A Feminist Critique of the Militarization of Knowledge Production on Terrorism Studies:
A Scholar-Activist Counter-Narrative Account

Rosalie D. Clarke

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Nottingham Trent University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2019

Abstract

Given the post-2008 'evolution' of the term 'terrorist' to incorporate more domestic threats, such as protesters/activists/dissidents, in the West (particularly with reference to the US and UK respectively), the author seeks to question the utility of this development for the purposes of reducing violent conflict. Consideration is given to the Minerva Initiative and the relationship between the security and scholarly community, towards the aim of the United States to manage future security challenges. It is suggested that the increasing militarization of knowledge production, coupled with the militarization of police and civic spaces, is in fact counter-productive to efforts to reduce such (domestic) violent conflict. Considering the recent context of post-2016, 'post-truth' events and the Trump Presidency, along with the 'black propaganda', 'fake news' and hybrid security threat of Russia; the author highlights significant areas of Cold War-esque concern raised from the analysis. In the ongoing Information War context, scholar-activists are needed more than ever. Furthermore, the author suggests an alternative theoretical and methodological approach, incorporating Critical (Feminist) Security scholarship, a radical approach to Peace Economics, and alternative critical (artistic) methods. This ultimately resulted in the author choosing an 'immersive', 'scrap-booking' style for the format of the thesis. The author suggests that critical (feminist) security scholars are best placed to utilise Peace Economics, engaging empathy via concepts such as Sylvester's (1994) 'empathetic cooperation'; developed further by 'CS' scholars such as Sjoberg (2006, 48), who suggest it can be understood as a 'feminist security ethic'. This approach should improve the prospects for a reduction in political violence (often referred to as 'terrorism'). It is suggested the hermeneutic cycle, reflexivity and autobiographical counter-narrative methodological approach, enables the scholar-activist to negotiate a path through the current political and intellectual landscape in academia, whilst also remaining true to activist ideals and aims. In seeking solutions to the problems of today, the author suggests we look to the past…and the Presidency, for '*A (feminist) 'Strategy of Peace' (Economics)*'.

regarding our most deeply held and felt beliefs. I was lucky to have such an opportunity with this project, and I was encouraged by the work and words of Annick Wibben and Laura Sjoberg in enabling some of the risks I took in creating the theoretical and methodological framework.

In acknowledging the necessity and power of the Hermeneutic approach underpinning the methodological framework of this work, I think it would be appropriate to finish the project with the following from theological scripture: '*When pride comes, then comes shame, but with humility comes wisdom*' (found in Proverbs 11:2). This guidance has meaning for me, in the sense that whilst the feminist approach and cause in IR may have had a 'lowly' position, it also supports a greater humility in the pursuit and sharing of knowledge; our vulnerability is perhaps one of our greatest assets, it should be embraced.

Dedicated to Halimah Ahmed, the NTU student and friend I once knew. November 2017 was the 10th Anniversary of her untimely death; we met in an IR class and shared an idealism and activist interest. Halimah's work is continued by her family with the 'Halimah Trust', 'The Halimah School of Excellence' (for orphan and needy girls), and the soon to open 'Halimah College' in Wazirabad, Pakistan. The work of the Trust also extends to the 'Refugee Crisis' (Syria), 'Emergency Aid' (South Sudan), and supporting women in crisis - more generally - due to war and poverty (also in the UK).

Contents

Ch. 1: Introduction

"What kind of peace do we seek? Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children-not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women, not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."

(From 'Towards a Strategy of Peace', Address by President Kennedy at

The American University, Washington, D.C., June 10, 1963)

The aim of this thesis is to critically evaluate the current relationship between the defence community, through the Minerva Initiative, and knowledge production in the security studies community of scholars (particularly regarding 'terrorism' research). In doing so, the thesis also puts forward an alternative theoretical framework for understanding and improving upon this relationship. This will involve viewing the issue in relation to relevant security projects (i.e. Project Camelot and the Minerva Initiative), which also grounds the research with a timeline, 1964-5 and post-2008 respectively. Ultimately, I will be asserting that this relationship is a somewhat dysfunctional one; but, more importantly it has troubling consequences for the study of political violence (terrorism) and the quest for a more peaceful (less violent) international community.[1] The Minerva Initiative dates from a 2008 inception, according to the Department of Defense website (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008), and this coincides with the global economic downturn post-2008. I will also be looking back at the short-lived Camelot Project – I believe this project may be viewed as a kind of blueprint for the later Minerva Initiative.[2] One could consider the original contribution of this work being in three parts: 1) Theory; 2) the Minerva Initiative; 3) the scholar-activist, counter-narrative approach and style. I initially sought to 'simply' offer a new theoretical framework, one which has often been considered unworkable, by combining feminist security studies work with peace economics work. While doing this, I came across the Minerva Initiative and found a lack of IR engagement on the troubling project, so adapted the thesis to account for this. In trying to

---

[1] For the purposes of this thesis, the terms 'terrorism' and 'political violence' are used interchangeably, unless stated otherwise, for purposes of clarity and to reflect usage in the wider literature consulted. Definition is a highly relevant, if contentious point.

[2] Professor Galtung, a peace research scholar of note has also made some connections between the two projects, via blogs and other media outlets, associated with his Galtung Institute, given his knowledge of both projects.

apply a feminist critique to the Minerva Initiative, and find an 'angle' which would interest and sustain me, I ultimately decided (especially given challenges faced in collecting 'data') that I would have to offer a highly personal, narrative based, and transgressive account. This also coincided with my growing awareness that my initial original contribution (regarding theory) was becoming less original, as others were beginning to publish work which appeared similar (Meger, 2017). Ultimately, I am very happy with the uniqueness of the whole project, in its final form, especially given that it is based in my own particular experience and artistic expression of that experience. This has not, and cannot be replicated.

The experience of my reader became a key concern, in writing up this thesis. As my case-study focus on the Minerva Initiative became increasingly difficult to address, due to redaction efforts by the US Defense department and my increasing interest in the 'hidden' and embedded cultural implications, I ultimately sought to encapsulate the 'experience' and cyclical, fragmentary nature of that experience, in the writing. It also became increasingly important for me to attempt to retain an experiential sense of instability and confusion. Though, at times, this thesis appears to wander into consideration of 'tangential information', I made particular and considered decisions about the 'transgressive' format and style of this thesis as well as those detailed in the theoretical and methodological framework. One could consider this a form of feminist 'scrap-booking', in terms of style and format of the thesis. I believe it is necessary, for the sake of integrity and the embodiment of issues raised, to represent that in the writing up of the thesis. I was seeking to challenge basic assumptions of the reader, not just of the topics covered, but also regarding the very nature and structure of a thesis and knowledge production, which would enable a deeper more beneficial engagement with the ideas and issues addressed here. Therefore, this thesis should not be considered a 'standard example' of a thesis (in this discipline, subject, or topic certainly). In exploring similar artistic and transgressive thesis examples (Latham, 2016; Särmä, 2015; Sousanis, 2015), while working on my own, one could consider this thesis more reminiscent of a non-linear storytelling and 'scrap-booking' style, which weaves together various and varied 'artefacts' in amongst the more orthodox scholarly work. Reminiscent of 'feminist zines' - one could even consider it jazz-like, in the way it rejects convention, to some degree. As with some critical, radical, and collective immersive artistic work outside IR, which I admire and have experienced - appearances can be deceiving – like the '*House of Eternal Return*' in Santa Fe, USA (Meow Wolf, 2019).

When is a house not a house? When it is an art collective's immersive art installation/psychedelic indoor park housed in a disused bowling alley in the desert lands of Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA (AWOL, 2016; Meow Wolf, 2019; Kennedy, n.d.; Meow Wolf, 2018; Russell, 2019; University of New Mexico, n.d.). When is a thesis not a thesis? When it is a feminist scholar-activist, counter-narrative account of the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies! Are you ready to suspend and challenge your assumptions...?

You may enter thinking you are seeking specific answers to certain pre-determined questions, but may find these evolve or dissolve through the process of exploration and analysis – as they did for me. This may lead to other, potentially better questions and answers, or further confusion and complexity. The outcome will also be dependent on what individuals bring to the work. It may be reminiscent of the 'choose your own adventure' style books. As one visitor to the Meow Wolf experience states, "*I realized that there was no linear mystery to be solved, no clear end point. It wasn't until I let go of all those ideas that I really started to appreciate the place. Sometimes there are no simple answers. Sometimes life defies explanation. Sometimes, you just need to experience things for yourself*" (DeRuiter, n.d.). For me, this immersive approach enabled a deeper understanding and a more complex and interesting representation of my PhD work. Though, ideally I would have, in hindsight, liked to have fully embraced the immersive art approach as method – I have attempted to find some middle-ground here. I will unpack all of this in the following relevant chapters. I am sure this approach and style will not be to everyone's liking, and may cause some to question the validity of the work as evidence of PhD standard work (I faced and addressed many challenges about this in the creation of this work); however, I believe I have sufficiently supported my claims about validity in this work, and demonstrated why this is a necessary, and original addition to the scholarly literature. As long as this work exists and is accessible for those students, like myself, who need it – I believe the 'transgression' of standard and

form is warranted, especially in the changing contemporary landscape for scholarship and politics. As I outline below, boundaries are socially constructed and highly gendered, even those in higher education, sometimes…transgression is necessary!

What follows is a consideration of context, and the importance of historical narrative in addressing an issue such as terrorism research and the creation of knowledge (Roberts, 2006). This is developed in the following literature review on terrorism (Waldron, 2004), critical views on terrorism research, critical military studies, state terror and the 'new' terrorism and an analysis of problems arising from such literature (Jackson, 2005). The literature review also includes a section on Global Security Policy scholarship, which will be useful in considering how security is conceived of, for the purposes of developing policy. Such considerations are also of relevance to the work in chapter three regarding critical feminist scholarship on security. First, I outline the research question(s) and aim(s) pursued, keeping in mind the above statement regarding the 'journey' and experiential approach taken in this work and represented in the title of the thesis.

Research question(s) and aim(s):

The aim of this thesis is to critically evaluate the current relationship between the defence community and knowledge production in the security studies community (particularly regarding 'terrorism' research). In pursuing this broad aim, I will do the following:

1)   Critique the expansion of the definition of terrorism

2)   Critically analyse the Minerva Initiative and its impact on the production of terrorism knowledge

3)   Consider the utility of feminist critical security scholarship and critical terrorism studies as an alternative theoretical framework

Research Question

Using a critical (feminist) security studies approach, how is the US Minerva Initiative's terrorism research influencing 'our' understanding of 'protest'?

In pursuing this question, I will be considering whether an 'alternative' (root causes) approach to political violence would be more 'beneficial', than the approach represented by Minerva, for US and Global security concerns and whether the current policy context in the USA is conducive to such an approach.

Sub-questions

1)   How is terrorism knowledge constructed, regarding the Minerva Initiative?

2)   What are the implications for protest movements under contemporary counter-terror policy?

3)   Why is the Minerva Initiative using a term such as 'Social Contagion' to refer to social movements, as a national security concern?

Ultimately, I will be asserting that this relationship is a somewhat dysfunctional one but more importantly it has troubling consequences for the study of political violence (terrorism), and the quest for a more peaceful (less violent) international community. As the Minerva Initiative dates from a 2008 inception, and this coincides with the global economic downturn post-2008; I will be borrowing some insights from Peace Economics, in my attempt to critically analyse, as a critical feminist security scholar, the state of play in academia and the impact on policy of this arrangement. In doing so, I will be looking back at a previous relationship of a similar kind, though short-lived, that of the Camelot Project. By incorporating peace economics into a critical feminist security approach, it is suggested that the result is a 'Feminist Peace Economics' (FPE), which benefits from the qualitative, context-heavy and interdisciplinary (or transdisciplinary) approach whilst also seeking an accurate political economy narrative to comprehend recent events and future (security) strategies – without the traditional burden of economic theory and mathematical modelling which has hindered the development of Peace Economics in its current formation. This would not be the first time such an innovative approach is suggested in relation to the use of economics or economic theory. For example, for a long time, game theory was considered incompatible with psychology-related work on human behaviour and interactions; however, John Nash managed to develop a theoretical connection between the two seemingly disparate disciplines to develop the game theory theorising which abounded during and post-Cold War (Ramani, 2015). Coincidentally, this was possible due to Nash's 'thought experiment' (storytelling) approach, similar to that of Einstein.

Context and the Historical Narrative

I will now consider the Camelot Project briefly and the Minerva Initiative alongside a consideration of the use of historical narrative in IR and the importance of individual scholarly choice regarding chronology and narrative. This provides a foundation for later

considerations which underpin the argument in the thesis (for example, critical feminist security scholarship as discussed in chapter three, terrorism scholarship as discussed in the literature review below, and the methodological framework in chapter four). Therefore, context and historical narrative is considered of vital importance to the study and analysis of terrorism research as well as IR in general. This view aligns me with a certain community of scholars and a body of scholarship in IR, which supports a view of IR as being ultimately interdisciplinary in nature and heavily reliant on subject knowledge found in history and other artistic or humanities subjects – as opposed to the more recent trend of viewing IR as political 'science' (arguably an influence of the US school of scholarship; Smith, 2000). References to such points of view are found in the resulting chapters.

Camelot Project

This was a US military project (specifically, a US Army project) hosted and supported by American University in Washington DC and 'piloted' in Chile. It ran between 1964 – 1965; whilst this may seem a very brief period to gain any 'insights', it would appear (given the very limited evidence made publicly available) that it was intended to run for much longer. The reason for its fleeting period of operation appears to be connected to the 'whistleblowing' activity of Professor Johan Galtung, who was in Washington DC at that time. Galtung was becoming a prolific academic, publishing some ground-breaking material which resulted in the birth of 'Peace Research' as a distinct sub-field within International Relations (Galtung, 1969). By Galtung raising the alarm publicly and in the seat of political power in the USA, the project must have seemed too controversial to continue. Thus, the US military/American University decided to end the project very swiftly and pull out of Chile. Arguably, the controversy in DC would not have been the only or most pressing reason for the termination of this little-known project. This will all be further elaborated on in chapter five, particularly under the first key theme.

It would be remiss of any researcher of IR to ignore the context of this time. The Cold War was at a peak, the communist threat appeared all too imminent in the US and there was mounting concern over the threat posed by movements and governments in Latin America (many deemed sympathetic to or 'sympathisers' of Russian Communism). Following the controversy, the President of Chile, upon finding out about the alleged dubious intentions of the project, apparently expelled many US citizens who happened to be in Chile, fearing espionage activity. This controversy also ushered in a new era of mistrust between Latin

American nations and the US government, particularly as it was viewed as US neoliberalism in action. I would suggest the ramifications of such a project and its very public disgrace is still visible in some of the strained relations which persist even today between these two regions. It was my contention, in this work, that Camelot acted as a 'blueprint' for the later and much more extensive Minerva Initiative. However, I have since come to the more troubling conclusion that Camelot was simply another in an extensive line of militarizing influences, dating back to the ancient period and the Roman Empire, if not before. I explore this in further detail in the following chapters.

Minerva Initiative

This very extensive project, encapsulates many research establishments (universities and centres) in North America as well as at least two 'satellite' research centres in the UK and a few EU centres. It was created post-2008, by the then Secretary of Defense (Robert M. Gates) in the Obama Administration of the US government. Whilst it does have an online presence (i.e. a website), something which its supporters point to as evidence of its transparency and accessibility, the information regarding the very broad and extensive project is limited and often not adequately defined at best (Mahnken, 2008). It is however possible (with some in depth searching) to find a list of collaborating academics and research institutes involved in the Initiative. Though knowledge of its existence is rather limited amongst scholars in the IR field and even the sub-field of security studies, some attempts have been made recently to discover more about the aims, intentions and actions of the Initiative (largely by journalists, with some limited critique by researchers working with Professor Galtung at his German Institute).

The origins of the name 'Minerva' are quite interesting to note, as it is generally believed to be connected to classical Roman and Greek mythology (Cartwright, 2014). Minerva was the name for the Roman Goddess of Wisdom and sponsor of arts, trade, commerce and war (alternatively referred to as strategy in some references). She is often depicted with an owl (a globally recognised symbol of knowledge, wisdom and learning). Given that this Department of Defense Initiative is an arrangement between the military and knowledge production centres (universities - seats of learning) for the purposes of 'improving' intelligence gathering methods and pre-emptively preparing to respond robustly to incidents of mobilisation of 'social contagions' and 'dynamic future security' challenges; this moniker would appear very

fitting (Minerva.dtic.mil. 2008). I explore some of the examples of Minerva Initiative research in more detail in chapter five.

Origins/History

International Relations often seeks to contextualise major global events as part of its analysis. This can become a very complex undertaking as there is so much room for 'bias' and varying interpretations of timelines at issue, particularly given the subjectivity of history, historical critique and analysis. For the purposes of this work, I would suggest that we take note of timeline(s), both regarding the origins of the national security infrastructure in the USA, but also regarding the evolution of terrorism studies and resulting policy.

Regarding the former I would suggest we look to 1947 as a starting point on the current national security environment timeline. This date signifies the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War, in International Relations. It is also of note regarding the National Security Act (NSA) passed by Franklin D Roosevelt's Administration which brought about (among other bureaucratic institutions) the Department of Defense and the CIA. This was a time of great shift; shifts in paradigm, and a shift from a multipolar to a bipolar system (i.e. the system brought about by the Cold War). This was also a time when views on the nature of global security threats began to change quite drastically, particularly threats that were perceived to be threatening to the stability of the global hegemon (the USA) within the international system.

Post-WWII this threat was perceived to be the ideological threat posed by the Soviet communist power. Ramifications of this perceived threat included the distrust of Latin American nations bordering the USA and the potential for sympathisers within 'artistic' ('lefty') communities within the USA (leading to McCarthyism and the political 'witch-hunts' of the 1950s seeking out 'anti-American' sympathy). Following this period, and with the advent of Globalization in the 1970s, this threat became more complex with the gradual increase in 'non-state' threats (i.e. threats from within civic society, paramilitary threats, social movements and political violence/terrorism – though often such movements had state backing i.e. the 'Nicaragua Case'). The Nicaragua Case (Charlesworth, 1984), published in 1984, as it is often referred to, is an interesting example as the ICJ (International Court of Justice) found in favour of Nicaragua in their dispute with the USA. In doing so, the court acknowledged and detailed the role of the USA in supporting (financially and operationally, covertly and overtly) Nicaraguan Paramilitary operations to overthrow the Sandinista

Government; irrefutable evidence of US neoliberalism (in their foreign policy activity) at work in Latin America (Casebook.icrc.org, n.d.). Nicaragua claimed this was an illegal military intervention, by the USA, the US argued the action(s) were simply the state exercising their "*inherent right to self-defense*" (pg. 657, D'Amato, 1985). Relatedly, the US sought to undermine the ICJ by claiming the dispute was of a political nature and thus should be dealt with by the UN Security Council – where the US has 'P5' (permanent five state member) veto power over any dispute or issue brought to the council. I explore neoliberalism further in chapter two, and US interest in manipulating and monitoring social movements in other states is raised again later. This practice has developed into the cyber (online) realm, using tools such as data analytics, as I explore below (chapter five). Project Camelot (1964-65), it is argued, slots between the early perceived communist threat of the 1950s and the changing landscape of perceived security threats from the 1960s/70s onwards. It is at this point that my evolution of terrorism studies timeline comes in to play.

There will, undoubtedly, be challenges to these proposed timelines. The issue of terrorism studies is a particularly contentious issue, as is the issue of national security. Therefore, there is much debate and disagreement on these topics and parameters. This is the nature of the beast, when dealing with International Relations. However, it is necessary as a scholar in this field to decide upon personal and academic allegiances to specific ideologies and bodies of knowledge, as it is with specific timelines and historical narratives.

Why should we be concerned?

The reason for considering this topic is primarily an ethical one. I believe that one of the most important contemporary ethical issues for society is the troubling arrangement(s) between scholarly communities studying peace, conflict and terrorism studies and military bodies funding and engagement with such communities. The apparent lack of awareness or knowledge of such arrangement(s), by academics in my field and policy-makers is quite astonishing and disconcerting. I believe this requires further inquiry not least because a key element of a truly democratic and ethical society is the independence of communities creating knowledge and critiquing culture. This is an issue which connects to concerns regarding mass data-gathering of state bodies, transparency in relation to collection of such data and governance in general. I will be exploring these issues further, for example, regarding the Critical Terrorism Studies literature below. Recent events, as of 2016-17, in the US and UK (i.e. rising populism, isolationism and counter-terror measures) have also further heightened

concern for those of us critiquing terrorism, the military and state actions. With Operation Temperer being deployed in the UK in May 2017, amidst a highly contentious snap election campaign, economic pressures following Brexit, overt political propaganda now mainstream, and the security concerns resulting from the Trump Presidency – now more than ever, we must be concerned for our fragile democracies, in an increasingly militarized society (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Cohn, 2018; Travis and MacAskill, 2017; Martini, 2016).

Chapter Outline

Chapter One

Here I provide some contextual background for the Minerva Initiative (while also considering Project Camelot as a 'blueprint' of sorts), and explore the ramifications of historical analysis in IR. This enables me to elaborate on my own choices and an agenda in alighting upon a certain historical <u>narrative</u> for the thesis. The literature review, below, focuses heavily on terrorism studies research, casting a critical eye over this work and arguments made, because this work is used and cited in developing contemporary counter-terrorism policy. My critique follows established Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) points of contention and themes, such as; the messy issue of definition, cause, and the lack of, or silence of, 'state violence' in more recent scholarship. I also draw out briefly the concept of Neoliberalism and highlight the political economy approach found in CTS work, as this is further elaborated on in chapter three and four, respectively. To develop a theoretical and methodological framework (in chapters three and four), I need to utilise also work at the fringes of critical scholarship. This allows for a more intimate engagement with the subject, elaborates on the issue of militarization and a greater involvement with social justice and activism. I thus sought some engagement with a newer and fast developing body of work, i.e. Critical Military Studies (CMS). In positioning myself in the literature, my feminist approach should be considered as sitting, and in dialogue, with both CTS and CMS and being influenced by both to some degree. However, it is ultimately a critical (feminist) security critique and I am a feminist scholar first and foremost.

Chapter Two

Chapter two considers the impact of Globalization and Neoliberalism on my subject (West, 2018; Reese, 2017). This chapter will consider the politico-economic environment post-2008 regarding the crash and the rise in inequality which has led to increased civil unrest (globally,

though my concern here is strictly domestic, in the West i.e. US and UK). Crucially, I also address the events of 2016-17, which have mobilized so many. I address the issue and concept of Globalization and focus on the three core facets (technological, socio-political and economic), the Neoliberalism of the United States and the West (i.e. the UK), and the issue of scholar activism within this context, considering the 2008 economic crisis. Other topics covered in this chapter include: the global cost of violence (for states); Feminist Peace Economics and my Critical Peace Economics; anti-globalization and social movements (civil resistance)/political violence - response to failure of Neoliberalism; a personal account of my relationship with the university throughout my life; and Post-Brexit & Post-Trump: Scholar-Activism in a Post-Truth World. Ultimately, I felt it was necessary to provide this extra chapter on context as a key part of my hypothesis is that contextual analysis is often lacking in much of the 'policy-relevant' terrorism scholarship. Therefore, throughout the research and writing of this thesis I have very purposefully made choices to 'transgress' the contemporary 'norm' in the scholarly community of wider IR and terrorism research. This was also the case when it came to the theoretical framework I created and, more particularly, the methods used in the analysis. Thus, from the structure of the thesis document, to the substance of the analysis and theoretical underpinnings, this is a transgressive and original contribution to the scholarly literature.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I elaborate on my feminist framework for the project. The approach offered here utilizes concepts such as Shepherd's 'Transdisciplinarity' (or, as I have sometimes referred to it, interdisciplinarity), the 'feminist security ethic' of Sjoberg and True's 'Feminist Peace Economics'. It is rooted in the seminal work of Cynthia Enloe, which seeks to use a unified approach to the critical security critique (i.e. security and political economy) and with a focus on the militarization of the everyday (Enloe, 2000). Others within the political economy community appear to be attempting something similar, referring to it as the feminist 'secureconomy' concept or approach (Meger, 2017). This feminist approach includes insights from Peace Economics (PE), which has traditionally been considered a theoretical approach in opposition to feminist views on political economy and security. I sought to highlight opportunities to adapt and incorporate Peace Economics insights into a feminist critical security approach. My approach may be considered a 'Critical Peace Economics'. I also highlight the problem of binaries and the issue of scholars commonly defining feminist critique only in a subordinate comparison to realist theory. I seek to disrupt this practice with

this thesis, as I feel it serves to sustain the unequal power dynamics of the academy. This in turn impacts the ability of critical feminist scholars to gain acceptance and research impact. The thesis will develop following this introduction, and chapter two, with chapter three encompassing the theoretical framework with a focus on Critical (feminist) Security studies scholarship. This enables me to consider the feminist notion of an ethics of security or 'security ethic' as it is sometimes called; in doing so, I will be suggesting this concept provides the foundation of an alternative approach to security policy on domestic terrorism (political violence).

Chapter Four

Here I deal with the methodological framework used in conjunction with the theoretical framework and to prepare for the analysis of certain examples of the Minerva Initiative output. Given the 'transgressive' nature of the thesis, the 'analysis' is not purely confined to a specific chapter, but is weaved through the whole thesis, as it is predominantly reliant on historical (contextual) as well as experiential and reflexive analysis method. Following a definition of Discourse Analysis, as it is more commonly known and used, in relation to feminist methodology and theory particularly, I give a definition of my favoured approach – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I provide a rationale for using CDA and elaborate on the process followed in analysing the discourse of Minerva. I also address challenges faced in doing such work. However, I found that CDA ultimately was not sufficient or wieldy enough for the aims and purpose of this project, therefore I ended up utilizing the more reflexive, and experiential method - the Hermeneutic Cycle approach. This development is also indicative of the development in my views as outlined in the theoretical framework, away from the poststructuralist conception of feminist IR, which I found to be problematic and not conducive to my favoured approach. So, as well as CDA, my methodological framework relies heavily on Reflexivity and the Hermeneutic Cycle method as favoured by Annick Wibben in her <u>narrative</u> approach. Autobiography as a writing style in IR, in connection to the reflexive method, is also discussed. Therefore, I elaborate further on these aspects of the research work; in doing so, I also acknowledge the multiplicity of identities I inhabit as a political subject implicated in the problematic arrangement between the neo-liberal higher education institution and the defence community as represented through the Minerva Initiative. I outline the reasons for using this very subjective, 'Meta' and complex methodological approach in this thesis and the benefits of such an approach (Jones, 2017). This allows me to elaborate on a very important issue at the heart of this project, that being

the difficulty of separating oneself from the subject of research when the subject impacts on, and is impacted by, the researcher as political subject (Chisholm, 2017). It also highlights the wider implications explored in chapter five regarding the symbolic violence perpetrated by an institution such as the neo-liberal institution. Thus, one requires a complex methodological framework to address a complex, contemporary and intertwined issue. The transgressive, disruptive and controversial approach favoured in this thesis is not necessarily a purely feminist endeavour, though feminist work lends itself more readily to this approach (Eschle and Maiguashca, 2007; Sjoberg, 2007). Another recent example is Latham's '*The Politics of Evasion*' (2016), like Dauphinee's attempt, described briefly in chapters three and six, which is a narrative construction in the form of a dialogue between the author and a fictional character to unpack issues regarding security, the State and activism. Such high profile and controversial publications, published by well-known academic publishing houses, only serves to open spaces for debate in IR scholarly circles – forcing debates forward, creating a greater awareness of what is possible for those seeking an activist, ethical scholarship. Sources used in the Minerva analysis are also listed in this chapter.

Chapter Five

Here I provide an example of an analysis one could draw, given the framework provided in the thesis, though by no means exhaustive or definitive. This 'limited' and initial analysis is necessary, particularly as the methodology (and my knowledge and practice of it) is fairly new (to me) and very experimental. It is expected that I will continue to explore its application, post-PhD, and support others in using such a practice in their own work. Chapter five looks at the Minerva Initiative and to some extent, the Camelot Project, and considers how it has been constructed and understood. I will examine and question what is known about the Department of Defense Initiative and consider European/UK involvement in the project. In doing so, I will select and highlight certain projects funded and supported within the Minerva framework - a more comprehensive analysis of Minerva's wide-ranging activities is not possible given time constraints, and would require at least a whole team working on analysing its activities. It is also important to note here that, the aim of this study of Minerva, and the wider issue of militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies, is to question the nature of knowledge claims and to attempt to find some meaning in the events and context. This results from the theoretical framework and methodological choices. So, it should be no surprise that the analysis does not culminate in a collection of unmoored 'data' or in establishing 'facts' as such, but rather provides a grounded and original

(counter-)narrative, based in a detailed reflexive review of various artefacts, which results in a rationale for future and varied critique of the Minerva Initiative. I will consider the implications of this arrangement on knowledge production (in security studies on terrorism research) and practice (i.e. Security Policy).

