent is terrorism an attempt on the part of an individual or a group to engage others in a transformative and intimate relationship?
· Is there a terrorist role in society (Vassiliou, 1995), and if so, what are the characteristics and functions of the terrorist role?

A polar view maintains that terrorism is not an attempt at engagement, but is a form of tyranny. Either way, through considering these questions and engaging in dialogue with others we can get to know aspects of the terrorist and the tyrant as they appear in our own psychology and our own relationships.

Dr. Arnold Mindell, the founder of Process Work (also known as Process Oriented Psychology) who first trained as a theoretical physicist at MIT and then as a Jungian analyst at the Jung Institute in Zurich, says that Process Work aims to explore the tension between polar views more than it attempts to solve conflict. Also, Process Work avoids the pathologizing of behavior, preferring instead to discover the underlying motivations behind initially incomprehensible acts. This approach parallels earlier advances in psychiatry wherein case workers discovered that patient behavior became less disturbing and less violent in part based on the staff's ability to maintain an attitude of openness towards the patient's experience, avoid pathologizing labels, and support a degree of interconnectedness with them (Bloom, 1997). The challenge of conflict facilitation is to discover and unfold the underlying meaning and unconscious motivation behind even the most violent behavior and to find within ourselves—even if only to a very small degree—the same tendencies.

2. Deep Democracy and the Shadow

> *We have wars because we aren't aware of the aggression, violence, and hurtfulness involved in our daily interactions.*   —Mindell (2002e)

Linguists maintain that information is "a difference that makes a difference." A signal that does not have meaning to us does not make a meaningful and noticeable difference and so fails to convey information. It is a difference that does not make a difference. Furthermore, we marginalize or fail to notice many signals in communication because the signal does not carry a readily intelligible meaning, because we do not understand the meaning associated with a particular signal, or because we fail to understand when we are at an edge (the meaning lies in the shadows of our own psychic experience).

One of the obstacles to seeing our shadow is the psychological and emotional trauma that many of us have experienced in the past. We need to understand these patterns of traumatization because they are prevalent in conflict zones as well as in our personal histories. These patterns exist to varying degrees in all of us and can influence the success or failure of peacebuilding efforts. According to trauma psychiatrist Sandra Bloom,

> Victims of trauma—particularly interpersonal trauma—have serious difficulties in their ability and willingness to trust other people. Experience has taught them that people are dangerous. (1997)

Since trust is critical to good relationships and conflict resolution, it is important that we acknowledge our distrust and understand its roots so that we can manage or transform it effectively. People are powerful and enemies are threatening so there is a need for appropriate levels of self defense. However, many of us have developed difficulty in maintaining trusting relationships at appropriate levels. Even though we may not be aware of our distrust, we communicate with double signals, which confuses others. On the conscious level we may assume that others are trustworthy but unconsciously our nonverbal signals reveal our distrust and fear. This distrust is often experienced by others as aggression. Problems arise when we fail to maintain appropriate levels of trust and instead project dissociated aspects of our own violent and aggressive natures onto others.

In *The Need to Have Enemies & Allies* (1988), Volkan writes:

> Clinical experience indicates that each person tries throughout life to cling to his [or her] own sense of self and identify against whatever threatens his notion of who he is. He is unaware of how he constantly protects and regulates his sense of self in daily life by using various mechanisms, including suitable targets of externalization and their abstracted internalized versions. Just as he is unaware of the intricate interplay of his muscles when he walks until he encounters rough terrain or experiences spasms, he takes for granted his sense of self until it is challenged or injured.

Until our identity is challenged or injured, aspects of this dissociation remain hidden and are often easier to see in others, particularly in volatile conflict. Bloom reports that profound trauma

> …robs the self of power and control, but it also steals off with speech and memory and feeling. …it extorts from us any sense of normal emotion and leaves us instead with wildly swinging and often inappropriate emotional expression alternative with a numbing coldness… (Bloom, 1997).

