The Hewlett Foundation's Conflict Resolution Program

Twenty Years of Field-Building

1984-2004

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The Hewlett Foundation's Conflict Resolution Program:
Twenty Years of Field-Building

For more than two decades, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation played a substantial role in developing and supporting the field of conflict resolution. Since the launch of its program area in 1984, the Foundation has been the most important national funder of the conflict resolution field and, more importantly, a vital partner to the field as it has developed and matured. As the Hewlett Foundation winds down its support to conflict resolution in December 2004, both the Foundation and the field reflect upon a program that has been in many ways remarkable and distinctive among philanthropic endeavors.

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By any measurement, the Foundation's commitment to the conflict resolution field has been both substantial and impressive. Spanning more than twenty years, Hewlett's grantmaking in the area of conflict resolution totaled more than $160 million of support, through almost 900 grants to more than 320 organizations. These grants have supported virtually every aspect of today's conflict resolution field: from the development of a theoretical foundation that seeks to understand the sources and dynamics of conflict, to the emergence of sustainable practitioner organizations that apply conflict resolution tools across society, to the infrastructure that supports the continuing vitality and advancement of the field.

Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program sought to support the development of processes that could help society deal more constructively with conflict in all its forms. Today, these practices and principles are applied across a wide variety of sectors and at all levels of society. Internationally, the Conflict Resolution Program has provided support to a large cadre of organizations working to understand, prevent and resolve many of the most divisive and explosive societal conflicts in all corners of the globe.

While the longevity, magnitude and scope of this support are themselves noteworthy, the Hewlett Foundation's Conflict Resolution Program is perhaps most distinctive for the conscious 'field-building' strategy that has guided the program from its inception. At the time Hewlett's program began, the sense of a 'field' of conflict resolution was only beginning to emerge. Hewlett support over the past twenty years has helped to establish conflict resolution as a vibrant and sustainable field of both academic study and professional practice. Throughout that time, the

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Foundation has been both a catalyst for growth—promoting advancement and innovation in the study and practice of conflict resolution – and a steward of the field—supporting diversity and health across all sectors of the field. Among foundation programs, there are few, if any, comparable examples of field-building on this scale, or of the unique relationship that developed between the Hewlett Foundation and the conflict resolution field.

The Documentation Project

This documentation project is part of the Hewlett Foundation's effort both to celebrate and reflect upon its Conflict Resolution Program, following its exit as an active funder of the field in December 2004. The primary objective of this report is to tell the story of the Hewlett Foundation's involvement with the field of conflict resolution over the past two decades. The report presents the program's strategy and design, discusses the key developments that shaped its evolution, and illustrates its implementation through examples from organizations which it funded. Through this, the report attempts to capture some of that which has made Hewlett's more than twenty-year investment in the field of conflict resolution both remarkable and distinctive.

At the same time, this project presents an opportunity for critical reflection on twenty years of field-building support. By analyzing Hewlett's field-building experience, the report attempts to distill some of the important elements of the field-building approach, the challenges encountered along the way, and lessons learned. This should not be mistaken for an evaluation of the program as a whole, nor an assessment of the field as a whole. Rather, this project is an effort to present the story of a foundation's effort to help build a field and to learn from the strategy that guided that support. It is hoped that these reflections and observations may be of some value to the Hewlett Foundation, to the larger philanthropic community, and to the field of conflict resolution more generally.

Methodology and Structure of the Report

This report is primarily based upon extensive interviews with program staff, selected grantee organizations, and other luminaries in the field, as well as a comprehensive review of program documents. These documents included annual and quarterly submissions prepared by program staff for the Foundation's Board of Directors, key strategy papers that guided program design and implementation, evaluations conducted during the course of program implementation, and literature from the field. Program staff, past and present, shared generously of their time and their reflections on the program – its accomplishments, its challenges, and its shortcomings. Their reflections are very much at the heart of this report. Interviews were also conducted with selected grantee organizations, identified with the assistance of program staff. Though these represent only a small sampling of the organizations supported by the Foundation, they are in many ways representative of Hewlett's overall grantmaking record in the field of conflict resolution. Their experiences are incorporated into the

report to help illustrate some of the various ways in which the Hewlett Foundation impacted the field.

The report consists of eight sections, including this Introduction. Section 2 of the report proceeds with an **overview** of the Conflict Resolution Program: the origins of the program, its basic strategy and design, and the field-building approach, as well as a narrative timeline of the key people and events that shaped the program and its evolution. Sections 3 through 8 provide a more detailed examination of major program areas, loosely mirroring the areas into which Hewlett's support was categorized during much of program implementation.

Report Structure	
Section 1:	*Introduction*
Section 2:	*Overview*
Section 3:	*Theory-Building*
Section 4:	*Practitioner Support*
Section 5:	*Field Infrastructure*
Section 6:	*Consensus Building, Decision-Making, Public Participation*
Section 7:	*International Conflict Resolution*
Section 8:	*Exiting the Field*
Section 9:	*Observations on the Field-Building Experience*

Section 3 of the report reviews the Foundation's **theory-building efforts** in the field of conflict resolution. A key element of Hewlett's field-building approach was to support the development of a theoretical foundation that could inform and advance the practice of conflict resolution. The Foundation's primary theory-building strategy was to help establish and fund eighteen university-based, interdisciplinary Theory Centers. Though each center developed its own unique focus, they collectively engaged in a broad and systematic approach to the study of conflict. An evaluation of the theory centers was conducted in 1995 by Baruch Bush, and the findings of that evaluation are discussed in this section of the report. The section also discusses key challenges faced in the theory-building effort, including sustainability of the centers, theory-to-practice linkages, and evaluation.

Section 4 presents the Conflict Resolution Program's **support to practitioner organizations**. Though similar in many ways to more conventional philanthropic strategies, Hewlett's support to conflict resolution practitioners nevertheless retained a distinctive field-building focus. The Foundation provided general operating support to a number of 'cornerstone' organizations in various sectors of the field that could serve as exemplars for others in the field. Hewlett grants first helped these 'lighthouse' organizations to demonstrate the social utility of conflict resolution approaches while developing public and private marketplaces for their services, then helped the field to diversify into new social sectors and underrepresented communities. These practitioner organizations served as engines of innovation in the field, developing new methodologies, new approaches to service delivery, and new business models for addressing the persistent challenge of viability and sustainability.

Section 5 examines the Foundation's efforts to help build an **infrastructure for the field of conflict resolution** – another distinctive feature of the field-building

approach. The program supported a diverse array of professional associations and organizations that connected practitioners across the country, pushed the continuing advancement of practice and professional development of the field, and promoted the spread of conflict resolution practices across society, through demonstration projects, general outreach, education and training. Many of these organizations also served as the principal forums for the field to address critical challenges or emerging issues that have confronted the field throughout its development, including issues such as professional ethics and standards, regulation, training and effective evaluation methodologies.

Beginning in 1992, the Foundation pursued a specific interest in developing new consensus-based approaches to public policy and decision-making. These approaches recognized that many policy conflicts have, at their source, defective decision-making processes—processes that fail to address the interests of all concerned stakeholders. In many ways, the emergence of this focus area represented a return to some of the original motivations for Hewlett's involvement with the field and a core value of the Foundation as a whole – improving the processes of public policy decision-making. Section 6 of the report looks at the Foundation's 'shift upstream' in the conflict resolution process, through its **Consensus-Building, Decision-Making and Public Participation** area. More recently, the program has supported exploration in deliberative dialogue models, which seek to more effectively incorporate public participation into policy-making processes.

Section 7 presents the international component of the Conflict Resolution Program, through which the Foundation supported the application of conflict resolution processes and techniques to conflict settings abroad. From its first **international conflict resolution** grants in 1992, the international focus of the program grew exponentially. Following a period of strategic planning in 2000, the program explored more comprehensive approaches to international conflict resolution, from prevention and early warning systems, to resolution of ongoing conflicts, to post-conflict justice and reconciliation issues.

In 2003, the Foundation's Board of Directors decided to wind down its support to the field, in order to focus Foundation resources on other pressing social needs. Section 8 of the report discusses Hewlett's **exit strategy**.

Section 9 concludes the report with **observations on the field-building experience** as a whole and lessons learned from more than twenty years of building the field of conflict resolution.

Section 2: Program Overview

On his first day of work in 1981 as Program Officer for Hewlett's Environment Program, Bob Barrett recalls the Foundation's President Roger Heyns telling him to 'be on the lookout for new program areas.' Barrett would recognize just such an opportunity the following year, when he attended the first National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution (NCPCR). The NCPCR brought together many of the original founders of the conflict resolution field, and Barrett was energized by their

vibrant dialogue about the tremendous untapped potential of conflict resolution approaches. The Hewlett Foundation, for its part, had already established a distinctive interest in dispute resolution, though there was not yet a formal program area. At the same time, the embryonic field of conflict resolution was on the cusp of emergence and ripe for philanthropic investment. Informed by conversations with the leaders of the field, Heyns and Barrett designed a strategy of foundation support to help build the field of conflict resolution.

Conflict Resolution Staff	
Bob Barrett	(1984-1991)
Steve Toben	(1991-2000)
Patricia Gump	(1991-2000)
Stephanie Smith	(1998-2004)
Melanie Greenberg	(2000-2002)
Angela Jones	(2000-2004)
Terry Amsler	(2000-2004)
Cindy Gire	(2001-2002)
Malka Kopell	(2003-2004)

This section provides an overview of both that strategy and its implementation. It begins by tracing the origins of the Foundation's interest in the field of conflict resolution, then provides a narrative timeline of the major phases of program implementation, introducing the Foundation staff and key events that shaped the program's evolution over the past two decades.

Early Hewlett Interest in the Field

The Hewlett Foundation's interest and involvement in the field of conflict resolution dates back to its earliest days as a professional foundation, even before a formal program area in conflict resolution was established in 1984. Roger Heyns joined the Foundation as its first president in 1977, bringing both a visionary leadership for the Foundation and a strong personal commitment to helping society develop more constructive ways to resolve conflict. According to Heyns' oral history, he and William Hewlett, the founding chairman of the Foundation, shared this interest in dispute resolution, and the two agreed in advance of Heyns becoming president that they would pursue this mutual interest through the work of the Foundation.

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Although not among the original program areas defined by the Foundation in 1977, conflict resolution was in many ways a core value of the Foundation, embedded in its overall approach. That approach articulated two fundamental goals, which were

reflected across program areas: strengthening institutions important to society, and improving public policy decision-making processes. As the Foundation began to define formal program areas, these interests were reflected through a concern for the nation's courts, which were increasingly becoming forums for waging public policy battles and through efforts to develop better decision-making models for public policy leaders. Sound public policy, according to the Foundation's prescription, resulted from a solid base of policy research, the development of policy options based upon that research, and equipping decision-makers with the process tools necessary to make reasonable choices in the public interest.

> ### Early Conflict Resolution Support
> #### (1978-1983)
>
> - *Environmental Decision-Making*
> - *Improving Public Policy*
> - *Family and Community Disputes*
> - *National Institute for Dispute Resolution*
> - *Smaller grants to ADR associations*
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> ***49 grants totaling $3.1 million***

This emphasis on improving public policy decision-making models was perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the Foundation's Environment Program. Among its strategies to protect and promote environmental concerns, the Foundation supported new models of environmental decision-making and alternative methods of dispute resolution. Indeed, much of the early innovation and experimentation in the field of conflict resolution took place in the area of the environment. Disputes over land use, conservation and development had become increasingly intractable. More and more frequently – and often excessively and inappropriately – these battles were being waged through litigation and one-sided legislation, rather than effective policymaking processes that sought to balance the competing interests of stakeholders. These forums had proven themselves to be costly, slow and often destructive. At the same time, they were often unable to achieve either sustainable resolution to complex social and environmental problems or sound public policy outcomes. Stakeholders on many sides of environmental issues were searching for more effective environmental decision-making models.

As part of its focus on environmental decision-making, the Foundation supported organizations such as RESOLVE, ACCORD, and the Forum on Community and the Environment – early pioneers in experimenting with various forms of mediation, arbitration and collaborative problem-solving to resolve complex environmental disputes.[1] When these experimental approaches demonstrated their effectiveness, the Foundation recognized greater potential for their application to other areas of public policy. In 1982, Hewlett provided initial funding for the MIT Public Disputes Program, a leading center of scholarly research and field-based interventions in multi-stakeholder public policy disputes.[2]

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[1] A close connection between the Environment Program and the Conflict Resolution Program would remain for many years. The two portfolios would in fact be jointly managed by program staff until 1997.
[2] When the Public Disputes Program encountered challenges supervising and conducting field-based interventions from its university environment, the program spun off an independent nonprofit organization, the Consensus Building Institute (CBI), which conducts and manage its field-based work.

In addition to its work in environment and public policy, Hewlett also explored the application of conflict resolution tools and processes in family and neighborhood disputes, through its Regional Grants program. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) not only had the benefit of reducing stress upon the nation's courts, but also served Hewlett's interest in the broader social good, by providing greater access to justice, often more equitable forms of justice, through less adversarial means. While the formal legal structure would remain the primary dispute resolution system, it did not need to be the only one.

> **Roger Heyns -- on the Foundation's early interest in ADR**
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> *"An awful lot of our non-productive conflict in our society doesn't end up in the courts, but it can be a source of real dysfunction… (I)f you can get a couple to agree about the handling of the custody of their children in case of divorce, and do it fairly quickly and in a way that they can adhere to and live with, you've done something about the quality of life, quite apart from what it does to the court calendar. And this is true about neighborhood disputes as well. If we can increase our nation's capacity to resolve disputes through the use of arbitration and mediation, collaborative problem-solving, or whatever, we're improving the quality of life."*

Beginning in 1978, Hewlett provided general operating support to the Community Boards Program of San Francisco, a path-breaking program to provide volunteer-based mediation for community and neighborhood disputes. In 1982, Hewlett funded an evaluation of the Community Boards Program, as well as seed-funding for similar initiatives in Redwood City and the Monterey Peninsula. Even today, the Community Boards Program remains one of the leading national models for community mediation programs. Smaller Foundation grants supported conferences and meetings of other national ADR organizations, including the American Arbitration Association, the Family Mediation Association, and the Center for Dispute Resolution, among others.

Perhaps the clearest indication of Hewlett's early interest in supporting the *field* of dispute resolution, as opposed to simply its *practice*, was the Foundation's key role in establishing the National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR). NIDR was a joint initiative of the Hewlett, Ford and MacArthur Foundations (among others), intended to stimulate the development of alternative methods of dispute resolution, to promote their use across society, and to be a continuing grantmaker in the field. Hewlett's initial five-year commitment of $1.5 million represented a sizeable investment of Foundation resources at the time. Hewlett's support to NIDR, which continued through 1999, is discussed in Part V of the report.

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By the time a formal program area in conflict resolution was established in 1984, the Hewlett Foundation had already become a leading national funder of conflict resolution activities. While this support was dispersed across several programmatic areas, it was nonetheless significant. From 1978 to 1983, the Foundation made forty-nine grants totaling $3.1 million that in some way supported organizations advancing alternative forms of dispute resolution. These grants provided an important

opportunity for the Foundation to explore the possibilities for a conflict resolution program, to better understand the needs of the emerging field, and to develop a grantmaking strategy that could effectively address those needs.

The Emergence of a Field

At the same time as Hewlett's interest in dispute resolution was expanding, developments within the field of conflict resolution had reached a dynamic moment. The constituent parts of today's conflict resolution field, representing a variety of academic and professional backgrounds, were just beginning to coalesce in the early 1980's. Similarly, the idea that conflict and its resolution was something that could be studied, understood, practiced and advanced – in much the same way as other fields such as medicine, law or economics – was only beginning to gain acceptance.[3]

This is not to suggest that conflict resolution was a new idea that had only recently come to light. Quite to the contrary, conflict resolution practices and principles have existed both formally and informally for as long as humans have

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interacted with each other. Indeed, a recent history of the field of ADR—the first of its kind—identifies examples of conflict resolution practice throughout the history of human civilization.[4] In the United States, ADR practices had been most effectively institutionalized in the area of labor relations, where as far back as 1888 federal legislation authorized arbitration (and to a lesser extent, mediation) in railway labor disputes. The U.S. government used ADR in both World Wars I and II to prevent labor strife from impeding the war efforts, and following World War II, formed the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service as part of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. The American Arbitration Association had been established in 1926, and by 1972, the Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution (SPIDR) had formed as the first membership association for all ADR practitioners (though it would be dominated by the sub-field of labor mediators for several years).

Other sectors of society had also experimented with the applications of conflict resolution processes as a new tool for decision-making and addressing societal problems. The 1965 Civil Rights Act created the Community Relations Service to apply conflict resolution approaches to civil rights disputes in local communities. The government established Agricultural Mediation Boards to facilitate price-setting in agricultural markets. In 1976, the Pound Conference promoted judicial reform through expanded ADR services. Courts began experimenting with ADR and the "multi-door courthouse" as a way to reduce caseloads in the courts and provide greater efficiency in

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[3] The Hewlett Foundation recently initiated a dialogue among academics and practitioners in conflict resolution addressing what it means to be a 'field,' and whether conflict resolution qualifies as one. This report has no illusions of being able to provide answers to those questions. Rather, the report uses the term 'field' to describe conflict resolution, and then seeks to explore what the term means in the context of the Foundation's conflict resolution support.