As well as the analysis of certain publicly available examples of discourse from the Minerva Initiative in this chapter, I have sought to shed light on the historical context surrounding this social science research framework and to find some meaning in the motivation for its creation. I suggest, and further elaborate on, a link between Minerva and Project Camelot (a President Lyndon Johnson and Robert McNamara brainchild of the 1960s). Whilst my inclination as a critical scholar is to uncover truths from rhetoric and 'propaganda', to discover real motivations of a masculine state and hegemon, through the process of this thesis, I have had to challenge pre-conceived notions I had held – to consider instead that perhaps major security decisions are more indicative of individual power plays and personalities, rather than symptomatic of universal and apparently entrenched views on power in the international community. Though, ultimately, I found that it is best to trust one's instincts and inclinations, in this case. Hence, I have uncovered further complexity rather than a simple solution or result. At least this indicates to me that the feminist analysis and approach I sought to use has been successful, if we accept Cynthia Enloe's views on quality feminist work (YouTube, 2016).[3]

Further to this and perhaps more worrying still, the historical (narrative) analysis used has highlighted a more troubling issue regarding the militarization of knowledge production. I managed to trace back the origins of militarization to Ancient Roman Imperialism, regarding Ancient Greece specifically, with a consideration of the emblem and symbolism of the Minerva Initiative – while also tracing the 'Watchmen' reference back to a 1st Century poet and satirist, Juvenal. Also, another more troubling question was uncovered. If, as I now suspect, militarization of knowledge production (culture) regarding security concerns does originate there, rather than my own initial view of Project Camelot being a key historical point, or other feminist views on its origins – then does this indicate that it is far more entrenched in civilisation than I had initially suggested? If so, is 'disruption' of the phenomenon or concept ever going to be successful, given that disruption has happened throughout history regarding various events and manifestations of the phenomenon? Given

---

[3] As I have understood from attendance at her various public lectures in the UK and in other public lectures available via YouTube.

the work in this thesis and the analysis used, I am now becoming rather sceptical as to whether successful or useful (transformative) disruption or activism is possible. One may have to accept that the only transformation or change to be found in activism, of this kind, is to be found in oneself.

Regarding the use of pop-culture, references to satire and dystopian narratives in this chapter, I strongly believe such references and pedagogical tools are too often overlooked by IR scholars in favour of more traditional methods and more 'objective' mathematical modelling (something elaborated on here in the literature review). Such sources are a rich resource for the contemporary IR scholar, particularly given the interdisciplinary roots of IR (Daniel and Musgrave, 2017; Saunders, 2017). Pop-culture and humour (satire) has been used to significant effect by other (social science and humanities) disciplines to analyse similar issues (see Watson, 2014; Evans, 2016; Åhäll, 2016). It is used in the thesis for elaboration, unpacking IR themes and as a way of framing ideas, concepts or wider arguments in the thesis (i.e. in a narrative context). Analysis of the pop-cultural connections also enabled me to gain a greater insight into the complex relationships between propaganda, conspiracy theory, Minerva and the Illuminati, which ultimately enabled me to uncover greater concerns for my generation in a Post-Trump world (Ames, 2015). I uncovered a key connection between the conspiracy theories and the 'facts' of the Minerva Initiative; the oppressive patriarchy and the fight for control of the social, economic and political arena by two alternative patriarchal influences, both of which largely ignore or marginalise feminist issues. I elaborate on the irony of the origins of the conspiracy theories as being based in catholic and monarchist propaganda; theories which, through distortion now purport to be protecting 'us' from the propaganda of the 'state' (a hegemonic and imperialist state). Such conspiracy propaganda is now being presented by the White House due to the Trump Administration's connections to related conservative groups. The attacks on knowledge and the intelligentsia, led by the Trump movement and wider populist sentiment, appear to be connected to the conspiracy theories discussed and are now entrenched in our popular culture and wider society. This requires a complex feminist analysis and critique which is currently lacking and something I attempt to provide in this thesis.

A preliminary analysis (chronological, by award period) is given. This is followed by drawing out the three key themes and a selective deeper analysis. These themes are connected to wider themes in the thesis and to the research questions and aim(s). The key themes are:

1) Anthropological research and HUMINT – weaponizing the social sciences? (including Galtung and Project Camelot)

2) 'Social Contagion' – broadening the definition of terrorism?

3) Political movements and change in political economics – preventing and assessing 'recession' and economic instability?

Given contemporary events regarding Cambridge Analytica and implications for social media users, I returned to my analysis (post-viva) to highlight the links between the unfolding Cambridge Analytica story and the work of the Minerva Initiative. This also, ultimately shifted my analysis slightly in that again Cold War era traditional power politics still seems to be central to the motivation behind the work of the Initiative. I find that we are all implicated (militarized) as social media users in the 'New Cold War'…the 'Information War'. Though the question of the relative futility of resistance, mentioned above, still stands. I am led to question whether true scholar-activism is possible, if one is already an inadvertent combatant in the Information War between the US and Russia, predominantly. I have further explored some of the issues raised, regarding data analytics, democracy, propaganda, and Russian interference in the West, in my scholar-activist blog using the 'scrap-booking' artistic methodology explored here to some extent (Clarke, 2018a; 2019).

Chapter Six

Finally, this work results in the conclusion to the thesis in chapter six, where I will be summarising the insights, engaging in further critical evaluation and highlighting key implications. This will also enable me to provide suggestions for future research needed to develop the field of Critical Security studies further, regarding the issues raised. The thesis is essentially a '**counter-narrative**', from a scholar-activist perspective, of someone operating within the system which I am studying and critiquing in the thesis (Giroux, 1996). This, coupled with an output represented by a developing syllabus and 'how-to' guide for scholar-activism using the methods deployed in the thesis – represents the practical application of my original contribution to knowledge and the foundation for future publications.

The previous five chapters are summarised briefly. I then consider 'future prospects' for research on issues raised in the thesis:

1) Primary research on protesters regarding the impact of Minerva

2) Further development of the theoretical contribution

3) Exploring further the 'scholar-activist' identity issue regarding militarization of Higher Education (HE)

I believe the third prospect would be beneficial to the scholarly community (within IR at least) and to society's benefit, to explore further the ethical ramifications of defence funding of terrorism studies knowledge – which then impacts on policy and law created to counter terrorist activity. The analysis in chapter five highlights the great need for scholar-activist training, free of military influence, for society as a whole. I am aware of others currently engaging, at the fringes of critical scholarship communities, with this issue. I hope to go on to also explore this issue further as a 'scholar-activist' myself.

I have attempted to further my understanding of this community and the issues at stake through attendance and engagement with a critical methods summer school training in international security scholarship while completing my PhD and through online and in-person engagement with scholars currently working in that specialist community. As mentioned in one of the chapters, I also attended an academic protest at the DSEI arms fair in London during my PhD, an experience which has helped to give a greater depth of understanding of the issues. I look forward to building on these experiences in my future academic career, particularly as I am now seeking a greater intimacy with and understanding of my subject of research, as opposed to the distance and alleged objectivity which more mainstream, traditional and orthodox IR communities of scholarship seem to favour.

Finally, as evidenced by the occasional pop-cultural references, images and quotes scattered throughout the thesis, and in support of my interdisciplinary interest, I am very interested in pursuing further the prospects for the use of pop-culture in teaching and learning in IR, as well as a focus on the use of allegory (Daniel and Musgrave, 2017). I believe films, comics, art, music and other alternative media forms and cultural artefacts are a rich and all too often overlooked source of knowledge and understanding for the contemporary IR academic and student in a post-globalization world, in the cyber age. I have found that my interest also lies in the subject of propaganda and the use of simulations increasingly – therefore I am seeking to explore this further in future teaching (via the output from this thesis, the scholar-activist toolkit syllabus), if not in future research. Again, this is something that other scholars are increasingly exploring, for example Saara Särmä's 'Junk Feminism', a recently published book on World Politics and Popular Culture, and the various references to sci-fi/fantasy and

simulation exercises in teaching as published in the many international conferences (such as ISA, BISA, APSA, among others). Clearly, my interests are quite varied and broad, but also, I think they are very complementary of each other. There is certainly plenty of scope for further research and development of issues found in this thesis project, whether by me or other scholars and teams. Indeed, for a more comprehensive critical review of the breadth and scope of Minerva in its entirety – one would need greater funding, more scholars working perhaps as part of a team dedicated to such focused research on the Minerva Initiative. I hope this thesis goes some way to facilitating such a comprehensive review in the IR community, at some point.

In the conclusion, I have also reviewed other themes which are covered, which impact on, and are impacted by, the issues in the thesis. These themes or threads are the result of drawing together issues covered across chapters. The first two are predominantly addressed in chapter one and the globalization chapter (two). The third and fourth refer to the issue of 'state terror' raised in the literature review of this chapter, and in chapter three – it also speaks to the question of legality of state actions alleged to be responding to 'terrorism' for the benefit of citizens. The final one obviously refers to issues around the global context, IR concepts and the fast-paced interconnectedness of the world, discussed in chapter two. The recurring theme of propaganda is also covered again here, as it was covered in chapter two and chapter five. The analysis in chapter five showed the pivotal role it has played historically, and will play in our future.

The themes are:

- Academic Protest – Pragmatism vs. Idealism?

- Academic Protest and National Security Discourse

- International Law – help or hindrance?

- Somalia, Statehood, and the right to violence – an International Legal Rebuttal?

- Globalization, Propaganda, and Virtual Realities

I have included visuals (photos, imagery, art, etc.) in the thesis, as a way of seeking to include the reader in my intertextual, counter-narrative and auto/biographical method. This is an attempt to enable the reader to 'see through my eyes', fragments of what I've seen and some of the pop-cultural examples I am drawing on. Some of the photographic material is my own.

Whilst this may not be as engaging as, for example, the use of Virtual Reality (VR) – something which I intend to explore further post-PhD – I believe it is still a useful and engaging narrative and artistic device (especially in a thesis which is predominantly reliant on nothing more than the written word).

Terrorism

This section marks the beginning of the 'literature review' portion of this chapter, having first considered the context and historical narrative around the Minerva Initiative and the production of knowledge on terrorism ('militarization' and the sociology of knowledge is further explored in chapters two, three and four). The review begins with a consideration of traditional (or orthodox) terrorism research along with some analysis of this work i.e. concerns raised. This is then followed by a consideration of critical scholarship which seeks to challenge orthodox views and improve on our understanding of terrorism related issues. The critical scholarship used here is that of Critical Terrorism Studies and Critical Military Studies respectively, I assert ultimately that the work in this thesis situates me somewhere between these two developing fields of scholarship – given issues raised for me in considering the orthodox scholarship and the focus of this research on the Minerva Initiative (a 'military-industrial' research framework within the US Department of Defense). Here I argue that the literature on terrorism suffers from definitional confusion in the mainstream work and a lack of reflexivity in the critical (oppositional) literature. The approach in this thesis, it is suggested, should go some way to improving on these issues and gaps, and hopefully encourage further development utilising alternative feminist methods.

Terrorism Research

Terrorism studies as a sub-field of security studies, and indeed as a populist field of study (as developed independently of IR), really took off post-9/11 (Stepanova, 2014; Jackson, 2005). At least, that is the story one would get from only a cursory and contemporary view of the literature. However, one could trace it back, as an identifiable field of study, to 1972, following the events in Munich (the Olympic Games and the Palestinian Liberation Movement (PLO) attack/hostage-taking). Prior to 1972 there does not seem to have been much, if any, interest in the research; that is not to say that research did not exist necessarily, but that certainly funding, and policy interest was not there (Miller and Mills, 2009). Indeed, if there was research it would most likely have been conducted without the labelling of 'terrorism research'. Instead it would have fallen under the banner of 'political violence' or

within broader areas of interest such as conflict, security or even within the purview of anthropological or sociological studies.

This is an important and somewhat messy point as language, labelling and 'definition' are vitally relevant within academic circles of any description, but particularly vital in international relations circles. Indeed, wherever one sees a hierarchy or boundaries, one may also find masculine claims of territoriality or power, the arena of knowledge production (research, development, and academia) is no different. This point echoes the well trammelled lines in Post-structuralism (critical French philosophy in IR), regarding power structures and reality as inherently socially constructed. This is equally vital within 'critical' scholar communities, which the thesis seeks to 'tap into'.

We must also remember to ground this context of terrorism study and definitions within the wider context of IR research and the chronology of theoretical understandings of the international system. The IR community underwent a major shift in theoretical views in the period between 1940-1960/70s, including the development of the concept of 'Globalization' (an economic, political and technological phenomenon) which seemed to emerge post-1960. However, some scholars would claim this was simply the 'third wave' of globalism (Robertson, 2002). This theoretical shift saw the development of social science (empirical) theories such as Behaviourism (Monteiro and Ruby, 2009; Rosenberg, 1994) and resulted in post-positivist/anti-behaviourist critiques (focusing on the idea of revolutionary society). Globalization and Neo-liberalism is explored further in chapter two.

IR scholarship also had to contend with new and emerging alternative forms of conflict (Kaldor, 1999). Conflict and the related violence was moving from clearly defined battlefields, because of state to state disagreements (with clear laws of war governing the conduct of the parties), to urban environs and rural communities (Roberts and Guelff, 2000; Berkowitz, 2005). The form of conflict and violence often encompassed irregular (guerrilla) warfare and/or paramilitary conflict(s). Instead of state to state disagreements, the conflict was between regional factions or between a political/cultural entity and the State (resistance or liberation movements).

Casualties resulting from such conflicts were not so much 'combatants' (a legal entity often associated with a state party engaged in battle or conflict) as 'civilian' casualties (often women and children are disproportionately targeted). These civilians who, in previous conflicts, would have been considered 'hors de combat' in legal terms, outside the theatre of

war and thus often 'protected' under international law, have become considered (in political terms) known as 'collateral damage' (a rather de-humanising phrase, no doubt originating from the military-industrial complex influence). At that time, the conflict(s) tended to be conducted in 'developing' regions, such as Latin America or the MENA region; however, there were exceptions, Northern Ireland for example (George, 1991). As will be explored in the chapter five analysis, this line between civilian and combatant has become blurred further (in the West). Civilians (social media users) are now seen as frontline civilian defence against a state opponent in the 'New Cold War', the 'Information War'. I will consider the international legal ramifications of this in chapter six.

The Munich event of 1972 involving the PLO (a Palestinian Liberation movement embroiled in a conflict with the 'state' of Israel) happened within this context and thus was one of the first truly 'global' attacks of a terrorist nature, as it raised fear and security concerns in Europe, outside of the regional context of its own conflict. With technological advancements in media and the increasing interconnectedness of regional politics and concerns, this event signified a 'turning point'. This was echoed in the 9/11 attacks on the USA and subsequent related attacks (7/7 in the UK for example), by which I mean an attack which gained global notoriety and sought to engage the global community in a regional dispute. However, clearly the 9/11 attack was part of a much grander and ambitious strategy, the genus of which can be traced back to Munich, as that event led the way and indicated what was possible, whether this was an intended consequence or not.

What is interesting though is that, as an IR student in the UK post-9/11, this historical context was absent. The historical narrative encouraged, was that of key defining 'turning points' such as pre- and post-Cold War and then (pre- and post-) 9/11. Munich was largely absent. It took a recent (2014) summer school in Greece on terrorism, counter-terrorism and history and philosophy of IR, following three years' study of IR and a year of International Law (including teaching in counter-terror law), for this 'narrative' to become apparent (to me). This serves to further strengthen the argument raised here that there has been a lack of historical awareness in contemporary research and study of IR and Terrorism Studies particularly. It should also indicate how vital such historical knowledge and analysis is in preventing and responding to 'terrorism' or political violence. This is because of non-IR/Security Studies scholars submitting research due to the populist nature of the material and for the personal and academic gain resulting from such publications.

Following the Munich event many different acts were aligned with the term 'terrorism' in the resulting media and public discourse. It was arguably an early example (pre-internet) of a 'terrorist' incident causing widespread public concern and fear. It was particularly worrying given the location of the attack, in the heart of Europe at a major global sporting event, an event which historically has been a platform for global cooperation and a platform for (or supporter of) peace. It is also crucial to note that this happened at a time when Germany particularly (but also some other European nations) were dealing with 'domestic' 'home-grown' 'terrorists', namely the Baader-Meinhoff group (Silke, 2003; Sprinzak, 1998; Pruitt, 2006). However, at that time, pre-Munich, this domestic group was considered a largely 'criminal' enterprise, with many of their methods including forms of civil disobedience. Many scholars (Arboleda-Flórez, 2007; Delaney, 1979) would now consider such a group to be an early example of political violence and terrorism, especially given the broader and somewhat uncertain definition(s) of terrorism and the recent (legal) restrictions in the US and UK on civil liberties. With such hindsight, it is not difficult to imagine a plethora of 'liberation' movements, protest supporters and activists of various denominations, from the past, being tarred with the terrorist brush by the newly securitised Western States.[4]

The study of terrorism before the end of the Cold War was largely connected to the perceived and somewhat occasional real Soviet threat. Therefore, post-1994, in the USA, interest and funding declined quite considerably. This led to some scholars moving to Scotland (St Andrews University) particularly, to continue their work. Bruce Hoffman has been cited by current St Andrews scholars as a key US academic who made this move. He was crucial in setting up and running the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV) at St Andrews, which still operates, until recently with Prof. Richard English at its head (CSTPV, 2017). It is one of only two UK based Project Minerva research centres (chapter five will explore both Project Minerva and Project Camelot further). This is believed to be relevant as this may have been a key contributing factor in this shift (within Europe) to a US school/positivist approach within IR and this sub-field particularly (Miller and Mills, 2009).

The Definitional Debate

Now we come to a fundamental issue for critical terrorism scholars. The debate around the issue of definition, in IR and terrorism studies particularly, is a very contentious one still and is not readily found in other fields. As noted above, this is due in no small part to the

---

[4] Securitism, as an alternative concept to militarization, is discussed in chapter three.

politicised nature of the work, the political and policy influence exerted over the study of the phenomenon and current fragmentary nature of the study of the broader field of political violence. Some (CTS) scholars suggest contemporary terrorism studies should reacquaint itself with political violence studies, not least for the benefit of historical insight.

Indeed, political violence as a field of study has made skilful use of qualitative methods in analysing, explaining and historically understanding issues connected to terrorist acts. Silke claims contemporary (terrorism) research which has been conducted is far removed from the terrorists themselves (their motivations) and their acts, citing the need for more qualitative work (Silke, 2004). This no doubt correlates with Silke's previous challenge of methodological choices in much of terrorism research as being largely making use of empirical data/stats and some discourse analysis (Silke, 2001). This piece was published in 2001 (note the chronology, as this would have been either just before or just after 9/11). A cursory review of Young and Findley indicates they are a good example of this over reliance on empirical statistical data and heavily focused on the Middle Eastern threat(s) (Young and Findley, 2011). Having said that, Jackson (2012; 2005) has been more positive in his outlook than Silke was previously, regarding the state of terrorism research and study; noting the impact of various 'Islamic' terrorist actions and threats on the development of the 'discipline' as separate from other similar fields of inquiry (i.e. Security studies, Conflict and Peace studies).[5]

These sentiments have also been echoed recently by Cynthia Enloe, who blazed a trail for Critical Security studies, at the International Feminist Journal of Political Science's annual conference which I attended in Los Angeles, USA in 2014. At the event, on one of the many panels considering the broad theme of gender, security and global economic crises, Enloe urged the feminist scholars in attendance to strive to create inclusive academic discourse spaces, particularly for minority voices (see also Hancock, 2007). This concern for inclusion acts as a counter to the dominant narrative in terrorism studies, which focuses predominantly on the 'Islamic' threat, with limited representation or inclusion of this 'other'.[6] Crucially, she indicated it should be the goal of scholars to reach a point in their research and writing whereby the scholar's voice is not the dominant discourse, but rather the scholar is 'facilitating' a space for the voices of others (particularly voices not often heard in other

---

[5] Jackson, R. (2012). The Study of Terrorism 10 years after 9/11: Successes, Issues and Challenges. *Uluslararasi Iliskiler/International Relations*, 8(32), pp.1-16.

[6] This 'othering' is explored further in the following sub-heading *Identity and the 'Other',* below.

'dominant', 'male', academic literatures). Though, I would add that in some cases this is not always possible – particularly when one's research project is one's environment and the relationship between that and yourself as 'political subject'. As in my case, the researcher is also, to some extent, an 'other' or a 'minority'. Whilst this can complicate the research, it is still a feminist approach. Such feminist critique is further explored in chapter three and four.

There is, so far, no discernible canonical definition of terrorism; some scholars have suggested there could be as many as one hundred definitions currently being used in the literature (Schmid et al., 1988). There also seems to be the view from the US approach, referencing the US pornography related legislative meetings of the 1950s, that 'you know it when you see it' (Miller and Mills, 2009). An interesting connection given that these legislative meetings were underpinned by a kind of moral outrage about a social taboo, and the question of appropriate social mores. These are clearly subjective concerns and very much of their own time. Obviously, this has worrying repercussions regarding the subjective nature of the perception of threat, which I mention above (Baele et al., 2017; Spiller, Awan and Whiting, 2017; Neumann, 2013; Heath-Kelly, 2012). Aristotelian philosophical insight tells us, our definitional powers stem from our concept of right and wrong. Again, this raises issues as Western (i.e. Christian or secular) morality and individual views on morality are not necessarily applicable in other regions of the world (Ayala, 2010).

Chenoweth (2013), an increasingly respected scholar of terrorism studies, has made a recent attempt at her own definition. She suggests that post-9/11 terrorism persists and may be increasingly prevalent in non-democratic countries. She posits that one can define terrorism as the deliberate use or threat of force against 'non-combatants' by a 'non-state' actor in pursuit of a political goal. Note her use of international legal terminology (i.e. combatant, seeking to connect terrorism to classical laws of war and combat) and the assumption that terrorism here is only committed by 'non-state' actors, thus a threat to the state/international system. This is reminiscent of the current Israeli (and US) legal argument for the policy of 'targeted killings'. For example, in a 2005 Israel Supreme Court decision on Targeted Killing (in this instance regarding the killing of Palestinian 'terrorists'), members of Israeli defined 'terrorist organisations' are treated as 'criminals', though the concept of 'unlawful' combatant is clearly a contentious one for the court.[7] The Court does however uphold the primacy of the State (survival and security) - perhaps an example of 'defensive democracy'? Or perhaps, alternatively, we could consider this 'militant democracy'?

---

[7] *Decision on Targeted Killing* [2005] HCJ 769/02 (Israel Supreme Court).

Chenoweth cites President G. W. Bush as the fiercest advocate for democracy promotion (abroad) as a tool against 'global terrorism'. She claims that the Obama administration has perpetuated this policy (via the National Strategy for Counter-Terrorism 2011).[8] Yet she claims that domestic terrorism is in fact far more common than international or transnational terrorism. She focuses particularly on the period 1968-1997. She comes up with a few different theoretical approaches to explain why people may be mobilizing (i.e. structural, political, and organisational). Chenoweth considers the likelihood of domestic terrorism in democracies (she sees it as very likely), while citing the Engene (2004) TWEED Dataset.[9]

Perhaps most interestingly, but certainly most relevant for my thesis, she claims that before 9/11 the field (of terrorism/political violence studies) was dominated by qualitative approaches, whereas post-9/11 quantitative approaches have abounded; such approaches are often very contradictory and do not consider the breadth of understanding on definitions. Finally, Chenoweth concludes with her belief that the field would benefit from a return to 'in-depth' historical and ethnographic work. She suggests that relying on quantitative data which is too distant from the 'politics of terrorism' results in no new or meaningful insights. She also suggests that there is not enough focus on state behaviour or decisions which serve to provoke contentious actions (by non-state parties). In other words, state-terror, coercion and propaganda are ultimately overlooked in contemporary research on terrorism.

Identity and the 'Other'?

Another fundamental element of critical terrorism scholarship is that of 'identity'. Definition has often also been tied to concepts of the 'other' and plays on fears of 'otherness' (Carver, 2003; Prozorov, 2010). When dealing with definition regarding terrorism study, there is also immense importance placed on the idea of 'justness of cause' (a concept from the Christian legal tradition) - but who decides this? Often, it is the winning side which has the monopoly over history and memory. Following 9/11 and the resulting 'restrictive' (from a civil liberty point of view at least) legislation created in the US and UK, international law has attempted

---

[8] National Strategy for Counter-Terrorism. (2011). 1st ed. [PDF] Washington D.C.: The White House. Available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].
[9] Drakos, K. (2009). *Security Economics: A Guide for Data Availability and Needs*. 1st ed. [ebook] Berlin: Economics of Security. Available at:
https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/94892/diw_econsec0006.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015]; Engene, J. (2007). Five Decades of Terrorism in Europe: The TWEED Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(1), pp.109-121; Folk.uib.no, (2004). *The data set Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data, or TWEED for short, was constructed and collected for the purpose of analysing patterns of terrorism in Western Europe as related to historical and structural preconditions (see Jan Oskar Engene: Eur*. [online] Available at: http://folk.uib.no/sspje/tweed.htm [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].

(and I would argue, somewhat failed) to address terrorism and the issue of definition. Fletcher (2006) made a very valiant and readable attempt at a legal definition. He raises valid points on the politicisation of the term ('terrorism') and acknowledges that recent definitions have been tailored to the Middle Eastern Islamic threat (post-9/11).

As mentioned briefly above, there is a blatant lack of geographic or localised knowledge of terrorism research, i.e. the research output is predominantly created by Western centres of knowledge (academia). Whereas countries with a high frequency of terrorist activity are almost silent in the literatures, compared to the US and UK literature which dominates the academic discourse. It has been suggested that this is perhaps due to a lack of suitable academic infrastructure in these other countries, often coupled with a general lack of other basic infrastructure and generalised instability (which often breeds such attacks). For example, Krueger and Maleckova (2003), regarding the possible causal link(s) between education, poverty and terrorism, have argued that there isn't a link (based on their singular 'Islamic' focus). They refer to a terrorist identity of the middle class, well off and well educated 'agents', perhaps influenced by the phenomenon of the 'home-grown', disillusioned terrorist who is motivated by radicalisation at home, and is sent to join the holy 'Islamic' war for the Caliphate. I would call this analysis very narrow, as they seek to claim that any attempts to improve income inequality, state GDP or education efforts are totally futile in practically all instances. I believe this ignores the recent phenomenon of educated dissenters, activists, or 'terrorists' who are 'radicalised' due to recession and its effects on their job prospects, income or future prosperity and quality of life (post-2008). Therefore, the authors overlook the potential for 'Western' radicalisation (Bartlett, 2017), something I explore further with this thesis. The notion of radicalisation seems to have been totally hijacked by those scholars who focus on the modern 'Islamic' threat. Mainstreaming of the sub-field of terrorism study (post-9/11) has 'helped', depending on your point of view, to 'standardise' the work conducted, and the methodology used.

Rapoport (2002), in an early attempt at definition, suggested four waves of terrorism (taking a historical approach). This began with 'Anarchist' terrorism (1870s-1910s), 'Nationalist' terrorism (1920s-60s), 'New Left' terrorism (1960s-80s) and finally, 'Religious' terrorism (1970s-2020s). One might wonder, as we are approaching the 2020s, what comes next? Are we to assume this wave concept results in a cyclical return to previous waves? I would suggest many recent Western terrorist incidents are more appropriately characterised as 'Nationalist' (more recently termed 'Populist') terrorism (Bartlett, 2017). Prior to this,

Crenshaw (1981) had looked at a few historical examples (focusing on the nineteenth century and the nineteen sixties/seventies), Crenshaw makes some reference to economic factors, in enabling 'terrorism', but was largely concerned with psychological and psycho-social causes (pg. 379). There has been some debate amongst scholars regarding 'new' vs 'old' in definitional terms; the old in this case signifying domestic forms of terrorism and the new signifying the international forms of terrorism which we have become more accustomed to in recent times, with the influence of globalization.

Summary

I am not wholly convinced that 'methods' or indeed motivations of the perpetrators of such violence are entirely different to previous methods and intentions – but technological advancements and the globalization of the impact of events has certainly led to a perception change. Ask any terrorism scholar, or indeed, any 'armchair scholar' with an interest in terrorism, and they will be very familiar with the phrase: 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'. This statement remains continually relevant, if a little clichéd with over-use, due to the definitional problem plaguing terrorism study. However, undoubtedly, one of the most crucial elements of the various definitions, of late (post-Munich), has been the assumption that terrorism is solely aligned with the actions of 'non-state' actors. How you define terrorism relates to and impacts on what you believe causes it, and thus how you seek to remedy it.
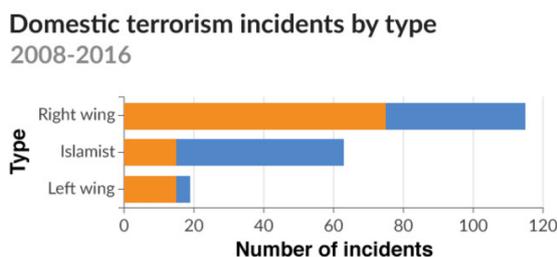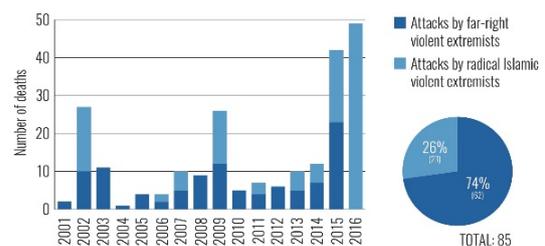
The image on the left (Pham, 2017) provides useful context regarding domestic US terrorism incidents by type, showing the comparable magnitude. The image on the right (Bracken, 2017) provides further detail by comparing the violent extremism of the far-right and radical Islamic violent extremism. It is worth noting, however, that gun violence and domestic violence numbers are not reflected in this data. Feminist scholarship and insights (found in chapter three) indicate that this is an oversight, as the numbers of far-right/right wing incidents would better reflect the magnitude of the problem for wider society. There is much overlap between right-wing terrorism and incidents of domestic and gun violence. However, the

National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States, signed by President Trump in 2018, does not even reflect acknowledgement of data such as the above, focusing instead on the radical Islamic threat and alleged Iranian support for terrorist incidences directed at the US (Office of the President of the United States, 2018).