Milder and more normative levels of traumatic victimization and interpersonal abuse often damage the fluidity that is necessary for us to see ourselves as oppressors. That is, we are not able to hear the occasional, inadvertent mean-spirited hurtfulness behind our defensive expression of our own experience. We may not often exhibit the emotional reactivity described by Bloom, and yet, it may be a part of all of us at a more subtle level. Subtle or not, the unconscious expression of a facilitator's emotional reactivity may be felt by the conflict participants as a judgmentalness, an air of superiority, one-sidedness, or at least as a lack of support for them personally or for their positions, feelings, or experience. Aspects of one's own sense of superiority are particularly difficult to identify with. John Stuart Mill wrote:

> Men's opinions, accordingly, on what is laudable or blamable, are affected by all the multifarious causes which influence their wishes in regard to the conduct of others, and which are as numerous as those which determine their wishes on any other subject. Sometimes their reason—at other times their prejudices or superstitions: often their

> social affections, not seldom their antisocial ones, their envy or
> jealousy, their arrogance or contemptuousness: but most commonly,
> their desires or fears for themselves—their legitimate or illegitimate
> self-interest. Wherever there is an ascendant class, a large portion of the
> morality of the country emanates from its class interests, and its feelings
> of class superiority. (1859)

It is easy to see this in others, and more difficult to see it as an aspect of ourselves. Yet, there is a common thread in the background of western psychology, physics, mathematics, religion, psychology, philosophy, and indigenous shamanism that supports the importance of seeing the "other" as a mirror of one's self and of recognizing a certain underlying unity. In a sense, there is a "holographic" relationship in which all of the qualities seen in others, or in the field, also exist within me.

A process oriented view of conflict yields an acausal, teleological perspective that maintains that conflict itself has meaning and is actually moving the participants and the entire system towards a relationship of greater intimacy, awareness, and complexity (Mindell, 1983). The conflict field, in this sense, is one aspect of C.G. Jung's collective unconscious, the Tao, or the psychological equivalent of the quantum field.

One troubling consequence of seeing the qualities of the "other" in me is the emerging awareness that if normal people who were badly hurt can begin to react in such violent ways, then so could I. It is easier to protect my self-identification when I enmify others. Better, in a sense, to believe that those other people are bad, violent, and that they are the cause of the world's problems.

In his January, 2003 inauguration address, Israeli Prime Minister Amram Mitzna said, "I promised that I would conduct negotiations with Arafat and the PLO no matter how many Jews the PLO was murdering during the talks" (2004). This is a strong statement and causes many people to react for or against the statement depending upon their views. From one point of view, this one-sidedness of the use of the word "murder," especially when expressed by someone with the rank and authority of the Israeli Prime Minister, is itself inflammatory and violent. From another point of view, agreeing to communicate with "murderers" is also one-sided.

> . . . the externalizations and projections we have given our enemy are
> repugnant to us, so we disavow them and do not want to acknowledge
> this connection consciously. We feel ourselves obliged to see huge and
> important differences between us that support our sense of self and of
> membership in our own group. (V. D. Volkan, 1988)

Just as projection serves a function in a global context, it also serves a function in a community and individual context. While it may lead to a form of social cohesion among subgroups in the short run, in the long run it leads to war. Many psychiatrists have come to see that

> . . . their patients, through their symptoms, were constantly performing
> the actions that displayed their own personal tragedies . . . . because
> their transcendence was dependent on a response from their social

group, a shared experience of pain that would allow them to find a place
back within the human community. (Bloom, 1997)

In other words, irrational, emotional reactivity serves a function within the field. Victor Frankl said that an abnormal reaction to an abnormal situation is normal (Frankl, 1997). In a sense abnormal behavior is an attempt by a member of a group, or by one group within a field, to engage others in a transformative and intimate dynamic.