[4] See Jerome Barrett's recent book, *A History of Alternative Dispute Resolution*, (2004, Jossey-Bass).

the administration of justice. During the Carter Administration, the Justice Department created several Neighborhood Justice Centers to provide local alternatives to a court system that was often slow, expensive and unwieldy. Mediation found a particularly welcoming home in family law, providing an alternative to more lengthy, adversarial, and often embittering divorce proceedings. And, as previously noted, some of the most interesting innovation was taking place in the area of complex environmental disputes, where legal stalemates necessitated the development of new dispute resolution and decision-making models.

Despite their proliferation, these ADR approaches had developed largely in isolation of each other. Absent was a unifying theoretical foundation that could identify and explain similarities in these approaches, why certain processes or techniques were more appropriate in certain situations, and, essentially, why conflict resolution seemed to work when it did. Although conflict resolution was beginning to receive some academic attention, these efforts – like the field itself – often lacked cohesion or institutional support, resulting in only fractured pieces of theory.

It was not until the 1980's that the pioneers of today's field began to find an underlying commonality in these basic approaches and principles and to propel these ideas into the mainstream of society. The 1981 publication of Fisher and Ury's *Getting to Yes* presented in a most accessible form an entirely new negotiation paradigm, and 'interest-based bargaining' was rapidly gaining a foothold in the negotiating world. At the same time, SPIDR began to reach out more assertively to non-labor ADR practitioners, and in 1982, the first National Conference on Peace and Conflict Resolution (NCPCR) brought together academics and practitioners to engage in an inter-disciplinary dialogue about conflict resolution.[5]

The early growth of conflict resolution practice in the United States was driven by a diversity of interests, and these interests were reflected in those who came together to help create a field in the early 1980's. Some saw in conflict

> *…an emerging consensus that the tools of conflict resolution held a tremendous untapped potential...*

resolution the potential for these approaches to help maintain social order. Others saw the potential for conflict resolution to be a tool for social change and greater social justice. Still others were drawn by the opportunity to achieve greater bargaining efficiencies. Regardless of what brought one to the conclusion, there was an emerging consensus that the tools of conflict resolution held a tremendous untapped potential to be of benefit to society, a potential that was ripe for exploration, investment, development and growth.
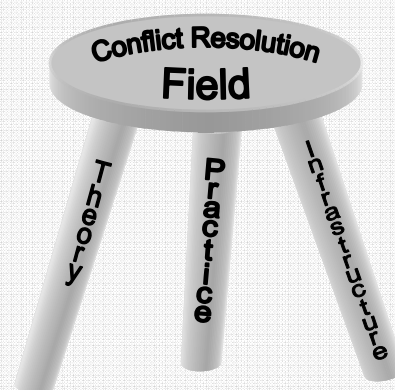
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[5] Together, NCPCR and SPIDR represented many of the diverse interests that were coalescing to form the field. NCPCR emerged as an alternative to the labor-focused SPIDR gatherings. One leader in the field described SPIDR as an organization, and NCPCR as more of an eclectic movement.

Hewlett's Program Design: The Field-Building Strategy

From its inception, the Hewlett Foundation's strategy was not simply to support the development or application of conflict resolution approaches, but rather, to build a field of conflict resolution. Heyns compared conflict resolution in the early 1980's to the field of medicine before it became based in scientific study. Conflict resolution had been practiced for generations according to 'rules of thumb', developed through experience and passed down to future practitioners through an apprenticeship model. The field had no efficient means either for developing new knowledge about conflict resolution or conveying it to the world of practice. As a result, there was only limited insight into the dynamics of conflict, and only limited capacity for innovation in the form of new, more effective models of practice. The Foundation's vision for the field, expressed through its field-building strategy, was a field of conflict resolution eventually coming to resemble other fields such as medicine or law – practiced by professionals, who were trained in academic institutions, based on theory that understood the dynamics of conflict and how to resolve it most effectively, and supported by professional associations that would continue to promote advancements in practice.

The Foundation designed a three-pronged field-building strategy that sought to address the most pressing needs of the emerging field: Theory, Practice and Infrastructure. In the first prong, the Foundation would support the development of conflict resolution theory by encouraging the serious and systematic study of conflict and its resolution. This theoretical underpinning could then inform and improve the practice of conflict resolution by providing for the constant infusion of new and testable ideas. In the second prong, the Foundation would support key practitioner organizations. This support would help the most promising practitioner organizations develop track records of successful intervention in areas of social importance, until social acceptance of alternative dispute resolution approaches had broadened. Hewlett hoped to extend the universe of dispute resolution beyond environment, family and community, and labor, to include every social sector and public agency. The cornerstone organizations supported by Hewlett would serve as exemplars in the field for others to replicate, developing new models for innovation and sustainability. The third prong of the strategy called for support to the infrastructure of the field – first to help promote the field throughout society, and then to provide for its stewardship.

Hewlett's Field-Building Strategy: The Three-Legged Stool

Heyns referred to this field-building model as the "3-legged stool": Theory, Practice, and Infrastructure.[6] While support to each leg of the stool might proceed at different paces, all three would eventually be essential to a healthy, sustainable, self-supporting field of conflict resolution. This basic three-pronged field-building approach remained the core strategy of the Conflict Resolution Program for most of its twenty-year tenure. Iterations of it informed program strategy in the Foundation's efforts to support several sub-fields as part of its Conflict Resolution Program, such as Deliberative Democracy and International Conflict Resolution.

Hewlett's Unique Field-Building Qualifications

Among foundations, Hewlett was uniquely qualified to provide the kind of field-building support required by the field. Across program areas, the Foundation's grantmaking philosophy preferred longer-term, general operating support grants, which helped to strengthen organizations and build institutions, and a non-prescriptive approach to grantmaking. The commitment of longer-term support offered

> **Uniquely Qualified for Field-Building**
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> **Hewlett's Grantmaking Preferences Consistent with a Field-Building Approach**
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> - Institution Building
> - Longer-term
> - General Operating Support
> - Non-prescriptive Approach
> - Investing in Knowledge Development

a form of stability both to the field as a whole and to the individual grantee organizations in the important early years of the field. General operating support invested in organizations, rather than simply their projects. The flexibility of unrestricted funding would prove vital to the nascent organizations of the conflict resolution field as they experimented with models of organizational sustainability. A core value of the Foundation has always been a willingness and desire to invest in the development of new knowledge – one of the primary needs of the young field of conflict resolution.

Hewlett's non-prescriptive approach to grantmaking would prove to be particularly important in the context of the broader field-building strategy. Hewlett embarked on what would be described in a later evaluation of the program as 'an ecumenical approach to funding.' Rather than choosing sides in the debates taking place within the emerging field, the Foundation encouraged experimentation with approaches and ideas, allowing them to be tested in the field of practice.[7]

More generally, the Hewlett Foundation's overall approach possessed a certain level of modesty, reflecting the values of its founding family. The Foundation was comfortable working behind the scenes in its efforts to address social and environmental problems, quietly enabling institutions and organizations addressing important societal issues to do so more effectively. This modesty matched up nicely

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[6] Originally, the third prong was called "Field Promotion." During Steve Toben's tenure as Program Officer, he renamed the category "Field Infrastructure" to reflect the broader set of purposes fulfilled by these grantees.

[7] Bob Barrett credits Gail Bingham with giving him this most helpful advice very early in the program: that the Foundation should not choose sides in the debates taking place within the emerging field, but instead should encourage those debates by funding all perspectives – even where this posed substantial challenges due to limited Foundation resources.

with the conflict resolution field – a field that is itself about process: while it may very well be a good unto itself, the greatest social value of conflict resolution approaches is realized in their application to problems and challenges in other fields and sectors of society. Hewlett's conflict resolution field-building efforts aimed to provide add to the efforts of others to address important social, environmental and policy issues.

Early Program Implementation: 1984-1991

In 1984, the Hewlett Foundation formally established its Conflict Resolution Program, and Bob Barrett became its first Program Officer. Barrett had arrived at Hewlett in 1981 from a legal practice in New York that had focused on environmental policy issues. Dissatisfied with the ability of the adversarial process to address either the complexity of the issues or the competing concerns of stakeholders in environmental disputes, Barrett had developed an early professional interest in environmental mediation. Barrett was not an 'insider' in the field of conflict resolution, but he had a deep personal commitment to finding better ways to resolve disputes. Barrett would guide both the Environment and Conflict Resolution portfolios of the Foundation until his term expired in 1991.

In launching the Conflict Resolution Program, Barrett's immediate task was to turn the field-building strategy into an operational grantmaking program. Substantial efforts were initially required to recruit and build support for the envisioned inter-disciplinary university centers that would drive the development of conflict resolution theory. The Harvard Program on Negotiation (PON) received the first theory center grant in 1984, followed by programs at the Universities of Hawaii, Michigan and Minnesota soon thereafter. Within seven years, sixteen inter-disciplinary theory centers would be receiving Hewlett support, many of these at the most prestigious universities across the country.

Much of Barrett's early role was to strengthen the Foundation's connections to the emerging field – to identify the most promising leaders, entrepreneurs and organizations and to help them actualize their vision for the field. Some of the earliest practitioner organizations to receive Foundation support were in the areas of environment and community disputes, owing to Hewlett's prior experience in these areas. As the Foundation developed a greater familiarity with other sectors, Hewlett support spread to the most important dispute resolution organizations in each sector.

> *Much of Barrett's early role was to strengthen the Foundation's connections to the emerging field – to identify the most promising leaders, entrepreneurs and organizations.*

By 1991, the Hewlett Foundation had a roster of thirty to forty practitioner organizations it supported, representing cornerstone organizations across a great variety of social sectors, and many of which remain important pillars of today's field.

The field promotion or field infrastructure category initially consisted of Hewlett's special long-term commitment to NIDR. Not entirely satisfied with the direction NIDR

was taking, Barrett quickly expanded this category to include Hewlett's support to the two primary membership organizations, SPIDR and NCPCR. Over the next several years, this area would include a growing number of professional associations serving different subsets of the broader conflict resolution field. More than simply promoting the field to an external audience, these associations were also serving its practitioners and improving the quality of practice. Their conferences provided important venues for networking, for the dissemination of knowledge and best practices, and for addressing key issues confronting the professionalization of the field, including professional regulation, standards of practice, ethical guidelines, and training. NCPCR, in particular, provided a key forum bringing together the worlds of theory and practice.

In this early phase of program implementation, the Conflict Resolution Program worked with relatively modest resources, by today's standards. The program's initial budget in 1984 was $1.4 million, or about 5 percent of the Foundation's grantmaking budget that year. By 1991, the program budget had

> *[T]he Hewlett Foundation had become the recognized philanthropic leader in the field of conflict resolution.*

doubled to $2.8 million annually (about 8% of the Foundation's overall grantmaking). Despite these relatively limited resources, Hewlett's holistic field-building approach had already had a substantial impact within the field. By the time Bob Barrett's term expired in 1991, the Hewlett Foundation had become the recognized philanthropic leader in the field of conflict resolution – recognized as such in both the conflict resolution field and the field of philanthropy.

Evolution of the Program: 1991-2000

Following Barrett's departure in 1991, Steve Toben joined the Foundation as a Program Officer with responsibility for both the Environment and Conflict Resolution portfolios. Barrett had met Toben through a local volunteer mediation group and had encouraged him to apply for the Program Officer position. Also trained as a lawyer, Toben had spent several years at an area law firm and then worked with the San Mateo County Counsel's Office. While he had done some environmental work for the county, Toben's primary interest was in conflict resolution, and he brought this passion to his work at the Foundation.

Toben inherited a conflict resolution program that, to him, seemed to be thriving. The increasing growth and utilization of the field was observable across society: conflict resolution approaches were increasingly being applied in commerce, in schools, in communities, in churches, in nursing homes, and elsewhere. The theory centers continued to be the primary forums of intellectual activity and fertility in the field. The roster of grantees represented the most important cornerstone organizations of the field, and as resources permitted, new grantees were added to cover additional dimensions of the field. Toben recalls that, among the three prongs of the program, there were more than 150 waiting inquiries. He interpreted his role as continuing to implement the basic field-building strategy – continuing to "spread the gospel" of conflict resolution.

At the same time, Toben deftly guided the Conflict Resolution Program throughout his term to keep pace with both evolving trends in the field and the Foundation's own interests. In particular, the program reflected three primary shifts in emphasis during his tenure: (1) a 'vertical' shift from practitioners to infrastructure organizations; (2) a shift 'upstream' that focused on models that could prevent, rather than simply resolve, conflict; and (3)

> **Major Evolutions in Program Design**
> *1991-2000*
>
> - **The Vertical Shift**: *from practitioners to infrastructure*
>
> - **The Shift Upstream**: *consensus-based decision-making models*
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> - **The Shift Abroad**: *international conflict resolution*

a shift 'abroad', to support applications of conflict resolution approaches in international conflict situations.

The Vertical Shift: By the mid-1990's, the Foundation had observed substantial horizontal growth within the field of practice, and, at the same time, a 'flattening' of the innovation curve. While Hewlett support could provide models for the field, the Foundation could not – nor did it intend to – support every organization that sought to replicate those models. According to Toben, the purpose of Hewlett support to conflict resolution practitioners was not to help them 'hang a shingle' and turn a profit, but to advance the field as a whole. While the Foundation would continue to support individual practitioner organizations – particularly those experimenting with innovative approaches – there seemed to be greater leverage in supporting the professional associations and institutes that enabled the field to network and develop professionally.

The field infrastructure component demonstrated first a tremendous expansion of these professional associations, for virtually every sector of practice in which conflict resolution processes were increasingly finding a home. For example, in the area of victim-offender mediation, Hewlett supported the best practitioner organizations, and then the professional association that served the sub-field more generally. After substantial expansion in the number and diversity of these professional associations, Hewlett eventually played a central role in encouraging consolidation among these groups. This was motivated both by concerns about long-term sustainability in the field and by the belief that the field could speak more effectively to external audiences – consumers and policymakers alike – with a unified voice.

The Shift Upstream: The second shift in emphasis was the 'shift upstream', from conflict resolution to decision-making models that focused on conflict prevention. Leaders in the field had recognized that many conflicts – particularly over public policy issues – originate from defects in the policymaking process. By developing better decision-making models that could effectively address the interests of all relevant stakeholders, many conflicts could be averted before they ever arose.

In 1992, the Conflict Resolution Program added a fourth program element to the original 'three-legged stool': Consensus-Building, Public Participation and Policymaking. In many ways, the emergence of this focus on public policy decision-

making represented a return to one of the initial motivations for Hewlett's involvement with the field – equipping leaders with the process tools necessary to make better public policy decisions. Ten years further into its development, however, the field was approaching these questions with a much more sophisticated theoretical understanding, a vastly expanded world of experience, and a society more open to alternative dispute resolution approaches.

The Shift Abroad: The third shift in emphasis was the 'shift abroad', to the international applications of conflict resolution. In its first decade, the Conflict Resolution Program had been focused exclusively on domestic applications of conflict resolution approaches. The Foundation had supported international projects in other program areas, but not through its conflict resolution program. For instance, the Foundation had a long-standing interest in security and arms control issues through its special projects budget, and the Population program addressed family planning and population issues around the world.

As the Cold War ended and the first Persian Gulf War began, the Board of Directors expressed an interest in applying these new conflict resolution tools and techniques to international conflict. At the same time, the concept of 'Track II' diplomacy was just beginning to gain credence – the idea (at the time, quite radical) that non-state actors might have a constructive role to play in unofficial diplomacy. Over the next several years, the international portfolio of the Conflict Resolution Program would grow from nothing to more than 50 percent of the overall program focus.

Other Evolutions in Program Design: Other less pronounced shifts were also taking place in the program at the time, to respond to the developing needs of the field. One clear flaw in the architecture of the field was its lack of diversity. In each of its program components, the Foundation made conscious efforts to support organizations that could open the doors of the field to underrepresented communities. Two additional theory centers were added, focused on multicultural conflict resolution and serving predominantly serving minority communities of students. Approaching its tenth year of funding, the Foundation commissioned an evaluation of the collective theory-building initiative, conducted by Hofstra Law Professor Baruch Bush (discussed in Section III). The Foundation continued to support theory-building efforts following the evaluation, though this support wound down considerably in the second decade of program implementation. The Conflict Resolution Program added a sixth program category, Emerging Issues, focusing on critical questions facing the field such as evaluation, standards of practice, professional regulation, ethics and theory-to-practice issues.