In terms of chronology, I think it is worth reminding ourselves that pre-9/11 research was ideologically focused on left-wing 'terrorist' groups (related to the Cold War and perceived Communist threat). Post-9/11 research had shifted somewhat to right-wing/religious radicals or fanatics, but with a very narrow focus on 'Islamic' groups (with little consideration for 'domestic' terrorist groups of the right, as traditionally this threat was seen via the prism of ultra-nationalism). This is a tricky issue for the state to deal with, as we are becoming more cognizant of in recent times with, the British MP, Jo Cox' murder and the 'Breivik effect' (Reimann, 2012). Such events pose the somewhat hypothetical question, 'how does a state deal with such a security threat, which purports to be acting upon and on behalf of national sovereign ideals and principles?' Many would argue, with the impact of globalization and multiculturalism – such 'domestic terrorist' acts and movements pose a far greater threat than 'Islamic' terrorism (Hoffman, 2019; Shane, 2017; Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2009; Presley, 1996). I would also suggest that, the very notion that these 'nationalist' groups or individuals are acting in defence of classic sovereign ideals and state security, is still a significant threat to State stability and security. As by holding these views and acting upon them, the assumption must surely be that they are acting because they don't believe the State is capable or willing to act. To focus so heavily on 'Islamic' forms of terrorism and radicalization, whilst overlooking the more prevalent 'Nationalist' or Populist threat seems futile (Levin, 2017). However, following the global (yet very Western) economic crisis of 2008, the focus shifted again towards left-wing activists/dissenters (who, due to projects such as Minerva, are being 'rebranded' as terrorists, to excuse domestic militarization) as they pose a threat to capitalism and neo-liberal conceptions of democracy (Asher, 2008; Lutz, 2008; Mahnken, 2010; Mosser, 2010). This would, unfortunately, lead me to question what the 'real' security concerns are for the State (i.e. the UK and US in this context). Based on this review, it would appear ideological or political supremacy and global financial (capitalist) interests are the priority over personal or domestic security, despite the various state propaganda evidence to the contrary. This would certainly be representative of critiques of 'neoliberalist' foreign policy, by the West (often associated with the US), particularly regarding political economy analysis and critical or

feminist critiques. Therefore, I now take a deeper look at such critical scholarship regarding terrorism studies.

A 'Critical' Approach to Terrorism Study?

Boyle (2012), in taking a broader look at political violence, has been very clear and astute regarding the issues I raise in this thesis. While acknowledging the disaggregating of 'terrorism', as a 'special (ist)' field of major focus for scholars, which he sees as generally positive for pushing boundaries of knowledge in a more 'focused' way, he also raises significant concern regarding the detachment from other similar fields of inquiry. Specialisation has led to sweeping, general theories and observations. He mentions the funding issue in relation to government and private sources of funding. The question of whether ethnic identity and conflict are essentially 'constructed' is raised. The issue of economic interdependence is also raised and the concept of 'trade for peace' (see the section on Peace Economics below). Regarding the issue of 'repression and protest', he claims there is a lack of research (as I do below in the section regarding 'state terror'). Though in the Human Rights literature there are some examples of this issue, highlighting the failures of state repression (Anisin, 2016). Thankfully, Boyle also makes it clear that, regarding the relationship between economic factors (connected to globalization) and terrorism (political violence), this also needs further research. Taking a critical view of recent events and academic discourse, one could be forgiven for imagining we are on the cusp of an Orwellian dystopian nightmare (Kean, 2017; Horvat, 2017).

Indeed, Orwell's work has been cited heavily by journalists, commentators and scholars since the 2016 US Presidential election and 2017 inauguration particularly (Versobooks.com, 2017; Williams, 2017). This resurgence of interest, in a writer who teaches us to deconstruct and challenge the operationalizing of political rhetoric and propaganda, is heartening and not confined to Orwell's work (Kean, 2017). Margaret Atwood's classic dystopian novel on the perils of an unchecked patriarchal totalitarian state, '*The Handmaid's Tale*', has been given a very timely televisual adaptation – with many articles and op-eds using it to critique the new US President (Trump) and his decisions, as well as recent events i.e. the 'Women's Marches' (Freudenberger, 2017). So, there are inspiring rays of light, if one looks hard enough (i.e. broadens one's scope from realist agendas and 'Islamic threats'). Whilst we do appear to be lurching towards ever more troubling and isolating times, the democratic protests erupting both on the streets and online (i.e. via the '*#Resist*' and other similar movements), are, I

would suggest a good sign (Colvin, 2017). If such protests are possible, which given my research, should not be taken for granted by any means, we may avoid such a dystopian fate. I develop this issue regarding protest, scholar-activism and recent events in further detail in chapter two.

I now deal with the issue of positioning this thesis within more specific sub-fields and debate, namely critical terrorism and critical military scholarship. Whilst I have considered broadly and deeply the sub-field of CTS in this literature review, I have found, as my work has developed through the PhD process and I have attended further training and scholarly discussion, that this thesis work is more appropriately situated within the very new sub-field of CMS. I have found that for my specific purposes, in relation to methodology particularly, but also given my focus on Minerva (a military research network), militarization as a concept, and as a key part of my identity is being a feminist and scholar-activist – CMS currently allows for such representation in the work produced. Indeed, as I understand it, CMS has developed from feminist IR (and is influenced by peace studies, activism, IPE, artistic methods, among other influences, many of which are feminist-inspired). However, the critical influences from CTS are present in the work, for example, interdisciplinarity (Ashworth, 2009; Shayan, 2013; Yetiv, 2011), labelling analysis, and concerns about ethics and values as a researcher, most notably. The emancipatory interests of such a community is problematic for me, I explore this in the thesis in relation to feminist IR work on the concept of emancipation. Further to this, my core focus on the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies means that one may consider this work to be situated between these two sub-fields and in dialogue with both to some extent. I elaborate on this comparison between the two areas of thought and relative benefits and draw-backs below. One may feel that recent feminist critical terrorism studies work is missing here, or in the rest of the literature review (Sjoberg, 2009). I have chosen to explore this work in chapter three (regarding my theoretical framework), as it has inspired my own work and shaped it to some extent. That chapter seemed like the most appropriate place for reviewing such work and its impact. This also enables me to further highlight that feminist work in IR is and should be considered and used as a significant contribution to scholarship, rather than as subordinate to more orthodox work or scholars. I also discuss this further in later chapters in the thesis.

Critical Terrorism and Critical Military Studies – Positioning the Work

In this section, I will be outlining a definition of Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), regarding key themes relevant to my thesis. These themes include *definition*, *causation*, and *appropriateness of response*. I have addressed the issue of definition above, in critiquing the terrorism literature. In doing so, I have also highlighted the related issues of causation and appropriateness of state responses to terrorism. Ultimately taking the view that definitional issues still hamper attempts to analyze and respond to terrorism. A focus on root causes (i.e. socio-economic and socio-political issues) is necessary to better understand motivations of those the state appears to consider 'terrorists' (i.e. left-wing sympathizers, critical scholars, students and the 'other'), as indicated by the actions and propaganda of the UK government as well as the work of Minerva as evidence of state policy. Thus, it could be said that this thesis borrows from the developing literature of CTS, indeed many of the references supporting my above critique are considered within this canon. However, as I will explore below, I have some reservations about the usefulness of this work to my thesis, as a feminist researcher. Thus, I will also provide a definition for a more recent development in an alternative critical literature, Critical Military Studies (CMS), regarding relevant connections to the subject of the thesis. In doing so, I will be arguing that both contemporary critical literatures provide much of value to this project, ultimately, I believe the work in this thesis falls somewhere in between these two sub-fields. I suggest here that the scholar-activism is still missing from CTS, and may be found more readily in the work of CMS, particularly when considering the issue of Minerva and the militarization of knowledge production (Baker et al., 2016). [10] These very new and innovative sub-fields are still in relatively early developmental stages, as bodies of knowledge and critique. This is also where this thesis ultimately sits within the literature. By working with this developing body of work and from the assumptions inherent within it, one can critique the knowledge produced by the more traditional approaches of security studies, military studies and terrorism studies.

CTS – Definition

Critiques of traditional (often referred to as 'orthodox') scholarship on terrorism first appeared in 2007; most notably the case for such a critical approach to terrorism studies and counter-terrorism policy was first developed by Jeroen Gunning, Richard Jackson and Marie Breen Smyth (Jackson, Gunning and Smyth, 2007; 2009). Richard Jackson has summarized

---

[10] Scholar-activism is defined and discussed in chapter two.

the particular commitments and attitudes embodied in CTS scholarship as the following: "*an acute sensitivity to the politics of labelling and the acceptance of the fundamental ontological insecurity of the 'terrorism' label and thus extreme care in its use during research; a commitment to inter-disciplinarity…a commitment to transparency regarding the values and political standpoints of researchers…include topics such as the use of terrorism by states, gender dimensions of terrorism, ethical-normative analysis of counter-terrorism, and the discursive foundations which make 'terrorism studies' possible in the first place; adherence to a set of responsible research ethics which take account of the various users of terrorism research…and a commitment to normative values and a broadly defined notion of emancipation*" (Jackson, 2008b; see also Gunning, 2007a; 2007b). It is clear from this summary, Jackson helpfully provides, that CTS is a very critical and inclusive community of scholarship. Reflexivity and sensitivity to language, identity and labelling are vital, as is interdisciplinarity. Also, the inclusion of gender-related issues and analysis as well as a consideration of ethical implications of counter-terror policy all serve to enable feminist engagement, which is appreciated. Critiques of state terrorism are by no means new (Claridge, 1996; George, 1991; Sproat, 1990; Slann, 1987). Considered a sub-field of terrorism studies, work in this field is also heavily reliant on critical theory with foundations in the Welsh and Frankfurt schools of critical security and critical theory scholarship. A cause of major concern to scholars of CTS is the issue of definition which plagues terrorism studies, something I have considered in this chapter also, in my review of terrorism studies literature (Zulaika and Douglass, 1996; Jarvis and Lister, 2014; Jackson, 2007b). Beyond this, causation and the issue of appropriate response is also considered.

Scholars of CTS indicate that, contemporary terrorism definitions are heavily biased towards non-state (or sub-state) actors as perpetrators of such violence and coercion (Silke and Schmidt-Petersen, 2015; Poynting and Whyte, 2012; Miller and Mills, 2010). Finding that such orthodox views, taking a 'problem-solving' essentialist and short-term approach to terrorism studies, are too narrow and restrictive – CTS scholars such as Jarvis (2009) have described critical scholarship in this area as either 'broadening' or 'interpretivist' in nature. Broadening refers to "*highlighting the possible intrusion of political contexts and interests into academic inquiry*', which reminds us that, '*analytical constructs are themselves embedded in historical, discursive and, ultimately, social problematics*" (pg. 17, Jarvis, 2009). So, this is essentially a call for greater use of contextual analysis, which Jarvis sees as emancipatory for both scholar and subject of violence. Finally, Jarvis surmises that he finds

this understanding "*ultimately reinstates the same ontological and epistemological certainties encountered in the orthodox discussions. Once again, terrorism is approached here as an objective reality external to the scholar exploring this behaviour. Once again, scholars are deemed able to access this reality. In this sense, this approach takes us little further towards exploring the important historical, social, political and discursive conditions through which terrorism emerges as an identity, problem or threat for policymaking, academic or popular audiences*" (pg. 18, Jarvis, 2009). Thus, he suggests we turn instead to a more radical critique, with foundations in post-positivist literatures. This interpretivist approach is described as functioning as an attempt to 'disturb' rather than replace conventional understandings of terrorism. Such scholarship explores terror's "*constructions, representations and performances*" (pg. 18, Jarvis, 2009). This is sometimes referred to as 'narratives of terror'. Such a critique focuses on language, identity and othering (as with the resurgence in orthodox orientalist literature). Therefore, I find it is also harmonious with critical feminist security studies literature which I will explore further in chapter three. It can be briefly considered that, feminist critical terrorism work (as developed by authors such as, Caron Gentry, Swati Parashar, Katherine Brown, and Laura Sjoberg) has most recently and notably further added to the definitional issues by further expanding the terrorism definition (Sjoberg and Gentry, 2015) to incorporate domestic violence (as terrorism). I do not necessarily disagree that such violence should be considered a form of terrorism, perhaps as existing on a kind of 'spectrum' of terrorism or terrorist violence – but at present this new addition to the definitional debate seems to further muddy already muddled waters. I would ideally like to see a feminist proposition of a more refined 'spectrum' of definition or similar, as an effort for clarity. This could perhaps be done by a non-feminist researcher, but given the various issues outlined and the fact it has not happened yet, it seems unlikely. Perhaps it may be possible, with greater collaboration between CTS and feminist scholars. The above view of CTS poses a normative alternative to militaristic framings which continue to dominate terrorism discourse (pg. 20, Jarvis, 2009).

State 'terror' and 'New' Terrorism

For my thesis, the lack of discourse or historical engagement on such a phenomenon (i.e. state terror), is troubling as with the advent of projects funded and created by a powerful state and global leader such as the USA (i.e. Minerva post-2008), we are seeing mass surveillance programmes and the creeping securitization of domestic (civil) policing - a militarization of society. Short-term 'disappearances' of black youth and protesters in the US, along with other

acts of coercion are undoubtedly a contemporary example of 'state terror'. Thus, the question of state terror, and a consideration of contemporary examples is relevant to the development of the concept of 'New terrorism' (as the review of Gofas below outlines). Gofas (2012) presents this conceptualisation of terrorism as resulting from instability and discord in the international system (as opposed to directly focused on a host state), and characteristic of a revolutionary religious fanaticism. Gofas also suggests a 'localisation' of the security threat, compared to the globalised threats previously encountered. It is with such domestic security threats, and measures to repress, that state terrorism once again becomes a renewed interest.

State terror – the violence of the state?

It is worth mentioning here the concept of state terrorism (Jarvis and Lister, 2014), as ultimately the thesis may have something to add to that concept. But also, because there appears to be a distinct lack of literature or academic engagement and discourse on this topic, despite it being a widely discussed topic, publicly and among activist communities (Blakeley, 2011; 2008; 2007). This lack is, in my view, tied to post-9/11 contemporary research on terrorism and the short-sighted approach (lack of historical analysis) in the research produced. That is not to say that there is not adequate or even substantial research which was carried out before 9/11 or the Munich attack (1972). But this work is not being utilised in contemporary discourse and is not being 'improved' or added to in contemporary research. However, I have found at least two recent examples of an attempt at addressing this issue.

Abrahms (2011), in considering whether terrorism works, mentions bargaining theory (realism) and state to state violence, seeing coercion succeeding by escalation. Post-9/11, he suggests, this framework has been applied to non-state actors and 'terrorism', despite different/opposite structural conditions. There is some discussion of perceptions of strength vs. weakness. Escalation to, or with, terrorism is 'found' to be counter-productive for 'inducing government compliance' (with demands of the terrorist). It is suggested that research is needed on why countries are so reluctant to make concessions when their populations (citizens) are the focus of the attack (to avoid incentivising behaviour). This is particularly of concern recently given the ISIS kidnappings, beheadings and ransom demands (seen in the West as a way of funding their terrorism). One could suggest it is also a concern following the 2017 Manchester MEN Arena attack. It is widely understood among political scholars that Hobbesian social contract theorists emphasise that the main task of government is to defend the population (seeing citizens as sovereign, as opposed to the 'God-given'

sovereignty of kings). Civilian targeting is viewed as an offence to moral sensibilities, an illegitimate political instrument. This is clearly not just regarding authoritarian or totalitarian regimes in far off climes, but also in relation to the structural violence of the liberal democratic state. Abrahms also cites Wilkinson (1986) as suggesting international terrorism began in the late 1960s, aligning it with post-anti-colonial struggle successes and thus related to 'liberation' movements. The paper is very heavily laden with quantitative work (stats and trends). This could also be related to the funding issue, i.e. the work is not desired or 'needed' by the state (such as the US, who arguably provides much of the research funding, along with the UK) so there is not the same level of resources or interest in the work.

More recently Krause (2013) has suggested that scholars have historically focused on the state and violence, such as Sarat and Culbert (2009) on this topic, along with causes of such violence, rather than its effects. Krause however seeks to do the opposite here by taking a two-level approach (theoretical framework) to analyse political effectiveness of non-state violence. In amongst a footnoted definition of social movements and a discussion of effectiveness and intent, Krause suggests the fundamental purpose of any political organisation is survival and strength (very realist qualities). Many would argue that the state represents the highest level of political organisation (at least if relying on realist theory). One could say, it represents the top of the pyramid. Indeed, realists have argued that the state is the only authority with 'legitimate' recourse to the use of force (violence) in the pursuit of survival and strength. They would argue it is a defensive measure, whilst claiming similar actions of a 'competitor' state are aggressive and illegitimate (if seen as challenging the state's hegemony). But I would question here what the implications of this 'fundamental purpose' Krause highlights are? Is all political interaction then inherently realist, ultimately only concerned with individualistic survival and personal strength? I am also reminded of the feminist theory maxim, 'the personal is political' (and the political is personal) (E-IR, 2017; Stark, 2013; Foster et al., 2012).

New Terrorism

This is a particularly popular topic currently following the economic crisis, widening socio-economic disparities in 'developed' countries and the various security threats, of which we are encouraged to be wary. Gofas (2012), in a paper regarding the 'Terrorism – Democracy Nexus' and the trade-off between security and civil liberties has questioned the notion of 'new' terrorism post-9/11, acknowledging some of the points I have also discussed here.

Gofas claims the official response found in the emergence of the new global counter-terrorist paradigm, justifying the global war on terror, characterised by the expansion of militarization (as pre-emptive), use of domestic surveillance and other homeland security practices, is found to be morally dubious (Feinberg, 2015). The analytical accuracy of the 'new' terrorism concept is also questionable. Terrorism today is grounded in an evolving historical context.

Gofas dates the concept of 'new' terrorism back to the 1990s (Reid, 1997), up to two years prior to 9/11. A 'revolutionary' terrorism borne out of religious fanaticism rather than political ideology, aimed at causing maximum destruction (to Western/US/Secular (?) culture). This is very different to the 'terrorist' threat of the 60s, 70s and 80s (i.e. Cold War era anti-Americanism) (Vitiuk, 1979). The shock of the 'new' that was 9/11 created a rather simple-minded, master narrative for a new framework, moving the threat of terrorism to the core of the security agenda in the 'West'. New terrorism's main distinction is that it has gone transnational (globalised). Old terrorism is often characterised by nationalist or separatist agendas, specific to a country or region (thus linked to identity and sovereignty). New terrorism was less a challenge to the state, but rather a challenge to the international system. So, for Gofas, the 'new' terror concept is floored at its core as the international system is not characterised by a singular religious identity, but rather is identified as a political and economic system (i.e. capitalist/liberal institutionalist). Therefore, the concept was 'misbranded' at the outset and wrongly framed. Gofas also helpfully suggests we are seeing a 'de-globalisation' (localisation) of terrorism now, perhaps due to the widening scope of the terrorist definition by the USA; to incorporate activists, protesters etc. I would certainly agree with this 'perception' or definition issue Gofas raises and suggest it is also connected to the influence of the security-industrial complex (military expansion). I would characterize such a 'complex' as the capitalisation (i.e. financial) on military and (state) defence-related activity – for commercial gain and interest. This is also more commonly referred to as the military-industrial complex, I've used the term 'security' in place of 'military' above to highlight the changing nature of conflict and violence, and the domestic, local and personal impact of such a complex. Thus, accepting the view of the ubiquity of the 'complex' in the everyday. This more inclusive term can be considered like the use of securitization in place of militarization by some political geographers noted in chapter three. I address and define the 'complex', in more detail, in the analysis section (chapter five). Gofas finally suggests there has been an 'ontological hysteria' created from the prevailing societal threat narrative. He suggests the

current (at least up until 2012) official response to the threat is potentially damaging and counter-productive in the pursuit of security.

Indeed, Richard English, previously based at St Andrews CSTPV (a scholar predominantly concerned with the IRA), appears to acknowledge that there has been a lack of historical awareness in the reporting of events such as 7/7 (post-9/11), i.e. a lack of connection to IRA terrorism in the UK pre-9/11 (Ch 3, English, 2009). He raises the importance of locally rooted analysis and explanation. He acknowledges that Al-Qaeda is a product of the Cold War (via the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan), whilst claiming that since the late 60s the US has been the most frequent victim of 'terrorist' attacks. He notes the impact of foreign military occupation (Neo-liberalism?) on the growth of terrorism; but claims terrorism has the greatest effect when used or associated with nationalist struggles – a rather worrying assertion given events in 2016. Richard English was one of two scholars leading myself and others in the Olympia Summer School I attended in Greece, which enabled me to develop this literature review. At the time, I was just beginning to consider the Minerva Initiative and its relevance to my work. I had developed a relatively good rapport with Prof. English, and during some down-time outside of the classroom, I had mentioned my PhD interest in the Minerva Initiative. English stated that he had received some funding/was involved with the network. He was particularly concerned that those who criticise the work of the Initiative (I assumed he was referring to the Guardian articles I had found, as shown in my analysis chapter), do so without talking to those scholars who work with the Initiative – like himself. I had intended to interview him (formally) for this thesis, however as I state in the following chapters (four, five, and six), this was not ultimately possible. I then later discovered which project and funding cycle Richard English had been named as lead on. My brief review of that is provided in chapter five. I also consider the hypothetical question of individual scholars' relative awareness of the aims and intentions of the Minerva project below, in later chapters. I found it very interesting, though, that English appeared to seek and welcome critique (or at least analysis) of the Minerva Initiative from other scholars (like myself), but felt very strongly that the journalistic, systemic, critique attempts were 'unfair'. I am intrigued to know whether my critique is considered a fair assessment of Minerva and the scholars involved, by Prof. English.

In contradiction, perhaps, to Gofas, Weinberg, Eubank, and Francis (2008) also looked at the issue of rebalancing between security and civil liberties, considering laws curbing those liberties post-9/11. They reference legislation such as the US Patriot Act and the UK

Terrorism Act, as the most notable examples. In examining occasions when individual liberty restrictions are balanced against national security concerns, they question whether democracies become less liberal with the presence of international terrorism. They cite examples drawn from the 60s/70s such as Uruguay, Turkey and Argentina (when the military seized power, via a coup). Interestingly, and puzzlingly, they find that international terrorism does not constitute a serious enough problem for democratic governments to adopt policies which curtail liberties. Unfortunately, such a view, borne out of considered and experienced research does not seem to be acknowledged sufficiently in recent policy decisions in the UK and USA.

Political Violence, Protest and Terrorism

It is against this contested and insecure landscape that we find some green shoots, pockets of 'resistance' to established securitised notions of political violence and mass protest in the literature. I will be addressing this work further in the analysis found in chapter five, in relation to 'key themes'. However, some references to this can be found below in the next sub-heading (regarding particularly the Kent State 'massacre' during the Vietnam War period in the US). Here I explore the various terms (increasingly used interchangeably), meaning, ethics and psychology research in relation to definitional issues. The consideration of psychology in this context supports some of the methodology choices (chapter four) and speaks to the strategic utilization of terrorism discourse as excuse for state coercion (covered in this chapter and elsewhere). This will all support further assertions and analysis found in chapter five.

Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) have suggested that their research indicates that non-violent methods may in fact be more successful, in the pursuit of political change, than violent methods. Political change is often acknowledged as a core aim of many established social movements (and to some extent a clear motivation for 'terrorist' groups). The political violence you do not have to use is most efficacious – sometimes the potential threat is enough to enable change (also a form of coercion, you might say).

Feltz and Cokely (2014), in an article analysing an experimental applied ethics approach to terrorism, claim that in one of their two experiments the use of the word 'terrorist' to describe a group of people decreases the willingness to empathise, understand and negotiate with such a group, decreasing the perceived rationality of the group; whilst also increasing the permissibility of the use of violence towards such a group. This may appear rather obvious,

but it speaks to issues regarding definition, state violence and ethical considerations regarding security discourse (Nyman and Burke, 2016). I explore empathy and vulnerability further in later chapters. Though the indication that, aligning protesters and dissenters with the word 'terrorist', which in turn reduces empathy for such groups and individuals in society, is a very troubling and important insight for this work.

Crenshaw and Robison (2010), in addressing the need for taxonomic classifications of political violence have highlighted a general lack of consensus on the meaning of terms (i.e. activism, terrorism, extremist) - unsurprising given the definitional issue at the heart of terrorism research. They suggest we need to separate the action from the actor, seeing terrorism as a 'strategy'. They put forward a 'continuum of political action', a sort of typology. They seek to frame terrorism and social movement activism as essentially the same, whilst both remain different from 'Guerrilla Warfare', in their view. They claim to find that acts of pure terrorism and non-violent anti-government protests are much more media-driven than violent anti-state attacks. The piece also highlights insights on effects of political rights and GDP on anti-government protests, something which is highly relevant to the thesis.

In a text on the political psychology of terrorism fears, Rapin (2013) states that it is reasonable to believe that "*the political authorities are not "terrorized" by terrorist acts: they are confronted by a threat they are trying to manage in a rational way*" (pg. 306). They choose to define terror as "*an intense paralyzing fear, assuming that when anxiety reaches an acute level, it significantly impairs the subject's ability to deal with a threatening situation*". As Roosevelt proclaimed, "*The only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified, terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance*" (Roosevelt and Rosenman, 1938). Randall Marshall, in the introduction to Sinclair and Antonius' (2012) book on the psychology of terrorism fears claims the response to terrorism is problematic as "*it can radically distort fear perception out of proportion to the actual threat, and thus provoke extreme behavioural and emotional collective responses*" (pg. 3). This is relevant as this extreme behavioural and emotional response is, as Rapin points out, predominantly felt by citizens rather than the political authorities, therefore it may be possible to consider the climate of fear propagated through national security discourses as another form of state violence. The analysis in chapter five explores the relevance of state interest in emotions and psychological triggers, and the use of computational propaganda to manipulate citizens.

Simon and Garfunkel wrote a now famous 'protest' song, the song was used to great effect in *The Watchmen* film, based on a novel by Alan Moore. I discuss this novel and film in the analysis chapter, however, this song seemed to crop up a lot during my research and I feel it may be worth considering briefly at this point. It speaks to themes of subjugation and resistance, which I will explore in the analysis chapter.

> "*And the people bowed and prayed*
> *To the neon god they made*
> *And the sign flashed out its warning*
> *In the words that it was forming*
> *And the sign said "The words of the prophets*
> *Are written on subway walls*
> *And tenement halls*
> *And whispered in the sounds of silence*""

(Simon, 2017; Friedman, 2012)

"War made the state and the state made war" – legitimising (state) terrorism in a climate of fear?

Race-related riots and protests in the USA in 2014-17 (related to police shootings of young black men), have highlighted the ethical and moral considerations related to the dissemination of 'military grade' weaponry and counter-terror equipment used by civilian police forces, with little or no military training, to repress (often violently) such gatherings (Filkins, 2016). Whilst it is not unusual for military technology to eventually find its way to civilian markets, often to the benefit of society (communication technology, GPS are good examples), it is alarming to many (myself included) that civilian police forces not only have extraordinary access to such equipment, but also now appear to have legitimate right to use it on largely peaceful mass gatherings.[11] Though this is not a new phenomenon, see for example the Kent State University Protest (pg. 342, Adamek and Lewis, 1973; Hariman and Lucaites, 2001), this historic, iconic and troubling moment in history speaks to the militarization of knowledge production, particularly in relation to security matters (Bauman, 2014; Clarke, 2018).

---

[11] McPhail, C., Schweingruber, D. and McCarthy, J. (n.d.). *Policing Protest in the United States*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: http://www.public.iastate.edu/~dschwein/policing.pdf [Accessed 5 May 2015].

The image on the left is the iconic photograph (one of many) from the Kent State Massacre depicting a student facing an armed line of the National Guard on the Kent State campus in Ohio. Sometimes this image is attributed to a Washington D.C. Anti-Vietnam demonstration in 1969. The image on the right depicts some other images from the aftermath of the shooting, most if not all images from the day were taken by student photographers, the images are overlaid onto an image of an Urban Outfitters clothing item for sale, a fake blood-stained Kent State garment for the fashion set (Woods, 2011; Bernish, 2016; Stump, 2014).

It is relevant in the modern context due to post-2016 inauguration security and protest issues in the US and elsewhere, which I discuss further in chapter two (Thompson, 2017; Hinton, 2016). President Trump has sought to reverse the ban on local police use of military equipment, a ban placed by his predecessor, President Obama following the problems arising from the Ferguson protests by Black Lives Matter over the death of a black youth (Thomsen, 2017). It also has relevance in the context of this thesis due to the methodological choices made and references cited in the analysis of Minerva (i.e. The Watchmen graphic novel).

A still image, shown during the opening credits, of the Watchmen 2009 film, which references the Kent State image and wider Anti-Vietnam/Anti-Nixon protests of that era (IMFDB, 2009; MissedinHistory.com, 2009).

This has undoubtedly gone hand in hand with removing the legal right to peaceful protest outside Whitehall and the Houses of Parliament in the UK, due to the Anti-Terror legislation and the equivalent US Patriot Act, both post-9/11 Blair/Bush creations (Eckert, 2008). This legislation is set to further expand to cover protest in general, following President Trump's Inauguration (Gabbatt, 2017).

Regarding the legislation brought about and, I would argue, rushed through following recent Western terrorist incidents, John Lamb (2014) has considered the legislation and policy pertaining to the PREVENT strategy in the UK and the gendered impact on policing. The legislation, ostensibly regarding the UK counter-terror strategy, was first published in 2006 and has since been updated in 2009 and 2011; it was created to reduce the risks to the state and its overseas interests. Lamb concerns himself with the impact of PREVENT on West Midlands policing more specifically. I find this relevant to the thesis, as this is another example of state militarization of the education arena (schools and teachers in this case). This scholarly critique is one of a small number available currently – it is an under-researched and under-critiqued issue, relevant to CMS concerns.