Volkan maintains that there is a need for a psychological gap between us and the enemy wherein the parties' aggression and emotional reactivity bond them together in a self-energizing dance of intimacy. He describes this gap as a psychological "moat filled with preoccupations with many rituals used to control the ebb and flow of aggression" (1988). He frames a continuum between the "playful" telling of denigrating jokes about the enemy at one end of the spectrum and war on the other. Mindell says that we have wars because we are not aware of the aggression, violence, and hurtfulness involved in our daily interactions, whether playful or not (2002e).

Developing a practice of using our awareness of these concepts in our relationships as they exist in times of peace requires us to develop an attitude of Deep Democracy (Arnold Mindell, 2002c). Deep Democracy supports all signals, feelings, and experiences and encourages development of an awareness of the tensions and feedback loops that occur between them. As conflict facilitators we especially have to learn to support marginalized signals, which we cannot yet see, and abnormal behavior, which we do not yet understand, while avoiding unconsciously repeating the cycles of traumatization and victimization by inadvertently siding against one of the parties or experiences. This must all be done while fostering a dynamic that supports change. How the conflict participants respond is in part reflective of the inner experience, beliefs, awareness, and paradigm of the facilitating observer.

3. The Shadow Space

Peace is more difficult than War.
—Aristotle

There is a basis in science for understanding the connection between the observer, the observing paradigm, and the observed and the inner experience and awareness of a facilitator, his or her paradigm, and the group's dynamics. Most of what we know about how systemic or environmental social change affects individuals comes from social psychology, general systems, feminist, and network theories, which have roots in ancient philosophy and physics. Building on Greek philosophy and quantum physics, Alfred North Whitehead developed process philosophy posing a metaphysical general theory of reality (1979). William James and others brought the ideas of process into psychology (1955) while Von Bertalanffy (1967) developed general systems theory, which extended quantum and process thinking by including cybernetics maintaining that all the parts of any given system interact with each other.

Although the above was a gross summary of the development of scientific thought, we can draw two corollaries from these ideas. First, the behavior of individuals involved in a conflict can be understood only in terms of their relationship to the larger organism within which they are acting. And second, the inner psychic world of a facilitator, no matter how well disguised, can also impact the conflicting parties and their behavior.

How can we begin to work with these macro and micro levels? What tools do we have? What telescopes and microscopes should we use? Mindell maintains that various aspects of personal life, which psychology has referred to until now as dreams, body life, relationship conflict and illness, can be re-evaluated in terms of signals that appear in various sensory-oriented channels—proprioception, kinesthesis, visualization, audition, and compositions of these channels (Mindell, 1982, 1983, 1989c, 1992). We can begin by developing our channel awareness—that is, by developing an ability to notice signals that we do not yet understand, noticing our tendency to unconsciously assign meaning or projections to the signals and then by formulating hypotheses and testing them in a compassionate way.

For example, I was teaching facilitation of conflict to a group of young Jewish Americans as part of a month long training in democracy, conflict resolution, and leadership. They began a group process with two of the group members facilitating. Their interactions began slowly because until then they had only held group processes on preassigned topics with preassigned roles. I asked them to facilitate any conflict they wanted to, and the first issue they had to work on was to find consensus on what issue or topic to work on.

They formed a circle with people at times moving into different positions within the circle, each of which began to be associated with particular political positions. The dialogue centered on interfaith dating, relationship, intermarriage, and the views of their parents, aunts, uncles, Rabbis, and communities. They noticed a parallel to the issues in Israel and Palestine and the group dynamic suddenly shifted. People speaking for a secular state were in one spot, more fundamentalist people in another, and a third group supported a religious life and community but did not want to impose a religious state onto the system. Groups often shift topics when they collectively come to an edge,[67] but I did not yet understand the edge.