Significant changes also took place within the Foundation during this period. Roger Heyns, who had stepped down as the Foundation's president in 1993, was replaced by David Pierpont Gardner, who would serve until 2000. The Foundation's assets were also growing substantially: the budget of the Conflict Resolution Program expanded from $2.8 million in 1991 to more than $16 million by 2000 (representing 10 percent of the Foundation's overall grantmaking). As the Conflict Resolution portfolio

grew, Steve Toben became the full-time Program Officer for Conflict Resolution in 1997, and in 1998, Stephanie Smith was hired as a part-time Consulting Program Officer.[8]

New Directions for the Conflict Resolution Program: 2000-2002

The year 2000 was a year of transition for the Conflict Resolution Program. Toben's term as Program Officer was due to expire, just as the Foundation was welcoming new president Paul Brest. At the same time, Foundation assets were projected to grow exponentially, well beyond that which could be absorbed by current areas of support to the conflict resolution field. Hewlett seized the opportunity to evaluate, assess and explore new directions for its Conflict Resolution Program.

As it prepared for this new period, the Foundation commissioned an evaluation of the domestic Conflict Resolution Program by Susan Carpenter, a leading practitioner in the field. With its international program, the Foundation held strategy meetings in Washington, D.C. with leading members of the U.S. diplomatic and international relations communities. Reflecting the move toward an expanded international focus, Melanie Greenberg was hired to develop and lead the Conflict Resolution Program in new directions. Melanie had served as the Deputy Director of the Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN), a Hewlett-funded theory center, and then Associate Director with Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC). In both of those positions, she had developed an interest and expertise in public peace processes.

> *The strategic direction that emerged from these consultations proposed continued support to the domestic field of conflict resolution and a greatly expanded scope for the international portfolio of the program.*

The strategic direction that emerged from these consultations proposed continued support to the domestic field of conflict resolution and a greatly expanded scope for the international portfolio of the program. The strategy recognized and supported an emerging trend in international development that sought to integrate the tools of conflict resolution across all areas – from humanitarian aid, to human rights, to civil society, to democracy-building. One area of the program continued to support the core organizations working specifically on conflict resolution approaches, including all phases of conflict prevention, management and resolution, as it had done since 1993. A second area of interest focused on post-conflict peace-building, supporting organizations that worked to promote social reconciliation, transitional justice, human rights, reconstruction and civil society. The third area of interest focused on issues of democratization and governance, seen as integrally related to both the prevention and the constructive resolution of conflict. While the Foundation's endowment had not grown to the extent expected, the Conflict Resolution Program's grantmaking budget nevertheless approached $25 million per year in 2001 and 2002.

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[8] Smith had developed and managed one of the leading court-based ADR programs in the country at the Northern District of California, and would eventually lead the international portfolio of the Conflict Resolution Program. She remained with the Conflict Resolution Program as a Consulting Program Officer until the program's close in 2004.

Exploration and Exit: 2003-2004

After several years of exploratory grantmaking, the Foundation ultimately elected not to continue to move in this expanded international direction. The strategy was perceived as perhaps too diffuse and unfocused, and only vaguely resembled the Conflict Resolution Program of years past. In the intervening time, the terrorist attacks of

> *Critiques of the field had emerged that raised legitimate questions about the impact of conflict resolution approaches, and the ability and willingness of the field to address these critiques through evaluation.*

September 11th, 2001, had, at the risk of understatement, a profound effect on the world at large. Within the world of philanthropy, many observers noted a shifting perception in the most effective way to have an impact on developments in global affairs. Many foundations found greater leverage in influencing U.S. foreign policy, as opposed to funding field-based interventions. At the same time, and perhaps more fundamentally, critiques of the conflict resolution field had emerged that raised legitimate questions about not only the impact of conflict resolution approaches, but also the ability and willingness of the field to address these critiques through authentic, outcome-based evaluation.

> *Program Priorities: 2003-2004*
>
> - *Deliberative Democracy*
> - *Evaluation (focus on environmental decision-making)*
> - *Exit Strategy: 'Leaving the Field Well'*

In 2002, the Hewlett Foundation decided to reorient the program's focus to the core infrastructure of the conflict resolution field, and began ramping down its support to the field in 2003. Terry Amsler, who had joined the Foundation in 2001 from a background in community mediation, took over as Program Director and led the Foundation's efforts to evaluate, to explore and – ultimately – to exit the field. During this period, the program expanded on its earlier interest in consensus-building by exploring the area of deliberative democracy, which was experimenting with new decision-making models that could more effectively incorporate public participation. Particularly in the area of environmental decision-making, the Foundation emphasized support for new approaches to evaluation, which could help the field to address its critics. In the last years of the program, the Conflict Resolution team developed a thoughtful exit strategy to attempt to 'leave the field well' in the absence of future Hewlett support.

Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program closed its doors at the end of December 2004. Primarily, this reflected a determination that other pressing societal problems required the attention of the Foundation. In part, it reflected a continuing concern that the field lacked a serious commitment to systematic study and rigorous evaluation. In some measure, it reflected the accomplishment of the original goal of the program: the field of conflict resolution had sufficiently been built to enable the field to move forward on its own.

Section 3: Theory-Building

The first prong of Hewlett's field-building approach called for developing an underlying foundation of theory which could inform the practice of conflict resolution. The Foundation's assessment was that the field as a whole lacked significant insight into the sources and dynamics of conflict and its resolution, impeding advancements in practice. Hewlett's primary theory-building strategy was to help establish and then sustain eighteen interdisciplinary university-based theory centers.

Over the twenty years of the program, Hewlett invested almost $21 million in its conflict resolution theory centers. This was a unique and critical role for the Hewlett Foundation, as no other funder provided general support for theory-building. By all accounts, the return on this investment was substantial, and the contributions of the theory centers were tremendously important

> **Theory Building Goal:**
>
> *Develop a more sophisticated understanding of the sources and dynamics of conflict and its resolution, which could inform and improve its practice.*

to the development of the field. Still, the theory center model was not without its challenges or its critics. Not all centers were equally productive or successful, and the Foundation found no magic formula for success with theory centers. Nevertheless, the theory-building effort played a vital role in helping to establish conflict resolution as a legitimate and vibrant field of academic study.

The Theory-Building Strategy

Hewlett's assessment of the field identified the absence of conflict resolution theory as a primary obstacle to advancement and development in the field of practice. As Hewlett's program began, the practice of conflict resolution was based largely on accumulated 'rules of thumb', rather than a more sophisticated or scientific understanding of conflict. As a result, the field had only limited capacity for continued innovations in practice. Heyns analogized this situation to the practice of medicine before it became grounded in scientific understanding, and before schools of medicine provided entry to the field and advanced its practice through medical research. Hewlett's theory-building efforts sought to build a similar foundation of theory to underpin the practice of conflict resolution.

By 1984, isolated research on conflict resolution was beginning to emerge in academia. While these early efforts were important in the development of conflict resolution theory, they often suffered from a lack of institutional support and were limited

> **Theory-Building Strategy:**
>
> *Creation of an entirely new field of academic study, through a broad and interdisciplinary approach to the study of conflict resolution.*

by the lens of a single academic discipline. Such efforts often failed to capture the full story of conflict phenomenon, producing only fractured pieces of theory rather than a comprehensive understanding. The

Foundation's theory building efforts called for the creation of an entirely new field of academic study, through a broad and interdisciplinary approach to the study of conflict resolution.

Hewlett's primary theory-building strategy was to help establish and sustain university-based interdisciplinary theory centers.[9] The theory centers would – individually and collectively – engage in a broad and comprehensive approach to the study of conflict and its resolution, generating new insights and understanding that would be of service to the

> **Theory Center Model:**
>
> - *University-Based*
> - *Interdisciplinary Approach*
> - *Highly-Regarded Scholars*
> - *Broad Research Focus*

field of practice. Prospective theory centers were required to demonstrate (a) a truly interdisciplinary approach to the study of conflict resolution, (b) the capacity to produce scholarship of the highest quality, (c) the willingness to engage broad questions of conflict resolution which could benefit the field as a whole, and (d) the institutional support of their host university, in order to enhance sustainability of the centers.

Establishing Hewlett Theory Centers

The Foundation made its first theory center grant of $500,000 to the Harvard Program on Negotiation (PON) in 1984.[10] It was no coincidence that PON was ready and waiting to benefit from Hewlett support. Roger Fisher and Larry Susskind, two of the academic leaders of the emerging field and founding scholars of Harvard's Program on Negotiation, were among those who had helped the Foundation to design its field-building and theory-building strategies. PON offered an exemplary early model for the interdisciplinary theory center concept. Eminent scholars – true luminaries in their own fields of business, law, planning and others – had already begun to collaborate informally around questions of conflict and negotiation. Hewlett funding enabled the PON group to formalize this collaboration, institutionalize itself, and leverage additional funding from both university and private sector sources.

Over the next several years, the Conflict Resolution Program added several theory centers each year to its growing roster. Ultimately, Hewlett would support eighteen conflict resolution theory centers, many of which were located at the country's most prestigious universities. Following Harvard in 1984, Hewlett provided grants to help start centers at the Universities of Hawaii, Michigan and Minnesota in 1985. Centers began at Northwestern, Rutgers, Syracuse and Wisconsin in 1986, followed by George Mason (1987), centers at Colorado, Penn State, and Stanford (1988), the Rand

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[9] The Foundation supported many efforts to build knowledge in the field of conflict resolution. In its support to practitioner organizations, working both domestically and abroad, the Foundation encouraged a more reflective practice that could generate new knowledge about conflict resolution. Many of the early grantees working on international conflict resolution were true 'scholar-practitioners.' These and other efforts to build knowledge in the field of conflict resolution are discussed in other sections of the report. This section focuses solely on Hewlett's theory-building efforts through its support to the conflict resolution theory centers.

[10] The Harvard Program on Negotiation (PON) represented an interuniversity collaboration involving scholars from Harvard, MIT and Tufts.

Corporation[11] (1989), Georgia Tech (1990), Wayne State (1991), Ohio State (1992), and UCLA and CUNY (1994).

Hewlett-Funded Theory Centers	
▪ Harvard University	▪ University of Hawaii
▪ University of Michigan	▪ University of Minnesota
▪ Northwestern University	▪ Rutgers University
▪ Syracuse University	▪ University of Wisconsin
▪ George Mason University	▪ University of Colorado
▪ Penn State University	▪ Stanford University
▪ The Rand Corporation	▪ Georgia Institute of Technology
▪ Wayne State University	▪ The Ohio State University
▪ City University of New York (CUNY)	▪ University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)

Hewlett funding played an important role in establishing these centers and creating an enabling environment for interdisciplinary research. For some, like Harvard's PON, Hewlett funding helped to formalize an informal collaboration already under way. At Stanford, for instance, a group of scholars including Bob Mnookin (law), Ken Arrow (economics), Lee Ross and Amos Tversky (psychology), and Bob Wilson (business) had already begun a dialogue around related interests in conflict resolution and negotiation. For other centers, potential funding from Hewlett helped to first spark the idea of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of conflict resolution. In many cases, the Foundation provided smaller planning grants to help prospective centers develop critical mass and interest. Regardless of the particular circumstances in a given case, there is no question that Hewlett funding was a catalyst for drawing a large number of highly regarded scholars to this new field of study.

Broad Research Focus

Each theory center developed its own research themes and central framing questions. The Foundation was completely non-directive in the research focus of each center, only requiring that the focus be sufficiently broad to be of general service to the field. Collectively, these approaches reflected many of the diverse traditions that had coalesced to form the field. Some centers focused on the potential role for conflict resolution in improving social order, such as achieving more efficient negotiated outcomes among private parties or exploring how existing institutions such as private corporations and courts could handle disputes more efficiently. Others addressed the role of conflict resolution in promoting social change, seeking to understand the deep-rooted causes of conflict. Many centers combined these approaches.

For example, centers at Wisconsin and Rutgers focused on the impact of dispute resolution on the court system. Centers at Colorado, George Mason and Syracuse studied deep-rooted, value-based, intractable conflicts in the United States and abroad.

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[11] The one theory center not based at a university was at the Rand Corporation, which had conducted earlier independent research on civil justice and had provided an early critique of court-based ADR programs.

Michigan focused on the role of conflict resolution as a tool for social change and community empowerment. Harvard's PON developed prescriptive advice for parties engaged in negotiation, and ultimately became as well known for its executive education programs on negotiation as it was for its more scholarly contributions. At Northwestern, the center explored the cognitive biases that impede rational decision-making. The Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN) initially focused on understanding the institutional, psychological and strategic barriers to conflict resolution and then applied this focus to public peace processes. The centers at Hawaii and Wayne State addressed the role of ethnicity and culture in creating and resolving conflict.

While the non-directive research focus served the field well in its first decade, a mid-term evaluation of the program concluded that greater value could be extracted from the theory-building effort by focusing on specific 'knowledge gaps' within the research. Based on the recommendation of the evaluation, the Foundation supported several additional 'virtual' theory centers, which involved scholars from a broader spectrum of universities across the country in inter-university, interdisciplinary collaborations on more specific issues and themes. For instance, Ohio State became a focal point for an inter-university effort to explore the effects of legal regulation on mediation, and worked in collaboration with the American Bar Association and the Commission on Uniform State Laws to develop a model mediation code. Scholars from Cornell and MIT jointly investigated innovations in dispute resolution in the workplace. Penn State led an inter-university, interdisciplinary collaborative effort to develop new ways to frame intractable environmental disputes.

Theory Center Activities

The core work of the theory centers was scholarship. Hewlett support facilitated this scholarship by providing seed money for research and enabling centers to circulate working papers, to host seminars and conferences, and to fund the start-up costs for journals and publications. Hewlett support enabled the centers to hire support staff, to fund graduate student involvement, to support fellowships, to host visiting scholars, and in one case, to endow a professorship.[12]

A mid-term evaluation of the theory center program catalogued the impressive work product of the centers. The evaluation report offered a sampling of the areas of new knowledge to which the theory centers had contributed (presented in the text box on the following page). The evaluation sought to capture some of the impact of this work by quantifying the dissemination of theory center ideas through the number of scholarly books, articles and publications; the number of conference, seminar and workshop participants; and the number of conflict resolution courses and students

> *"Of the 100 most influential books in the field of conflict resolution, none is more than once removed from Hewlett Foundation support."*
>
> *-- Leading Conflict Resolution Scholar*

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[12] Special Hewlett funding in 1996 helped to endow a professorship at Stanford Law School to support strengthened teaching in negotiation, counseling, problem-solving and conflict resolution.

enrolled in those courses. A more anecdotal observation of one leader in the field may be more poignant: Of the 100 most influential books in the field of conflict resolution, none is more than once removed from Hewlett Foundation support.

Sampling of the areas of new knowledge generated by the theory centers (as identified by Baruch Bush's 1995 evaluation)

- In negotiation, two distinct stages of creating and claiming value were recognized, and disputants and interveners had a deeper understanding of the most persistent barriers to dispute resolution – psychological, strategic and institutional – as well as strategies for overcoming them.

- In public policy, theory centers were at the forefront of studying and developing new models for consensus-based decision-making and negotiated rule-making for public planning and regulatory processes.

- Disputants and intervenors were applying new strategies for constructive conflict engagement, problem-solving and conflict transformation in intractable conflicts, which had long been viewed as hopeless.

- The field had a far more sophisticated understanding of the role of third-party intervenors, the limitations of this role, and different ways to transcend these limitations.

- An entire subfield of dispute resolution system design emerged from the work of the theory centers, which took a systems approach in looking at conflict and conflict resolution patterns within institutions and organizations.

- Theory centers were leading field-wide discussions about professional regulation and standards of practice, as well as raising critical perspectives for the field (for instance, the impact of culture and gender biases on the practice of conflict resolution, and whether resolution should always be the goal of conflict intervention).

At the same time, many centers conducted activities that were not pure theory-building, yet served the goal of helping to establish conflict resolution as a new and vibrant field of academic study. For instance, many centers created conflict resolution courses and graduate programs, redesigned curriculum around conflict resolution themes, and built case study clearinghouses. The program at George Mason developed one of the leading graduate programs in conflict resolution, and this and other similar programs now serve as the primary staging grounds for the next generation of conflict resolution practitioners. While these activities were not pure 'theory-building', they nevertheless served the overall theory-building goal of establishing conflict resolution as an academic discipline.[13]

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[13] Some observers consider this a great weakness of the theory-building model – that many of the centers were not focused exclusively on theory-building. However, this may be more of a misnomer than a failure of the model. Both Bob Barrett and Steve Toben report that all of these activities – scholarship, coursework, graduate programs, seminars and fellowships – were envisioned by the Foundation when it initiated its theory-building program.

The Interdisciplinary Approach

The Hewlett Foundation's approach to theory-building was decidedly interdisciplinary. The theory-building strategy was based on the assumption that a true understanding of the dynamics of conflict resolution required the combined tools of a variety of academic disciplines. Theory centers initially brought together scholars from fields such as law, business, economics, planning and psychology, though they would eventually include fields as diverse as anthropology, political science, sociology, environment, biology, history, public policy, religion, education and linguistics.