There is an increasing interest in military-industrial (security-industrial) conventions such as those in Michigan and Olympia (in London), which are a platform for selling counter-terror military paraphernalia. Though Olympia is mentioned here, more recently Arms Fairs have been held at the ExCel Centre in the Docklands area of London, with considerable protest at recent events from various groups. I attended one such protest in 2015. My question is: who benefits (economically and politically) from such conventions and uses (abuses) of state power? For an example of literature addressing the connection between the state, war and economics, it is worth reviewing Charles Tilly's (1985) widely cited quote "*war made the state and the state made war*". This highlights the fact that the State is considered the highest organisational structure in (realist) society (setting aside the liberal institutional system i.e. the UN et al for a moment). States evolve and are sustained by violence and conflict within communities – violence can be a legitimising force and argument for state authority. One can see this phenomenon in micro by looking at the example of criminal gangs and guerrilla (paramilitaries) who perform the 'duties' of a state (infrastructure), for their local communities in lieu of a fully functioning and stable state apparatus (see Latin America and the US criminal justice system for good examples of this). So, violence is used not just in terms of legitimising state authority indirectly, in a state of emergency, as a 'haven' against

the 'terrorism' of the 'other', but also by legitimising state authority through the threat of direct state violence (coercion).

Problems Arising?

We are facing a highly-militarized society and state civil infrastructure due to concerns of the state in relation to domestic protest and political violence (now seen as a 'terrorist' threat to the security of the state, by relying on the definitional quagmire within theoretical communities). In other words, the 'definition' of terrorism within the policy community has been widened to allow for counter-terrorist measures to be used regarding civil disobedience and protest. This increased and unbalanced focus on 'non-state' terrorism and the violence associated with it, is happening at a time when there appears to be a lack of knowledge production or historical analysis of state terror and state perpetuated violence.

Crenshaw (1991), in considering the question of how terrorism declines, echoes many of the issues I am raising, even arguably predicting some of the issues we are currently faced with. She posits the concept of 'oppositional terrorism', suggesting that government actions are to be seen through or in the context of organisational dynamics and strategy of the oppositional terrorist group(s). She suggests that theories of conflict usually focus on causes rather than outcomes and finds theoretical obsessions with definition distracting. She claims research on terrorism has been divided ideologically between Cold War-esque anti-communist studies and anti-US studies. But she finds a consideration of the government role in the decline of terrorism has been lacking in the literature. She agrees that policy makers want 'clear-cut' operational recommendations (which are empirically testable), not theoretical discussions. Crenshaw finds a problem with non-interdisciplinarity among scholars, putting policy makers off. She agrees that the technique (method – empiricism) is often confused with substance, and finds there is an inadequacy of data in security studies, claiming that therefore claims of precision in data are misleading and perhaps controversial. Indeed, Crenshaw finds that much data on terrorism is classified, which creates research problems as it seriously restricts the open scholarship that is the hallmark of academic study (however since 1991 this may not be so crucial thanks to Wikileaks). Interestingly she cites the Reagan Administration as being responsible for the NSA (non-classified 'sensitive' material acquisition). The NSA has clearly caused concern recently regarding the US government holding vast access to our personal data and virtual interactions, when we have little or no transparency in the uses of such data.

It is heartening that Crenshaw also takes the opportunity to acknowledge that shared beliefs and backgrounds among government officials and the institutional constraints of bureaucracy have resulted in cohesion and loyalty whilst inhibiting critical challenges to the orthodoxy. I don't believe this has changed since 1991, the point remains very relevant. She claims that policy makers seek certainty, whereas scholars typically have sought and urged caution. Thus, she believes the work of the scholar and that of the government must remain 'separate and distinct', like Montesquieu's separation of powers concept (regarding church and state), independence and objectivity are critical to the growth of knowledge. I will come back to this and elaborate further on this very crucial point later, as it is vital to issues in this work.

The misinformation and misperception, which results from a disproportionate and short-sighted historical focus on violence perpetuated by 'one-side', creates an environment of suspicion and enables the 'scape-goating' of undesirable members of society (minorities and critics). This is connected to the 'othering' phenomenon mentioned above. This is a selective approach, which, via a project such as Minerva, is clearly policy-led (supplying the demand). It also ignores fundamental understandings from philosophical and anthropological study regarding the human animal. Not least the Hobbesian view of life as 'nasty, brutish and short', which echoes the anthropological views of human inter-personal relationships and communities as being underpinned by violence (of varying degrees and forms). Violence has long been a tool, very deftly used by individuals and states alike, to secure survival in challenging times. Therefore, as it is so fundamental to life, it makes no sense (to me) that we should be prejudicial in our study of the phenomenon, aligning it with only certain 'actors' or communities.

As well as this, social scientists and researchers are increasingly being 'securitized' by funding and involvement with projects such as Minerva – in this attempt to avert mass protest and violence in the US and UK particularly. This raises significant ethical concerns for me, and for some others who have questioned this move (Baker et al., 2016). I hope to also demonstrate that it is not the first time this has happened, by considering Project Camelot against the current Project Minerva (Horowitz, 1965; Silvert, 1965; Vallance, 1966; Solovey, 2001). I suggest that Camelot was a short-lived blue-print for Minerva; however, I ultimately assert that it may not be the only blue-print from history.

CTS – A Critique

There have been a few attempts to challenge CTS work (Horgan and Boyle, 2008). As Lutz (2011) describes CTS views, terrorism and the term 'terrorist' is often perceived to be characterized by terrorism scholars as largely pejorative and less analytical – something Lutz dates to post-WWII. However, it is useful to note here that Lutz, in this article, takes a critical view of CTS and highlights certain flaws which in his view pose a challenge to the success of such critiques of terrorism studies (see also Gunning, 2007a). He does agree that "*one of the reasons for the increase in Homeland Security Studies results from the fact that government grants and contracts are more readily available for these types of analysis since terrorist attacks can be a major threat to the security of states and the safety of their citizens. The consequent increase in the number of studies that deal with this type of threat obviously does respond to the needs of governments that are attempting to provide better security, even if these studies do not necessarily enhance a more basic understanding of the sources of violence—terrorist and otherwise*". He further surmises, "*Governments, much to the dismay of academics everywhere, are more interested in practical research (often narrowly defined) and not very interested in the pure research that so many academics are particularly fond of...*" (Lutz, 2011). Though he denies that this constitutes "*proof of any effort to eliminate or prevent any alternative analysis of violence by the state from those interested in Terrorism Studies even if it does lead some more researchers to focus on dissident terrorism*" (Lutz, 2011). The former position appears to correlate with a view held by critical terrorism scholars, regarding the allocation and source of funds for such research and the interest in practical (policy-relevant) and short-term knowledge. The phrase 'homeland security studies', as referred to here, seems to denote orthodox terrorism studies. Lutz' assertion here is based on the premise that the state is the only 'actor' concerned with or ultimately responsible and able to provide 'security'. Feminists and other critical scholars would no doubt take exception to this rather realist view. Indeed, these counter-arguments are explored further in the section on literature of security as policy and in chapter three regarding the critical security studies theoretical framework.

CMS – Definition

This sub-field is so new that the first journal dedicated to Critical Military Studies was created, and published its first volume in 2014/15 – while I was researching and writing up this thesis. It is in this publication we can find perhaps the best current description of CMS.

As the editors suggest, "*to be critical about military power is to be "sceptically curious"*
about its character, representation, application, and effects" (emphasis added, pg 1-2,
Basham, Belkin and Gifkins, 2014). Thus, clearly outlining the tricky balance the scholar-
activist faces in seeking to critique military (state) power, whilst also appearing non-
threatening to that power (considering the political climate). This is by no means a simple or
easy task. I would suggest also that many scholars undertaking such work, myself included,
see themselves as performing a patriotic and scholarly duty vital to democracy; rather than
having any ill-intent towards the state or other citizens. Intentions and motivations of the
'scholar-activist' identifying scholar are explored further in chapter two. If one adopts a
broader understanding of security (discussed below in the next sub-headed section), as
opposed to the narrow (realist) view of security, it is not difficult to understand how vital
such efforts are in society.

Referencing Cynthia Enloe's contribution to the inaugural volume, CMS is defined thus, "*In*
approaching military power as a question, rather than taking it for granted, critical military
studies more readily engages in a sceptical curiosity about how it works – often through a
variety of social and domestic political agendas that may bear no relation to the role of
protecting the nation from foreign threats" (emphasis added, pg. 1-2, Basham, Belkin and
Gifkins, 2014). This initial definition is further elaborated upon: "*Indeed, critical military*
studies as a sceptically curious endeavour also acknowledges that our very conceptions of
military power, militarism, and militarization are themselves open to critique and
reimagining. It is in prioritizing the "in-between" – the neither exclusively military nor
singularly civilian – that critical military studies can expose such tensions and problematize
military power in its multiple manifestations" (emphasis added, pg. 1-2, Basham, Belkin and
Gifkins, 2014; see also Wilson, 2007).

I would also agree with the following statement found in the same CMS issue: "*To this end,*
the methodological plurality of critical military studies and its engagement with the politics
of positionality stands out markedly from more traditional social scientific approaches to the
military and security and their often atheoretical, apolitical, and largely quantitative stances.
What perhaps unites critical military studies in methodological terms, though, is a shared
desire to question how military institutions, practices, processes, and geographies are an
outcome of social practices and political contestation. In critical military studies, nothing is
taken for granted as natural or inevitable, but the ongoing processes of construction,

constitution, and contestation are explored" (emphasis added, pg. 1-2, Basham, Belkin and Gifkins, 2014).

The approaches taken, therefore, "*prioritize paying much greater attention to how military power operates, how it has come to work in the ways it does, and what its limits might be. For some, this warrants complex and messy interpersonal qualitative encounters with those who articulate and are themselves articulations of military power, including researchers themselves.*" Though as they suggest, to be critical is not to be dismissive. Rather, it is to "*stay open to the possibility that our curiosity and scepticism can be used to shed much-needed light on our blind spots and to bring about social and political change*" (emphasis added, pg. 1-2, Basham, Belkin and Gifkins, 2014).

So, as we can see from the above definition, CMS makes skilful use of Enloe's work on militarization and even seeks to go beyond such theorising to critique the concept (Crane-Seeber, 2016; Åhäll, 2016). I believe, therefore, that it is fair to say that this sub-field may be characterised as inherently feminist – not only in its theoretical outlook but also due to the methodological choices made by scholars in this field (qualitative and activist in nature). The relevance of this work to the thesis will become clear in chapter three regarding the theoretical framework), as I too make significant use of Enloe's work on militarization, among other feminist scholarship. Indeed, my own offering to the literature may certainly be characterised as like the above description of CMS work, "*complex and messy interpersonal qualitative encounters*" feels like an accurate characterisation for this work. This is a field of scholarship which seeks to challenge traditional (orthodox) views on security (as provided by the state at least) and particularly the military infrastructure. Such scholarship also seeks to challenge our ideas of time, place and security as situated in certain geographic topographies (Rech et al., 2014). I would argue that Critical Terrorism Studies seeks to do something similar with and for the current mainstream terrorism studies literature. The lack of a critique of CMS does not necessarily indicate that it is infallible as a theoretical position or body of work; I would suggest it is more indicative of its newness. However, I would suggest it is a useful consideration for the purposes of this project.

Summary of CTS and CMS

I believe, given the above considerations, that both sub-fields provide valuable insights for this work on Minerva and knowledge production on terrorism studies. These two very new and innovative sub-fields are still in relatively early developmental stages, as bodies of

knowledge and critique; they are also developing at a rapid rate. The rapidity of development, at least in the case of CTS research, may be partly attributed to the 'vogue' for research to connect in some way (however tenuously) to the 'War on Terror'; as this automatically raises the profile of the research and researcher. This is also where this thesis ultimately sits within the literature. CTS provides valuable insight into the workings of Neo-liberalism (regarding the development of terrorism studies) and to some extent provides a political economy approach; with recent calls by scholars to 'follow the money' to analyse the vast and often complicated financial frameworks holding up the military-industrial complex (Eldridge et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2015; Miller and Mills, 2009; Philo and Miller, 2000). I would suggest though that the emancipatory interests of some CTS scholars may be problematic for feminist scholars given their (and my) concern regarding 'privilege'. As such an emancipatory approach appears to suggest that the 'other' it concerns itself with requires 'our' help to liberate them from damaging narratives. Recent publications related to CTS are gradually indicating interest in emerging connections to peace studies, feminist work and narrative, among other critical connections - it will be interesting to see the field develop further with such engagements (Jackson, 2016; Finn and Momani, 2017; CSTPV, 2017).

In contrast, CMS ultimately seeks to disrupt militarization of civilian spaces, particularly regarding sites producing, and supporting the acquisition of, knowledge, for young and old alike. Feminist political economy theorising is also of relevance to CMS. Both sub-fields support and include 'scholar-activist' activities, though I would argue that CMS is better equipped to support and enhance such work, particularly as it appears to have developed out of grassroots style organising by scholars at demonstrations. As such, I would also argue that, methodologically speaking, CMS is better equipped to support activist practice of scholars, utilising as it does methods at the fringes of qualitative work (for example art and performance); though, the interpretivist approach of CTS also provides significant opportunity for a more active scholarship. By working with this developing body of work and from the assumptions inherent within it, I can critique the knowledge produced by the more traditional approaches of security studies, military studies and, most importantly, terrorism studies. As, with this thesis, I aim to critique the military policy and connection(s) to the knowledge production on terrorism studies, I believe this is a fitting position in the literatures to occupy – between CTS and CMS.

What We talk About, When We Talk About 'Security'

When analyzing violence, in this context (political violence), it is of course necessary to consider the development of, and views on, security (Carpenter, 2016). It should be considered, not only from a lofty IR theoretical standpoint as understood as the right of sovereign states to (in realist terms) protect and prioritise their own state security within an anarchic international system, but also at a human or inter-personal level (i.e. as a human right). As evidenced by the feminist views (found in chapter three) on 'security' and its critique, this realist concept of security is becoming increasingly untenable as the dominant discourse within IR communities focusing on security policy, given contemporary and emerging international challenges. Therefore, it is worth considering security from a more practical policy point of view, particularly as it is in this arena that the products of Minerva Initiative research operate. In considering security policy here, taking Kaldor and Rangelov's Handbook (2014) as a guide, a more realistic and holistic definition of 'security' is sought and produced. This definition follows the assertion of a context of (in)security, something feminist scholars have been seeking to address theoretically, which currently pervades human experience and the difference between cultural and geographical understandings of the experience of security and (in)security. They establish the difference between the domestic and the global in considering security as a concept. The effectiveness of civil society mobilisations and peace movements is considered in line with the relative effectiveness of non-violent protest (as mentioned in the literature review here). The 'justice dilemma' is considered alongside Falk's interrogation of international law and global security policy. Finally, I consider the apparent 'separation of powers' theoretically expected between the military (for global threats) versus the police (for domestic threats) and indicate a blurring of the lines in policy and the use of such protective measures (by the state). This is considered in line with Kaldor and Rangelov's views on security policy as traditionally conceived versus the lived experience of security and Quinn's views on the waning of US power and economic instability.

Kaldor and Rangelov (2014), in their introduction to the exhaustive *Handbook of Global Security Policy* address the issue of security. Here they begin by asserting; "*We live in insecure times. We trust our institutions because we believe they keep us safe; yet the present moment is characterized by a pervasive worldwide sense of insecurity*". Whilst clearly true, this statement clearly comes from a Western perspective with institutions viewed as usually functioning and a reliable part of our developed society. They remind us of the daily threat

for people in less 'developed' countries such as Syria or Somalia, of being killed, robbed, raped and tortured, whilst suggesting that "*in the richer parts of the world, growing fears about welfare and pensions, or terrorism and criminality, are probably the basis of a growing mistrust of political institutions and the political class*" (pg. 1). This view represents the idea that 'security' may not be 'global' after all, but rather regional and relative to one's socio-economic (or racial?) 'class' within the domestic and global society. This raises many interesting and complex philosophical questions and is something critical scholars are beginning to interrogate in their own work. Whilst I cannot address this question in totality here, it is a relevant consideration in assessing the development of a (Western) terrorism definition and recent domestic policing issues in the USA (i.e. Homan Square, Chicago and Charleston, South Carolina). Indeed, recent events led H.R. McMaster, President Trump's national security advisor, to include White Nationalist violence during protests in 2017 in the definition of terrorism (Associated Press, 2017). It is worth noting here that feminists have been particularly cognizant recently of the concept of 'bias' and 'privilege' in their own work (E-IR, 2017). Annick Wibben has been particularly vocal on social media, in recent publications and academic conferences regarding this issue, as have other prominent feminist scholars (E-IR, 2017; Wibben, 2011; Wibben, 2013).

David Cortright (2014), in reviewing some of the largest civil society mobilizations in recent memory, has challenged the often-dismissive view of relative effectiveness of peace movements. He offers a nuanced assessment, considering their impact on constructing norms and values, putting constraints on decision-making and policy decisions thus impacting on legislative and electoral outcomes. This sympathetic view of often 'non-violent' protests can be read in support of much of Erica Chenoweth's work on such mobilizations (Chenoweth, 2013). This highlights the potential power of social mobilizations ('contagions' in Minerva Initiative parlance), a reason for US defense interest in monitoring and preventing such events…perhaps? I explore this further in the following chapters.

Richard Falk (2014) recently sought to interrogate the relationship between international law and global security policy. He asserts that this link is complex and contradictory, a balance of adherence and interpretive manipulation with some expedient violation(s). Rangelov and Teitel (2014) further develop this to review transitional justice legal instruments, in doing so they consider the 'justice dilemma', as they see it, perceived tensions between normative concerns and strategic considerations. They identify state-centricity as the main challenge and argue for the involvement of alternative normative frameworks, as well as alternative actors

and geographies beyond or outside of the state. This can arguably also speak to Gofas' 'terrorism-democracy nexus' argument regarding the potential threat to civil liberties, discussed above (Gofas, 2012).

Kaldor and Rangelov further suggest that security policies have traditionally consisted of military forces (to repel attacks by a foreign 'actor') and police forces (supposed to uphold 'domestic' rule of law and react to criminality). This suggests a 'separation of powers' to some degree, but I suggest that in practice we are clearly seeing a blurring of the lines and a re-imagining of a global security problem (terrorism) as a domestic security problem (protest, political violence, dissent…even race; Cram, 2009). I suggest this results in the use of domestic legislation and legal or policing tools (emboldened by access to military grade materials and military funding for knowledge production) for the purposes of state violence (coercion) against 'undesirables' and those who challenge the authority or actions of the state (in this case a state such as the USA). This domestic security issue speaks to far-right/white-supremacy group(s), socio-economic issues (post-2008 economic downturn) and the somewhat historical issue of slavery in America (a problem the UK has some historical responsibility for, arguably). Further, I would suggest the use of such 'state violence (terror)' is eerily reminiscent of the McCarthyism 'Red Scare' political witch-hunts which plagued America during the Cold War, and should be considered within this wider historical context (Zulaika, 2012). Indeed, discourse such as 'Project Fear' has been used in political debates to represent the pro-Brexit campaign in the UK and about the campaigns against Jeremy Corbyn by David Cameron and Theresa May (Corbyn is the Leader of the Labour party in 2016-17). Some online media campaign material has directly reminded me of 'red scare' tactics.[12]

As inter-state war wanes, Kaldor and Rangelov suggest, there is a "*mismatch between security policies as traditionally conceived and people's everyday experience in which the pervasive sense of insecurity resides*" (pg. 2, 2014). They argue that some new features of contemporary security literature are because of the pursuit of neoliberal economic strategies, something explored further in this thesis. Further they suggest the growing risk and complexities reflect less a change in how the world works, but rather the absence of a simple narrative to understand our world and the current climate of insecurity – also suggesting that the Cold War was a turning point in the way risks were perceived (domestic risks were perceived as global, post-Cold War as during the conflict they were accorded a lower priority compared to the threat of an imminent Nuclear disaster, resulting from the bipolarity

---

[12] See material in the conclusion chapter of the thesis for more on this.

arrangement of the system). Considering this, Adam Quinn (2014) has examined the evolution of the role of the United States (in terms of security policy), asserting its power is perceived as in decline and the security challenges faced seem increasingly beyond the control of powerful nation-states. He cites economic instability as one of many key challenges which are posing fundamental questions regarding the ability of the US to manage the new security landscape – suggesting attempts to do so may breed unintended consequences and aggravate current problems. Quinn is not the only scholar to highlight the issue of Neoliberalism regarding security, this will be explored further throughout the thesis (Heath-Kelly, Baker-Beall and Jarvis, 2015).

Definition

Kaldor and Rangelov define and use the term "*security to address primarily issues relating to violence*" (pg. 2, 2014), as do I in this thesis. Thus, differentiating it from the '*securitization*' of a more inclusive or broader approach encompassing climate change, energy security, food security and many more besides. That is not to, necessarily, prioritize one form of security over another – but rather acts to clarify and focus the approach and subject under scrutiny in this thesis. In addressing the interrelatedness of the sources of insecurity, under consideration in the book, Kaldor and Rangelov, as well as other authors in the edited volume, highlight the "*complex linkages between high levels of military spending and global imbalances, strategies of structural adjustment and weak rule of law, sporadic violence, and poor economic performance*" (pg 2, 2014). In describing the aim of the authors, in collecting together the work in the Handbook, Kaldor and Rangelov rightly assert that: "*Much has been written about conceptual and theoretical issues raised by global security…but much less about global security as policy*", claiming that while the literature grows on aspects of global security a comprehensive pulling together of such work remains limited. Their interest is "*less in abstract theorizing about the possible directions and meanings of global security, although that is important, but more in the way that global security policy is actually practiced: how is it conceptualized and implemented, who is responsible, and what tools do they use?*" They highlight the geo-political legacies of the Cold War and its impact on world security expenditure. Further they assert that the War on Terror seems to have "*mutated into a global binary dynamic involving, on the one hand, long-distance air power, especially drones…and, on the other hand, networks of extremists and criminal gangs tied together through an increasingly operational narrative of resistance*" (pg. 3, 2014). It is this resistance

to globalization (i.e. anti-globalization 'movements') which will be discussed in chapter two and five.

For his part, Ken Booth (2014) suggests a more humanistic view of global security, in assessing both existential and emancipatory threats, placing them in historical context – he examines the contemporary concept of the new global "*securityscape*" impacted by the ever-present tension between an urgency for a global and domestic security politics and the power of statist rationality. Selchow (2014) examines the logic of 'risk' in security policy, particularly in the West, reviewing its implications. In doing so, building on Ulrich Beck's work on 'global risk' and 'risk society', she suggests there is a need to rethink modern security institutions. More importantly, for the purposes of the thesis, Kaldor's review of the concept of human security is particularly of note as I would suggest it has some useful insight for the issue dealt with in this work. She traces its evolution (and the various criticisms launched at it), taking issue with the radical critics whom she asserts are influenced by the War on Terror and have fallen into its trap. Kaldor endeavors to revive human security, harnessing insights gleaned from its various critiques.

Conclusion

As will be explored in chapter five, it is my contention that there is a significant focus on the study of 'social contagions', socio-political mobilizations and to some extent its impact on the 'development' of a country (from a socio-economic perspective largely). This indicates that the DoD via the Minerva Initiative sees such movements as a high-priority future security risk to the United States. Whilst many of the project's regional foci are in other regions (such as MENA, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa), I would suggest insights gleaned from (or tested on) such case studies could easily be utilised for the purposes of Western domestic security concerns of a state such as the US or UK. It is also not difficult to imagine the technology developed and adopted by the military in this regard could be utilised in domestic civil policing operations (as military grade weaponry is already disseminated among domestic police forces), particularly if citizens are mobilized (i.e. more than 1,000 individuals) protesting state policies or actions. One question this arrangement leaves me with is: 'How much do individual scholars know about the implications and intended consequences of such work, for military purposes?' For example, by the same token, how much would an Al Qaeda foot-soldier really know about the overall long-term strategy of the 'leadership', beyond what they are told? Is it an unrealistic expectation to expect that they

would know, or care about such things? What is apparent is the ubiquity and vastness of the Minerva Initiative in many different institutions in the US and Europe (UK predominantly). The military-industrial complex is apparent from some collaboration by certain companies. The vastness of this arrangement between the US military and institutions for knowledge production requires critique or at the very least, acknowledgement – particularly as I have found many scholars in IR apparently unaware of such an Initiative and arrangement (Smart, 2016). It is hoped one might take away from this discussion, not only that there are considerations of language and definition (as mentioned above), but also of how 'threats' are perceived – within different contexts, periods and through different political or policy environments. These issues, for all concerned, are clearly relational (perhaps culturally relative also) and crucially not reliable over any extended period.

I have suggested greater attention should be paid to the 'security-industrial complex' (also known as military-industrial complex), particularly in relation to the influence of military agenda(s) on knowledge production communities regarding the current and future development of understandings of the definition of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' (Smart, 2016). Feminist scholarship on security, particularly Cynthia Enloe's consideration of Militarization is particularly useful in this regard. I go on to consider this in more detail in chapter three on the theoretical framework employed in this thesis. First, however, I address in the next chapter Globalization, the political context of recent years, the 2008 global financial crisis, and the scholar-activist identity and work performed within and outside of the IR community. This will help to foreground the elaboration of method used and analysis of material, in chapters four and five. It should also be useful context for the theoretical framework (which is an integrated security and political economy approach, utilising work on the necessity of narrative in the approach and analysis). The context in the next chapter is further elaboration on the narrative choice (as discussed above), of the author of the thesis. I am establishing a certain narrative, which is offered as an alternative to the orthodox state-defined narrative.

Ch. 2: Globalization, Neoliberalism, and Scholar-Activism

"*Nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis*

luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem"

(Satire VI, line 292, Juvenal. and Kelk, 2010)

The above quote translates to "*We are now suffering the evils of a long peace. Luxury, more deadly than war, broods over the city, and avenges a conquered world*". It seems incredible that a 1st century Roman satirist and poet would be quite so prophetic as to predict the malady of our modern society, following the 2008 recession particularly and the relative prosperity of recent political economy. One might suggest this is yet more evidence of, and a good excuse for, the inclusion of historical analysis and context in the study of terrorism. But this has been argued in other chapters here. In this chapter, I address the issue and concept of Globalization, focusing on the three core facets, the Neoliberalism of the United States and the West (i.e. the UK here), and the issue of scholar activism within this context. I draw examples from other regions facing significant, 'dystopian-esque', challenges, one such example currently is Venezuela. As Venezuela is often overlooked in global news media, yet represents similar challenges, economic instability, and civil disobedience. One could consider this chapter as making the case for the necessity for scholar-activism, as well as providing needed context. The practice of such an approach, for the purposes of this thesis, is explored in later chapters.

I also highlight the words of the future President Kennedy, in 1956, in calling for a more harmonious relationship between politicians and scholars (Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). It is suggested this may also be alluding to a scholar-activism of some kind, indeed, a version of a quote from the speech in question is sometimes used by scholar-activists regarding the idealism of scholarly activism. By exploring scholar-activism and activist scholarship in the social sciences, regarding sociologists, anthropologists and political geographers particularly, I was enabled to explore a key issue plaguing post-twentieth century scholarship. This issue is the separation between scholars favoring the elitism, empiricism and the illusive objective knowledge claims, and activists working with and for civic society (seeking to include the personal, experiential and emotional in their work). This division, which saw some rebellion in the 1960s, coincidentally, around the same time as 'radical' anthropologists and Professor Galtung were whistle-blowing on the dubious Project Camelot in the US, echoes the problem

of division which is raised in the theory chapter – regarding feminist security scholars working on security and political economy.

The scholarly boundary policing is reminiscent of the Enlightenment Era separation between 'science', 'art' and 'philosophy' (or what might be more accurately considered as 'theology' at the time). I discuss boundary-policing in the next two chapters. It also highlights a core element of my thesis, which is covered in the introduction and literature review, as well as in other chapters of the thesis, which argues for a greater awareness and interest in the slow scholarship of a focus on history and context. It is argued that scholar-activism, done properly, is in fact true scholarship and beneficial to knowledge production. It is also of great benefit to future scholars via teaching (pedagogy). As I have argued, this is of great and increasing importance in recent times, post-2008 and post-Trump, and Brexit in the UK (Medium, 2017; Yared, 2017). Indeed, the analysis in chapter five highlights the US military's concern and argument for the need of such training, for society at large, in defending democracy. I start with an exploration of the phenomenon of Globalization.

Globalization

In dealing with globalization, my argument will be a critique of the three core facets which make up the phenomenon. In recent years, Western States have seen more unrest amongst their own populations, particularly since austerity and the economic downturn/crisis has set in (since 2008). Indeed, Blomberg and Hess have previously stated: "*Results show that the occurrence of a recession alone will significantly increase the probability of internal conflict, and when combined with the occurrence of an external conflict, recessions will further increase the probability of internal conflict*" (pg. 74, Blomberg and Hess, 2002). The piece goes on to say that*: "Such dynamics are suggestive of a poverty-conflict trap-like environment*" (pg. 74, Blomberg and Hess, 2002). Socialist protest movements are becoming more visible. Harnessing social media platforms, they have erupted onto the streets in response to severe cuts to public services (domestic support mechanisms) and gross examples of wealth disparity in our society. The '99%' group, linked to the US Occupy movement, is a good example of this, as is the 'UKUNCUT' movement. We, in the Western world, are facing threats to basic life-sustaining resources, coupled with an apparent increase in natural disasters and global population increases further compromising basic resources (Bartlett, 2017; Allen-Ebrahimian, 2017; Hendrix, 2017; Brannen, 2017). In a BBC Lecture series,

Christine Lagarde, Managing Director of the IMF, raised these issues in her talk titled 'A New Multilateralism for the 21st Century' (Richard Dimbleby Lecture Series, 2014).