The interactions continued with people at times moving out of one group and then joining another as they noticed something had shifted in their own views and feelings. I noticed at one point that all of the people were in one half of the circle and there were no people in the other half. How fascinating! What did that empty space represent? I pointed out the empty space and asked the group what they thought it represented. One of the participants stepped into the empty space to see if she could feel what was there. She spontaneously closed her eyes and went inside for a moment. She suddenly said that from this space all that mattered was her connection with God. Religion mattered only in so much as it helped her to develop that connection. She was no longer interested in external Zionism. Many people joined with her and began to discuss religion as a small pond which is intended to show the way to a greater, deeper ocean.

Not everyone agreed. Some carried the dream of a Jewish State. Others felt differently and the group process continued. Perhaps the issues of Zionism and anti-Semitism

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[67]   An edge is a communication or behavior block that occurs when an individual or group represses something that is trying to emerge.

can not be solved but a rich process of awareness can develop through addressing them. Society has not solved the problems associated with anti-Semitism and Zionism and any one group can not be expected to either, but some of the participants were deeply moved by the experience. In that moment, dreaming together (Mindell, 2000a) became more interesting than the creation of outer enemies. The shadow and the edge had been to see that the external rules of interfaith dating, the politics of Israel, and even aspects of the externalities of their own religion—all of which were intended to support them in their relationship with God— were all aspects of something that was also preventing some of them from connecting more deeply with all of the different roles.

4. Safety & Power

> *The people can always be brought to do the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism.* —Hermann Goering

Safety often becomes an issue for groups. We have all been hurt by others, attacked for aspects of our politics, or for momentary lapses in awareness. Mindell asserts that

> People feel unsafe if they are not able to defend themselves against others who dominate the communication channels. Ongoing communities need to come to a consensus on what safety means and how it helps some but may impede the voice of others. The topic of safety is always connected to consciousness of abuse, not just in the overt social sense of one person or group using power to hurt another, but in the covert sense of one person or group using a style that obliterates others. (2002d)

One of the difficulties in addressing safety comes from a human tendency to polarize into positions of victim and oppressor. People from a more marginalized group may tend to see members of a dominate group as oppressors who have all the power to dominate certain communication channels. Similarly, people from the more dominant group may also feel unsafe and unable to defend themselves against the expression of pain and rage on the part of a more oppressed group. They do not feel safe on the streets, in their communities, or in their homes. Hearing a more mainstream person speak of a desire for safety, which is an unattainable illusion for many, may feel inflammatory.

People from the more dominant, mainstream group may tend to see members of the marginalized group as being powerful too and may be afraid of interacting with them due to the increased levels of emotional expression and heat. They do not feel safe either but want to. Often they have increased access to a privileged experience of security, do not understand the anger of others, and are not willing to risk feeling uncomfortable even momentarily. A mainstream or dominant participant's concern for safety may send a message that says, "I'm not willing to feel uncomfortable and do not want to have a relationship with you."

Parliamentary procedure, Roberts Rules of Order, and various styles of mediation and facilitation often support the domination of one style of communication over others. This

is perhaps, in part, why so many conflict resolution efforts fail. Some styles of negotiation and peacebuilding prevent the real issues and the underlying feelings, tensions, and experiences from surfacing and being communicated directly.

But what is safety? Safety is an experience and an illusion that is based on many factors such as gender, race, economic status, rank, ability to speak articulately in groups, freedom to recognize and express one's feelings as well as an ability to defend oneself from verbal, emotional, and physical attack. While referring to the creation of safe space, Dr. Louise Diamond (conflict professional and co-founder of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy) adds:

> Safe space refers to the environment—psychological as well as physical—of the dialogue. Only when people feel safe will they be willing to go beyond debate to true dialogue, which involves touching many layers of wisdom and meaning.
>
> If groups in dialogue are in a strongly conflictual relationship, their sense of safety may be enhanced by having an impartial third party present, who can be trusted to facilitate the process and be there should things get "too hot." (Louise. Diamond, 1998)

But what is too hot? People often experience someone else's expression of feelings of anger or pain as being too hot, and pathologize it as being "extreme emotional reactivity," putting down the "overly" expressive person for being "too sensitive" or for being a "victim." Essentially, they want to keep the emotional heat level turned way down to a conversational style that is within their own comfort zone.