One of the most important benefits of the interdisciplinary theory center model was to enable to the field of conflict resolution to 'borrow' some of the most brilliant academic minds for the important project of developing a base of theory for conflict resolution. Many of the scholars involved in the theory-building effort were true academic giants in their own fields. Their participation not only aided the theory-building effort, but also helped bring credibility and legitimacy to both the theory centers and the field.

Some theory centers were more successful than others in adopting and embracing a truly interdisciplinary approach to the study of conflict. The relative success of the Hewlett Theory Centers depended to a great degree on the stature and leadership of key participating scholars. Theory centers often drew some of the most

> *The relative success of the Hewlett Theory Centers depended to a great degree on the stature and leadership of key participating scholars.*

well-regarded scholars in their fields to the study of conflict resolution. As established scholars, they were better equipped to counter the pressures of the university setting that tended to disfavor interdisciplinary work, and they were willing and able to be intelligent consumers of other paradigms. Where centers worked, there was often a dynamic, enthusiastic and eminent scholar playing a central leadership role. Less productive centers often lacked individuals with the capacity and stature to spark truly interdisciplinary approaches or generate support from the university. The UCLA theory center, for instance, was not able to sustain its momentum following the departure of one of its principals to another university. Other centers were pulled in too many different directions due to the varied interests of individual scholars.

Institutionalization and Sustainability

The Foundation initially envisioned a ten-year funding horizon for each of the theory centers, at which point centers were expected to become self-sufficient, through a combination of university funding, project support and income-generating activities.

> *With few exceptions, the theory centers struggled to achieve institutionalization or sustainability, and many relied upon Hewlett support throughout.*

However, with few exceptions, the theory centers struggled to achieve institutionalization or sustainability, and many relied upon Hewlett support throughout.

Only a few centers found success with revenue-generating activities through professional education and training programs or through advanced degree programs. For instance, George Mason's graduate program raised revenue through tuition, and Harvard's PON was extremely (and singularly) effective in developing executive education models in negotiation training.

Core support from universities, in most cases, did not materialize sufficiently to replace the need for Hewlett funding. Universities were often unwilling to continue to invest in the theory centers once Hewlett support had concluded. Hewlett's investment of $21 million in the centers, while impressive, is still extremely modest by university standards – perhaps too modest to entice long-term university support. Centers found moderate success in generating project support from state and federal government agencies and other national and community foundations. However, project funding often did not eliminate the need for a stable source of core operating funds.

The challenges faced by theory centers in achieving financial independence from the Hewlett Foundation may have been as much due to miscalculation in the Foundation's theory-building strategy as it was to shortcomings of the theory centers themselves. It may simply have been unrealistic to expect that all theory centers could become sustainable without continued philanthropic support. While the PON and George Mason models suggest that sustainability was possible in some form, it is not clear that these models could have been widely replicated. Nor is it clear that such replication would have best served the interests of the field. The theory-building strategy required a broad and comprehensive research focus, and not all elements of

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An Exception to the Rule:
PON's Executive Education Model

The Harvard Program on Negotiation was perhaps the most effective theory center in terms of income-generating activities and achieving self-sufficiency. Even today, PON continues to raise substantial revenue through a tremendously successful program of executive education and other forms of corporate support. Leaders at PON point to at least two key factors in their success.

First, PON's research focus lent itself more naturally to professional education and training programs. Whereas many centers were engaged with trying to understand the root causes of conflict, PON's research focused on developing prescriptive advice and practical guidance for those engaged in conflict. Its professional training programs aim to help corporate leaders become better negotiators. Awareness of this external audience informed the design of PON's research.

Second, PON out-sourced the management of its professional education programs to a third-party marketing firm. This left PON free of the administrative and logistical hassles of organizing and marketing their services.

No doubt, PON also benefited from the prestige of its affiliation with both Harvard University and the authors of books such as Getting" to Yes", which had achieved widespread popular acclaim.

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this could easily or effectively translate into revenue-generating activities such as professional training and education. At the same time, the continued availability of Hewlett funding provided only limited incentive for theory centers to find alternative sources of general operating support.

Following the mid-program evaluation, Hewlett extended the funding timeline for many of the more productive theory centers for several additional years, though it ramped down this support considerably. Generally, there was a sense within the Foundation that, while still valuable, the investment return from the broad theory-building effort had already peaked. Other centers discontinued their efforts or evolved into new forms, with new institutional sponsors within their universities.

At the end of the day, the sustainability of the individual theory centers may be of secondary importance. More important is the continuation of the broader field of academic study. Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Theory Centers played an important role in helping to generate the critical mass necessary to establish a new field of study in conflict resolution, and to encourage an interdisciplinary approach. That study continues among the next generation of scholars at colleges and universities across the country.

From Theory to Practice

Roger Heyns was fond of saying, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory." While theory-building was perceived as a good in its own right, Hewlett's support for the theory-building effort was always intended to serve the practice of conflict resolution. Yet, there is substantial debate within the field as to the extent to which conflict resolution theory developed by the centers has informed the field of practice. Some within the field state without hesitation or equivocation that the work of the theory centers has had little or no impact on their practice. Others perceive a rich interactive dialogue between theory and practice. There is no doubt some measure of validity in each of these beliefs.

In some sectors of the field, the connections between theory and practice were tenuous, at best. In other sectors, the connections between theory and practice were much more constructive. Still, the direct impact of the theory-building effort on the practice of conflict resolution could clearly have been enhanced, through greater efforts to translate the work of the theory centers into the language of practitioners. In the later years of the program, the Foundation funded such 'theory-to-practice' projects, which sought to make the theory of conflict resolution more practical and accessible to those involved in its practice. In other cases, such as the environmental disputes virtual theory center, scholars held targeted workshops for dispute resolution practitioners that sought to share the practical implications of their work.

However, it would be a mistake to limit the influence of theory on practice to these targeted and direct efforts, or to dismiss this influence altogether. In many subsets of the field, leading practitioner organizations – those pushing advancements in practice – had (and continue to have) close connections to the academic side of the field. In others, leading theoreticians are themselves accomplished practitioners. For instance, Harvard's PON and, to an even greater extent, its affiliated Public Disputes Program at MIT have maintained strong relationships with independent non-profit spin-off organizations that conduct field-based intervention work – the Conflict Management Group (CMG) and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI).[14] These organizations served as laboratories for experimentation in process design and methodology, informed by the theory-building efforts. Both were also leading practitioner organizations in their fields, serving as centers of diffusion for innovations in practice. To the extent that these models of practice spread to others in the field, the theory of conflict resolution was informing its practice, even when that influence may have been more subtle and less direct.

> **Conflict Resolution: an Art or a Science?**
>
> *Some suggest that the perceived gap between theory and practice is reflective of the fact that conflict resolution practice may be as much an art as it is a science. To the extent that conflict resolution practice is an art, it may never achieve the level of scientific grounding originally envisioned by the Foundation's field-building strategy. Nevertheless, the theory-building effort has helped the field to explore this tension, and to understand that part of practice that can be underpinned by science.*

Heyns often reminded staff to 'be aware of the unintended result', and it may indeed be the 'unintended result' of the theory centers that ultimately resolves the theory-to-practice concerns. Many of the theory centers, as well as other graduate programs they have helped to inspire, have become the most important training grounds for the next generation of conflict resolution practitioners. These graduate programs are increasingly serving as a gateway to the field of practice, and advanced study in conflict resolution is becoming more and more common among practitioners. As this next generation of practitioners continues to influence practice in the field, the gap between theory and practice is likely to diminish.

> *As this next generation of practitioners continues to influence practice in the field, the gap between theory and practice is likely to diminish.*

The Challenge of Evaluation

Evaluating the theory-building effort posed unique challenges for the Foundation. These challenges were exacerbated by the fact that the Foundation was, in fact, rather reluctant to evaluate the theory-building program – either as a collective enterprise or in terms of the productivity of the individual centers. As a result, evaluation had not been a significant consideration in the original program design, nor had Hewlett developed

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[14] In late 2004, MercyCorps International, a leading global provider of humanitarian assistance, 'merged' with CMG. The merger reflects developing trends in the area of international development discussed later in the report, but for purposes of this discussion, are likely to mean attenuated ties in the future between CMG and PON.

the metrics to benchmark progress. The theory center model was in many ways an experiment when the program was launched, and it was not at all clear what the trajectory of a productive theory center might look like. The Foundation had only a vague sense of the 'proxies for impact' that could help point to success: more scholarly publications and journals focused on conflict resolution, more scholars addressing the questions of conflict resolution, more courses taught in the subject, and more students enrolled in those courses.

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Baruch Bush's 1995 Evaluation of the Theory Centers

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The Foundation conducted one formal evaluation of the collective theory-building effort in 1995, by Baruch Bush, a well-regarded academic in the field from Hofstra Law School. The purpose of this evaluation was to help program staff understand the contributions of the theory centers, and more directly, to help chart the future direction of Hewlett's theory-building support. Bush's evaluation was based on a comprehensive review of the scholarly work product of the centers, extensive self-assessments by the centers, and site visits with each of the centers.

The evaluation catalogued an impressive array of new knowledge generated by the centers (see text box above) and meticulously quantified the dissemination of ideas developed by the theory centers. Based on this, Bush concluded that the theory center initiative had been 'highly successful', 'immensely productive', and 'of tremendous value to the field'. The evaluation also identified several of the key challenges to the theory center model discussed above and offered recommendations for continued theory-building support in the second decade of program implementation.

Bush's evaluation did not draw distinctions among the individual theory centers, but rather, took the theory centers as a collective enterprise. Both the Foundation and the theory centers were concerned that individual evaluations might create an unhealthy sense of competition among the centers. The atmosphere of collaboration – which many theory center leaders credit the Foundation for cultivating – was perceived as essential to the success of the overall theory-building effort. Moreover, the Foundation was concerned about getting into the business of judging the quality of scholarly output, or of comparing 'apples to oranges', particularly where both apples and oranges held value to the overall theory-building effort. Some centers were producing substantial scholarly work; others were hosting workshops and seminars for scholars, practitioners and the public at-large; others were developing curricula and teaching courses for students of conflict resolution.

Still, it was apparent that not all theory centers were equally productive. Though not unique to the Conflict Resolution Program or the theory-building effort, the Foundation continued to fund several of these less productive entities, when limited resources might have been deployed elsewhere. In retrospect, program staff suggested that it

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Recommendation from Program Staff:

Setting more concrete benchmarks for the individual theory centers might have helped to mitigate the investment risk of less productive centers.

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might have been advisable to have set more concrete expectations or benchmarks for the individual theory centers, which might have mitigated the investment risk of less productive centers. Some theory center leaders suggested that the program might have benefited from the more regular involvement of a highly regarded academic, or a system of peer review of scholarship.

Bush's evaluation made informed observations about the impact of the theory-building effort on the field as a whole; however, it was not really designed to measure that impact. A far more extensive methodology would have been required to capture the full impact of the theory centers and the ideas they generated on the field of practice and to trace their diffusion throughout the marketplace of ideas. Yet the fact remains that such an evaluation was never undertaken. As a result, much of that impact comes across only through anecdote and observation, or in many cases, may go unacknowledged entirely.

Anecdotal Impact: Michigan's Environmental Management Program

In the case of the theory-building effort, the whole was truly much greater than the sum of its parts. Hewlett-funded theory centers often initiated a university-wide, interdisciplinary interest in dispute resolution that was not confined solely to the theory centers, spinning off in a number of directions.

For instance, at Michigan, the School of Natural Resource Management hosts one of the top environmental management programs in the country. The school's approach places a distinctive emphasis on environmental decision-making models and conflict resolution tools. While not a direct result of the theory center Michigan hosted, leaders of the program trace its conflict resolution orientation to the original theory center initiative and the broader interest in conflict resolution it helped to inspire. Today, the school serves as one of the leading training centers for current and future generations of environmental policymakers.

The theory-building effort was not an unmitigated success. The theory center model faced many challenges – from sustainability of the theory centers, to questions regarding the impact of theory on practice, to questions about the academic rigor of the scholarly output of the field. These are legitimate and worthy topics for discussion, yet they should not detract from the more fundamental observation. When the theory-building effort began, there was no academic field of conflict resolution. Today, conflict resolution is a vibrant field of academic study, and Hewlett's Theory Centers played an essential role in creating this field.

Section 4: Practitioner Support

The second prong of the field-building strategy provided support to organizations that applied the tools and approaches of conflict resolution to disputes in all areas of society. This program component in many ways resembled the Hewlett Foundation's grantmaking approach in other program areas, providing general operating support grants to leading organizations in a given field. This preference for general operating support itself served the overall 'field-building' goal. Hewlett grants invested in organizations, rather than projects, helping them to become more sustainable and effective.

Even in its support to practitioner organizations, the Foundation's grantmaking strategy reflected a distinctive field-building approach. The basic strategy sought to support the 'cornerstone' organizations of the field, which could serve as exemplars or models for the field of effective and sustainable practitioner organizations. These organizations

> *Support to Practitioners:*
> *Field-Building Strategies*
> - *'Lighthouse' Organizations*
> - *Diversifying the Field of Practice*
> - *Innovation, Experimentation, Reflective Practice*

served as engines for advancement and growth of the field in the field of practice. Hewlett's strategy in its practitioner support served the field-building strategy in three primary ways: (1) subsidizing leading practitioner organizations while they developed track records of successful interventions, demonstrating the social utility of conflict resolution approaches and building a consumer base for these services; (2) helping to diversify the field, in terms of the sectors involved, geographic representation, and service to historically underserved communities; and (3) funding innovation, experimentation and a more reflective practice.

'Lighthouse' Organizations: Creating Models of Effective and Sustainable Practitioners

As Hewlett launched its Conflict Resolution Program, a handful of organizations had already begun to apply conflict resolution approaches in particular sectors, such as family, community and environmental disputes. Many of these organizations, however, were not yet capable of becoming self-sufficient and sustainable. Compounding the more typical challenges facing any new organization was the fact that the marketplace for conflict resolution – either public or private – had not yet developed sufficiently to support these services. While there was great need for more effective ways to deal with conflicts in society, there was not yet recognition or understanding of the potential value of these new approaches.

In its early support to practitioner organizations, the Hewlett Foundation played the role of venture capitalist. The Foundation identified the most promising leaders in the field of practice, and investing in these early pioneers, visionaries, innovators and entrepreneurs of the field. The Foundation's early support subsidized these young

conflict resolution organizations while they developed track records of success. By demonstrating the social utility of conflict resolution approaches, these organizations helped to pave the way for others to follow, helping to cultivate the public and private marketplaces for conflict resolution services. With five years of Foundation support, many of these organizations were able to become self-sufficient and sustainable.

Hewlett's earliest grantees worked primarily in the areas of family, community and environmental disputes, where the field was already gaining a foothold and where the Foundation had history and experience. The Foundation provided general operating support to leading environmental dispute organizations, such as Keystone, ACCORD and RESOLVE. Relatively modest Hewlett funding enabled the founders of CDR Associates to 'quit their day jobs', in the words of Bob Barrett, and build one of the leading practitioner organizations in the field of public disputes. Hewlett supported Neighborhood Justice Centers in Atlanta and Honolulu, originally a project of the Justice Department during the Carter Administration.

Many of these organizations remain leaders in the field today, continuing to push advancements in practice and the development of the field. In the areas of public policy and environmental disputes, leaders of the field point to a healthy stable of a dozen or so organizations, with annual budgets of $2 to $5 million, that are completely self-sufficient, such as RESOLVE, CDR Associates, and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI). The Community Boards Program is active in many cities across the country. The Peninsula Conflict Resolution Center (PCRC) based in San Mateo County remains a leader among community mediation programs. Support to these organizations helped to create models of effective conflict resolution organizations that others in the field could replicate.

Funding Diversity: Spreading the Gospel of Conflict Resolution

In the early years of program implementation, limited resources only allowed the Foundation to fund only two to four practitioner organizations per year. Bob Barrett described the selection of grantees as somewhat eclectic – 'like trying to do a 1,000-piece jigsaw puzzle with only 100 of the pieces.' In choosing which grantees to fund, the Foundation was 'trying to pick those pieces that could provide the best sense of the whole picture.' Hewlett's sense of that 'whole picture' was expansive, and throughout the program, the Foundation identified grantee organizations that could help to diversify the field, in terms of the sectors represented, their geographic location, and the demographics of the communities served.

From its early development in the areas of environment, public policy, family and community disputes, the Foundation supported the spread of conflict resolution across society. Hewlett embraced promising opportunities to apply the tools of conflict resolution to new social problems and sectors, funding leading organizations in sectors as diverse as commercial disputes; employment and labor relations, conflict in the workplace; disputes in schools, religious organizations, health care and nursing homes,;and criminal law, to name but a few.