Globalization's technological advancements have increased the impact, awareness and organization of needy causes and movements, but it has also increased privacy and liberty infringements as well as opportunities for state censorship and propaganda (coercion, as it is considered in the literature review above). One such memorable example was the 'Kony 2012' campaign, which left global awareness as quickly as it appeared in the public view (Invisible Children, 2014). Scholars and commentators (often journalists) are initiating the rather timely debate of whether one should focus on the 'impact' of a social media movement or the 'longevity' of a movement – when considering and measuring the effectiveness of such campaigns (O'Brien, 2012; Herman, 2014). Impact is relatively easy to come by, particularly with the right strategy (PR), and is often possible to create in a very cost-effective way with limited funds - longevity and maintaining momentum and public awareness is much more difficult it would seem. It is also proving difficult for some campaigns to retain control over the 'message', as campaigns go viral and are subject to the very flexible and intangible terrain of social media (O'Brien, 2012).

The economic impact of globalization has been devastating to many domestic and regional economies; coupled with this, US 'imperialism' and neo-classical economic policy (i.e. Neo-liberalism) has arguably increased terrorist activity and threat (Aradau and Vans Munster, 2007; Aradau and Van Munster, 2009; Harvey, 2006). Indeed, the context of US support for neo-liberalist economic policies is very much present in examples from both Latin America and the Middle East, with only particular differences found in the ideology of the particular opposition 'movements' faced by the 'West' in the examples. Historically, it has not been uncommon for the US to 'intervene' in foreign government affairs (Globalpolicy.org, 2005) to bring about a more advantageous situation and environment (by US interests standards). The often paraphrased, quoted and referenced 1992 Presidential campaign slogan, coined by James Carville as Bill Clinton's core message: "*It's the economy, stupid*" (emphasis added, Levy, 2013) seems particularly apt to recall in this context.

This connection appears to be playing out yet again, if some reports are to be believed, in the Venezuelan anti-government protests (Lansberg-Rodriguez, 2014). Indeed, a Washington Post blog article acknowledges arguably a fundamental factor in the protests in Venezuela, and to a lesser extent the Ukrainian 'Euromaidan' protests. The article states: "*For all the*

differences between the situations, at least one key factor is the same in Venezuela and Ukraine: The centrality of the economy to the protests. In fact, the situation in Ukraine pales in comparison to that in Venezuela, where basic goods such as milk and flour are in short supply and inflation runs at 56 percent" (Taylor, 2014). Both recent civil society conflicts have erupted onto the international agenda, highlighting several common themes i.e. youth, economy, globalization, inequality, access to basic resources, violent protest, and anti-government sentiment. There is also evidence of a repressive and forceful state response to the public protests (particularly in the preliminary stages). As the Taylor blog post suggests, the relative lack of global media coverage and awareness of the Venezuelan crisis is indicative of the geopolitical differences in the two examples; coupled with a particularly prominent level of censorship in the Venezuelan context.

A recent NBC News blog piece, in exploring the key elements of the Venezuelan crisis, also highlights the fact that the country is the largest crude oil exporter in Latin America, with large petroleum reserves and yet is in dire straits economically and socio-politically (Brodie, 2017). Even before the protests, crime rates were very high with an estimated murder occurring every twenty-one minutes (Abdenur and Muggah, 2017). This 'insecurity' is surely compounded, with the highest inflation rates in Latin America. Sentiments of the protesters towards the current Maduro-led government were summed up by one of the main opposition leaders (Henrique Capriles): "*"This is a dying government.... I'm not going to be like the orchestra on the Titanic," Capriles told reporters, according to Reuters. "Miraflores [the presidential palace] is not the place to talk about peace. It's the center of operations for abuses of human rights"*" (Murray, 2014). Many activists and even regular citizens in the UK and US would certainly recognize the sentiments of the latter statement. It speaks to the divisions between citizen and state which are becoming more and more commonplace across the world, which the Minerva research I focus on here seeks to prevent or combat. I also find it a very sad and eloquent indictment of the current global situation many are facing.

The NBC piece also acknowledges the current relationship between the US and Venezuela as somewhat frosty and antagonistic, to say the least. Indeed, President Maduro recently accused the US government (led, at the time, by President Obama) of stirring up tensions between the protesters and the government, alleging a US-inspired coup d'état; once again raising the spectre of Cold War-era neo-liberal policies toward Latin America. Some commentators have claimed that we are yet to see the peak of the crisis in Venezuela, perhaps by that time the international community will be more aware of the conflict – despite the already escalating

cost to human-life. Notable figures such as Pope Francis and former US President Jimmy Carter have already called for an end to hostilities and peaceful dialogue between the opposing sides.

It is clear from Capriles statement above that the protest in Venezuela embodies a deep distrust of elite political figures and institutions. I would argue that this is not solely a concern in Venezuela but also much closer to home. It may seem odd that whilst I seek to question the actions of the US, regarding human rights issues, terrorism policy and knowledge production, that I am also highlighting this Venezuelan issue (given that President Maduro is accusing the US of lending support to the protestors). Such a position may seem contradictory; however, I would counter that firstly, it is of course possible that Maduro is either paranoid or seeking to shift blame for his own failings (or abuses). Secondly, for IR theorists critical of the concept of Neo-liberalism and its apparent dominance as a Western policy led by the US, this is not such an incongruous connection, as the US has a history of interference in its 'neighbours' affairs for its own benefit (both political and economic, in seeking to maximize its hegemonic power). Therefore, it is entirely possible for the US to maintain a neo-liberalist foreign policy stance of support for popular movements (even anti-government ones), whilst simultaneously suppressing such movements domestically (via domestic terrorism policy among other means). Unfortunately for students of International Relations, IR is full of such apparent contradictions which again represents the focus of our study as being a study of human behaviour – and thus ultimately a study of contradictions. Further to this, I would add, the US and global protests which erupted following the Inauguration of President Trump in 2017 significantly echo the sentiments as stated by the Venezuelan opposition leader, Capriles (Vick, 2017; Mason, 2017). I consider the Venezuela case a contemporary 'worst case scenario', politically; almost a dystopian view of what America and to some extent the UK could become post-Trump and post-Brexit, in terms of citizen resistance to repressive state violence and resource scarcity (security risks and economic instability).

One can now also see some very timely research and scholarship appearing, which highlights the correlation between economics and violence, particularly at the international level (Waters and Hyder et al., 2004; Humphreys, 2003), sometimes called 'Peace Economics' (pg. 1-13, Caruso, 2011; Cotte Poveda, 2011; Brauer and Dunne, 2011). Work in this area is also providing data which clearly shows the fiscal impact, on the World's economies, of violent conflict (Guidolin and La Ferrara, 2010). An example of which can be found in the findings

of the *Global Peace Index* which states that: "*If the world had been 25% more peaceful over the past year the global economy would have reaped an additional economic benefit of just over US$2 trillion. This amount would pay for the 2% of global GDP per annum investment estimated by the Stern Review to avoid the worst effects of climate change, cover the cost of achieving the Millennium Development Goals, eliminate the public debt of Greece, Portugal and Ireland, and address the one-off rebuilding costs of the most expensive natural disaster in history – the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami*" (Vision of Humanity, 2011). I find this a valid account, as it comes from eminent economists working on quantifying peace and violence. I explore Peace Economics further and the potential for theoretical engagement between feminist Security studies and Peace Economics, with reference also to Jacqui True's 'feminist peace economics', in the theory chapter below.

The social impact of globalization has been largely to increase feelings of isolation and a feeling of disconnect from traditional or developmentally and evolutionary useful networks or communities. Fear and frustration seem to be more commonplace for many 'global villagers'. This point highlights a trend which is becoming increasingly visible in society regarding far right-wing (also known as fascist or nationalist) views and fears becoming part of the mainstream views in Europe and the US. Indeed, this Nationalism issue was raised in Lagarde's lecture (Richard Dimbleby Lecture Series, 2014), particularly in the context of increasing global interconnectedness and the increase in inequality. This newly energised right-wing has been rebranded and is often referred to in sweeping global terms such as 'populism' or in the case of America particularly, the 'Alt-Right' (now represented in the highest offices of President Trump's rather limited administration).

Books and documentaries, as well as academic literature, are also beginning to look at this phenomenon (though by no means new, we are seeing a renewed interest). One such notable documentary is 'Surviving Progress' (Surviving Progress, 2012; Wright, 2005), which deals with this issue in quite a comprehensive way. For example, at the beginning of the documentary over the opening credits, Ronald Wright states: "*We're now reaching a point at which technological progress and the increase in our economies, and our numbers threaten the very existence of humanity*". I also believe a sense of global responsibility is lacking in much of the dominant public and academic discourse support for globalization (from a political or economic standpoint certainly). Indeed, as Ronald Wright highlights: "*Civilization is an experiment, a very recent way of life in the human career, and it has a habit of walking into what I am calling progress traps. A small village on good land beside a*

river is a good idea; but when the village grows into a city and paves over the good land, it becomes a bad idea. While prevention might have been easy, a cure may be impossible: a city isn't easily moved. This human inability to foresee -- or to watch out for -- long-range consequences may be inherent to our kind, shaped by the millions of years when we lived from hand to mouth by hunting and gathering. It may also be little more than a mix of inertia, greed, and foolishness encouraged by the shape of the social pyramid. The concentration of power at the top of large-scale societies gives the elite a vested interest in the status quo; they continue to prosper in darkening times long after the environment and general populace begin to suffer." (pg. 109, Wright, 2005). Considering these views, it is perhaps useful to think in terms of a 'nexus' of causality between the 'act or method' (i.e. political violence) and the 'motivation/reason/context' (i.e. political psychology). I assert in the thesis that too often and for too long the scholarly and policy focus has been on the 'act' and categorising methods, whilst putting numbers on cost to human life in the short term. Whilst this may be somewhat useful; if we are to prevent future violence and cost to human life (both figuratively and literally or economically), we must support efforts to analyse 'motivation and context' of such political violence (terrorism). I am interested in political violence used as a last resort, but also how advancements in social media technology have been used to significant effect by movements such as the Arab Spring as an alternative to political violence - in similar repressive and violent environments. Indeed the 'Anonymous' group has been heavily associated with regional movements such as the Arab Spring, particularly in relation to Egypt (Ryan, 2011; Madlena, 2011; Norton, 2012; Casserly, 2015). I think it is important to recognise the 'effect' of social media technology in 'enabling' and supporting some popular resistance movements, whilst also recognising that it has not 'created' such movements, they were always present – they are simply now being amplified.

However, the focus for resolution should fundamentally be on the political psychology part of the nexus, as this should serve to enable the creation of a 'resolution' framework. One must of course acknowledge the 'methods' used by groups, as this is typically the only part visible to civilians and international society (it is what draws aggressive responses from the international community). Indeed, this is currently the focus of interest for the US Government (military), if the Minerva Initiative (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008; Start.umd.edu, n.d.; Isvg.org, n.d.) and its affiliated institutes are to be taken as an indication of the relevant security policy. I would argue, however, that the emphasis should instead be put onto attempts to 'analyse' the violence and its 'root causes or context'. There is some evidence of

this being considered by the Minerva Initiative, which I consider in the three key themes outlined in chapter five, one of which considers the research reviewing the political economy context. I now consider my own engagement with university and the effect of neoliberalism on knowledge production, which precedes my consideration of scholar-activism and its relevance to the thesis.

Neoliberalism and Knowledge Production – the University and Me

My scholar-activism is inextricably woven into my personal history with a symbol of knowledge production. As a child growing up in Leeds (UK), the 'university' represented safety, family and a sort of intellectual buzz. My father was a lecturer in the University of Leeds Physics department, my mother also worked in the Estates department there. I was a very sickly child and faced many personal challenges, when I was off sick from my catholic school (as I often was), my parents often could not afford to buy in childcare (my older sisters were much older than I was and were too busy to perform this duty). Therefore, I ended up often having to go to work with my dad in the Physics department. I grew up wandering the offices, halls, canteens and lecture halls, sometimes sitting in on my father's lab teaching sessions or exploring departmental exhibits elsewhere. It felt like a place I belonged, particularly during a particularly tough time in my life. As an autodidact, particularly useful given the amount of school absences I clocked up over many years; it was a great empowering experience.

During my teenage years, a very chaotic period in my life, university represented something which seemed out of reach and off limits to me, due to an accumulation of childhood challenges, absences and more recent challenges. I was losing one of the few spaces which represented a 'haven' of sorts and fed my need for intellectual stimulation and curiosity. I had to register as a disabled student under the disabled student allowance scheme (DSA), an element of the 'widening participation' policy adopted by many institutions under recent Labour governments in the UK, to gain access to the university education I longed for. A key motivating factor for me in attending university was an interest in activism. The year prior to applying to university, I came across a multi-page photographic spread and news item in one of my Amnesty International magazines (Reyes-Manzo, 2006). This report covered the phenomenon of femicide and other disappearances of young women in Guatemala, post-conflict. The full-page photographs of what amounted to simply anonymous roadside spaces and ditches, with remnants of 'memento mori', left by loved ones, as an attempt to highlight

the loss to passers-by and stake a claim to the space. I was so moved by the activist account and imagery, that I kept the report and maintained my interest through study choices throughout undergraduate training, leading to a BA thesis about Guatemala, Sexual Violence during and post-conflict, and the (lacklustre) international response. The activist interest and motivation has been with me for a long time.

As an adult, my relationship and experience of the university has evolved further, now representing disillusionment, conflict, anxiety, trauma and business interests (Busby, 2017; Aur.org.au, 2017; Else and Morgan, 2017). These experiences have accumulated through three higher degrees and various external and internal trainings. This is relevant as my methods in this thesis are representative of a personal, storytelling style, reliant on experiential methods and a hermeneutic philosophical approach. This brief review of my personal history with 'the university' is further context for the 'scholar-activist' identity I have discussed in that method chapter below. It is borne out of an understanding of the knowledge producing institution and a personal experience of such an institution, which colours my current views and agenda in pursuing this project. It also serves as the motivation for my developing interest in the scholar-activism of others and the encroachment of external commercial and defence interests into the modern university, a neoliberal entity and to some extent an extension of state security interests. Given that my chosen subject(s) and educational career path has led me to focus my interest on the political and security concerns, this further serves to motivate my interest in this project and is perhaps to be expected (Heller, 2017). My perception of the issue is intrinsically linked to my own experience of higher education and my own political context.

What is the Purpose of Knowledge Production in the Higher Education Context?
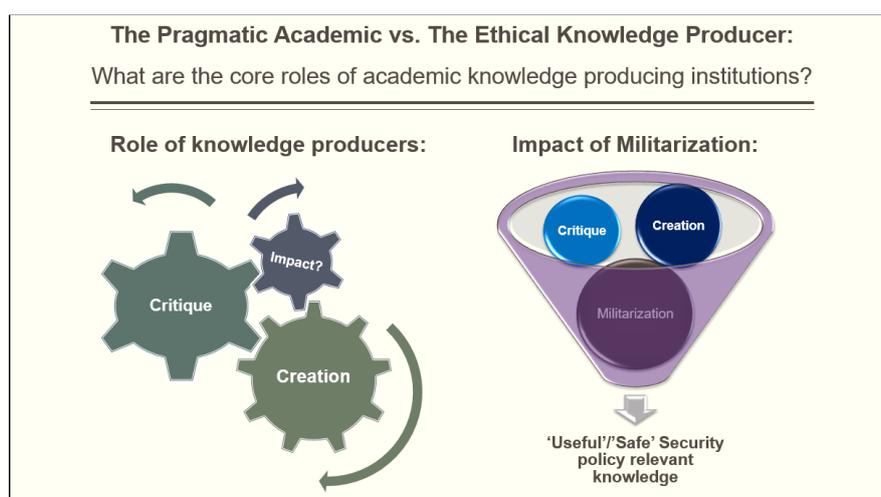
This slide was used in my presentations on my thesis research. I created it following my difficulty in thinking through and usefully 'visualising' and explaining a key issue at the heart of the thesis. Creation and critique is the core process, as discussed below. When you add into the equation, the influence of militarization and the contemporary marketized concept in academia, what you end up with is knowledge which dictates policy needs and has been created with the preference for 'useful' or 'safe' knowledge. It is essentially filtered through the prism of militarization, as seen above. This provides a Government/State view of 'useful' knowledge i.e. knowledge which does not or cannot challenge/critique or undermine the Government policy agenda. Thus, the knowledge produced is not just biased to commercial and military agendas (military-industrial complex), but also biased towards short-term government policy goals. This has been borne out in a review of the Terrorism studies literature above.

I believe this is a key question to consider when reviewing and critiquing the militarization of knowledge production. One's answer to this question is dependent on an individual understanding of knowledge production and the sociology of knowledge – it also lays bare one's political foundations to some extent. Given my own personal experience, narrative and political affiliations, I suggest that the purpose of knowledge production is two-fold: first to *create*, secondly to *critique*. One without the other limits societal security, development and progress. Much like the separation of church and state, as a necessity for a democracy (by Montesquieu's well-known standard), I believe it is fundamental for the creation and critique of knowledge to be separate from state and commercial interests. This is most particularly an acute concern regarding security and terrorism related knowledge. As is elaborated below, when the Academy in the higher education context is understood and experienced as a 'site of (epistemological) violence' (particularly post-War on Terror), this necessary democratic standard is under threat. This form of violence is often represented in the following examples:

one may teach and research political science, but you cannot have or express political opinions; critique is either banned, disliked or frowned upon; lecturers and staff are used as an extension of national border security (via spying and informing on 'tier 4' or Muslim students who don't follow strict rules) (Spiller, Awan and Whiting, 2017); the poor status of women and minorities in the Academy and disparity in pay for such communities.

In this environment, protest becomes not only necessary, but perhaps even the ultimate ethical duty in the current 'securitised' and unethical scholarly environment. This is perhaps somewhat ironic given the increasingly infuriating 'ethical review process' in the modern university. It seems counter-intuitive to concern oneself so deeply with creating a detailed bureaucracy around the need for ethical consideration and review of individual researcher activity, yet to overlook or ignore the ethical and moral ramifications of the creation of knowledge and its potential ideological and political uses (intended or otherwise); particularly if one considers the history of science (Einstein and the Nuclear Bomb, Nazi Eugenics and related 'scientific' inquiry, for example). Thus, the protest discussed in this thesis, that of academics against creeping militarization and marketization of the university and academia more broadly and of feminist (women) scholars against the IR academy and the security field particularly, is of great relevance to this work and the issues raised. The fact that there is now a precedent for a state (Japan) to recognise and consider the ethical and moral implications of military funding in the higher education context is heartening (Johnston and Osumi, 2017; The Japan Times, 2017; Normile, 2017). It indicates that an alternative is possible, if the motivation for change is there and academics resist creeping militarization.

Neoliberalism and the Sociology of Knowledge

Neoliberalism has been explored by educational sociologists in relation to scholar-activism (Henderson, 2017). For example, in considering a definition of Neoliberalism, "*I understood that neoliberalism was a particular strain of capitalism that, while economic, is a set of cultural, ideological, and political processes and arrangements that are managing our world, our schools, and our lives*" (pg. 19, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014). The authors further describe it as ""*cultural political economy*"". Asserting that what was happening in education "*could not be solely explained by an economic analysis, but instead required a consideration of the relationship between economy, race, gender, disability, and sexuality. Doing cultural political economy is an intellectual, ontological, and political decision that has had positive and negative implications. This approach has spurred a renaissance in my work, pushing me*

to write, think, and speak back to educational injustice on multiple scales" (pg. 19, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014).

The authors cite the troubling separation and paralysis between activism and scholarship, claiming that they should effectively be interchangeable terms. Further noting that, in writing the article, "*about activism and scholarship has required me to ask painful, ontological questions, to look into my own insufficiencies and privileges, and to find peace in the moment when the forces of the moral, the political, and "the real" are pulling me in various directions*" (pg. 16, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014). This is a great summary of the approach to such research, that the subject under scrutiny is also, and sometimes more importantly, oneself as researcher or academic. This highlights the immense difficulty in performing such a critique, especially when one's ethical and moral values require that research of the 'other' (whether representative of oneself or not), is unacceptable (as it reinforces hierarchies and privilege), and potentially harmful.

Fearing compromise, due to the marginalised nature of the activist scholarship undertaken, the authors state, "*the flawed propping up of "science-based research" as the legitimate, objective, facts forces me to think about how to make my work accessible, culturally relevant, and compelling to move researchers, policy makers, educators, and community advocates to act*" (pg. 19, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014). The authors conclude that in being pushed to the margins, "*forced to take risks, situated in politically and emotionally vulnerable positions, rendered illegitimate by the structure, the challenges in pursuing scholar-activist work are real*" (pg. 19-20, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014). Citing hope for new possibilities in uniting scholarship and activism, the authors "*hope that while our stories are not neat and simple, their complexities may inspire reflection and action. While our stories are very different, what is evident is that instead of thinking about our work as somehow new and innovative, we both very much appreciate the paths laid out by our predecessors and teachers, like Maxine Greene and Jean Anyon. We believe that the struggle continues wherever we are, and that there is an interdependent relationship between scholarship and activism where the two constantly inform and inspire each other*" (pg. 19-20, Suzuki and Mayorga, 2014). I would certainly agree with these sentiments, my scholarship and activist interest is and always has been wedded together, interdependently. I discuss further the benefit of such a vulnerable approach below, in the methodology chapter (four).

'Scholar-Activism' – A 'how-to' Guide for an Active (IR) Scholarship

Scholar-activism has been mentioned throughout this thesis, in referring to a particularly scholarly identity, in the methods chosen, and in relation to action(s). My awareness of such an identity and the work of scholar-activists is still in its infancy, as I have been developing it through the latter stages of my PhD training. However, I can provide some clarity on what it is, as I perceive it, and how others have understood the 'phenomenon' (which seems to be particularly taking off in the last few years, in response to global events and political environments). One initially finds many references to it via scholarly blogs and academic events (Jefferson, 2016). Professional online magazines have also attempted to address concerns of readers regarding seeking a 'healthy' balance between scholarship and activism (Rockquemore, 2016). Many references to it in scholarship appear to primarily be found in the sociological and anthropological disciplines, which in some cases has found its way into interdisciplinary work on International Relations. Such work in IR is focused on critiques of colonialism, race and gender politics, and is often exercised via feminist critiques in IR. Indeed, often one finds that the most prominent scholars marrying their scholarship with activism of some kind are women scholars. Perhaps this gender divide is due in some part to the fact that women are still faced with a greater 'pastoral' commitment in their scholarly career than their male counterparts, as well as tending to favour more ethically sound scholarship. This is something I have further developed in other chapters in the thesis, particularly in relation to feminist IR critical security scholars and early career feminist academics (Thwaites and Pressland, 2016).

It is via such interest and feminist sensibilities that I have come across scholar-activism, particularly regarding those scholars working on militarization of knowledge production and civic spaces. One such example being Annick Wibben, based at the University of San Francisco (USF). USF has developed a scholar-activist writing group to support the efforts of scholars towards public scholarship. These events, based in the Centre for Research, Artistic, and Scholarly Excellence (CRASE) at USF are in response to the Trump Presidency particularly. As the website claims, "*CRASE recognizes the need for research and scholarly activism that confronts and advocates for urgent social issues. The CRASE monthly Scholar Activist Writing Group provides a space for producing public scholarship such as op-eds and blog writing. New and seasoned writers are invited to collectivize around issues emergent from the incoming presidential administration*" (CRASE, n.d.). But, what is scholar-activism?

It is perhaps best to start by explaining what it is not, as the educational sociologist Sara does in the following blog post, "*Scholarly activism is not advocacy. Let me say that again, since in my experience people have trouble hearing this. I am a scholar-activist, but not an advocate. The difference is critical. An advocate begins with a core and guiding goal—not a theory—and pushes for changes to achieve that goal. In contrast, a scholar-activist begins with a set of testable assumptions, subjects these to rigorous research, and once in possession of research findings seeks to translate those findings into action*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2014). Sara states she prefers the latter role "*since I often have more unanswered questions than clear goals, prefer to turn to data rather than personal beliefs when thinking through policy options, and find that actions are more effective when guided by research*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2014). Whilst I would agree with the above limited definition and distinction she provides, I would disagree with her view of the role of personal beliefs. For me, my personal beliefs and identity are woven into my scholarly activism and often provide the motivation for the scholarly work I pursue. I cannot so readily distinguish between the two.

Sara further elaborates on the risk to social science, of dismissing scholar-activist activity, "*many in the academy continue to downplay the work of scholars who act on their findings. Those who instead study a topic, reach conclusions, and place their results into a journal without doing anything else about them stand in higher regard. This strikes me as a major limitation of social science as a field, and one that threatens our future*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2014). Believing instead that a "*public agenda of scholarly activism brings the lessons of scholarship into the real lives of communities. It challenges even the most extroverted academic to become clearer about her ideas, more thoughtful about how she communicates them, and wiser about how she evaluates the merits of research*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2014). As she asserts, it is far more "*difficult to be a scholar-activist, in my experience*", than not. As it takes, "*time, energy, emotional labor, and a thick skin. It is usually an unpaid gig*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2014). Such a view is not uncommon and alludes to the vocational nature of scholar-activism. I would add that, in my experience certainly, it resembles the 'calling' to service, of those attached to religious orders. Though it is a 'practice' which is often maligned by those who are not so inclined, as merely an 'affectation', it is in fact a 'raison d'etre' and something which cannot be compartmentalized in the life of the scholar in question (Grollman, 2014).

Others have sought to further elaborate on the urgency and political necessity of scholarly activism via blog collections. For example, Patricia Hill Collins, feminist public intellectual, states, in exploring the agency and choice of scholars to transgress the limits of the academy,

her lengthy educational training, "*was designed to equip me to wield the language of power to serve the interests of the gatekeepers who granted me legitimacy. My teachers did not consider that I might choose to use those same weapons to challenge much of what I learned, at least not as deeply as I have actually done*" (Collins, 2013). The article was about her book, '*On Intellectual Activism*'. In considering the Collins statement, 'Caitlin', via the Medium blog collection on scholar activism produced for Goldrick-Rab's class, states she "*touches on two strategies of intellectual activism: speaking truth to power and speaking truth to the people. While the first strategy may inadvertently reinforce those wielding power, the latter seeks to redirect energy to those without power. Engaging in both strategies can be a challenge and the interplay of being both an outsider and an insider can produce interesting results*" (Blog #1/ The Hyphenated Life of a Scholar-Activist, 2015).

Goldrick-Rab, in her own blog outlining her class on scholar-activism, references Erik Olin Wright's anti-capitalist project on '*Real Utopias*'. She highlights Wright's four tasks of the scholar-activist: "*1. Elaborate the moral foundations of activism. Every scientist does this, even if it's as simple as "being ill or harmed is bad." Wright spoke of being guided by the values of equality & fairness, freedom & democracy, and community & solidarity. 2. Diagnose and critique the world as it is, with guidance from those moral concerns. This diagnosis and critique should be scientific and relentlessly rigorous. 3. Provide a theory of alternatives. 4. Provide a theory of transformation*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2015). The last two of these tasks are notoriously difficult and often missing in scholar-activist output. I have sought to address these last two points in this thesis, with my own framework. In questioning whether it is possible to perform careful, rigorous and open-minded research as a scholar-activist, Goldrick-Rab asserts, "*Yes, but it requires being forthcoming and transparent about politics—after all, ALL research is political. Living your life as a researcher out loud, in public, is a surefire way to help your audience see everything that you are, preventing behind-the-scenes manipulation. The consequence, of course, is extreme visibility—something many scholars are admittedly uncomfortable with*" (Goldrick-Rab, 2015).

Further to Goldrick-Rab's definitional attempts, there is a particularly detailed example of anthropologists, ethnographers and sociologists exploring the definition and practice of 'active scholarship'. Charles Hale's edited volume (Hale, 2008) sees many scholars explore their own understanding of the practice and explain how other interested scholars may seek to develop a scholar-activist sensibility to their teaching and research practice (pg. 88 – 112; 341 - 366). Craig Calhoun, in the books' foreword, delves into the history of activist

scholarship, "*as old as Machiavelli and Marx or indeed Aristotle. The social sciences developed partly in and through activist scholarship. The classical political economists of the early nineteenth century did not simply observe the effects of mercantilism, they campaigned for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Sociologists at Hull House and the University of Chicago not only studied migration, they pressed for changes in legislation and local administration and through the settlement house movement engaged in direct action. Anthropologists have lately engaged in much soul-searching over complicity in colonialism, but anthropology was also recurrently the basis for efforts to mitigate harmful colonial practices*" (xiii, Hale, 2008).

Citing links to work on the international peace and security agenda, Calhoun notes the authors of the volume, "*seek a social science that continually renews itself through direct engagement with practical problems and efforts to create a better world. They wish to overcome tendencies to reproduce existing frameworks of knowledge in "ivory tower" settings cut off from practical human concerns. They try to encourage collaboration with nonacademics who are also actively engaged in the development of new knowledge*" (xv, Hale, 2008). Tracing the recent history of universities, which "*grew as elite institutions, training gentlemen for service to the state, the church, and as members of learned—and elite—professions*" (xv, Hale, 2008), Calhoun echoes sentiments of Annick Wibben and others who have portrayed the 'Academy' (represented in universities) as a hierarchical, male, elite place, forbidding to women and other marginalised scholars. This marginalization, in IR particularly, has been highlighted by Ayşe Zarakol (2017) recently in relation to the 'Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) surveys', an authoritative source for making sense of the discipline of international relations (IR) as a global field of practice. As Zarakol (2017) asserts, particularly in relation to constructivism within the field of IR: "*The results from recent TRIP assessments make a prima facie case that the discipline is hierarchically organized in ways that marginalize some of the most subscribed-to paradigms and approaches in IR. The assessments also make it apparent that the discipline is sociologically stratified in ways that should at least be questioned, if not outright challenged. On closer reading, what the TRIP surveys demonstrate is not an increasingly inclusive discipline, but rather one whose ...self-evident "mainstream" is a clear example of a social construction that should be problematized. Scholarship that is marginalized as being "not real IR" or as falling outside of the mainstream due to its lack of frequent representation in top journals actually constitutes about half of the global field of IR*" (pg. 75).