Creating safe space means that people can express their pain, anger, and even rage without being silenced by those with a greater ability to dominate the communication channels by insisting on a more linear style of cognitively centered communications. It also means that people will be protected against being psychologically injured when they are unable to defend themselves against strong emotional expression.

Referring to working with trauma victims, Bloom states that "to create psychological safety, these normative aspects of self-destructive behavior [such as extreme emotional reactivity] need to be consciously, actively, and relentlessly challenged," and that

> They must regain, or gain for the first time, a sense of empowerment, an experienced recognition that they can alter their lives for the better, that they can express anger without being abused, that they can relax and enjoy themselves without punishment, that their actions can make a positive difference in their lives and in the lives of others (1997).

Part of the psychological theory of the shadow suggests that the intrapsychic experience that we marginalize becomes projected onto the external world, e.g., because people are not aware of their own aggression they expect it in others and then react aggressively against the "aggression" of others. Mainstream people or people from dominant groups often fear more marginalized people because of this and because they fear the retaliation that they know is partly justified.

There is an enormous power in being able to speak out about oppression, pain, suffering, and Truth (Gandhi's Satyagraha). Democracy itself is based on power, and power

needs to be supported—but the use of awareness is needed also. All parties of a conflict need to be supported to develop the awareness and fluidity to see how they are at times victims and at times oppressors and how, although at times they may experience themselves as powerless, we are all enormously powerful.

> Speaking out creates all sorts of feelings in everyone. Some are afraid; others are touched so deeply they are moved to tears. In the sense of deep democracy, each and everyone's feelings are important as part of the emerging community awareness process. This process increases everyone's sense of safety as awareness of rank and privilege, power and its abuses comes forward. (2000b)

The process of engaging in deep dialogue increases everyone's sense of safety, providing that the facilitators and the group act to protect those with the least power to defend themselves in the moment. Learning to sit in the fire of intense emotions is like learning to bathe in hatred. It takes time and practice, an enormous willingness to feel intense pain, to be attacked over and over again, and to learn from each failed intervention. For many facilitators this is a long-term spiritual path. As there are many more traumatized people than there will ever be individual therapists to treat them, so too there are many more people with rigid beliefs and violent tendencies than there will ever be conflict facilitation professionals to work with them.

5. Epilogue

> *We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive.* — Einstein

The focus of this work is beyond the laboratory of academic training environments, whether they are exclusively for professional development or in-country trainings for local people involved in the conflict. And yet, in order to transform seemingly intractable systemic conflict, systemic changes must be made. The system, however, is intangible and can not be manipulated directly. Unlike many professions, the only access we have to the system is through people who are tough to "reach," tough to "transform," and tough to develop as facilitators. A facilitator is not a technician following technical procedures—technical skills and theoretical understandings are important but insufficient because the inner world of the facilitator is very much a component of the work. Even more difficult is the task of developing facilitators into teachers who are capable of furthering the knowledge and skills in others—thereby helping to create a self-sustaining system that can reach large numbers of people in a given community, nation, or region.

Ambassador John McDonald calls for the use of Track-4 "citizen power by the thousands, the millions, to open doors and improve relations at the grassroots level" (Louise Diamond & McDonald, 1996), but this work has to start with each of us individually, one person at a time. It is difficult. It is perhaps a "hero's journey" or a path of spiritual Warriorship, but it is possible. While no one approach is a panacea, deep dialogue may be one of the cornerstones in the foundation of our continued ability to survive as a species.

It isn't enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it.
And it isn't enough to believe in it. One must work at it.

—Eleanor Roosevelt

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