For example, the Council of Better Business Bureaus established a national conflict resolution program for addressing consumer disputes. The Workplace Institute and the Center for Employment Dispute Resolution focused on conflict resolution in the workplace. The California Foundation for Improved Employer-Employee Relations (CFIEER) developed better models for labor negotiations in school districts, ultimately becoming a capacity-building organization that helped spread its model across California's school districts. In health care, grantee organizations applied conflict resolution principles in nursing homes and in disputes over end-of-life issues. The New Mexico Center for Dispute Resolution and the Massachusetts Association of Mediation Programs both focused on conflict in school settings. ChildFind used the tools of conflict resolution to resolve cases of child abduction by divorced parents. The Alban Institute addressed organizational conflict, particularly within the context of the church and organized religion. The Conflict Change Center in Minnesota became a leader in the field of victim-offender mediation – an alternative to the criminal law system which applies the principles of restorative justice, particularly for cases involving less serious property crimes.

The one sector of the field the program did not fund significantly was private arbitration. Here, the case for philanthropic support was less compelling, as corporate interests in more efficient dispute resolution would be more than sufficient to propel its development. Indeed, private arbitration is today a thriving sector within the field of ADR.

Based on a similar rationale, the Foundation moved away from its early funding of court-based ADR programs, where similar interests in efficiency suggested the likelihood of sustainability. However, the Foundation came to recognize that, in the case of court programs, institutionalization of conflict resolution alone was not enough. Equally important was the way in which these programs became institutionalized. Left strictly to the demands of the market, the interest in efficiency could exact a substantial price when it came to questions of fairness, access to justice, ethics, and standards of practice. Moreover, courts were recognized as society's principal dispute resolution institutions, providing an important vehicle for spreading the conflict resolution approaches.

The diversity of the field supported by the Foundation extended beyond the sectors served by conflict resolution organizations. Hewlett supported grantees working at all levels of society, from local communities, to state, regional and national audiences. Grantee organizations provided conflict resolution services in all geographic regions of the country.

The Foundation took a particular interest in supporting approaches that reached out to communities that had historically been underserved by the field. One clear flaw in the architecture of the field was its failure either to

> *One clear flaw in the architecture of the field was its failure either to serve or to include members of minority communities.*

serve or to include members of minority communities. Hewlett supported a number of organizations that brought dispute resolution services to diverse communities, such as the Asian-Pacific American Dispute Resolution Center, the Martin Luther King Legacy Foundation's Dispute Resolution Center, Indian Dispute Resolution Services, the Washington Heights-Inwood Coalition, and Berkeley Dispute Resolution Services.

Innovation, Experimentation and a More Reflective Practice

A third field-building element of Hewlett's practitioner support was to fund innovation and experimentation among leading organizations in the field of practice. The capacity to continue to advance practice was a critical element of the field-building strategy. Hewlett grants enabled leading organizations in the field to develop new methodologies and approaches, to experiment with service delivery models, and, of at least equal importance, new business models that could help overcome the challenge of sustainability.

For example, Hewlett's support to the Public Conversations Project (PCP), based in Massachusetts, helped to develop new models for constructive public dialogue through the application of family therapy techniques. General operating support from the Hewlett Foundation funded PCP's institutional learning, which helped the organization to refine and then share its innovative dialogue model throughout the field. Today, the PCP approach is one of the most widely referenced dialogue models in the areas of deliberative dialogue and collaborative governance.

The Foundation also supported organizations experimenting with different models of service delivery. Cooperative Solutions experimented with a franchising model that could more effectively provide conflict resolution for family disputes to rural communities in Minnesota. The program funded a county chapter of the Volunteers of America organization in Washington state, which offered the potential for a new model

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Funding Innovation and Reflection: The Public Conversations Project (PCP)

The Public Conversations Project (PCP) first made a name for itself in the early 1990's, brokering a more constructive dialogue among pro-life and pro-choice extremists in Boston, at a time when escalating violence at abortion clinics had raised tensions to dangerous levels. PCP was not a typical conflict resolution organization, in that its goal was to deepen understanding, rather than reach resolution. The organization developed an innovative public dialogue model that applied the techniques of family therapy to divisive, value-laden, society-wide conflicts.

PCP first received Hewlett funding in 1995, and remained a grantee through 2004. General operating support from Hewlett funded PCP's institutional learning, enabling the organization to engage in a more reflective form of practice that helped to refine the dialogue model. Hewlett funding then enabled PCP to disseminate and to share its work with the field as a whole. Today, the PCP approach is one of the most widely referenced dialogue models in the areas of deliberative dialogue and collaborative governance. PCP also used Hewlett funding to create a project development fund, which allowed PCP to explore potential projects in the earliest stages, before it was even clear that a project existed.

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of institutionalizing dispute resolution and experimented with a new vehicle for delivering services. Early on, the Foundation supported the Conflict Clinic – based on the model of a medical clinic – as a more comprehensive model for resolving disputes. Many of these approaches did not ultimately prove effective; however, Hewlett funding enabled a thorough exploration of how organizations might organize themselves to deliver conflict resolution services more effectively.

> *Perhaps most importantly, Hewlett's support to practitioner organizations funded experimentation and innovation in business models and organizational sustainability.*

Perhaps most importantly, Hewlett's support to practitioner organizations funded experimentation and innovation in business models and organizational sustainability. Conflict resolution organizations have consistently struggled with the challenges of financial viability and sustainability. Hewlett grantees developed a number of innovative business models to address these challenges. For instance, RESOLVE, one of the leading environmental dispute resolution providers, became the master contractor of the Environmental Protection Agency for dispute resolution, providing a continuing source of environmental conflicts to resolve. The Neighborhood Justice Center in Atlanta was successful very early in gaining funding from local law enforcement agencies.

In certain sectors, such as community mediation, where fee-for-service models were simply not practicable, mediation centers developed creative approaches to the challenge of sustainability. State funding or other forms of public support helped to launch many community mediation centers, but such sources could not be counted on for long term sustenance of the centers. In some states, such as California, Minnesota and New York, community mediation was more successful at securing public funding, often through court-filing fees or other forms of legislative attention. In the case of California, though, the Dispute Resolution Promotion Act (DRPA), which provided funding to community mediation through court fees, required mediation centers to generate certain amounts of matching funds in order to be eligible for the public financing. Early in its existence, the Peninsula Conflict Resolution Center (PCRC) of San Mateo County used Hewlett grants to meet DRPA's matching funds requirement. PCRC then developed an innovative business model by entering into collaborative, contractual relationships with surrounding local governments, county agencies and cities, to provide dispute resolution services for local communities.

The Shift Away from Practitioner Support

Despite these limited successes, the field as a whole struggled with the challenge of financial sustainability. With some notable exceptions, the robust market for conflict resolution services has still not fully developed to the extent hoped. Moreover, program staff observed a flattening out of the innovation curve that had marked the first decade of program support to practitioner organizations. By the mid-1990s, the Conflict Resolution Program shifted its support away from practitioner organizations and toward greater investment in the field's infrastructure – national

umbrella associations for practitioners and practitioner organizations – which could more effectively promote the field as a whole and develop the marketplace for conflict resolution services, while also sharing best practices through conferences, publications, and facilitated peer-to-peer learning.

Some in the field question whether the Foundation may have shifted its support away from practitioners too soon, expecting too much from nascent infrastructure organizations. The flaw in the strategy, according to some practitioners, was that nascent infrastructure organizations lacked either the capacity or the outreach to serve as effective vehicles for dissemination of best practices, particularly early on in their organizational development. As a result, the field lacked the necessary feedback loops to share the effective practices of lighthouse organizations. They suggest that the Foundation should have invested more directly in dissemination of these more promising approaches.

Section 5: Field Infrastructure

The third prong of the field-building strategy was to develop an infrastructure for the field of conflict resolution. In the original program design, this third leg of the field-building stool was conceived as a need to promote the new field of conflict resolution, across a society not yet familiar with its approaches. As the field developed, however, the Foundation recognized a need for entities that could also serve as vehicles for the continuing professionalization and stewardship of the field. This investment in the field's infrastructure was distinctive to a field-building approach: The Foundation supported infrastructure organizations focused on the health and sustainability of the field itself, rather than direct providers of conflict resolution services.

Professional Associations and Institutes

Initially, Hewlett's efforts to build infrastructure for the field of conflict resolution consisted of its long-term commitment of support to the National Institute for Dispute Resolution (NIDR). NIDR was established in 1981, with substantial funding from the Hewlett, Ford and MacArthur Foundations, among others. NIDR's mission was three-fold: (1) to promote the field of conflict resolution through general education and outreach, (2) to serve as a center for policy advocacy for the field, and (3) to fund innovation in the field through project-specific research. With a high high-profile board of directors, NIDR was expected to help spread conflict resolution in key constituencies,

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Field Infrastructure: Supporting the 'Supply' and 'Demand' of Conflict Resolution

One way to understand Hewlett's Field Infrastructure support is the 'Supply' and 'Demand' of conflict resolution.

The 'supply' side sought to improve the practice of conflict resolution, by connecting a vast practitioner community, providing opportunities for professional development and training, providing technical assistance resources for the field, and providing the principal forums for addressing challenging issues confronting the field.

The 'demand' side sought to promote the field of conflict resolution, by raising public awareness, funding demonstration projects in key constituencies, and building a consumer base for conflict resolution services.

Of course, many issues cross boundaries. For instance, a focus on improved evaluation methodologies not only helps to inform practice, but also helps to create a market by providing tools for the field to demonstrate its value to consumers.

Hewlett's infrastructure support – originally categorized as 'field promotion' – initially focused on the 'demand' for conflict resolution services. Program staff observed that, as the program evolved, as much as 90 percent of the infrastructure support ultimately focused on the 'supply' side of the equation. They suggested that, in hindsight, perhaps the field-building effort would have been well served by greater balance between the supply and demand of conflict resolution.

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to draw significant corporate investment to ensure its own sustainability and provide further funding for the field, and to become a continuing grantmaker in the field.

However, the early direction and performance of NIDR raised some concern among Foundation staff that the new Institute would be unable to meet these lofty expectations. As Hewlett's own investment in the field expanded with the launch of a formal program area, the Foundation expanded its infrastructure support to include the

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__The National Institute of Dispute Resolution (NIDR)__

The National Institute of Dispute Resolution (NIDR) was launched in 1981 with substantial fanfare and lofty expectations. The Hewlett, MacArthur and Ford Foundations, among others, provided significant, long-term funding, hoping to establish NIDR at the center of an emerging field of conflict resolution. Hewlett's initial five-year, $1.5 million commitment represented a substantial investment of Foundation resources at the time.

However, NIDR never developed into the central infrastructure organization initially envisioned by its sponsors. NIDR struggled in its early performance, raising concerns about both its institutional leadership and its organizational focus. Initial activities focused narrowly on court-annexed arbitration, which, according to many, was not a particularly bold or ambitious agenda. As activities expanded, it took several years for consistency and sustainability to emerge in NIDR's focus.

These challenges both resulted from and were exacerbated by NIDR's lack of a natural constituency within the field. Several leaders in the field observe that NIDR was a largely foundation-driven initiative. The Institute lacked strong organic connections with the field of practice it was intended to serve. Moreover, anticipated corporate contributions that would have funded NIDR's initiatives never fully materialized.

Eventually, NIDR went on to make substantial contributions to the field of conflict resolution. NIDR played an important role in helping to establish state offices of dispute resolution in more than twenty-five states. These state conflict resolution bodies helped to mediate contentious, complex public policy disputes and built state government capacity for collaborative governance approaches. More importantly, these programs – located within the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government – helped to institutionalize conflict resolution approaches within the government.

NIDR also made substantial contributions to research in the field, through its Fund for Research in Dispute Resolution (FRDR). Although Hewlett funds did not directly support these efforts, FRDR was an important source of funding for many important research projects in the field, including many conducted by Hewlett-funded theory centers. Hewlett funding instead supported NIDR's organizational infrastructure, its marketing and communications strategies, and its policy advocacy efforts.

Hewlett support to NIDR continued from 1981 through 1999, ultimately totaling an investment of more than $6 million in the Institute. By 1999, however, all that remained of NIDR was the Conflict Resolution Education Network (CREnet), which eventually merged with several other leading infrastructure organizations to create the Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR), as discussed below.

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primary membership associations serving the field of conflict resolution. In 1985, Hewlett provided funding to both the Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution (SPIDR) and the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution (NCPCR), to support their annual conferences. From its founding in 1972, SPIDR served as the principal national professional association for labor mediators. Subsequent grants from Hewlett would support SPIDR's efforts to expand its membership base beyond labor to other sectors of the conflict resolution field. By contrast, Bob Barrett described NCPCR as less of an organization per se and more of an eclectic movement. NCPCR's bi-annual conferences brought together leading researchers and practitioners during the early developmental period of the field. Both entities remained long-term grantees of the Foundation.

Within several years, Hewlett's support to professional associations had expanded to include virtually all of the professional membership associations serving the field of conflict resolution. The Foundation's support paralleled the diverse sectors of the field (also represented in Hewlett's Practitioner Support category). For instance, Hewlett supported the Academy of Family Mediators (AFM), the Association of Family and Conciliation Courts (AFCC), the National Association for Mediation in Education (NAME), and the Network, which served conflict resolution practitioners in Canada. Hewlett funding helped to launch both the National Association for Community Mediation (NAFCM) – the primary national umbrella association for several thousand community mediation programs across the country – and the Victim Offender Mediation Association (VOMA), which serves a similar role for restorative justice programs. The American Bar Association's (ABA)

> **Conflict Resolution Membership Associations supported by the Hewlett Foundation**
>
> - *Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution (SPIDR)*
> - *National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution (NCPCR)*
> - *American Bar Association Section on Dispute Resolution (ABA Section)*
> - *Academy of Family Mediators (AFM)*
> - *Association of Family and Conciliation Courts (AFCC)*
> - *The Network (Canada)*
> - *Victim-Offender Mediation Association (VOMA)*
> - *National Association for Community Mediation (NAFCM)*
> - *The Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR)*

Section on Dispute Resolution was the principal vehicle for spreading conflict resolution through the legal profession – in many ways, the largest, most natural and most well-defined constituency for conflict resolution services. Although Hewlett did not support the development of private arbitration practice, the American Arbitration Association (AAA) received limited support to conduct public education about conflict resolution.

Membership associations played a variety of roles important to the development of the field, reflecting both the 'supply-side' and 'demand-side' functions of the field's infrastructure. At a basic level, these associations helped to consolidate and define what constituted 'the field' of conflict resolution. Outreach to new members – themselves engaged in a variety of related practice areas – helped to determine what

was and what was not included in the self-definition of the field. Conferences and publications played an important role in connecting practitioners across the country, providing opportunities for professional networking and interaction and – more fundamentally – creating the sense among isolated practitioners that they were part of a larger collective enterprise.

Professional associations also played a key role in improving the quality of practice. Their conferences and publications helped to disseminate best practices, provided professional development and training programs, and facilitated peer-to-peer learning. Other initiatives – such as the re-granting program at NAFCM and the primary national membership association for community mediation programs, have provided small-scale funding for experimentation and innovation in community mediation practice. Externally, professional associations helped to provide a more coherent voice for the field of dispute resolution – in policy forums, in the media, and in the general public.

In addition to these membership associations, a number of research and policy institutes constituted an important part of the field's infrastructure. Many of these institutes were the primary research centers dedicated to understanding and improving conflict resolution practice in various sub-sectors of the field. They also conducted policy research and advocacy on behalf of the conflict resolution field, providing a voice for the field in the sphere of public policy. For instance, conflict resolution institutes played an important role in the development and passage of legislation in several states that helps to fund community mediation centers through court filing fees and other forms of state support. Although NIDR represents by far the largest and most comprehensive example of this type of institute, it was certainly not the only one supported by the Hewlett Foundation.

For instance, Hewlett supported the Western Justice Center Foundation, an initiative of several federal judges in southern

> **Still Field-Building: Bob Barrett and the California Dispute Resolution Institute (CDRI)**
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> *With support from the Hewlett Foundation in 1998, former Program Officer Bob Barrett launched the California Dispute Resolution Institute (CDRI). Through CDRI, Barrett is continuing the field-building work he began as a Program Officer at the Hewlett Foundation. CDRI's mission is to support and improve ADR processes, through research, education programs, and information dissemination, for the benefit of policymakers, administrators, providers and consumers of dispute resolution services in California. In 2003, CDRI became part of the Leo T. McCarthy Center for Government at the University of San Francisco, ensuring that both Barrett and CDRI will continue to be an important part of the field's infrastructure in the future.*

California, aimed at promoting conflict resolution processes, particularly through the formal justice system. The Center for Restorative Justice at the University of Minnesota was the preeminent national research center for victim-offender mediation. The Institute for the Study of Conflict Transformation at Hofstra Law School conducted research and developed resources and training tools to improve practice among mediators. The Center for Information Technology and Dispute Resolution at the University of Massachusetts was the only research center in the country dedicated to the rapidly expanding world of online dispute resolution. The Center studies conflict generated through the online world, for instance, through e-commerce, and conducts research and develops resources that apply information technology tools to dispute resolution processes.

Promoting the Field: Demonstration Projects in Key Constituencies

In addition to its support for these key infrastructure organizations, the Hewlett Foundation also supported opportunities to promote the field of conflict resolution in key constituencies, through demonstration projects and training programs. These projects helped to promote the field by exposing potential consumers to conflict resolution approaches.