Claiming the rigidity and 'elitism' of social science scholarship, and the division between scholarship and activism, is a 20th century phenomenon which has unfortunately persisted. Calhoun notes, "*Social science developed increasingly inside the university but also in some tension with the emerging structure of academia. Activist social scientists like the great economist Thorstein Veblen found themselves fired—in his case, from Stanford for supporting trade unions. Entire disciplines were shaped by these tensions, as when economics split off from history in the late nineteenth century partly because the economists were widely engaged in social activism, and sociology in turn split from economics in 1905 partly because the economists (shaped both by sensitivity to shifting politics and by the marginalist revolution) were increasingly distancing themselves from activism and from older social institutional concerns (like those of Veblen)*" (xvi, Hale, 2008). Calhoun acknowledges resistance and rebellion against, what he suggests was "*the complete "academicization" of social science*", which was, "*one thread in demands for "relevance" in the 1960s*" (xvii, Hale, 2008). In doing so, we are given a glimpse of a potential key factor in the 'radical' protestations of anthropologists and sociologists, seeking to publicly critique and raise awareness of the ethically dubious connections between the military and social scientists (universities) which arose following Project Camelot in the 60s (Baker, 2016). This perhaps provides some context for Galtung's whistleblowing and continued activism, as well as some rumblings of discord from some 'radical' quarters over the Minerva Initiative post-2008 (Lutz, 2008). This, I would suggest, further highlights the great need for a historical understanding and a deeper consideration of context, particularly when it affects citizens and the nature of knowledge.

Calhoun also acknowledges the necessity of the first-person account in activist scholarship, as it "*reminds us that activist engagement connects social scientists to different people, problems, and places in very particular ways. It is not just about universal truths—though these do matter—but about producing truth in particular contexts and making knowledge useful in particular projects. It is about the way the world looks from different particular perspectives*" (xxi, Hale, 2008). This certainly speaks to the discussion and consideration found in the following two chapters (regarding the theoretical framework, methodological choices and autobiographical writing approach).

Political geographers have also sought to support scholar-activist attempts through sharing work on scholarly experience and potential resources for other interested students and early career researchers. As Kate Derickson and Paul Routledge outline, "*When deciding to engage*

in scholar-activism, it is important not to be immobilized at the outset by being overly analytical, overly reflexive, or overly cautious. What we mean by this is that we think it important, given the ongoing economic, political, and ecological crises confronting humanity, for aspiring scholar activists to enter the logics of an insurrectionary imagination" (pg. 3, Derickson and Routledge, 2014). Regarding core values and emotion in research: "*We need to let our core values (e.g., concerning dignity, self-determination, justice) and feelings directly inform our research. This is informed by both personal political values and the need to engage with our emotional responses to the world around us. This is because scholar-activist engagement emerges from our deep emotional responses to the world*" (pg. 3, Derickson and Routledge, 2014). Derickson and Routledge conclude by asserting that, more than just creating knowledge, for the scholar activist the aim is "*to put into practice principles of solidarity, equality, pluralism, and horizontality to resource the potential to establish counterpower to the alienation and dislocation associated with contemporary capitalism*", as they see it, "*the theoretical inquiry must always be accountable to rather than distant from actually existing community-based activism*" (pg. 6, Derickson and Routledge, 2014). This accountability is of immense importance to this thesis project and my development as a scholar and educator.

History's Lesson – Kennedy on Scholar-Activism?

President Kennedy, in 1956 when still a Senator for Massachusetts, gave a speech at Harvard University which has been referenced by scholar-activists regarding the idealism of the statement: "*…this institution whose whole purpose is dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and the dissemination of truth*" (Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). In this statement from the speech he is referring directly to Harvard University, often the quote is misquoted to encompass a more universal idealism of the scholar-activist, to: "*The goal of education is the advancement of knowledge and the dissemination of truth*". This is perhaps a minor point of clarification; however, in tracing back to the original full speech which this quote is taken from, I find further parallels to our current situation in academia and in politics, within the text. For example, he begins by outlining a generally understood description of the 'political elite', "*Our political parties, our politicians are interested, of necessity, in winning popular support - a majority; and only indirectly truth is the object of our controversy*". He then goes on to say "*the political profession needs to have its temperature lowered in the cooling waters of the scholastic pool. We need both the technical judgment and the disinterested viewpoint of the scholar, to prevent us from becoming imprisoned by our own slogans*"

(Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). This is still as true today as it was, however the allusions to propaganda and empty 'slogans' are again becoming mute points in our current climate.

We then find eerie parallels emerging, such as this example "*it is regrettable that the gap between the intellectual and the politician seems to be growing. Instead of synthesis, clash and discord now characterize the relations between the two groups much of the time. Authors, scholars, and intellectuals can praise every aspect of American society but the political. My desk is flooded with books, articles, and pamphlets criticizing Congress. But, rarely if ever, have I seen any intellectual bestow praise on either the political profession or any political body for its accomplishments, its ability, or its integrity - much less for its intelligence. To many universities and scholars we reap nothing but censure, investigators and perpetrators of what has been called the swinish cult of anti-intellectualism*" (Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). As I have mentioned in this chapter and elsewhere, the anti-expert and post-truth phenomenon we have seen appearing, of late, with the rise of President Trump and Brexit in the UK, is very concerning (Balfour, 2017; Baty, 2017; Enfield, 2017; Kellner, 2017; Wight, 2017; Wang, 2016). Kennedy further notes "*most intellectuals consider their chief functions that of the critic - and politicians are sensitive to critics - (possibly because we have so many of them)*". I would certainly agree that my natural inclination as a scholar is to critique and to forecast dystopian futures resulting from society's or political actors' current errors.

In alluding to the common ancestry between politicians and scholars, particularly in the US context, Kennedy states, "*The founders of the American Constitution were also the founders of American scholarship. The works of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Paine, and John Adams - to name but a few - influenced the literature of the world as well as its geography. Books were their tools, not their enemies. Locke, Milton, Sydney, Montesquieu, Coke, and Bollingbroke were among those widely read in political circles and frequently quoted in political pamphlets*" (Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). He clearly orates that "*the duty of the scholar, particularly in a republic such as ours, is to contribute his objective views and his sense of liberty to the affairs of his State and Nation*". Kennedy goes on to remind "*both groups that the American politician and the American intellectual operate within a common framework - a framework we call liberty. Freedom of expression is not divisible into political expression and intellectual expression. The lock on the door of the legislature, the Parliament, or the assembly hall - by order of the King, the Commissar, or the Fuehrer - has historically been followed or preceded by a lock on the door of the university, the library, or*

the print shop. And if the first blow for freedom in any subjugated land is struck by a political leader, the second is struck by a book, a newspaper, or a pamphlet". He ends by acknowledging that we need politicians (in his text "*men*") "*who can ride easily over broad fields of knowledge and recognize the mutual dependence of our two worlds*" (Jfklibrary.org, n.d.). His speech from 1956 should give us pause in our current political climate. Indeed, I have argued for a greater awareness and reliance on the lessons of history and a context heavy analysis – as opposed to the modern short-term, policy-friendly view too often taken by scholars in the field of security and terrorism work (see the Literature Review in the previous chapter). These words may not be his alone, he was working with a famous speech-writer who he continued to work with throughout his political career (Tobias, 2013); though, we may assume he was committed to the message, or he wouldn't have agreed to say it. One could say, I am arguing for a slower scholarship, a resistance to neoliberal expectations and pressures put on scholars (Butler, Delaney and Śliwa, 2017). I explore how this relates to scholar-activism in later chapters. I have established a definition of scholar-activism and borrowed from Kennedy's argument for an integrated idealist political scholarship. I now consider the pitfalls of too much 'unchecked' integration between scholarship and the 'State' (particularly regarding the security agenda of the State).

'Militarized' Scholarship and the 'Post-Truth' Phenomenon

As a feminist IR scholar (and academic), I am all too aware of the great odds and significant challenges facing me and others who identify as such. Higher education, the university and the 'Academy' has always been a forbidding place for women and those who represent an identity other than the 'white man'. I have explored this in further detail elsewhere in this thesis. The tales of PTSD from those who have sought to transgress the limiting boundaries of the 'academy' are indicative of an environment which can often feel like an intellectual battlefield for gendered bodies. This gendered (and racial) issue in the neoliberal academy has recently been further compounded by the Trump presidency in America and a propagandist phenomenon known as 'post-truth' (Baty, 2017; Enfield, 2017; Wight, 2017; Wang, 2016). There are rejections of expert views and facts, in favour of 'alternative facts' and 'professor watchlists' (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Woods, 2017; Ford, 2017; Mitchell, 2018). Post-2016 events have energised scholar-activism efforts across disciplines (Yared, 2017).

Pre-Trump (as late as 2015), those of us in the Critical Terrorism Studies community felt like members of a small leftist group which had something of a conspiratorial nature to its conferences and workshops. Post-Trump presidency (2017-) it appears this community has grown exponentially, almost like an explosion of 'wokeness', those who would have never considered themselves an activist (scholar or otherwise) have found themselves joining protest movements' events, social media campaigns and so on, in opposition against the rising threat of 'populism' and the 'alt-right' (Hess, 2016).

As Nadya Ali (a CTS scholar) writes in a recent op-ed, regarding the UK higher education experience, "*Universities are not mere service providers and students are not mere consumers – or, worse, suspects to be surveilled. Higher education institutions must be places of critical practice, which bring to bear the weight of scholarship on the societies of which they are a part. Academics still have space and agency to practise such critique, through their teaching, research or even the module handbooks they design – that determine the narratives that are heard and those that aren't. It is imperative that we reach out and make coalitions across borders – national, disciplinary and institutional – in defence of our colleagues, our students and a more progressive politics*" (Ali, 2017). Here Ali is highlighting many inter-related issues connected to the counter-terror policy of the UK and US, and the implications for scholars and higher educational institutions.

Scholar-Activist protesters at ISA 2017 in Baltimore, USA (Redden, 2017). Some academics attending the conference decided to hold silent (non-violent) protests in response to President Trump's election, his 'Muslim Travel Ban', the apathetic or lacklustre response of the ISA, and to

highlight the loss of colleague engagement and participation – due to the travel ban whether directly or indirectly.

In this instance, Ali was motivated to write the piece following Trump's 'Muslim (travel) ban' (Weber, 2017) and the poor slow reaction of the ISA 2017 conference organisers to comment on the situation (Redden, 2017; Saideman, 2017). The boycotts and scholarly protest which are now becoming commonplace (post-Brexit and Post-Trump) have led me to question whether the security environment these western states have created is making scholars pariahs against the state? This may seem an over exaggeration to some, but the case of Turkey and to some extent Hungary's CEU stand as irrefutable examples of that reality (Grove, 2017). Many have also raised the historical example of Nazi party involvement with higher education institutions in Germany, as well as the societal 'coincidences' and similarities between Nazi Germany and Post-Trump USA (Authors, 2017; Snyder 2017; Wolfe, 2017; Gunitsky, 2017; Boboltz, 2017; Brown, 2017; Kazin, 2017; Von Blum, 2017). To those who would still urge caution with such an argument, I would suggest that now is the time to suspend your disbelief and deal with our current reality (Kellner, 2017; Purdy, 2017; Schechner, 2017).

Propaganda and Communication – Violence, Political Representation and Survival

"*The party told you to reject the evidence of your eyes and ears. It was their final, most essential command*" (Orwell, 1984).

We frequently observe, in conflict, a fundamental breakdown in communication between the various actors. This is often a cause of violence and a reason for continuation of hostilities. The use of violence tends to replace communication methods as a means for disenfranchised parties to raise awareness and draw attention to their basic needs (Grogg, 2012). Violence has long since served as a useful tool for the human-animal in its struggle for survival, especially at times of resource scarcity and economic instability (Piazza, 2011; Maslow, 1943). As I have explored in the previous chapter and elsewhere in this thesis, violence and coercion is not simply the tool of the 'terrorist' or activist, it is often used by the State for survival, and can be understood in many varying ways. Propaganda is one such form of violence (coercion) which is used by both the state and political movements (and terrorists), it can be used constructively or negatively. I will now answer the following questions: What is it? Is it new? And how is it used? There appears to be a resurgence of interest and use of propagandist tools post-2016.

Propaganda has been described in a variety of ways, particularly across the decades of the twentieth century, when its use expanded to not only government and conflict, but also advertising and non-state political actors. David Welch, a Professor of Modern History and Director of the Centre for the Study of Propaganda, War and Society at the University of Kent, collaborated with the British Library in 2013 to create a detailed exhibition and accompanying book on the history and varieties of Propaganda. I was lucky enough to get to the exhibition, which ran from May to September that year and get hold of the accompanying rich resource (book). I have since used it to develop part of the scholar-activist toolkit teaching material. Welch includes, in an Appendix, "*a century of definitions*" from various sources. Such as the Pocket Oxford Dictionary, in 1984, which describes it simply as "*Biased information*" (pg. 204, Welch, 2013). Providing a more active motive for its use, Philip Taylor claims it is "*The deliberate attempt to persuade people to think and behave in a desired* way" (pg. 205, Welch, 2013). Noam Chomsky further elaborates on such a motive, describing it thus: "*Propaganda is to a democracy what the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state*" (pg. 205, Welch, 2013). Suggesting it is wielded as a tool of coercion or perhaps even violence (torture).

Welch also incorporates some quotes comparing the propagandist and the educator, which are quite relevant to this work. For example, Everett Dean Martin, from a book published in 1932, is cited: "*Propaganda is not education, it strives for the closed mind rather than the open mind. It is not concerned about the development of mature individuals. Its aim is immediate action. The propagandist merely wishes you to think as he does. The educator is more modest, he is so delighted if you think at all that he is willing to let you do so in your own way*" (pg. 202, Welch, 2013). Lindley Fraser, in 1957, claimed one could see it as "*a burning glass which collects and focuses the diffused warmth of popular emotions, concentrating them upon a specific issue on which the warmth becomes heat and may reach the firing-point of revivals, risings, revolts, revolutions*" (pg. 203, Welch, 2013).

Propaganda is often dated back to the Second World War and its use by the Nazi regime. Coming of age due to the development of mass media technology, global conflicts provided the impetus for its growth. Indeed, Adolf Hitler is cited as discussing propaganda and its use in '*Mein Kampf*' published in 1925, he claims of the masses "*their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence, all effective propaganda must be limited to a few points and must harp on these in slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan*" (pg. 201, Welch, 2013). This

would no doubt remind people of Donald Trump and quotes which have been attributed to him in the past, when asked about the Presidency and the Republican Party. Apparently, he previously claimed that if he were to run for President, he would stand as a Republican, as Republican voters are so dumb, they wouldn't question his claims or statements, they would lap it up 'en masse': this has however been fact-checked and debunked (Marsden, 2016; LaCapria, 2015). As illustrated in that last example, propaganda and misinformation is clearly not just a tool of the political right – but present throughout our culture, a bipartisan issue. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister for Propaganda and Enlightenment, at the 1934 Nuremberg Rally is quoted as claiming, "*Propaganda in itself has no fundamental method. It has only purpose – the conquest of the masses*" (pg. 203, Welch, 2013). Since Trump took office in 2016-17, there has been much disbelief at the blind faith of many Republican voters who voted for Trump, given the mediocre quality of his minimalist communication (though often repeated), his apparent lack of knowledge or acceptance of expert advice and research and so on. He has on many occasions used social media and T.V. appearances as if he was still the star of the 'Apprentice' franchise, a T.V. personality President. Indeed, he has previously been quoted referring to the size of his Twitter followers and fanbase, in relation to his ability to directly get his message out to so many people quickly – though his ego was wounded when photographic evidence challenging the size of his Inauguration crowd (and in comparison, to Obama's) was circulating worldwide (LaCapria, 2017).

People have questioned his sanity, his health and his intelligence since he took office, but what is striking is the similarities to the classic representations of propaganda and how it has been described by its proponents. Overt use of political propaganda is evident in the Theresa May campaigns, particularly in 2017 against Corbyn and in favour of Brexit (which she was previously strongly against) – and in her repeating the slogan "*Strong and Stable*", which has become something of a joke in the media (Poole, 2017). Also, in Cameron's campaign against Corbyn becoming Leader of the Labour Opposition party, his Twitter account utilised references to 'Red Scare' in suggesting Corbyn represented a (communist) threat to the family, the state and the economy. There have been many lies and untruths, or as Kellyanne Conway, Trump's Advisor, would say "*Alternative Facts*" (Loofbourow, 2017; Lossel, 2017). A phrase which seems to come straight from an Orwell novel, alluding to the "*newspeak*" in his '1984' book about a 'big brother' style surveillance state (Kean, 2017; Stone, 2016).

Propaganda is in fact thousands of years old, as a term it has not always had the same negative connotations that were further entrenched by its use by the Nazi party. The Ancient Greeks believed persuasion was an art form, as was rhetoric and considered logic and reason to be necessary components for communicating ideas successfully (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2014). In the 4th century Greek historians and philosophers were the first to describe its use in the service of the State. We find evidence of its use in various works of art (statues, architecture, coins, vases) projecting the achievements of politicians and the wealthy elite. Plato concerned himself with the idea of the 'propagandist', as did his pupil Aristotle who went further to lay down guidelines for orators – believing they should base their persuasion in truth. Alexander the Great, with a towering reputation as a military commander, is less well known as a propagandist but arguably established the 'cult of personality' (pg. 4-5, Welch, 2013). The negative connotations are often associated with the Nazi regime and the Soviet Union, though the British also had their 'Ministry of Information' and the Americans had the 'Office of War Information'. During the First and Second World Wars, the Allies were known to highlight the negative connotations of the word and its use by their opponents, whilst claiming they alone disseminated 'truth' (pg. 5, Welch, 2013).

Propaganda also has origins in the Reformation era, threats to the unity of Christian Europe and the medieval Roman Church lost territory in Northern countries. The ensuing political and religious struggles eventually led Pope Urban VII to establish the College of Propaganda in 1627, known as *Collegium Urbanum* (pg. 6-7, Welch, 2013). A training ground for young priests and propagandists, charged with improving the dissemination of religious dogma. From the 17th to the 20th centuries, the term is used comparatively less though the concept and methods continue to be used by those in authority and political agents. Used in the 18th and 19th centuries increasingly at times of ideological struggle, for example, in the American Revolutionary War and the French Revolution. American propagandists are considered some of the most eloquent and enduring in history, such as Tom Paine (pg. 9-11, Welch, 2013). It was between 1914 and 1918 that the wholesale use of propaganda as an organised weapon of modern warfare transformed popular understanding of its meaning into something sinister (pg. 15, Welch, 2013). The 1920s and 1930s saw the proliferation of the radio and later film and television as mass media tools of propaganda. The expansion of Hollywood and its impact across the world was particularly influential during and since this period.

Propaganda was further utilised post-1945 during the long Cold War period in the ideological struggle between communist and capitalist. These mass media advancements for carrying the

message, along with the more dominant capitalist ideology and multinational corporation development, enabled the spread of what has been referred to as 'cultural propaganda' or 'cultural imperialism' (pg. 20-24, Welch, 2013). The 1999 Kosovo War is considered the first time that systematic use of the internet is used, by all parties to the conflict – an example of the globalized nature of information sharing. The 'War on Terror', both the 9/11 attacks which preceded it and the resulting 'War' was further evidence of successful propaganda use (pg. 24, Welch, 2013).

We now inhabit a complex 'media-scape', President Trump's heavy use of social media (Twitter predominantly) is yet another example of successful propaganda use, as the world watches his continual controversial updates in 140 characters, in an environment of the 24-hour news cycle. Welch cites Goebbels as announcing, "*Propaganda becomes ineffective the moment we are aware of it*" (pg. 30, Welch, 2013). One must strike a balance between too rational and boring, and too emotional or strident, for it to be effective. But we must think of it in broad terms – if we are to be immune to its more negative effects. Whilst I have considered the term briefly here, as Welch and others have done an exceptional job of detailing the history and examples of such a pervasive aspect in our society – it was necessary to consider in relation to considerations of narrative, the wider context of this thesis and recent events (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017). It is also relevant as I expect to utilise this historical material in the scholar-activist toolkit, as an educator seeking to enable students to understand the mechanics of rhetoric and exploring tools for deconstructing propaganda in the everyday – this is especially important given our current political environment and the militarization of knowledge production.

'One-sided' Violence and Empathy – An Alternative Response to Violence?

I am interested in instances of 'one-sided' (Ucdp.uu.se, n.d.) violence/aggression in the international system, particularly where there are elements of socialist or Marxist politics involved in opposition to a state. This term, 'one-sided', taken from the UCDP database classification(s), is sometimes problematic for some people to understand. Essentially what is meant, in this thesis at least, when using this term is violence committed by non-state actors (i.e. protest or social movements, activists, dissidents etc), and of a political nature. That is not to say that this phenomenon operates in isolation (is not provoked) and I make no value judgements on the rights or wrongs of such acts, in using this term. It is simply adopted as the UCDP is a respected source on these matters among security scholars.

There is an economic aspect to my enquiry, in that the examples are drawn from periods when the global economic system has faltered such as the recent recession and international events from 1989 (Mearsheimer, 1990). My argument also highlights the heavy financial burden that various forms of violence (domestic and international) place on major world powers such as the USA. I hope to demonstrate that the emphasis should be more on non-violent and creative, communication-heavy responses to these forms of violence/aggression. Our response should be to seek to understand, empathise and provide support for rehabilitation, but more importantly prevention, as opposed to punitive measures in response to such acts of violence.

The implication driving this assertion is that what is needed is more empathy and understanding from major powers (i.e. the US) in dealing with minor actors (i.e. individuals/groups/movements using political violence). That is, empathy for the circumstances or contexts they are living or surviving in, often circumstances which have been created or at least facilitated by states such as the US (Stewart and Kleinfeld, 2016). I return to the concept of empathy, or more specifically vulnerability in my method chapter below, in arguing for the benefit(s) of this feminist approach.

McNamara on Empathy

This is something that Robert McNamara (Former Secretary of Defense for two US administrations during Vietnam and the Cold War), among others, has called for: in McNamara's case this change in view has occurred after years of experience through major war years and his time at the World Bank. McNamara claimed recently that, despite his previous policy judgements and beliefs, he had concluded that in our current international security environment (for which he saw the US as holding much responsibility), the environment required a change in our perspective to that of empathy and understanding, rather than fear and pre-emptive force. For example, in reviewing the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis in a documentary film (The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons of Robert S. McNamara, 2003), McNamara clearly states: "*That's what I call empathy. We must try to put ourselves inside their skin and look at us through their eyes, just to understand the thoughts that lie behind their decisions and their actions.*" (quote taken from a transcript of the interview).

Whilst this quote is taken within the context of McNamara reviewing the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and with hindsight, he also indicated that he favoured this view or approach,

particularly whilst working at the World Bank. This was where he apparently saw the stark reality of US policies he had been heavily involved in years before. Some commentators (Taylor, 2003), following the filmed interview of McNamara used here, have since claimed that the editing of the film distorted McNamara's intentions in his responses to the interviewer; suggesting he was 'duped' or misrepresented. Whilst this may be a possible explanation for the sea-change in his views as represented in the piece, I believe such negative comments on the making of the interview are perhaps politically motivated (as McNamara was a well-known Republican and head of the Department of Defense in crucial historical times during America's dominance in the 20th century). There is no doubt that he said what he was filmed saying. Intentions can be difficult to analyse and, whilst the film-maker's views may have impacted on the editing of the source material to some extent, I think it is plausible that McNamara could have been significantly impacted by witnessing the repercussions of his policies following his time at the World Bank. No doubt the insights of old age also would have played a role in this change of view. By changing our perspective, we may improve our solutions. One could consider that an example of the hermeneutic cycle method at work, he returned to historical experiences and decisions and his view on and understanding of it had evolved. We can all relate to that, to some extent.

There are many potentially useful case studies and examples one may seek to draw on to highlight and support the main themes and argument in this thesis. With two of the core themes being economic factors and globalization, as well as the equally important key themes of social movements and political violence – the shadow of the Cold War and its policies will be evident. However, my inquiry is focused on the domestic, personal example (i.e. the West/US). A preliminary review of the UCDP data may lead one to highlight the following wide-ranging examples:

-	Recent conflicts – Arab-Spring Uprisings (civilians vs state/govt), Occupy Wall Street protests (civilians vs state/govt/economic system), UK Uncut protests (civilians vs state/govt), Ukrainian Euromaidan protests (civilians vs state/govt), Venezuelan protests (civilians vs state)

-	Past conflicts (largely taken from around 1989) – Peru (Sendero Luminoso vs civilians), Venezuela (Govt vs civilians), Guatemala (Govt vs civilians), Mozambique (Renamo vs civilians), China (Govt vs civilians)

Further potentially relevant conflicts may include: Columbia (Medellin Cartel vs civilians), Mexico (Paz Y Justicia vs civilians, 1997), Angola (UNITA vs civilians), Ethiopia (Govt vs civilians), Somalia (Govt vs civilians), Sudan (Govt vs civilians/SPLM/A vs civilians), Bangladesh (JSS/SB vs civilians), India (NSCN-IM vs civilians/Sikh Insurgents vs civilians), Sri Lanka (Govt vs civilians/JVP vs civilians/LTTE vs civilians), Romania (Govt vs civilians), Russia (Meskhetian Turks vs Uzbeks), Israel (Govt vs civilians), Turkey (PKK vs civilians), Phillipines (CPP vs civilians).

Conclusion

Given the above argument, I would be inclined to predict that, if the political movements we are seeing in the West cannot gain free/open/fair access to such nonviolent communication methods, their voices cannot be heard (due to government actions such as censorship/shutting down access). This will inevitably lead to increasingly damaging and threatening political violence outbreaks against government or the international community; especially given the global economic environment. This further highlights the need for a change in perspective/approach to such 'threats', as I have suggested above.

In terms of my broader goals, I think my proposed alternative view has the potential to be exceptionally helpful to practitioners and academics in many wide-ranging fields of work. I would hope that this work, in suggesting 'alternative' perspectives, does not just serve academic interests but also, at least, provides grounds for radically challenging current debates within the field, and may support the adoption of workable prescriptions for improvement and stability within the international community. Whilst the suggestion to alter our perception or perspective and approach to this form of conflict may seem radical and new, it is not the first-time researchers have approached problems from different perspectives.

A classic example is that of Charles Darwin and his views (Darwinism) as declared in his seminal work 'Origin of Species'. Whilst his views are still debated and challenged in some particularly religious communities, his views and explanation for humankind's existence and evolution are still widely taught and used as a standard or basis for the biological sciences particularly, as well as some faith systems. Darwin enabled this change to take place by establishing a radical argument of intuitive 'science' and heavy observational work, taking his cues from quite diverse fields such as arguments from the political economy of the time. Thus, he challenged his colleagues and peers to adapt or evolve their approach to long-

standing challenges, which has improved the work of biologists and many others. Finally, I would just highlight that, whilst my suggestion to use somewhat 'unconventional' cues from unfamiliar fields such as developmental psychology, or the interdisciplinary social sciences, in this thesis, may seem 'odd', I think such creative or alternative approaches could prove to be very beneficial.

Indeed, I believe that to truly understand the human-animal and our 'man-made' threats to global peace (as President Kennedy put it in his 1963 AU speech), it is vital to understand man from infancy and particularly the way we relate with or to others, especially in difficult or threatening times. Whilst I am aware of attempts by the US (perhaps an example of which is the Minerva Initiative, or indeed Project Camelot), to engage broader social science (i.e. anthropological) approaches, I believe that this engagement should be questioned and may require further improvement.

This thesis attempts to analyse and challenge these connections between the military establishment and academia, in this field, and to indicate areas for improvement. I would say that it is certainly the case that the UK is yet to grasp alternative approaches, such as those I have indicated here, or to consider them of any import or use, despite the more favourable reception found within US academia and some parts of Europe. Indeed, other disciplines which share much common ground with International Relations (such as military history) have recently, and I would say successfully, engaged a similar approach to their analysis of the First World War (a timely move given the centenary). In the BBC series, 'Royal Cousins at War', historians focused heavily on familial relationship tensions which eventually resulted in all-out war. Given the global (economic) events of recent years, I believe the time is right for a re-evaluation of our response to such phenomena, and more importantly a greater effort to look to 'root causes' of the violence we are witnessing. With what appears to be a renewed Cold War environment in the international community, and suggestions of similarities between the present-day Trump Administration and Nazi Germany, it is, I think, particularly imperative to remind ourselves of history's lessons (Buzan, 2006). The work in this chapter goes some way to doing that, however, the thesis provides a holistic, integrated, transdisciplinary approach to address the issue of militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies. I now consider, for the purposes of creating the theoretical framework, feminist critical security studies and feminist work on terrorism, security, and militarization. The slightly unorthodox feminist positioning, which I elaborate on here, helps me to develop my relatively unorthodox methodology in the following chapter (four).

Ch. 3: Towards a Feminist Theoretical Framework: Critical Security Studies, Militarization, and Peace Economics

"Theory underpins the development of any policy" (Stiehm, J., 2003)

Introduction

Here I address the specific theoretical framework I intend to use in focusing on the issue of the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism.[13] In doing so, I begin with a review of Critical Feminist scholarship on security, political economy and violence. Indeed, I highlight the recent and troubling separation between those scholars who focus on political economy and those who focus on security, and support the call for a more integrated approach to feminist scholarship. This will enable me to develop further a feminist critique of contemporary terrorism and security studies. I will then review Peace Economics and outline how knowledge of this new sub-field (with some adaptation) may benefit such a feminist critique of terrorism knowledge production.[14] Thus, I seek to offer an alternative theoretical narrative with which to address the definitional problem posed by the Minerva Initiative's classification of civil disobedience, domestic political violence, and/or dissent as representative of a broader definition of 'terrorism'. This has proved a problematic approach for me to adopt, largely due to my frustration at the continual lack of engagement by the wider security and IR scholarly communities. I have attempted to consider some of the issues I have faced in trying to develop a feminist analysis in this context, I discuss this problem further in the conclusion to this chapter. However, despite initial reservations in using feminist theory for this project, I have embraced the spirit of feminist theoretical work i.e. one of opportunities for innovation and support of alternative voices. I have attempted to fashion my own critical feminist framework, to provide a more authentic or 'bespoke' approach in pursuing an analysis of the Minerva Initiative.