Courts: The Foundation provided grants to the National Judicial College, the Administrative Conference of the United States, and the Federal Judicial Center Foundation to promote ADR approaches in the formal legal system. These organizations – along with Hewlett's support to the American Bar Association's Section on Dispute Resolution – provided training to lawyers, judges, court administrators and other court personnel in the applications of conflict resolution approaches in the courts. Such training was particularly important following passage of the Alternative Dispute Resolution Act in the 1990's, creating one of the largest constituencies for ADR services. In addition, Hewlett supported curricular reform efforts in the nation's law schools, which sought to incorporate a role for ADR in legal training.

Civic Officials and Public Agencies: A second key constituency for conflict resolution approaches was civic officials and public agencies. The tools of collaborative problem-solving offered a new paradigm for thinking about public policymaking. The International County Managers Association and the National League of Cities Institute (NLCI) developed training programs to build collaborative problem-solving capacity in civic leaders across the country. The Policy Consensus Initiative (PCI) worked to build a similar capacity in state legislative leaders. With Hewlett funding, the Wagner School for Public Service at New York University (NYU) undertook a complete overhaul of its curriculum toward a focus on conflict resolution and collaborative problem-solving.

Commerce: The private sector also represented an important potential market for conflict resolution services. Hewlett provided funding to the Center for Public Resources (CPR), an organization dedicated to finding better ways to resolve corporate disputes. Through its Corporate Pledge, CPR successfully organized more than 600 corporations (representing half of the nation's GDP) to commit to the use of ADR

approaches in their disputes. Hewlett funding enabled the Council of Better Business Bureaus to develop a massive nationwide conflict resolution program for resolving disputes between consumers and corporations.

Workplace: The Foundation provided grants to the Workplace Institute, Workplace Solutions, and the National Association for the Promotion of Labor-Management Cooperation, to promote conflict resolution approaches in the workplace. Hewlett funding supported the California Institute for Employer-Employee Relations (CFIEER) to assist in specific set of labor negotiations in state education. Participants to the process found the tools so helpful that they created a capacity-building program to provide training in school districts across the state.

Health Care: Another key constituency for conflict resolution services was the health care industry. Hewlett supported the BU-Harvard Program on Health Care and Negotiation, which provides training in dispute resolution to leaders in the health care industry. The Center for Public Resources had a targeted Program on Health Care which promoted the use of dispute resolution processes among leading health care corporations. The Foundation also funded work that applied conflict resolution tools to mental health issues through the University of South Florida, to elderly issues through the ABA Section on Dispute Resolution and the Adult Guardianship Center at the Center for Social Gerontology at the University of Michigan, and in other related areas, such as day care issues.

Schools – Conflict Resolution Education: Beginning in the early 1990's, schools became one of the most important arenas for the integration of conflict resolution approaches. By the mid-1990's, conflict resolution education became one of the nation's primary strategies for addressing the problem of escalating school violence.

The Hewlett Foundation funded leading organizations in conflict resolution education, such as Children's Creative Response to Conflict (CCRC), Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) and the Columbia Teachers' College, supporting their efforts to develop comprehensive, age-appropriate curriculum for conflict resolution education in elementary and secondary schools nationwide. Over a period of ten to fifteen years, conflict resolution education grew from something that was relatively unknown to an integral part of mainstream education. Today, most school districts in the country integrate some form of conflict resolution education into their curriculum – whether through direct instruction, integration and infusion, peer mediation programs, advisory groups, collaborative teaching and learning, or other programs. In many states, Departments of Education or other government entities have special mandates or units that focus exclusively on integrating conflict resolution into the curriculum. For instance, in Massachusetts, the Attorney General's Office runs a statewide peer mediation program.

A Forum for Emerging Issues

One of the most important roles of the field's infrastructure has been to provide a forum for field-wide dialogue on challenging issues that have emerged as the field has developed. Among these issues, the most important have included professional regulation and certification, ethical standards, and evaluation.

Professional Regulation and Certification: Professional regulation has been a thorny issue for the field of conflict resolution. Unlike the practice of law, medicine, or psychology, there are no entry barriers into the field of conflict resolution practice, nor any regulatory body that sets minimum standards of practice. Anyone may hold himself or herself out as a mediator, facilitator or conflict resolution practitioner. As a result, there are legitimate concerns – among both providers and consumers – over safeguarding the quality of practice in the industry. With regulation, consumers are protected from those unqualified to practice the trade. Similarly, practitioners are protected from the imputed reputational harm caused to the industry as a whole by those unqualified to practice. With appropriate regulation, confidence can be built in the field as a whole. At the same time, there are substantial concerns within the field over the criteria that would qualify one to practice in the field and who would control entry to practice. Specifically, many in the field are concerned that the regulation or certification process would be dominated by lawyers, who constitute a substantial constituency within the field.

Progress within the field on the issue of professional regulation and/or certification has been slow. Annual conferences and targeted workshops hosted by professional associations have provided important venues for dialogue within the field on these issues. Professional associations have ensured diverse representation from the field on panels and commissions addressing these issues. Professional institutes have conducted important policy research and advocacy which has informed these field-wide debates. In its stewardship role with the field, the Hewlett Foundation paid particular attention to these questions. A virtual theory center hosted at Ohio State University was focused exclusively on the question of standards of practice for mediators. In collaboration with American Bar Association and the Commission on Uniform State Laws, the project worked to produce a Model Mediation Code.

The field's infrastructure has also played an important role in the related area of practitioner training and skills development. Again, conferences and workshops hosted by infrastructure organizations provided important opportunities for advanced practitioner training. Hewlett also supported projects at Hofstra School of Law, CDR Associates and the Carl Vinson Institute to develop mediation training programs, practice enrichment initiatives, advanced training for mediators and mediator skills projects. Such courses could eventually become part of a self-regulation infrastructure for the field and focus on the quality of practice in the field. However, these efforts have thus far not yet produced a robust system of professional regulation, and the risk to the field is clear: develop a strong and effective system of self-regulation, or the government will likely step in to regulate the industry.

Ethical Standards: Similarly, there are no binding ethical standards governing the practice of conflict resolution. Issues such as disclosure of interests and addressing power imbalances among disputing parties are largely left to the discretion of the individual practitioner. While the American Bar Association has developed some standards that govern the practice of lawyers as mediators, such standards are binding only on those in the field who also practice law. In addition to the work of the field's infrastructure on this question, Hewlett supported more targeted efforts to explore the regulation of ethical conduct within the field. For instance, the Foundation provided funding to Georgetown Law School to support the work of a high-level commission to develop ethical standards for the industry.

Evaluation: A third area of concern within the field has been the absence of effective evaluation methodologies. Evaluation of conflict resolution processes can serve many roles, from identifying deficiencies in the field of practice, to demonstrating the social utility of conflict resolution approaches. The majority of evaluation tools emphasize process indicators – the efficiency with which disputes were resolved, participant satisfaction with the process, and the like – tools that could not adequately address whether dispute resolution processes were effective in producing better outcomes for parties. Often, the longer-term outcomes of dispute resolution processes may take years to manifest, and they are often dependent on a host of uncontrollable variables – posing particular challenges for the development of effective evaluation tools.

Evaluation was an area of particular interest for the Hewlett Foundation. As far back as 1982, the Foundation had funded an evaluation of the Community Boards Program of San Francisco – one of the first conflict resolution grants the Foundation ever made, before a formal program in Conflict Resolution was established. Particularly in the later years of the program, Hewlett took a special interest in developing new evaluation tools and methodologies which could help the field to understand its impact and demonstrate its effectiveness. For instance, the Foundation provided grants to Antioch College to develop an interactive Action-Evaluation methodology. Hewlett provided general operating support to the Indiana Conflict Resolution Institute (ICRI), which focused on applied evaluative research (see box below). With Hewlett support, Temple University conducted an evaluation of a peer mediation program. In the last two years of the program, a key element of Hewlett's support in the area of Consensus-Building, Public Participation and Decision-Making was to fund the University of Virginia's Institute for Environmental Negotiation and the University of Michigan's Environmental Management Program to develop new evaluation tools for environmental dispute resolution processes.

Nevertheless, the field as a whole has been largely reticent to engage in outcome-based evaluation. Many in the field emphasize the importance of neutrality and process, to the detriment of considering the effect on outcomes. This reticence has clearly hurt the field. The field has been unable to respond reactively to critiques that have emerged of the practice of dispute resolution, nor has it been able to point to objective quality evaluations to market itself proactively. While the spread of conflict resolution processes may indeed be an implicit good, the field has been reluctant to subject itself to the scrutiny of objective, independent evaluation.

A Focus on Evaluation: The Indiana Conflict Resolution Institute (ICRI)

The Indiana Conflict Resolution Institute, housed at Indiana University's School for Public and Environmental Affairs (SPEA), is one of the nation's leading – and only – centers focused on field and applied research in conflict resolution. The Center is perhaps most well-known for its ongoing evaluation work of the United States Postal Service's REDRESS dispute resolution system. While other centers train scholars and practitioners, ICRI attempts to train social scientists who can measure and evaluate that work.

Lisa Bingham, the Center's Director, notes that this type of empirical research – though sorely needed within the field – is uncommon in the field. Among its challenges, empirical evaluation is expensive, hampered by limited availability of data, and considered to be of low prestige within the academic community. The primary challenge, however, may lie within the field itself, and an unwillingness to take on the risk of arriving at an answer the field may not want to hear. Nevertheless, she observes movement within the field towards better evaluation practices. Particularly in the area of environmental dispute resolution, key parties are beginning to agree on the metrics for measuring effectiveness and agreeing to collect the relevant data.

Proliferation and Consolidation: The Emergence of ACR

In the first decade of the program, the Hewlett Foundation encouraged the proliferation of professional associations, and that proliferation had served the field well. A study in the mid-1990's found that rapid advancement in each sector of practice correlated favorably with the first Hewlett Foundation grant to the professional association serving that sector. By the late 1990's, however, the Foundation grew concerned about the sustainability of so many individual professional associations. Moreover, an unhealthy competition for membership had developed among several of the larger organizations. The Foundation encouraged and facilitated discussion among professional associations around merger possibilities. Consolidation would avoid duplication of efforts and more efficient use of resources. Moreover, a unified voice for the field could provide stronger, clearer representation in legislative and public policy arenas.

> *A study in the mid-1990's found that rapid advancement in each sector of practice correlated favorably with the first Hewlett Foundation grant to the professional association serving that sector.*

Consolidation was important to the continued viability of the field's infrastructure, though it was not without its difficulties. The negotiation process itself was both extremely time-consuming and clouded by uncertainty. Some felt that the Foundation was too aggressive in advocating for merger, and the Foundation's own interests in the consolidation process were unclear to participants. For instance, it was unclear to some whether continued Hewlett funding was contingent upon a successful merger process, creating the perception of pressure to merge. Though this was not ultimately the case, the process would still have benefited from greater clarity of the Foundation's stake in the process.

Following extensive negotiations and planning, three of the larger infrastructure associations – AFM, SPIDR and CREnet – merged to form the Association for Conflict Resolution (ACR). Immediately upon its creation, ACR became the primary professional membership association for conflict resolution professionals, with a national (and, to a limited extent, international) membership of more than 6,000 mediators, arbitrators, facilitators, educators and others interested in the field. ACR's mission is to enhance the practice and public understanding of conflict resolution. The association combines many of the roles played by its predecessors: connecting the field through conferences and publications; disseminating knowledge and resources to improve practice; conducting policy advocacy, public education and media outreach; and addressing professional issues such as standards of practice, professional ethics, training and certification.

In its first three years of existence, ACR received substantial funding, totaling more than $2.5 million, from the Hewlett Foundation. As Hewlett exits the field of conflict resolution, ACR assumes the role of primary steward for the field – a role the Foundation played for two decades. One of ACR's primary challenges in the years ahead will be to hold together a diverse field and prevent it from fracturing into its many

constituent parts. While consolidation of the field may have helped with organizational sustainability and creating a more coherent voice for the field, it poses new challenges for ACR in serving a membership that reflects the tremendous diversity of the field.

Section 6: Consensus Building, Public Participation, and Policy-Making

In 1992, the Hewlett Foundation added a fourth component to its Conflict Resolution Program: Consensus Building, Public Participation and Policy-Making. The Foundation applied a familiar field-building strategy to its work with consensus building

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Hewlett Support

- *Consensus Building and Collaborative Governance*

- *Deliberative Democracy*

- *Evaluation: Environmental Decision-Making*

</td><td>

organizations, supporting theory, practice and infrastructure. In the later years of the program, emphasis shifted toward the development of 'deliberative democracy' processes, which sought to incorporate the participation of the public as a key stakeholder in public policymaking. The program also explored new methodologies for evaluating collaborative policy-making processes, with a special focus on environmental decision-making.

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The Shift Upstream: Consensus Building in Public Policy Decision-Making

From its inception, Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program had held a special interest in the application of conflict resolution tools to public policy decision-making processes. Developing new decision-making process tools – and equipping public policy leaders with those tools – was a key part of the Foundation's overall strategy for improving public policy outcomes. Public leaders were an important 'key constituency' in the Foundation's support for efforts to promote the field of conflict resolution through its Infrastructure component.

By the early 1990's, the conflict resolution field was beginning to develop and apply new collaborative techniques to public policy decision-making processes. As the field's understanding of conflict grew more sophisticated, it became clear that the origin of many public policy disputes could be traced back to defective policy-making processes. Often, these processes created clear winners and losers, or left key stakeholders out of the process entirely. By improving decision-making processes – 'shifting upstream' in the conflict dynamic – many potential disputes might be averted altogether, while at the same time improving the quality of public policy decisions. It also seemed clear that 'an ounce of prevention' might be worth 'a pound of cure': It would be much more efficient to prevent conflict at its source, rather than trying to resolve it after the fact.

> *By improving decision-making processes – 'shifting upstream' in the conflict dynamic – many potential disputes might be averted altogether, while at the same time improving the quality of public policy decisions.*

In 1992, Hewlett expanded its Conflict Resolution portfolio to support the development of collaborative governance models. Elements of the field-building strategy can be found throughout Hewlett's consensus-building support, investing in the

theory, practice and infrastructure of consensus-building. Much of the theory-building took place at Hewlett's existing conflict resolution theory centers, as several had developed a special focus on consensus-building models. Additional grants supported the work of the MIT Public Disputes Program, affiliated with the Harvard Program on Negotiation, in its efforts to build the supporting theory for consensus-building approaches.

One of Hewlett's first practitioner grants in this area was to the North Dakota Consensus Council (NDCC), a pioneering quasi-governmental collaborative governance body. NDCC developed experimental methodologies that applied the principles of interest-based bargaining and the tools of conflict resolution to complex, important and often contentious public policy issues. By bringing all relevant stakeholders to the negotiating table and facilitating the policymaking dialogue, collaborative governance processes were often able to achieve more durable, more effective policy outcomes. This basic premise fueled the growth of negotiated rulemaking in U.S. administrative law.

> **Consensus Council Models**
>
> - North Dakota Consensus Council
> - Montana Consensus Council
> - New Mexico Consensus Council
> - Western Consensus Council
> - North Bay Consensus Council
> - US Consensus Council

Hewlett's support to NDCC extended from 1992 through 2004, enabling NDCC to develop new models for consensus-based decision-making and to help institutionalize those approaches. When the Consensus Council model proved effective in North Dakota, Hewlett supported efforts to replicate and adapt the model in other states, at different levels of government and in different contexts. For instance, Hewlett provided initial funding to state consensus councils in Montana and New Mexico. The Western Consensus Council represented a regional, cross-state effort in the western United States, focused on environment and development issues. The North Bay Consensus Council attempted to apply the model to the county level in Sonoma, California. Hewlett has also supported Search for Common Ground's national coordinating efforts to develop a United States Consensus Council – though these efforts have not yet proven successful.

The Consensus Building Institute (CBI), a non-profit based in Cambridge, MA, is another of these 'lighthouse' organizations in the collaborative governance field, applying a business model different from that of the consensus councils. CBI developed a more entrepreneurial, project-driven approach to its consensus-building work, helping to resolve public disputes, build collaborative capacity, and facilitate consensus-based policymaking approaches around environmental and land use issues, education, housing, and increasingly, international conflict settings. CBI spun off as the intervention arm of the MIT Public Disputes Program, and continues to provide an important link between the theory and practice of consensus-building. With limited seed funding in 1994 and endowment support from

> **CBI developed a more entrepreneurial, project-driven approach to its consensus-building work.**

the Foundation in 1997, CBI is today a strong and stable pillar of the consensus-building field, elevating the quality of practice in the field.