Situating the Thesis

In a capitalist system, which prioritises the (masculine/realist) security of the state, particularly in a time of crisis, scholars such as myself are unlikely to make any impact on policy-makers unless we deliver our message wrapped in a strong political economy

---

[13] Militarization will be defined in the section below on critical feminist security theory.
[14] Some would quibble with the idea of 'peace economics' being a new sub-field. As I outline in the section below, I am referring to the more recent iteration and distinct sub-field – though its roots run deeper in classical economic theory.

argument for addressing root causes, reducing violence and scaling back the securitization of the state - to paraphrase, again, the Clinton campaign 'slogan': "*it's the economy, stupid*" (Levy, 2013). This was discussed in detail at the IFjP 2014 conference at USC, and is something which continues to exercise feminist work in IR, not least due to current debates on the nature of critical feminist scholarship. I highlight a recent debate within feminist scholarship, discussed in detail in a recent Politics and Gender journal publication, below (Agathangelou, 2017).

In a post-2008, market obsessed, crisis economy, it really is vital to focus on the impact of violence on the global economy, as well as the economic system's impact on inequality and root causes of violence. I covered this in the previous chapter regarding Globalization, and will return to it in chapter five under at least one of the key themes found in Minerva research. For more on violence and the feminist approach to it as a concept, see the section below. It is from the following recent review of feminist work that I base my approach. In this chapter and in the wider thesis, security is conceived of in just such a holistic way, as narrative (such as through the national security discourse on terrorism), as experience (as discussed briefly below) and as situated in structural violence (inherent in the 'Academy' and as evidenced by the violence of the State). Where my approach differs (slightly), is in the call to incorporate some elements of Peace Economics into the analysis. I shall focus particularly on the 'peace' element of Peace Economics, along with its tradition of interdisciplinarity (less on its origins in economic theory) and the potential for connection to feminist views on the inter-relationship between security and political economy. It is here that I will start, following Sjoberg and Gentry's review, with Cynthia Enloe, arguably the Rosetta stone equivalent for feminist theorists on Security (Militarization) and Political Economy.

Feminist Theory and 'Security' Critique

Feminist theory in IR has often been defined by first comparing it to classical realist theory (Peterson, 1998; Runyan and Peterson, 1991) and conceptions of the 'State' as the ultimate authority and focus in the international system (Clausewitz, Howard and Paret, 1993; Morgenthau, 1967; Waltz, 2001; 2008). In leading with a detailed comparison, where Realism ultimately holds the 'dominant' position in the definition, often the complexities and nuances of feminist theory become 'lost' or overlooked in resulting debates and realist theory ultimately maintains its position as a dominant discourse. Essentially, I am arguing that much of the feminist work, whether by accident or design, ultimately upholds one of the core

structural abuses of power regarding knowledge production, because of this definitional 'standard'. Whilst I too have previously followed this trend in other written work, this feels problematic for me now as this arrangement appears to support the presumption that feminist theory does not or cannot exist without relying on this binary assumption. I have tried to avoid replicating this troublesome issue in this work by limiting my own reliance on such a definition as much as possible. Whilst it may be impossible to erase this reliance completely, by actively seeking to flip this binary dynamic in the thesis, particularly in discussion of theory, and subordinating realist conceptions and assumptions – I seek to show that it is possible for a definition of feminist theory without the standard reliance on realist theory (masculine IR theory) to 'legitimise' feminist theorising. For example, Hudson (2005) defines feminism as "*the area where theory and practice meet with regard to transforming the unequal power relationships between women and men. It is more than an intellectual enterprise for the creation of knowledge. It also draws on the struggles of the women's movement and the theorizing emanating from those experiences*" (pg. 156).

Such binaries, it must be said, are often replicated in a variety of feminist work. In work on equality, identity and representation particularly – the disparities and similarities between men and women are addressed again and again. This is clearly seen in work on development, international labour practices and conflict. To some extent, such a reliance is also true of feminist security studies, however I would argue that there is perhaps a greater awareness of problematic binaries in this field and attempts are made to critique and transcend such boundaries. Since its emergence in the 1980s, during the Cold War, and its development post-Cold War in the 1990s which enabled opportunities for exploring the 'gendering' of International Relations – feminist IR has proved itself to be an area of innovation. Early work connects broadly to the critical tradition in IR and the cause of postmodernism (poststructuralism, as referred to below). Following the influence feminist work has had on the international policy arena, more recent feminist work has sought to build on these successes by focusing on more liberal (less radical) feminist views on equality and 'gender-mainstreaming' (Bendl and Schmidt, 2012; Lyle-Gonga, 2013). This is an area of feminist work which I cannot claim to support particularly, as I feel that assuming that change is evident from the number of women one has in a boardroom or holding high office is not always a useful or successful endeavour. Often such appointments appear to be aesthetic (for the sake of 'Optics') and piecemeal, rather than signalling major change in the organisational practice. The next section provides some discussion of key concepts and approaches found in

feminist critical security studies. This then provides a foundation for my own feminist framework, illustrated below, which seeks to tap into both; older work which supports a collaborative effort in critiquing security in both a political and socio-economic aspect, as well as making use of advances in theoretical views on a more radical experience, and narrative based approach to security critique. Such work is more supportive of an intimate and self-reflexive critique and is thought to accommodate more readily activist-scholar material and alternative mediums of knowledge production and analysis.

Gender as Analytic Unit

Gender is considered a key element to understanding security. As Hudson (2005) states "*gender not only personifies a specific relationship of power, but also serves as a dynamic analytical and political tool by means of which gender as a unit of analysis and women and men as identity groups are used in tandem (but not interchangeably). This means that statements about femininity are necessarily also claims about masculinity, and that a challenge to our understanding of women's security necessarily transforms our understanding of men's security*" (pg. 156). Hudson touches on the concept of 'power' here, as do I below in the discussion of Post-structuralism and Foucault. I think what she is suggesting here is that whilst security may be manifested and experienced differently, it affects all genders (all people). So, though feminist work tackles critical security issues, that is not to say that the work produced is only applicable or relevant to the security concerns of women – as such work also relates to and critiques patriarchal security notions. Gender as a form of analysis appears again and again in feminist work, as illustrated below. Tickner (1992; 2001) is often cited in this regard as she develops a strong critique of the gendered nature of the State and War. Jacqui True has also built on this with her work on global sexual violence, political economy and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, most often associated with UN Security Resolution 1325 (True, 2015). Enloe's work on Militarization has also been critical in developing the critique of the gendering of international relations, all three of these scholars are addressed in more detail below (2000; 1993).

Feminists on War and Terrorism

In a recent article, published in a Special Issue of Critical Studies on Terrorism, Sjoberg and Gentry (2015) provide a very readable review of literature from the feminist scholarship on war, insecurity and terrorism. In doing so they suggest that looking at "*where women are and where gender is shows that war, terrorism and insecurity are as often in the bedroom as on*

the battlefield, and as often in the family home as in houses of government" (emphasis added, pg. 1). Further to this they suggest feminist scholarship has been at the forefront of a change in how security should be viewed to incorporate such 'personal spaces', arguing it has "*thought about security as narrative (Shepherd 2008; Wibben 2011), as experience (Sylvester 2013; Sjoberg 2013) and as situated in structural violence (Tickner 2001)*" (emphasis added, Pg. 1). By establishing terrorism and insecurity in these terms, for me, Sjoberg and Gentry are attempting to erode traditional gender binaries which would suggest war happens on a battlefield, insecurity is something experienced by those residing in the 'Global South' and terrorism solely relates to the 'Other'. The feminist construction invoked here is one of intimacy and familial closeness; it is in our homes, on our streets and in our political institutions. Thus 'we' may also be implicated in such violence.

In explaining the approach of the special (feminist) issue of the journal, Sjoberg and Gentry (2015) provide the following disclaimer "*like feminist authors in Security Studies and IR more generally'*, they, '*apply gender analysis to their subject matter to engage with the complications of gender stereotypes, terrorism discourses, and global social and political life. They do not represent a or the feminist perspective on everyday terrorism; instead, they represent a variety of feminist approaches to everyday terrorism*" (emphasis added, pg. 2). The article, in setting up the following pieces of the collection, considers 'everyday violence' and 'everyday terrorism'. The authors suggest these terms can often be used interchangeably and as such highlight state violence (terror) and domestic violence as relevant to considerations of the terrorism of the everyday (Pain, 2014). In doing so they concede that the "*key theme throughout this section is a questioning of who and what gets attention in CTS and IR, and the broader academic, policy and real-life consequences of that focus*" (pg. 2). This commentary and review of some of the classic examples of feminist literature, by Sjoberg and Gentry, provides a useful starting point on an alternative feminist approach for the purposes of critiquing terrorism study and knowledge production. In it, they encapsulate the very feminist notion of 'the personal' being 'political' and vice versa, that in conceiving of 'security' one must acknowledge the role of gender (women are at the forefront in reaping the effects of instability and insecurity). They rightly assert that security has been conceived of, by feminist security scholars, as narrative, experience and as situated in sites of structural violence. The disclaimer they provide is of equal importance, as they also acknowledge the fluidity and opportunities for further innovation in feminist conceptions of security and analysis of terrorism, thus differentiating feminist theorising from more classical 'realist'

theorising and 'claims to knowledge'. This is particularly encouraging in seeking to craft my own feminist approach, as distinct from other approaches in the canon. I will now explore the three core approaches mentioned above in more detail, beginning with a consideration of 'narrative'.

The Narrative Approach

Narrative is defined as a theoretical approach which seeks to bring to the forefront of security studies representations of marginalised voices – to democratise the study of International Relations (Wibben, 2011). It recognises feminist Critical Security studies as inherently political and further seeks to radicalise such critical work. As Cai Wilkinson writes "*the structures of power that perpetuate and (re)produce dynamics of exclusion, marginalisation, silencing and insecurity remain unaddressed in favour of reporting neatly on 'how things are'; the basic question of whether change is possible not even asked. The purpose of attempting to hear silences and see the invisible (that is, our assumptions about how the socio-political world is), therefore, is not only evident, but indeed necessary for CSS scholars*" (Wilkinson, 2015, pg. 338). She rightly asserts that, "*a central characteristic of a successful narrative is that it is plausible, meaning that inconsistencies and contradictions must be resolved via the judicious exclusion, as well as inclusion, of information. Similarly, our assessments of plausibility are strongly influenced by our prior experience and knowledge, meaning that the more congruent the narrative is with our expectations about the world, the more likely we are to find it convincing*" (Ibid.). As a political approach, first and foremost, it seeks to open space for a feminist intervention challenging the politics of security and the process of legitimation for current security practices (which this approach critiques and disrupts). Thus, it taps into feminist theorising on identity and representation particularly and to some extent is influenced by 'structural' and Foucauldian approaches. Story-telling and the contextualising of narrative is vital to this approach as it critiques and questions whose stories are being told and for whom, while pushing forward alternative narratives. Self-reflexivity is considered as important in ensuring that listening practices engaged in by the researcher are open to voices which may challenge pre-conceived notions.

Annick Wibben's work is often cited as a leading and early example of the narrative approach in Critical Security studies. In her book on the narrative approach, Annick claims that traditionally security narratives have tended to focus on a rather rigid structure involving threats that locate danger, referents to be secured, agents responsible for that security and the

means of providing security/containing threats (Wibben, 2011). Any narratives which do not conform to this narrow model are pushed aside or 'silenced'. In doing so she invites us to question what counts as knowledge, in this area, and for whom is it created. Annick also suggests that current methodologies promote framing in binary terms which impedes recognition of continuities and provokes the demonization of the 'Other' (this case is made particularly regarding post-9/11 events; see also Leibel, 2003).

Whilst a common criticism of this work has been made regarding the author overlooking the socio-economic factors at play regarding the issue of security, I don't particularly have a problem with that – I find it understandable given the length of the book and the nature of Wibben's goal with the project. Though I too seek an analysis which incorporates socio-economic analysis and context, Annick's addition to feminist Critical Security studies is still necessary and useful. This is not the only example of work citing the importance of narrative (Han, 2015). For example, Ashworth (2015), in a short piece on narrative and history in IR and strategic studies, states that "*since the early modern scientific revolution stories and rhetoric – once regarded as important to science – have been reduced to second-order knowledge*" (pg. 321). Furthermore, the author concedes that, "*at a meta-theoretical level, all IR theories and theorising are themselves narratives, even if they do not always inform the strategic narratives of global actors*" (Ibid.). In this piece, the author also cites Plato as an early proponent of the centrality of narrative and story-telling. Thus, while the narrative approach may be considered, by many, a recent addition to Critical Security scholarship, it is also based in a classical philosophical tradition, one could say it is as old (if not older) than the realist tradition in IR. I explore narrative further, particularly regarding the hermeneutic cycle, reflexivity and autobiography in IR scholarship, as method, in the methodology chapter (chapter four).

Security as Experience

Experience refers to the approach as used by Christine Sylvester (2013; 2011; 1994) and Laura Sjoberg (2013) most prominently. This approach also has a somewhat story-telling and contextualising nature though it usually involves putting the 'subject' of research at the forefront of the analysis. Often the 'data' is supplied and analysed in its purest form and analysed qualitatively (as done by all three approaches and feminist work broadly) with a heavy reliance on contextualisation and self-reflexivity. Work in this area also questions boundaries of knowledge in the discipline (IR) and in doing so developing the notion of

'feminist knowledge' in opposition to positivist theorising (Zalewski, 2015). The embracing, welcoming and analyzing of 'alternative' and minority voices is a priority in feminist research, as is the representation of 'experiential' (and thus often anecdotal) research or data and the challenging or disrupting of entrenched (patriarchal) power-structures and relationships in the creation or production of knowledge (Jones, 2017).

Indeed, Laura Shepherd has demonstrated this very competently in two (very popular) IR blog posts. For example, in reflecting on a symposium she attended regarding the attempts to combine Quantum theory (Physics) and theorizing on Critical Security, which she is more familiar with, she considers what she found to be problematic – focusing on the concept of Entanglement. In seeking to "*make connections that are not possible within the confines of classical thought*", she states, "*I am not a scientist. I am a messy body out of place, my 'self' apparently composed of bodies out of place. My world is not reducible. My uncertainty is vast. All of these things make me insecure, challenge how I move through professional time and space as I navigate the academy. But when I return home from my time in quarantine and joyfully reconnect with my family, I am grounded by how I perceive my entanglement. It is love, not science that makes me a better scholar*" (Shepherd, 2015b). As she asserts, too often we "*continue to act as though the world is our laboratory*", while bodies pile up, "*Can we not learn this from art? Must we turn to science (again)?*" (Shepherd, 2015b). Sentiments I too have shared as a young scholar of International Relations and International Law. All too often there has been a preponderance to focus more heavily on quantification of violence by numbers of 'bodies piled up', often to the exclusion of consideration of less quantifiable variables such as trauma (Auchter, 2016). The struggle is real.

In an earlier post, she considers transdisciplinarity (I believe one could use this interchangeably with interdisciplinarity to some extent). In this post, she considers boundaries, transgressions of such boundaries and the Academy's response to such transgressions. She states, "*Obey the rules of your discipline (research the right things, publish research in the right places, quote the right people and attend the right conferences) or the discipline will punish you accordingly*", one may feel this is a sarcastic or churlish view, but for many this is the 'reality' (Shepherd, 2012). For example, she further asserts regarding this 'boundary policing' that "*The idea of a discipline (noun), in the academic sense, clearly derives from the verb: both relate to establishing clear boundaries between what is right and good (behaviour/research) and what is wrong and bad (behaviour/research); both have ways to correct transgression when an uninitiated (or*

resistant) person strays. We are trained to recognize the boundaries of our discipline and to stay within them" (Shepherd, 2012). In seeking to subvert basic scientific truths, as a feminist scholar, we must assert our own truths and challenge the 'fictions' of the Academy.

As Shepherd (2012) asserts, "*These boundaries that we establish between little pockets of knowledge in the academy are a fiction. Transdisciplinarity, to my mind, is about challenging the fiction of disciplines, about recognizing that knowledge isn't something that can be carved up into neatly bounded parcels that we then work either in (to produce disciplinary knowledge); at the intersection of (to produce interdisciplinary knowledge); or with (to produce multi- or cross-disciplinary knowledge). Transdisciplinary work subverts the very foundations of the concept of 'the discipline', resisting and transcending the always arbitrary and fictive boundaries between; borrowing from Foucault, I suggest that talk of disciplines and disciplinary boundaries bring into being the categories themselves and such categories are always normative*". Essentially, what I take from this articulate ruminating on boundaries in the academy is that boundaries are a fiction. My own struggle with disciplinary boundaries and the merging of theoretical concepts in Feminist Security studies and Peace Economics, and in wider IR and History, Sociology, Anthropology or Political Geography, is only impossible if one accepts the arbitrary rules and decrees of the academy. Like the binaries invoked by definitional standards in IR for the writing of feminist theory, if one subverts such rules one may better establish and assert the authority of feminist scholarship (rather than accepting subordination of some forms of knowledge against others).

Shepherd has identified a problem that I have continuously come up against, that of boundaries in the creation of knowledge – boundaries that to my mind have never existed when theorizing and problem-solving in real life. Consider a child, the child does not approach a problem by first considering what tools and ideas cannot be used to resolve the problem – resolution is sought through a process of trial and error, using any, and all tools to hand until the most suitable is found to be successful (perhaps even by using a combination of available 'tools'). Boundaries and limits are not just removed, they do not exist for the child to begin with, this is something which is imposed on the child's enquiring mind through socialization and the use of discipline to encourage some behaviours and discourage others. So, we do not come into the world with such boundaries to our theorizing, it is a construct – which can be subverted. For me, feminist work is at its best when it is subverting notions of boundaries and constructs associated with power. Something I am reminded of constantly with one of my favourite empowering maxims: 'knowledge is power'. The emancipation of

knowledge for the benefit of all is, for me, one of the greatest feminist goals and achievements. I now come to the final of the three approaches, structural violence. This exercise in story-telling and contextualizing, I think, further highlights the value of such an approach to better understand the issues.

Structural Violence

Structural violence is associated with post-structuralist approaches which stress the uses and abuses of power within society through various structures and organisational levels (Tickner, 2005; 2001; 1992). It is often used in the analysis of 'indirect' or unseen abuse. Though it may be said that work such as Hannah Arendt's treatise on violence is also representative of some post-structuralist views, though critique of her work has focused on her apparent dissatisfaction with 'New Left apologists'. She makes repeated reference to student protesters and their use of 'political violence' in 1960s America and appears to conclude that violence may be used as a last resort when power and access to power eludes us (Arendt, 1970; Williams, 2017). The issues of protest, power, and violence, particularly in the US context, are key to this thesis and covered in more detail in other chapters. Whilst Post-Structuralism, as theory, has remained quite European, feminist post-structuralist approaches have tended to <u>focus</u> on the 'Global South' and have deeper connections to Marxist theory (Žižek, 2009). Foucauldian theory is commonly used to elaborate on structural violence, particularly regarding the representation of power inherent within language and how language is 'constructed' to manipulate and oppress particularly regarding 'Gender' (Moss, 1998; Connell, 1987; Butler, 2004). Post-structuralists see their role as 'deconstructing' and subverting this language based oppression and to some extent awareness-raising. Despite feminism being associated (more broadly) with activism – I think it would be fair to say that Post-Structuralism is very limited in its scope for activism, though it is often used to support activist struggles (or at least the aims and intentions of such movements), particularly those in the 'Global South'. I think many die-hard Post-Structuralists are more concerned with debating and parsing language with other scholars, over engaging in the activism their work is sometimes used to support. This has been my experience. Further detail on the Foucauldian approach is given in the methodology section.

Mutimer (2014) examines further the contribution Critical Security Studies scholars have made in dealing with some of the unsettling questions raised by security policy. In doing so he not only covers feminist scholarship but also that of post-Marxist Critical Theory and

Post-Structuralism (though one could argue there are more similarities than differences among these three strands of critique, at least in terms of origins). They all interrogate troubling certainties within the field of security scholarship in the name of the marginalized, oppressed and insecure. By doing so, Mutimer argues such scholarship may help to promote better policy, but suggests such scholars seek to empower (leading to freer people) with a greater involvement in more productive politics. Whilst I would agree with this assessment, I would suggest that many feminist scholars in this field do seek to improve policy and see it as less a by-product but rather a priority – we have just had to accept that given the status of women and feminist scholarship in the broader society and security communities particularly, we must find contentment with the status quo and accept such smaller victories (Clarke, 2017b; Cohn, 2018; d'Angelo, 2017). Natasha Marhia (2014) has deepened the analysis, put forward by Mutimer, and further examines securitization, particularly in assessing the mobilization of gender narratives in the post-9/11 'War on Terror'. I come back to securitization below, in comparing its value to the concept of militarization for this thesis.

On the issue of empowerment and 'emancipation', it is worth clarifying here that this is a rather contentious issue for me. Whilst much of the feminist and critical scholarship seems to actively seek a result whereby they are empowering or emancipating the 'other' (whoever that may be in the given situation), this is something which I and others find quite problematic as it assumes that the 'other' is not capable of emancipating themselves (for example through revolution). Whilst I do seek to uncover and elaborate on difficult truths, to 'empower' others (domestically) to access such knowledge and thus gain power they may have previously been denied; I do not condone or seek to empower an 'other' (as identified in colonial or racial terms). I see my role as a facilitator or supporter, I may partake in activism as a scholar, but I do not presume to emancipate others. At the most, I may only encourage reflexivity and a greater insight in others.

In summary, my view of Feminist theory, regarding Critical Security studies, is that it can be considered an evolution of sorts. From post-structuralism, narrative and experience (though one may take the view that the experience approach came before narrative), ultimately all three approaches are built on a foundation of critiquing and elaborating on abusive practices which serve to marginalise and silence alternative voices in the 'great debates' of Western IR. This critique is often characterised by a focus on language and story-telling, the interpretation of lived experience of war, violence and conflict of varying kinds. Whilst some feminist scholars take a more radicalised political approach, others tend to focus more on the socio-

economic issues underpinning and supporting inequality. However, they all agree on the need to critique power, claims to knowledge and that binaries are highly problematic regarding the issue of inequality (Wibben, 2016). Given the evolutionary and collaborative nature of feminist scholarship in this area it is no surprise that when one considers these three somewhat differentiated approaches to Critical Security studies, many of the well-known scholars associated with the individual approaches are also relevant to and known for work involving the other approaches. For example, Wibben, Shepherd, Tickner and Sjoberg among others are influential to and influenced by all the approaches to some degree. Like me, they have developed their differing nuanced approaches to feminist critique from a foundation in post-structuralist critique in IR and to some extent International Political Economy. Perhaps motivated by dissatisfaction with the limitations of Post-Structuralism and searching for a more radical approach which could incorporate activism and alternative media into its analysis, as I have been. This could be understood as seeking a move from a position of observation and distance to a more intimate/personal and participatory role with the subject of security. Or, indeed, as I do – seeking to critique and reflect on themselves and other scholars as the subject of security. More recently this has been reflected in work such as that of Saara Särmä on her concept of 'Junk Feminism' (involving collaging of popular culture artefacts to critique gender issues in the academy, which is the basis of her own distinct methodology) and Linda Åhäll's theoretical work on militarization, popular culture and political communication (Caso and Hamilton, 2015; Särmä, 2015b).

A key assertion of feminist critique of security is that "*Gender is intrinsic to the subject matter and politics of security*" (Hudson, 2005, pg. 156); though this is still not widely understood or utilised as it should be, even in 2017. An example of the necessity and benefits of such a feminist critique can be found in the Manchester Arena attack, seen as an attack on young women and girls in the West, and some of the resulting reporting and writing which further played on that gendered narrative (Cauterucci, 2017; Hurlburt and O'Neill, 2017). The same could also be said for the limited, almost non-existent, focus on race in this regard. It is becoming increasingly clear that those using political violence, from both the Far Right (Nationalist) 'terrorists' and those claiming to represent 'Islamic terrorism', are targeting women and children in our Western community. Not only are women and children (and minorities) discriminated against by the 'austerity state' in the cuts to frontline social services, but as the 'War on Terror' has moved ever closer to our domestic sphere, our doorstep, women and children find themselves the target of 'terrorist' violence purportedly

against the democratic state and modern capitalist values. This of course is not solely the concern of Western women, women and children in the 'Global South' are continually targets and 'collateral' damage in the various conflicts and instability. But, now it is on our doorstep, surely, we cannot continue to ignore the insights of feminist critiques of the politics of security. Finally, another common thread among such scholars and approaches is reference to and influence by Cynthia Enloe and her unified approach to Critical Security studies, combining security and political economy critique (Enloe, Lacey and Gregory, 2016). I come to Enloe's work, in the next section, and her concept of Militarization – vital to the topic of this thesis.

'Making Feminist Sense of International Politics'

This phrase is taken from the title of a seminal and ground-breaking text by Cynthia Enloe (2000), a feminist scholar who, with the publication of '*Bananas, Beaches and Bases'*, produced an essential text which not only broke new intellectual ground – but also generated space for a whole new field of studies (Critical Feminist Security studies which particularly involved an international political economy analysis). It has been referred to as the 'magna carta' of feminist international relations by at least one reviewer, on the back cover. Within the pages Enloe outlines how the international impacts on the personal and vice versa, with a trailblazing critique of global market politics and military projects. As another reviewer proclaims, this feminist classic (now on its third reprint), was "*ahead of the curve, before globalisation had achieved cache in academic circles, Enloe was there, cajoling Western feminists out of our political parochialism*".[15] Enloe asserts, in her chapter on 'Gender', that so far "*feminist analysis has had little impact on international politics*" (Enloe, 2000, pg. 3). She suggests this is due to women's experiences not being taken seriously. I would argue that despite some international developments (including representation of women being elected to high offices), this still largely remains true (Hansen, 2000). In considering why this is the case Enloe rightly claims it is because "*for so many centuries in so many cultures it has been thought of as a typically 'masculine' sphere of life...*" with only men "*...imagined capable of the sort of public decisiveness*" presumed to be required (Enloe, 2000, pg. 4), not least regarding the security of the State (in Realist terms a very masculine construct).

In citing other realms of socio-economic analysis (i.e. trade union leaders, economists, social workers and local housing officials) she claims international politics, and those who

---

[15] All review comments mentioned and largely paraphrased here can be found from various reviewers on the back cover of the 2nd edition.

'perform' it, are often relatively free from having to even consider feminist understandings of experiences of actors within the field. Enloe, with this text, sought to "*increase women's confidence in using their own experiences and knowledge as the basis for making sense of the sprawling, abstract structure known as 'the international political economy*'" (Enloe, 2000, pg. 4). This is something that Cynthia Enloe, in most of her public engagements and academic meetings, still feels very strongly about and still believes, in 2017, is vitally important (her book having been first published in 1990, post-Cold War). It is this core belief in feminist theorising (which Cynthia, arguably, first promoted globally with her book) that I wish to ground this thesis within, particularly as I represent my own feminist 'experiences and knowledge' in putting forward an alternative critique based in this body of knowledge. This idea of using our own experiences, to make sense (meaning) of abstract concepts in IPE and IR is critical, as this echoes the approach in my methodology and the choices of other feminist scholars in creating their own methodology (I discuss this further in the following chapter).

As Enloe and other Critical (feminist) Security scholars who have followed her have done, I focus on militarization (particularly the Minerva military project of the USA) – but I am focusing specifically on the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies (and resultant policy).[16] Further to this, she, along with many other feminist security scholars working today, uses a political economy lens in their research, as I seek to do here (albeit further developed to utilise peace economics to some degree). Thus, I believe Cynthia Enloe's early (and contemporary) work is of immense importance to the thesis. It remains shocking to me that despite the ubiquity and strength of much of the feminist scholarship, and the invaluable quality of the rich analysis critical security scholarship provides, it is still not more widely referenced or taken seriously amongst traditional IR communities.[17] The limited propagation of such work in syllabi and reading lists is still a problem, which no doubt impacts on whether insights from it are used in policy work. As the quote paraphrased from that at the top of this chapter suggests, 'theory underpins the development of policy'. Conducting the work as a feminist researcher, engaging in a feminist critique of current literature in the field(s) of IR and Security Studies; I have engaged with some critical security studies literature/concepts in this work (Wibben, 2011; Bellamy, 2004; Wyn Jones, 1995;

---

[16] Minerva.dtic.mil. 2008. *Minerva Initiative*. [online] Available at: http://minerva.dtic.mil/ [Accessed: 14 Feb 2014].

[17] A very topical example being the controversy around the 'all male' conference room names chosen by EISA 2015 mentioned in the conclusion.

Tickner, 2004). This is also an area for which academic feminism is known. It would seem the 'risk' of more equitable power-sharing amongst scholars engaged in knowledge production is still too much of a threat to many in the male elite, and this clearly still has a profound effect on the policy which results from such knowledge creation – particularly where state security is concerned. I argue in this thesis that this problem is further compounded by the Minerva (state military, masculinised, realist) funding support arrangement with select streams of knowledge production on terrorism.

Militarization – What is it?