The Foundation supported several specific infrastructure organizations that helped to strengthen the sub-field of consensus-building. For instance, Hewlett provided general operating support to the International Association of Public Participation Practitioners (IAP2). Hewlett also provided substantial funding to the Policy Consensus Initiative (PCI), and its partner organization, the National Policy Consensus Center (NPCC), both based at Portland State University. PCI and NPCC provide capacity-building and technical assistance to strengthen collaborative governance approaches at the state and local level nationwide. In addition, PCI coordinates a network of the state offices of dispute resolution and university-based programs that support collaborative policy-making processes: helping to establish new programs, conducting evaluations of state level programs, and distilling and disseminating best practices. As state government support has diminished in recent years, PCI has played an important role in helping state offices of dispute resolution adapt and transition into new institutional homes at universities.

> **Policy Consensus Initiative (PCI)**
>
> *Building collaborative governance capacity among state and local leaders*

Deliberative Democracy

As the Hewlett Foundation began exploring new directions for its Conflict Resolution Program in 2000, new practices were developing in the area of consensus-building which placed greater emphasis on the role of public participation in decision-making processes. While early consensus-building models focused on the quality of decision-making processes among relevant stakeholders, the principles of deliberative democracy challenged the way in which those stakeholders are defined. Deliberative democracy, or deliberative dialogue, creates a central role for public participation in policy-making processes and focuses on the deliberative quality of that participation. The Program created a special focus on this new area of deliberative democracy, using the last four years of the program to provide early strategic support to the developing field of deliberative democracy.

The Conflict Resolution Program adapted the basic three-pronged field-building strategy to help the emerging field find its footing, learning from the experience of the broader conflict resolution program. While several of Hewlett's theory centers contributed to the development of theory behind deliberative democracy, the Foundation also supported more specific knowledge-building efforts. Hewlett funded the Deliberative Democracy Consortium (DDC), a gathering of scholars active in the field, with more direct Foundation involvement in identifying the specific research questions to be explored. The Program also supported work to 'map' the field of

> **Deliberative Democracy:**
> **Adapting the Field-Building Strategy**
> - **Specific Knowledge-Building**
> - **Champions**
> - **Field Infrastructure**

deliberative democracy, helping to develop a common understanding of the different processes being applied – where they were similar, and how they differed. Many of Hewlett's grantees were scholar-practitioners, studying and learning from the experimental processes they were employing.

Hewlett also helped to build an infrastructure for the new field, funding the National Coalition for Deliberative Democracy – a 'big tent' organization bringing together anyone with an interest in the area. In its support to practitioners, Hewlett identified champions, such as AmericaSpeaks, one of the pioneers in deliberative processes. Hewlett also supported deliberative dialogue work at the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) and the National League of Cities Institute (NLCI), two key constituencies that could promote deliberative dialogue practices in state and local policymaking.

Field-Building and Deliberative Democracy: Getting the Ball Rolling

Hewlett's contributions to deliberative dialogue suggest that a foundation need not set out to build an entire field to be effective at field-building. Hewlett's support over a short time period and within a limited timeframe helped to chart the course for the field of deliberative democracy.

Leaders of the field note Hewlett's pivotal contributions: helping to provide shape and coherence to an emerging set of practices, facilitating conversations on important topics among practitioners and scholars, and bringing an added measure of credibility to the field as a whole.

As the field of practice refines its methodologies, the field is now beginning to ask the more important question: what effect, if any, are these deliberative processes having on public policy outcomes?

A Focus on Evaluation: Environmental Decision-Making

As the Foundation prepared to exit the field of conflict resolution, a key part of the program's exit strategy was to focus on evaluation of collaborative policymaking processes, with a special emphasis on environmental decision-making. The choice to focus on environmental decision-making was natural. Environmental issues had long been a laboratory for experimentation in collaborative processes, and Hewlett had a long history of grantmaking in the area. Moreover, powerful critiques were emerging from the environmental lobby, in particular, that challenged the effectiveness of collaborative approaches in producing better outcomes for the environment.

However, proponents of collaborative policymaking lacked the tools to respond to these critiques. Throughout its early development, the field as a whole had demonstrated a great reluctance to measure itself according to outcomes. Certainly, evaluation of complex dispute resolution processes posed methodological challenges. The impact of these processes was often long-term rather than immediate, making evaluation costly, time-consuming and difficult. Some of the benefits of consensus-

building approaches touted by the field – such as strengthened relationships among key stakeholders – were difficult to measure or to place value upon. Successful outcomes were often dependent on a host of independent variables, many of which lay entirely outside the control of the dispute resolution process.

These methodological challenges were exacerbated by ideological ones. The field itself was unsettled as to how much attention it should be paying to the normative, substantive outcomes of dispute resolution processes. For many in the field, a focus on outcomes was inappropriate and could threaten the neutrality so highly valued by the field. For others, the question of outcomes was to some extent overlooked. In many ways, a key assumption underpinning the entire field of conflict resolution was that better process, by definition, leads to better outcomes. For its part, the Hewlett Foundation also relied on this assumption, focusing on the dissemination of conflict resolution approaches, rather than proving that they worked.

As a combined result of these methodological and ideological factors, existing evaluation tools focused almost exclusively on process indicators, such as the efficiency of dispute resolution processes, the quality of participation in decision-making, and participant satisfaction with those processes. Yet these tools failed to answer the fundamental challenge of its critics: Did collaborative approaches produce better environmental outcomes?

> **The Real Question:**
>
> **Do collaborative decision-making models produce better outcomes for the environment?**

In the last two years of the Conflict Resolution Program, the Foundation devoted special attention to developing new evaluation methodologies that could help to answer this central question. For example, Hewlett provided grants to the United States Institute for Environmental Conflict Resolution (USIECR), the University of Virginia's Institute for Environmental Negotiation, and the University of Michigan's School for Natural Resource Management, to support their evaluation efforts. New outcome-based evaluation tools have been built into several large environmental decision-making processes. Stakeholders have agreed upon new metrics for determining success and data collection systems have been established. As more rigorous evaluation methodologies are developed and refined, they can be adapted and applied to other sectors in the field.

Section 7: International Conflict Resolution

The Hewlett Foundation made its first international conflict resolution grants in the early 1990's. Over the next several years, this international portfolio would be an area of tremendous growth in the Conflict Resolution Program, accounting for 50 percent of overall grantmaking. Hewlett's support began with more traditional conflict resolution organizations conducting field-based interventions in various conflict settings around the globe. A new strategic plan in 2000 greatly expanded the scope of Hewlett's international program, supporting the integration of conflict resolution tools into other fields of international intervention, from humanitarian relief, to human rights, to democracy, to civil society, to post-conflict peace-building.

Early International Grantmaking: Supporting "Track Two" Diplomacy

> "Track two diplomacy is unofficial informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations… [It] is in no way a substitute for official, formal, track one government-to-government or leader-to-leader relationships…. [It] is a process designed to assist official leaders to resolve…conflicts by exploring possible solutions out of the public view and without the requirements to formally negotiate or bargain for advantage."
>
> **-- Harold Saunders of the Kettering Foundation, on Track Two Diplomacy**

In January 1991, the Hewlett Foundation's Board of Directors invited the Conflict Resolution Program to explore programmatic opportunities in international conflict resolution. The Cold War had recently ended, accompanied by an eruption of civil conflicts in every corner of the globe. At the same time, a new paradigm in international affairs was emerging. The birth of Track Two Diplomacy suggested a new domain of unofficial diplomacy – the idea that non-state actors could play important roles in diplomatic and peace-building efforts.

For instance, recent peace efforts in Mozambique and the Middle East (through the Oslo Peace Process) demonstrated the tremendous impact that non-governmental organizations could have on official peace efforts. Others were working behind the scenes to help develop the political and social climate needed for official diplomatic efforts to proceed. Hewlett's early grantmaking in international conflict resolution supported a number of these organizations experimenting with Track Two approaches to diplomacy.

Though perhaps less clearly articulated, Hewlett's early international grantmaking strategy reflected many of the elements of the field-building approach, particularly as the international

> **Field-Building Elements in Hewlett's Early International Grantmaking**
>
> - **Theory**: A focus on knowledge-building, and the development of knowledge from practice
> - **Practice**: Field-based interventions in inter-group conflict settings abroad
> - **Infrastructure**: Networking, training and resources for the field

portfolio grew. The Foundation continued to invest in knowledge-building activities, through the work of theory centers, generating knowledge from practice, and targeted support to academic institutions exploring international conflict dynamics. International grantmaking opened Hewlett funding to a number of practitioner organizations conducting field-based interventions in conflict settings all around the globe – applying the tools of conflict resolution to inter-group conflicts in new and creative ways. A growing infrastructure for the field promoted networking, training and developing resources for the field.

Theory-Building: Several Hewlett-funded theory centers – for instance, those at Syracuse, George Mason and Colorado – had already begun to focus their attention on inter-group, inter-ethnic, societal conflict. Additionally, many of Hewlett's early international grantees were true scholar-practitioners in the field, translating their applied fieldwork into important academic contributions of benefit to the field as a whole. For example, Hewlett grantees included Harvard's Program on International Conflict

Analysis and Resolution (PICAR), Princeton's Project on Ethnic Relations (PER), and the Kettering Foundation's Inter-Tajik Dialogue in Tajikistan – programs with a distinctive academic angle. In other cases, grantees used Hewlett support to fund a more reflective form of practice. Search for Common Ground – one of the leading international conflict resolution organizations – used general operating support from the Hewlett Foundation to expand its institutional learning capacity.

> **Theory-Building**
> **in International Conflict Resolution**
>
> - *Theory Centers*
> - *Scholar-Practitioners*
> - *Institutional Learning Capacity among Practitioners*
> - *Targeted Academic Institutions and Research Centers*

More directly, the Foundation also invested in academic institutions and research centers focused on specific knowledge-building efforts in international conflict dynamics. For instance, Hewlett supported the International Conflict Resolution Program at Columbia, the Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) at Stanford, the Program on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at Tufts, the international conflict resolution publications of the School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Practice: Similar to its domestic program, Hewlett's support for the practice of international conflict resolution encouraged innovation in methodology that applied conflict resolution principles in new and creative ways to conflict settings abroad. Some grantees used more traditional consensus-building approaches to promote informal dialogue, others built horizontal linkages among business or religious groups that bridged the political divide; others trained leaders in negotiation, mediation and democratic decision-making skills. Search for Common Ground developed an expansive 'tool-box' of approaches to promote societal reconciliation and conflict transformation, by creatively integrating the principles of conflict resolution with various forms of media. Search's programs involved music productions in the Middle East, radio programming in Burundi and Sierra Leone, and soap operas in Albania.

Because Hewlett's support emphasized methodology rather than a particular geographic focus, Hewlett grantees worked in conflict settings in all corners of the globe – from Central and Eastern Europe to Cyprus, to the Balkans, to the Middle East, to Northern Ireland, to former Soviet republics, to Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi. Often, the greatest value-added for Track Two efforts was in relatively remote locations, where the U.S. strategic interest was less intense. For instance, in Burundi, four non-governmental organizations – three of them Hewlett grantees – were responsible for the majority of social reconstruction work and public dialogue among Hutus and Tutsis.

Initially, the Foundation supported only US-based organizations conducting field-based interventions in conflict settings abroad. This bias for U.S. organizations was in part necessitated by Hewlett's structure and organizational culture at the time – with a small staff and no field offices, the Foundation was not particularly well set up for servicing a large portfolio of international conflict resolution grantees. Within several years, however, the program expanded to include a limited number of international grantees. For instance, the Foundation supported the Turkey-based Foundation for the Study of Societal Problems in its work with ethnic Turks and Kurds, and the South African-based Center for Conflict Resolution.

Creative Methodologies in Diverse Settings:
Early International Conflict Resolution Grantees

- The **Kettering Foundation**'s deliberative dialogue work in Tajikistan created back channels of communication among opposing political leaders.

- The **Project on Ethnic Relations** (PER) applied consensus-building principles to inter-ethnic issues in Central and Eastern Europe.

- Harvard's **Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution** (PICAR) engaged high-level leaders in the Middle East in moderated, off-the record dialogue, through its 'problem-solving workshop' model.

- The **Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy**'s peace work in Cyprus focused on building linkages among government, civic, business and religious leaders that bridged the political divide.

- **Partners for Democratic Change** worked to build conflict resolution capacity in former communist countries in Eastern Europe, by setting up training centers for negotiation, mediation and democratic decision-making.

- General support to **The Asia Foundation** (TAF) and **The Carter Center** supported conflict resolution work in countries across Asia and around the world.

- **Search for Common Ground** developed an expansive tool kit that integrated the principles of conflict resolution with creative uses of media to encourage societal transformation in pre- and post-conflict settings, from wrestling matches in Iran, to soap operas in Albania, music productions in the Middle East, and radio programming in Burundi.

- The **Program on Conflict Analysis and Transformation** at Eastern Mennonite College helped to resuscitate local models of restorative justice in post-conflict settings.

In a move analogous to the 'shift upstream' domestically, the program invested in efforts to prevent the escalation of potentially explosive conflicts. International Alert developed early warning systems that could help identify, track and disseminate information about potential conflict settings. International Crisis Group (ICG) focused the attention of the international community on potential conflict settings with credible and systematic analysis. While these efforts have helped to identify potential conflict hot spots, they have been less effective in generating the political will necessary for early intervention by the international community.

Search for Common Ground

Innovation, Sustainability and Reflective Practice in International Conflict Reoslution

Search for Common Ground (Search), one of the leading international conflict resolution organizations, works in settings of deep social divide to change social attitudes about inter-group conflict. Search sees itself as a transformative organization, creating the enabling environment necessary to move societies from conflict and violence to peace and social reconciliation. Search calls upon an expansive 'tool box' of approaches in its work, creatively integrating a set of conflict resolution approaches with music production, radio programming, television series and sporting events.

According to founder and director John Marks, "One becomes engaged, and then one sees what the possibilities are." Unlike other conflict resolution organizations, Search relies upon long-term field presences in the conflict settings in which it is engaged. According to Marks, the complex dynamics of broad, societal conflicts – and the opportunities to intervene effectively – cannot be understood from several thousand miles away and are not amenable to short-term interventions. In designing its conflict resolution interventions, Search thinks in terms of years, not days.

Though originally founded in 1982, Search only began receiving Hewlett funding in 1994. Since that time, Search has received almost $1.5 million in Hewlett support. With an annual budget of more than $13 million and a diversified funding base of domestic and international sources, Search has never faced much difficulty in generating all of the project funding it needs. However, the Hewlett Foundation was the only source of unrestricted general operating support.

That support has been a dynamic catalyst for Search, funding organizational growth and development. In 2000, Search used Hewlett funding to capitalize a massive restructuring of the entire organization, as the organization had grown from a staff of two in 1982 to a present staff of more than 375, with field offices around the world. Hewlett funding also enabled Search to invest in its institutional learning capacity, developing new evaluation methodologies to measure programmatic impact. While many grantees relied upon Hewlett support to fund core activities, Search used Hewlett grants strategically and effectively to build a stronger, healthier, more sustainable organization.

Infrastructure: Hewlett's early international conflict resolution support also invested in a growing infrastructure for the field – including organizations conducting training programs, developing resources for the field of practice, and promoting the field among key constituencies. For instance, the Foundation provided support to the European Center for Conflict Prevention, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), Conciliation Resources and the Women Waging Peace Project.

Hewlett's primary infrastructure initiative, however, was its support for the establishment of the Alliance for International Conflict Prevention and Resolution (AICPR, or the Alliance). The Alliance was established in 1999, bringing together U.S.-based organizations conducting field-based conflict intervention work abroad. Initially, the Alliance struggled to find purpose, vision and direction. In part, this was due to the lack of a full-time

> ### The Alliance for International Conflict Prevention and Resolution
>
> - *U.S.-based conflict resolution organizations conducting applied field work abroad*
>
> - *Facilitating collaboration within the field*
>
> - *Building relationships with key players in international development and policy*
>
> - *Encouraging quality practice through the development of new evaluation tools*

staff in its earliest years. However, a contributing factor was that its member organizations initially viewed each other as competitors for a limited amount of funding, each with its own preferred methodology for conflict prevention and resolution. Driven by concerns over funding, there was a general reluctance across the field to engage in authentic dialogue that conceded anything short of complete success – greatly complicating the Alliance's envisioned role as a center of learning for the field and a clearinghouse for best practices.

As the funding landscape for international conflict intervention work has become more challenging, the Alliance has become a key forum for its member organizations as they struggle to remain viable and relevant. Increasingly, government agencies are becoming the primary source of international conflict resolution funding. Conflict resolution components are being integrated into larger international aid and development projects, administered by relief organizations or private, for-profit development firms. For instance, CARE has recently begun to develop an in-house capacity for conflict resolution work. MercyCorps – one of the largest humanitarian relief organizations – merged with Conflict Management Group (CMG), a spin-off of the Harvard Program on Negotiation. Other Alliance members have served as sub-contractors on projects administered by private development firms, though these relationships bring their own challenges.

In the context of this changing landscape, the Alliance has become an important focal point for international conflict resolution organizations. Increasingly, AICPR is helping to facilitate collaboration among its members and building relationships with key players in the international policy and international development communities. At the same time, the Alliance is leading efforts to promote more authentic, measurable, outcome-based evaluation within the field. As the field continues to evolve, further

contraction within the field is likely, and the Alliance offers an important space for its members to discuss new business models, partnerships and strategies.

New Strategic Directions: Connecting the Fields of International Intervention

Following a period of strategic planning in 2000 and 2001, Hewlett articulated an expanded international conflict resolution strategy that sought to explore the connections between conflict resolution and other fields of international intervention. In the early years of Hewlett's international program, conflict resolution initiatives had proceeded largely independently of other international intervention efforts. Increasingly, however, the field was exploring creative linkages across fields, from humanitarian relief work, to physical and social reconstruction, human rights, democratization, and civil society capacity-building. Increasingly, the various fields of international intervention were coming to be seen as integrally related pieces of a more dynamic peace-building process.

Hewlett had supported an early effort of this kind through a project of MercyCorps in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina. The relief organization was increasingly seeing its role as promoting improved relations between groups in divided societies, and using physical reconstruction projects to promote reconciliation. Hewlett's new international strategy, while maintaining support for more traditional conflict resolution organizations, explored issues at the intersection of conflict resolution, peace-building, human rights, democratization and civil society.

> *The Foundation's international strategy explored issues at the intersection of conflict resolution, peace-building, human rights, democratization and civil society.*

For instance, Hewlett's peace-building work supported organizations addressing issues at the intersections of post-conflict justice, human rights, rule of law and social reconciliation. The Transitional Justice Institute (TJI), headed by the former chair of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, provided technical assistance to countries around the world grappling with truth commissions and tribunals in the wake of civil conflict. Human Rights Watch, Tufts University, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and the Human Rights Center of U.C. Berkeley were leading research, documentation, policy and advocacy efforts to promote global human rights. Recognizing the important role of civil society in implementing effective peace processes, Hewlett supported the civil society capacity-building work of the Carter Center and the Fund for Peace.

In its democratization work, Hewlett supported organizations exploring and untangling the linkages between democracy, development, corruption, and human rights. Grantees included Stanford's Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), the Carnegie Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project, the Council on Foreign Relations' Center for Democracy and Free Markets, the National Endowment for Democracy's (NED) World Movement for Democracy, and Freedom House.

> **Connecting the Silos: Environmental Work in the Russian Far East**
>
> *One example of Hewlett's efforts to 'connect the silos' of international development work was a collaborative project in the Russian Far East around environmental advocacy. The project was a partnership between the Conflict Resolution and Environment programs, and between the Hewlett Foundation and the MacArthur and Alton Jones Foundations.*
>
> *The project supported two intermediary grantees: The Pacific Environment and Resources Center built advocacy capacity within Russian environmental groups; and the Institute for Social Action and Renewal in Eurasia focused on civil society capacity-building. Through a series of training activities and micro-grants, the two organizations helped to build a strong civil society network in the Russian Far East around environmental issues. This network not only promoted better environmental outcomes, but also served as a countering force against increasing political centralization in Russia.*

Contraction of the International Program

Following a period of exploratory grantmaking, the Foundation ultimately elected not to pursue this new strategic direction for its international conflict resolution program. Several factors contributed to this decision. In part, Hewlett's international strategy was perceived as perhaps too diffuse and unfocused. At the same time, the events of September 11th brought new priorities to the table that required philanthropic support. Moreover, the field of international conflict resolution – like its domestic counterpart – had struggled to address the challenges of developing effective evaluation methodologies. In October 2002, the Foundation reduced its international conflict resolution portfolio, focusing its attention over the last two years of the program on the sustainability of key infrastructure organizations for the field.

Section 8: Exiting the Field

In 2002, the Hewlett Foundation decided first to wind down and then to end its support for the field of conflict resolution. Primarily, this decision reflected the Foundation's assessment that greater social return on philanthropic investment could be achieved in other pressing areas of social concern. It also represented success in the original field-building strategy – the field had developed and matured sufficiently to the point that it no longer required Hewlett's stewardship. At the same time, the Foundation's decision to exit reflected continuing concerns over the strategic direction of the program and the substance of the field itself. Regardless, Hewlett's twenty-year investment leaves the field more than capable of standing on its own, able to address present and future challenges, and poised to continue to develop and apply the tools of conflict resolution to a wide array of disputes across societies.

The Conflict Resolution Program's Exit Strategy

It is never easy when a foundation decides to exit a field of support. However, the exit of Hewlett from conflict resolution was made all the more difficult by the fact that Hewlett had remained – by far – the primary funder of conflict resolution activities and the only funder of the field as a whole. Domestically, other foundations supported individual conflict resolution approaches as they applied and advanced their work in other areas of interest. Internationally, Hewlett was one of nine large national funders of international conflict resolution activities, though its focus was the most distinctively oriented toward pure conflict resolution approaches. Hewlett grantmaking in the last two years of the Conflict Resolution Program was guided by an exit strategy that sought to leave the field healthy and well – preparing the field for a life without Hewlett funding. The primary goals of that strategy sought to promote sustainability, engage other potential funders, and enhance knowledge-building throughout the field.

> **Exit Strategy Goals**
>
> - *Promote Sustainability*
> - *Engage Potential Funders*
> - *Enhance Knowledge-Building*

The Foundation had already begun winding down its support to the majority of its theory centers. Rather than celebrating their achievements, the Program elected to focus on knowledge gaps within the field. The program commissioned a study by Baruch Bush to help identify the major theory questions confronting the field, and then established a re-granting fund through the University of Colorado theory center. This mechanism will not only provide seed funding for the next wave of conflict resolution research, but will also serve as a mechanism for continued networking within the academic side of the field.

With its practitioner support, the Program acknowledged that some level of social Darwinism was likely. Several organizations had remained too dependent on Hewlett funding, and less sustainable organizations were not likely to remain viable following Hewlett's exit. The Program identified the strongest and most important practitioner and

infrastructure organizations and made tie-off grants to help ease the transition. A separate series of Organizational Effectiveness grants – a Foundation-wide program – provided relatively small grants for specific grantee initiatives to strengthen their organizational strength and sustainability. For instance, several grantees took advantage of these funds to conduct strategic planning exercises, to develop communications programs, or to re-structure the organization. Although Hewlett had provided much larger amounts of general operating support for many years to most of these organizations – support which could have been used for these purposes – the special emphasis on organizational effectiveness focused attention on special projects that might be undertaken as the organizations prepared for a new funding context.

In its Consensus-Building, Public Participation and Policymaking area, the Program used these last two years to support the emerging field of Deliberative Democracy and to focus on evaluation of collaborative policymaking processes. Hewlett designed and implemented a smaller scale adaptation of the field-building strategy in the area of deliberative dialogue. According to leaders of that field, Hewlett's support – though limited by time – played a critical role in the early stages of the field's development, introducing cross-fertilization across disciplines and developing an infrastructure that can help the field continue to develop. The focus on evaluation in environmental decision-making processes helped to focus the attention of the field on the continuing challenge of effective evaluation methodologies and generated promising new approaches.

While no other foundation had a specific program on conflict resolution, funder education efforts sought to identify natural areas of interest among other foundations in the work conducted by Hewlett grantees. For instance, the Program funded the development of monographs in the areas of environment, community development, and collaborative problem-solving that demonstrated the application of conflict resolution processes to these other areas of philanthropic interest. The Program used the Philanthropy for Active Civic Engagement (PACE), an affinity group of philanthropies supporting civic engagement, to promote its collaborative governance work. Hewlett staff helped lead efforts to introduce conflict resolution into the Peace and Security Funders Group, an affinity group focused on weapons control and nuclear non-proliferation.

In all of these efforts, the commitment and dedication of Foundation staff was evident, working with great integrity and passion through the last days of the program to use every available resource to leave the field well.

Section 9: Observations on the Field-Building Experience

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1.   A Substantial Accomplishment

With the conclusion of Hewlett Foundation support to the field of conflict resolution, both the Foundation and the field look back on a unique philanthropic program of support. In reflecting on Hewlett's support, one leader of the conflict resolution field observed, "It's amazing what can be achieved with less than $10 million per year over a twenty-year period." For more than two decades, Hewlett played a central role in helping to advance society's understanding of conflict and its resolution, in developing tools and processes to help society prevent and resolve disputes, and in supporting the field that applies those tools across a vast array of conflict settings in societies. Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program was certainly not perfect or without its mistakes and challenges. However, today, conflict resolution is a richer, healthier, more sophisticated, more networked field due to Hewlett's investment over the years.

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2.   The Field-Building Strategy

Hewlett's original field-building strategy guided the great majority of Foundation support to the field of conflict resolution throughout those two decades. That strategy envisioned a 'three-legged stool' of field-building, investing in the theory, practice and infrastructure of the conflict resolution field. These same elements of the field-building strategy informed Hewlett's expansion into new areas of conflict resolution support, such as collaborative policymaking, deliberative democracy and international conflict resolution.

In looking at the field today, that strategy and its execution seem to have been sound and effective approaches to field-building. The ultimate determination of that success, however, will be measured by the field's performance in the next twenty years – whether the field of conflict resolution will continue to develop and advance absent Hewlett support, and whether societies and communities will continue to find value in the application of conflict resolution tools and processes.

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3.   Investing in Theory

One of Hewlett's unique contributions to the field of conflict resolution was its investment in the development of conflict resolution theory. Many action-oriented foundations are unwilling to invest in theory-building, and Hewlett's focus on knowledge-building helped to establish an important learning culture within the field. It is clear that this theoretical foundation has played a substantial role in informing and improving the practice of conflict resolution and in establishing conflict resolution as a new field of academic study. Hewlett's university-based inter-disciplinary theory centers laid an

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essential foundation for all who came along afterward to study or advance conflict resolution theory.

At the same time, the theory-building effort was challenged by the general difficulty of inter-disciplinary initiatives in university settings, the reluctance to evaluate these efforts and the absence of effective evaluation methodologies, the connections between the theory-building effort and the world of practice, and the reliance of the majority of theory centers on continued Hewlett support. These challenges do not detract from the overall contributions made by the theory-building effort to the field. Today, the study of conflict resolution continues at universities across the country, and academic programs are increasingly serving as a gateway to the field of practice for the next generation of conflict resolution practitioners.

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4.   Funding Innovation, Experimentation and Diversity

Hewlett's support to the field of conflict resolution encouraged innovation, experimentation and diversity – in terms of methodological approaches, business models for delivering conflict resolution services, the contexts in which conflict resolution approaches were applied, and the communities served by the field. The Foundation was open to all perspectives, choosing not to over-define orthodoxy within the field or preferred approaches. Rather, Hewlett funded a giant laboratory of experimentation, where new or competing approaches could be tested in the field of practice. While this support helped to generate more reflective practitioners and led to innovations in conflict resolution approaches, it is less clear how effectively these innovations were disseminated for the benefit of the field as a whole. Given the continuing challenge of sustainability for many conflict resolution organizations, Hewlett might have invested more substantially in the development or dissemination of more effective business models.

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5.   Building an Infrastructure for the Field

The Hewlett Foundation's investments in the field's infrastructure were unique to the field-building approach. As Hewlett exits the field, this infrastructure assumes an important stewardship role for the field. Initially, the role of that infrastructure was to promote the field of conflict resolution – helping to create the public and private marketplaces for conflict resolution approaches through policy research, advocacy, education and training. As the field developed, this infrastructure increasingly focused internally on the field itself – connecting practitioners, improving the quality of practice and serving as forums to address challenging issues confronting the field. Program staff observe that as much as 90 percent of this infrastructure support was ultimately focused internally within the field. While this role has no doubt been essential to healthy practice, the challenges confronting the field in terms of sustainability and marketing suggest that greater balance between the 'supply' and 'demand' sides of infrastructure support might have served the field well.

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6. General Operating Support

The Hewlett Foundation's preference for general operating support, versus project-specific grantmaking, was well-suited to the field-building approach. Grantee organizations appreciated the tremendous value of unrestricted funding, which provide greater flexibility to support the broader work of the organization as a whole. At the same time, there are fewer and fewer sources of such unrestricted funding. Many grantees used Hewlett funding to leverage additional project support, build institutional capacity, fund organizational learning, and become healthier, more sustainable organizations. However, many grantees came to rely on Hewlett support to fund core activities, rather than using Hewlett grants dynamically and strategically. Hewlett's Organizational Effectiveness grants in the last two years of the program suggest that sometimes, perhaps, it helps to be a little prescriptive.

7. Long-Term Commitment

An essential element of Hewlett's field-building experience is the long-term commitment of the Foundation to both the field and its grantee organizations. Field-building is a long-term endeavor, and in an age when society's attention is often fleeting, the staying power of Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program and field-building strategy was both remarkable and necessary. Hewlett's commitment to the field of conflict resolution lasted more than twenty years, fundamentally guided by the same field-building strategy throughout. Hewlett grantees often benefited from several cycles of Hewlett support lasting several years each. Rather than making grants to the field, Hewlett was making long-term investments in the field and its leading organizations.

8. Generalist, Committed Program Staff

Hewlett's Conflict Resolution Program was guided by an extremely committed and competent staff – a staff that describes itself as generalists rather than experts in any one area. This generalist quality was well-suited to the cross-disciplinary approach of the field-building strategy. Because program staff did not come from a particular school of thought within the field, they were perhaps more open to all perspectives and were perceived as non-threatening by those within the field. All program staff shared a passion and dedication for the field of conflict resolution, and excellent relationships between program staff and the field as a whole were an important constant throughout the program.

9. Funding the Field

Throughout the Conflict Resolution Program, the Hewlett Foundation collaborated with other foundations on various initiatives, such as NIDR, C2K, and environmental work in the Russian Far East. Other national and community foundations

and various government agencies have also been important sources of funding for many conflict resolution organizations. However, the Hewlett Foundation remained the primary funder of conflict resolution activities and the only funder of the field as a whole. At the same time, robust private or public markets for conflict resolution approaches did not develop to the extent envisioned. Hewlett's exiting of the field thus has significant repercussions for conflict resolution organizations.

Program staff suggest that more effort could have been spent early on to engage other funders in the field-building enterprise. At the same time, greater attention could have been devoted to developing and disseminating effective sustainability models. However, much of this responsibility also falls to the field itself. From its inception, the field as a whole has been reluctant to market itself and has struggled to develop effective strategies to communicate the value of its work. This challenge is in many ways tied to the field's reluctance to engage in outcome-based evaluation of its processes. As the field adapts to a post-Hewlett funding world, it will need to develop more effective techniques for communicating the impact of its work to an external audience.

10. A Central Stewardship Role

Hewlett's field-building role placed the Foundation at the center of the conflict resolution field, playing many important roles in the development of the field. Of course, one of these roles was to be an important source of funding for conflict resolution organizations and activities. However, Hewlett's departure will not be filled by financial resources alone. Hewlett's grantmaking decisions and priorities over the past two decades helped to shape and steer the field. The Foundation's convening power and perspective on the field as a whole helped to focus the field's attention on areas of both promise and deficiency, facilitating cross-fertilizing conversations that might not otherwise have taken place and identifying opportunities for productive collaboration. With the Foundation's exit, the field is losing its steward, and its infrastructure will have to assume these roles if the field is to remain healthy and vibrant.

11. The Central Challenge of Evaluation

Evaluation has posed a constant and central challenge for the field of conflict resolution. With a focus on process and a commitment to its role as neutral, the field has been reluctant to engage in authentic, outcome-based evaluation. At the same time, complex dispute resolution and decision-making processes complicate the process of evaluation. Often, the ultimate impact of these processes is not observable for many years, and the outcomes of these processes are dependent on a host of independent political variables.

Still, these challenges do not excuse the need to develop more effective evaluation methodologies. Recent work in the area of environmental decision-making

and the work of several international conflict resolution organizations suggest that it is possible to develop more effective evaluation techniques and that the field is making progress in this area. The absence of effective evaluation methodologies is in large part connected to the challenges faced by the field in finding sustainable sources or revenue. Although the Foundation has helped to focus the attention of the field on the problem of evaluation and has supported such efforts, it might have accelerated advancement in this area with a stronger commitment to evaluation early on in the field's development.

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12. Exiting the Field

The Conflict Resolution Program designed and executed a thoughtful exit strategy that sought to 'leave the field well'. However, Hewlett's decision to exit the field created substantial anxiety, uncertainty and confusion within the field. Grantee organizations suggest that the Foundation could have spoken with greater clarity and transparency – to both the field of conflict resolution and the larger world of philanthropy – over its decision to exit the field. To the extent that Hewlett was declaring success in the original field-building goal, it could have celebrated that success more clearly. For many in the field, Hewlett's departure created a mixed message for other foundations, compromising the field's ability to find alternative sources of funding.

Indeed, it may be that this mixed message accurately reflects the rationale for Hewlett's departure and the current status of the field of conflict resolution. The field has grown tremendously over the past two decades, making important contributions to society's efforts to understand, prevent and resolve conflict in a wide variety of settings. In many ways, the field of conflict resolution has been built, no longer requiring the stewardship and support of the Hewlett Foundation. At the same time, the field faces significant challenges in the years ahead, and time will tell if the field is able to meet those challenges.