In defining Militarization, it is also necessary to consider Militarism (Mabee, 2016). Enloe (1993), in considering 'regimes' essential to perpetuating the Cold War and its wider narrative of insecurity in everyday life, talks about the ways in which a feeling of imminent danger was cultivated externally and internalised by citizens. In doing so she explains that, "*citizens would be more likely to accept the heavy taxation and the underfunding of health, housing, and education that came with high military spending. Being persuaded that danger lurked, citizens would be more willing to leave secrecy unquestioned, to leave conscription and wiretapping unchallenged*". In 2017, given the socio-economic, political and security context, this sounds eerily familiar. She goes on to state, "*The more convincingly danger was portrayed, the more vulnerable was any campaign for social change to accusations of subversion*" (pg. 15). One can find many similarities to the current situation here. I am thinking in the UK context particularly, accusations laid against Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party, mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, and government response to terrorist incidences in 2017.

So, essentially Militarism and Militarization is a way to explain (name) the process of creeping military influences on, or in, the everyday civilian spaces and relationships. It facilitates the creation of a constructed (i.e. artificial) environment which enables the erosion of core human rights and allows increases in heavy financial burdens, often burdens held by the 'every-(wo)man', particularly under the 'state of war/emergency measures' situation. Such as the deployment of troops in the UK, under Operation Temperer, in May 2017 following the Manchester Arena attack (Travis and MacAskill, 2017). Critical military scholars also often highlight military recruitment schemes in schools or other social spaces, or military motifs in advertising, as a sign of militarization in the community. Thus, it

encompasses conditions, discourses, definitions, attitudes, thoughts and expectations produced because of the influence of military 'culture'.

In this book, Enloe considers this militarism in relation to the concept she puts forward as the 'gendering of danger', suggesting women and men experience danger and insecurity differently and react to it differently. Post-WWII this manifested in "*Pressing women – especially white, middle class women – back into the domestic sphere*" and went hand in hand with "*promoting consumerist capitalism*", she's clearly referring to the 'Rosie Riveters' – women who during WWII were tasked with working in munitions factories and as part of the 'Homefront' war effort, in place of men who had gone off to war, it was seen as their duty to 'support the troops' in this way and then to retreat back into the home/kitchen/their 'natural' feminine roles at the end of the hostilities (pg.16). This is perhaps a very well known 'origin story' for the concepts of Militarism and Militarization, though I would argue it is not the only historical root which can be traced, regarding women and the security (even creation) of the State. Rosie the Riveter is certainly a ubiquitous image of contemporary feminism in popular culture.

The original Norman Rockwell WW2 image alongside the more common 'retro' Rosie Riveter image, which has been plagiarised throughout pop-culture ever since (Epstein, 2015).

For a more developed historical analysis of women and their role(s) in state creation and security, I would urge you to review the four-volume set of books by Marilyn French, '*From Eve to Dawn: A History of Women in the World*' (2007-2008). Some criticism has been levelled at the earliest volume of this set, purely given difficulties in historically establishing accurately what happened during the earliest times of 'civilisation' and thus limited historical resources representing the lives of women in this period. In totality, the four-volume set is a

much needed and valiant attempt at sharing what little knowledge of women's role(s) there is in our history (French, 2008).

Indeed, Enloe still believes it is a very radical notion to perceive women as 'thinking' (Westminster.ac.uk, 2016; YouTube, 2016). In her University of Westminster public lecture titled, '*How Can You Tell If You're Becoming Militarized? Doing a Feminist Audit*', which I attended, she suggests we must do a 'feminist audit' of our (personal) lives to find out how we are militarized (YouTube, 2016). She claims that most people who are militarized tend to be civilians, which if considered alongside the definitions and discussions of militarization and militarism in this thesis, seems to be harmonious with that understanding. This suggests that it has been normalized in our culture, our world increasingly perceived as a 'dangerous place' (Greenberg, 2017). The discussion on security as policy in this thesis would also be useful to consider here. In that lecture, she referred to militarization 'by degrees', suggesting that it happens over time to the individual, the university, or other group or institution and so on. It is possible to militarize anything, in our social world (culture). There was also some useful discussion of narrative during the event. Enloe discussed the difference between values and beliefs, suggesting that underneath values are where one finds beliefs, and storytelling or narrative often communicates these things via various mediums (i.e. propaganda, songs, myths). Beliefs about who is protected and who is protector colour our beliefs about who has access to 'knowledge' and 'politics' – as women are usually perceived as victims, innocents and the 'protected', they are not considered to have access to knowledge (see also Enloe, 2016). She also discussed identity in relation to soldiering and citizenship. She acknowledged that feminist work often studies the silences and claimed such work was crucial to combat (localised) 'isolationism'. Indeed, she suggests that in a militarized nation, women gain visibility either as "*silent victims or as compliant patriots*" (pg. 54, Enloe, 2016). She states that "*national security and the globalization of militarization need to be considered together*" (pg. 55, Enloe, 2016). Enloe further elaborates that, "*Anything can be defined as a threat to national security, using the conventional understanding of that term, insofar as it appears to threaten the strength of the state*" (pg. 56, Enloe, 2016), referring also to McCarthy-era America and the hunt for 'subversives', those with left-wing sympathies or critics of the 'Cold War' state. It is not hard to view the recent attacks on Jeremy Corbyn and his 'anti-militarism' opposition 'movement' of the left in the UK in this context, particularly given the current security environment and discourse of the state. I return to this issue in the conclusion (chapter six) under the sub-heading, academic protest and national security discourse.

Following the 2015, Friday 13th attacks in Paris (related to suspected retaliation for Syrian bombings against the self-professed 'Islamic State'), Judith Butler wrote a very considered and moving blog article regarding the issues raised here i.e. militarization, mourning, security, the state and the law (Shin, 2015).

A Contested Term – Militarism vs. Securitism?

Bernazzoli and Flint (2009) have also considered Militarization and its use in Geography studies in relation to Security, in their brief review of its uses in the literature and acknowledging Enloe's work, they find it is a rather contested term of use – finding a problem of false binaries with the civilian and military spheres suggested. They state, "*In sum, the study of militarization is difficult because while there is an ontology of a formal military apparatus, there is no clean delineation between militarized and non-militarized spheres at any scale of human activity. Rethinking militarization requires rethinking what, exactly, the term 'militarism' implies. This concept has evolved from one that once denoted the evolution of a separate, dangerous military ethos to one that, presently, emphasizes the embeddedness of a militaristic mentality in civil society*" (pg.449). In this piece, they clearly put forward the preferred terms of 'securitism' and 'securitisation' as more accurate replacements to Enloe's favoured terminology – as they suggest this allows a wider approach to the process analysed and is more inclusive.[18] Finally, they claim that Enloe's definition "*implicates a vast range of institutions as agents of securitization: the military; police; churches; civil organizations; corporations; and institutions of the state which manage education, conscription and recruitment processes. This list of agents underscores an important fact of securitization: that it is not imposed upon civil society by the security apparatus. To the contrary, this process is largely one of civil society organizing itself around the production of violence*" (pg.450). Whilst I can see benefits of this alternative terminology, I would suggest for the purposes of this thesis Enloe's term is still useful given my focus on the Minerva Initiative as a subject of analysis, though as the consideration of security policy literature (in chapter one) outlines, 'security' and indeed 'terrorism' are still much contested terms used in IR. Therefore, this broader, more recent conceptualisation of militarism and 'securitism' may still prove useful for the thesis. If nothing else, this recent challenge to Enloe's definition highlights the very complex and messy relationship between the military, the state and the civilian sphere, I would suggest the last statement regarding the organisation of civil society around the production of violence also represents this Hobbesian

---

[18] I discuss militarism further in chapter five, under the key themes.

view (mentioned in a previous chapter) of violence being at the core of human existence and experience. Thus, this literature is very relevant to questions considered in this thesis about militarization and the role of the military in higher education and scholarly research on urban conflict and social movements. Militarism continues to be further explored, in relation to the concept of security, by feminist scholars (Basham, 2018; Eastwood, 2018; Mabee and Vucetic, 2018; Rodriguez, 2018; Wibben, 2018; Stavrianakis and Stern, 2017).

Room for Improvement

The issue of combining political economy approaches with critiques of security is a topical one for critical feminist scholars (Agathangelou, 2017; Chisholm and Stachowitsch, 2017; Elias, 2017; Stern, 2017; Wöhl, 2017). Dialogues had at an ISA 2014 panel led to a few publications in the *Critical Perspectives* section of *Politics and Gender* (pg. 406-438, 2015). Essentially, several leading feminist scholars (including: Juanita Elias; Laura Sjoberg; Heidi Hudson; Jacqui True; Shirin Rai; Katherine Allison and Cynthia Enloe) are increasingly concerned about the divide in theoretical discourse on violence between political economy approaches and critiques of security. These scholars are calling for a more comprehensive approach, incorporating an analysis on both issues as interrelated; something which critical (feminist) security scholarship has been known for in the past (Wöhl, 2017). A more complex and comprehensive approach is something Cynthia Enloe has and would continue to champion, as would I. The thesis, in part, seeks to put forward such a complex and comprehensive critical approach in relation to the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies. Thus, this approach is inherently feminist and addresses a very current problem at the forefront of Critical Terrorism studies and Critical (feminist) Security studies.

Peace Economics – What is it?

Whilst Critical Security studies may be more familiar to many IR theorists, at least at the most simplistic level, as scholarship which critically (and from a feminist perspective) challenges mainstream security scholarship, Peace Economics is perhaps less well known or understood. Peace Economics is a new and developing area of scholarship, a branch of economics, which also makes up a lot of the burgeoning field of Peace Science and therefore is a key element in the broader field of Peace and Conflict studies (Hiller, 2016). This is noteworthy, because it has tended to be quite 'scientific' in its methodology and outlook. I have a few issues with this – it is hoped that this work may begin to foster a new relationship between Peace Economics and Critical Security studies, as a by-product of the thesis. Though

this poses a great challenge if seen as an attempt at bridging interpretivist and positivist approaches and is potentially an impossible and thankless task. I have dealt with the positivist criticism and issue in the following chapter on methodology (chapter four). I believe this will be most beneficial for all concerned in the future, in reducing conflict/violence and cost associated with such socio-political disturbances. I believe there are some areas where harmony can be found with collaboration between the two sub-fields of study; my main contention is that a focus should be put on the feminist security ethic concept (see CSS section above) and how such an ethical approach can be utilised with the benefit of some peace economics knowledge. There will inevitably be areas which can also be improved. However, as Peace Economics borrows from many diverse areas within social, human and geographical sciences as well as IR, it also sits very well with the attempt to go back to an interdisciplinary approach in IR.

An infographic from the American Institute for Economics and Peace, indicating the many elements required for a state of peace to exist and the balancing of interests required (Vision of Humanity, 2017). Such an image represents simply the complexity of approach required for attaining such an ideal.

Definition

Anderton and Carter (2007, pg.1212), in defining the term from an international perspective, have defined it as "*the use of economics to understand the causes and effects of violent conflict in the international system and the ways that conflict can be avoided, managed, or resolved*". Such characterisation is not untypical and clearly draws influence from Johan Galtung's theory of 'Negative Peace' (as the absence of violent conflict), in contrast to his

view of 'Positive Peace' as the presence of peace-enabling structures (Galtung, 1969; Galtung, 1985; Boulding, 1977; Webel and Galtung, 2007). Having said that, some PE scholars have incorporated 'positive peace' in their work. In seeking positive structures for change, Peace Economics seeks for society to reach a point where violence is unthinkable, if still materially possible. For me, this is still thus very compatible with anthropological and philosophical notions of human beings and society as being inherently violent. Violence may be materially possible, but we should also be able to evolve to a point where it is not necessary to reach our goals or attain the things we need. Though, given the above consideration of violence and security, this aim of 'violence being unthinkable, though possible' appears unattainable at least within the current confines of a Realist International System – though I would suggest, this provides an opportunity for my hoped-for collaboration between PE and CSS, as I would suggest it may be possible in an alternative 'feminist' international system.

When one engages in lay discussions about such research as this, the immediate response is often of contradiction. It is considered 'silly' and pointless to do research on peace, as it is an idealist error to expect to be able to 'cure' violence. We see it every day on the news and in the papers. But that is to fundamentally misunderstand an endeavour such as this. We should be able to acknowledge, accept and embrace the violence at the heart of our evolution and survival – whilst also seeking 'non-violent' resolutions to political conflicts (I am referring to conflicts between citizens and host states here, which is the topic of my thesis – not 'all' conflict). Alvaro de Soto (2014), while reviewing diplomacy and mediation tools post-Cold War, argues that the environment fostered by the 'War on Terror' has somehow managed to simultaneously narrow the space for mediation whilst paradoxically enabling a proliferation of conflict-resolution actors whom he argues have further complicated the search for peace. As I highlighted in the terrorism literature review in chapter one, and as with any 'war', the declaration of the 'War on Terror' and the surrounding frenzy - in literature and policy circles – resulted in an avalanche of scholarship and involvement from quarters that were not equipped to adequately address the issue. There were and are many seeking financial gain and relevance from this very vague war, not just scholars but also actors working in the Military-Industrial Complex (MIC), which I elaborate on further in chapter five. I believe this also relates to de Soto's point here.

Whilst Peace Economics has tended to be associated with arguments which stress the benefits for global trade of reduced conflict and a scholarly discourse with the field of Defence

Economics; I will be stressing a focus on violence and (in) security, with consideration of political economy i.e. root causes/push factors which enable and sustain violence (Barbieri, 1996; Copeland, 1996; Gartzke, Li and Boehmer, 2001; Dunne, 1995; Enders and Sandler, 1995; Intriligator, 1990; Ram, 1995; Smith, 1995). Further to this I suggest the unethical arrangement between the military community and the scholarly community breeds inferior quality, policy-driven research and promotes misinformation.

Why Combine Feminist Security Critique with Analysis of the Political Economy of Peace?

This is where I believe Peace Economics can and should be better utilised, in the future, and I consider here why critical (feminist) security scholars are best placed to do it. Not least due to critical considerations of empathy within feminist IR and concepts such as Sylvester's (1994) 'empathetic cooperation', which has been developed further by critical security scholar's such as Sjoberg (2006), who suggest it can be understood as a 'feminist security ethic' (Sjoberg, 2015). I would suggest it is critical scholars who are best placed to approach issues of ethics within the realm of security and knowledge production, as it is predominantly women who have been failed by poor ethical standards and implementation (Ackerly and True, 2008; Aradau, 2004; Hutchings, 1994; Robinson, 2013). Classically, as 'outsiders' from the perspective of the male elite in these fields, women must surely hold the position of objectivity. As the 'fairer' sex, we have long been associated with such 'low/soft' skills as empathy, perhaps we are built for such work (Sylvester, 2011; Rice, 2009). Indeed, Carol Cohn (1987) has previously made clear that the highly-masculinised culture of the defence community contributes to the separation of war from human emotion. This is still true as of 2017, particularly given the move towards advanced technologies (drones) which appear to remove human emotion and responsibility from the act of killing and violence more generally. Though, as the analysis chapter below indicates, emotions, psychology, and the (online) social realm are the (new) battlefield for the 'New Cold War'. Furthermore, by raising the issue of ethics here, I am concerned not to become tied up in concepts such as '*jus ad bello/bellum',* often associated with ethics in International Relations and the use of force/violence. As this is also a very religiously orientated and classical view, I do not think it is particularly helpful in this context, it may exclude those whose ethics are not grounded in that religious identity – I am seeking to establish a 'broader church' for this ethical approach in the thesis. This is yet another reason for seeking an alternative 'secular' approach involving feminist critique with peace economics insights. Catia Confortini (2011; 2006) has already done some clever work in trying to combine the work of Galtung with a feminist

peace studies (Wibben, 2016d). Such work further helps in seeking to bridge disciplinary gaps in this project (Richmond, 2008). So that highlights why it may be a more 'ethically sound' approach, which is further explored in the following chapters – but why and how does Peace Economics correlate with the political economy approach inherent in Feminist theory?

Ultimately, I think this is best answered by considering two simplified definitions. The first being a definition of Feminism as essentially concerned with people, more importantly concerned with the underrepresented, the marginalised and those at most risk of inequalities in society. The second being of Peace Economics, which at its core is focused on the impact of violence and instability on the business community (globally) and state security/stability concerns. It is clearly apparent that such two definitions appear to represent two opposing agendas, one is bottom-up, and the other is a top-down approach. At first glance, theoretical collaboration would seem impossible. However, it is my contention that, with the considerations of 'transdisciplinarity' above and the subverting of theoretical boundaries it is possible to begin to open a dialogue between these two streams of knowledge. In fact, I would suggest it is shocking that there does not seem to have been previous attempts at this – indicative of the entrenched boundaries and power struggles mentioned above. It is apparent that both are concerned with violence, structural and economic instability and to some extent the security of the State (though there is disagreement on how the State should behave in pursuit of such an aim). I have previously stated that to be taken seriously by the 'Academy' and the policy community, feminists recognise that they must wrap their message up in an argument which stresses the (economic) benefits to the State as this line of argument is considered the most effective in dealing with a realist and capitalist state system. Most notably Jacqui True has led the way in this endeavour in tackling sexual violence globally, clarifying that 'FPE', as she refers to it, is "*a feminist political economy perspective*" allowing us to see, "*how the security state is constructed and legitimated through the masculine role of the provider in the patriarchal family-household and how the state appears a legitimate protector writ large to citizens when it uses force abroad, often in the name of women and children*" (True, 2015, pg. 419-420). To this end, I believe seeking greater theoretical collaboration with Peace Economics could be very beneficial towards this 'trojan's horse' strategic aim. I also believe this collaboration would ultimately prove rewarding to the further development of Peace Economics and facilitate a broader scope of analysis. For example, as I have highlighted in the chapter one literature review, the issue of state violence (sometimes referred to as 'terror') is currently overlooked in the literature on

terrorism. I would also argue state terror and violence is overlooked in the peace economics literature, to its detriment. This is an area which could be developed through theoretical dialogue with feminist Security Studies literature and Critical Terrorism studies.

Conclusion

Concepts such as Security and Militarization are still very much contested. First the chapter reviewed Critical Security Studies and relevant feminist scholarship, particularly as it relates to concepts such as gender, narrative, experience, structural violence and views on the 'feminist security ethic' and 'empathetic cooperation'. It was here that I also considered my reservations, as a feminist scholar, regarding feminist scholarship and raised concerns in pursuing such work. Regarding the discussion of binaries, which was a key issue for me in engaging with feminist IR work, I believe this is less of an issue for those using feminist work outside of IR. Such work seems more successful in rejecting subordinating binaries. Perhaps these 'limitations' are as a result of co-optation and subordination within the IR canon, a still very masculine, unforgiving and exclusive community. So perhaps I am seeking a 'purer' or more 'orthodox' feminist approach, free of the limiting influence of IR?

I followed this with a consideration of Peace Economics in preparation for the development of my own framework. In reviewing the literature, I have critiqued current and past assumptions made in the scholarship, and attempted to put forward an alternative theoretical approach (which I shall be exploring further in the thesis). Whether this results in an 'improvement' on a current theoretical approach or a 'departure' into an unknown, 'no man's land' in feminist scholarship – yet unchartered, will be left to the interpretation of the reviewer(s). Following a recent *EISA 2015* conference presentation on the work for this chapter, I felt I was getting closer to resolving my issue with feminist scholarship – I think my problem is not in fact with feminist scholarship, but rather with the continual lack of engagement with feminist scholarship by the wider (male-centric) academy in IR and Security studies. There is plenty of rich, nuanced and complicated material in feminist scholarship which deals with issues around security, militarization, political economy and violence, which is still often largely ignored by more traditional scholars in their analyses. This is also compounded by the recent and troubling divide within feminist Critical Security scholarship, mentioned above – though the *Politics and Gender* journal publication is an encouraging sign of a pro-active and considered response from the feminist scholarship community to address this gulf.

The use of a critical approach allows a greater access and insight to analyse the Minerva Initiative, in taking a position which seeks to challenge 'conventional wisdom' around the contemporary knowledge production on terrorism. When researching military/security policy, particularly regarding such topical and potentially problematic political decisions it is not only very difficult to obtain source material to analyse (due to the national security context), but also the material one can access (often as it is made publicly accessible) is either redacted or there are obvious omissions of material or context. Thus, the material requires careful analysis and one must try to be somewhat sympathetic in the assumptions it is necessary to make in assessing the material. As there is currently no other (comprehensive) analysis of the Minerva Initiative (a gap which this thesis seeks to address and, to some extent, fill), and much of the available material (online) is of a conspiratorial nature, the intention was to put forward an analysis that was not only 'critical' but also as factual as possible – something which, with this subject matter, is very challenging to accomplish.

The feminist framework produced from this work may not suit all problems or all feminist identified scholars, but creating such a bespoke and assertive approach has been necessary for me to tackle the issue of the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies and my own reservations and frustrations with feminist engagement – or rather the engagement of the 'Academy' with feminist theory. Indeed, it is also worth noting, for those less familiar with feminist work, that there is a difference between feminist work on gender versus a feminist approach or analysis; the two are not necessarily synonymous (Squires and Weldes, 2007). Whilst the framework I use is embedded in and evolved from feminist standards regarding post-structuralism and narrative, it seeks a somewhat more radical engagement with notions and subjects of security. Such a radical approach is still being articulated and defined at the fringes of feminist engagement, more often found in the arena of activism and through alternative mediums, technologies and performances which subvert patriarchal and highly gendered binary forms of knowledge. I seek a more normative engagement, which allows for a political identity and a more emotional/sympathetic response as a researcher, which is often denied by traditional streams of knowledge in IR. The aim is to dissolve boundaries between researcher and subject, reject disciplinary boundaries as set by the 'Academy' and thus allow for a more humane and personalised analysis which critiques the use and abuse of language in pursuit of security through the development of counter-terrorism policy. The aim is change.

Ch. 4: Alice Asserts Herself in Wonderland: Adventures Through the Looking Glass and 'At the Gates'

"*The world has used me so unkindly, I fear it has made me suspicious of everyone*" (from a letter by Mary Anning, in Dickens, 1865)

"*From the moment I fell down that rabbit hole I've been told where I must go and who I must be. I've been shrunk, stretched, scratched, and stuffed into a teapot. I've been accused of being Alice and of not being Alice but this is <u>my</u> dream. <u>I'll</u> decide where it goes from here*"
(Alice in Wonderland, 2010)

Mary Anning was an English beach-comber, fossil collector and dealer, and is now considered one of the first palaeontologists (as many of her finds resulted in the development of a distinct field of scientific academic inquiry into prehistoric life and the history of the Earth). She was collecting artefacts on the Dorset coastline, in the early 19th Century, before the analysis of fossils was considered a field of science. Given that she was a woman, and thus was not able to participate in the 'scientific' community in Britain at that time (a group of mostly Anglican gentlemen) – many of her ground-breaking finds were sold on and ultimately used in scientific inquiry without the proper acknowledgement of her pain-staking and often life-threatening work. She became well-known within geological circles of the period, both locally and internationally, but nonetheless was ineligible for membership of the Geological Society of London. The quote of hers above, was found in a letter she wrote to a young girl, supposedly about her inability to gain credit for the work she produced, this was then quoted posthumously and published in Charles Dicken's weekly journal '*All the Year Round*'. In 2010, one hundred and sixty-three years after her death, the Royal Society finally included Anning in a list representing the top ten British women who have most influenced the history of science. Why have I included this reference in a thesis about the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies? Because it speaks to one of the wider issues of the thesis, the ongoing challenge for women to break into the 'Academy' with their own work, particularly when such work challenges the very foundations of theorising and knowledge claims in said Academy. Militarization is a facet of the patriarchal system. It is used, as discussed in the previous chapter, to 'secure' various spaces in the social world, including educational establishments such as schools and the university system. It is the security of the State, another male construct for organising individuals and groups activity,

which is of greatest concern. Militarization and the hierarchical boundaries it supports in the creation and pursuit of knowledge is a core concern of this thesis. The same frustration witnessed in Mary Anning's letter, is, I would argue, also evident in the fictional words of Alice above. This frustration and tension is evident in much of the feminist scholarship on security in IR. Both prior to, and during, the process of this research I too have been wrestling with my own frustrations – for a long time I struggled with a resistance to using feminist research and a feminist methodological approach as I had become so jaded and conflicted about the use of such work and the relative benefits or progress made by feminist work, with so many barriers to its acknowledgement and inclusion. This was something I had to work through personally, to get to a point of being able to articulate the problem I faced and go beyond that to attempt to deliver an alternative solution based on my perspective of the issue, an original contribution, if you will. In choosing to use such alternative and creative feminist methods, as I explore below, feminist scholars are seeking the tools to not only 'excavate' 'truths' to further their fields of inquiry, but also seeking the tools to transgress and disrupt the boundary policing which is still widespread in our field. Boundary policing is also evident in society and scientific inquiry more generally, as the above Anning story indicates. As someone who was fascinated by dinosaurs as a child (and unashamedly still retains an interest in all things dinosaur related), and as I am seeking to share my own counter-narrative of this knowledge production phenomenon – such a reference was impossible to overlook. In 'telling my story' and exploring the process of knowledge acquisition and production from my perspective, utilising the below methods – I hope to enable a deeper, more personal engagement with the issue of militarization, but also to encourage and enable future scholarship from a variety of diverse perspectives, by others who may be galvanised by such a controversial undertaking and see glimpses of themselves in the 'experience'.

In this chapter, I will be outlining the methodological framework I have chosen for this project. The framework is essentially building on theoretical critique and including reflexivity, using the hermeneutic cycle method with 'critical' discourse analysis and an auto-biographical style of writing. I first summarise the theoretical framework and literature considered in previous chapters; this is followed by a consideration of 'traditional' discourse analysis. Here I provide a definition, based heavily in the work of Foucault and feminist methodological inquiry. I find discourse analysis alone to be wanting for this project, it does not go far enough, and I was seeking methods which enable social justice activism. Hence, I followed this with a detailed consideration of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – which, is

used with reflexivity and the hermeneutic cycle method, resulting in the favoured method for the analysis of the Minerva Initiative found in chapter five. Detail on the methodological choices and resources is also found here. It is at this point in the chapter that I consider the challenge posed by the chosen methodology for the researcher. Following on from this I highlight the strategy used in doing the analysis. Finally, I conclude by asserting that the combination of a theoretical critique, critical discourse analysis and reflexive method is necessary to complete this project, why this is necessary, and a consideration of the relative benefits of such an approach. I'll begin with a philosophical jargon-filled section on the academic nature of the enquiry pursued in this project, before I get to the interesting bit. Whilst this may seem to contradict a central aim of feminist research – to break down barriers or improve access to knowledge and academic discourse by rejecting the use of academic jargon – it is still a necessary statement to clarify the validity of this research to those reviewing the work.

The Jargon – putting the 'Ph.' in PhD

Ontologically subjective, epistemologically interpretivist, methodologically qualitative – techniques used are ethnographic in nature and the form of 'data analysis' used is a framework including reflexivity, the hermeneutic cycle method and discourse analysis (i.e. CDA). I have described and further explained the framework of data analysis below, in detail, and engaged in the necessary meta-theorising required when using hermeneutics. I will now briefly explain these philosophical terms to further describe the nature of this work and indicate my understanding of advanced philosophy required for PhD work – it is a 'Doctorate in (or of) Philosophy' after all (O'Gorman and MacIntosh, 2015).

Ontology is the branch of metaphysics (philosophical study) which is concerned with the nature of being, existence or reality. Ontological questions are usually focused on the 'what' and the 'why', whilst also focusing on details of hierarchy or groupings – in other words it is concerned with classification and an understanding of what is known to exist (outside of the self) and how one interacts or relates to that reality. Therefore, by claiming that my ontology is 'subjective' I am referring also to my critical theoretical foundations in IR, how I comprehend the world around me and my theoretical framework in this thesis. As detailed elsewhere, critical feminist accounts establish the constructed nature of reality and the inherent hierarchies, agendas and biases in language (which helps to construct our reality and impose boundaries upon us).

Epistemology, however, is concerned with the nature and limits of knowledge, and the various methods of attaining such knowledge. One could say this branch of philosophy is more concerned with the 'how' and the 'where' questions. Exploring the limits and differences between belief and opinion, epistemology focuses on our internal knowledge (an example being the, often used in academic enquiry, Socratic Method) and our experience(s) which are brought to bear in our creation and interpretation of knowledge claims. By claiming that my epistemology in this thesis is interpretivist, I am also developing the subjective nature of my understanding the outside world and my interaction with it (as a representative political subject at the core of the project), and claiming that my consideration of the sociology of knowledge and critique of orthodox IR knowledge is based in my 'interpretation' and feminist, 'scholar-activist' experience within that system.

This is explored further in my elaboration on the hermeneutic cycle method, used in this thesis, and my consideration of the importance of interpretation and 'meaning'. These two positions, or philosophical arguments are entirely congruent with each other, one view necessarily enables the other. Methodology, here, simply refers to the set of rules, principles, and system of methods within a discipline of study (i.e. the social sciences). I consider the origins of the word 'methodology' below, when exploring further my 'artistic' methodological approach. By asserting that I am using solely qualitative methods in this project, I am indicating further the subjective and interpretivist nature of my understanding and analysis of the topic at issue. Ethnography is simply the technique of systematically studying people and/or cultures, particularly where the researcher is observing from the position of a subject of the group being studied. It is thought that this gives a particularly rich and complex insight into the subject of study. Ethnography is more commonly associated with anthropological study. The practice of making the researcher (the 'self') the object of study is more commonly found in sociological studies, particularly where the focus is activism related.

Inspired by CDA, the 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1965), loose and basic thematic analysis uses reflexivity to account for the bias and various identities I inhabit as researcher and researched. The reflexivity also supports the creation of meaning and context, via the dialogue between, and with, scholarly texts and pop-cultural references, a dialogue which is made possible due to the hermeneutic cycle process. It is an unfinished, ongoing, fragmentary and contextually rich form of analysis – which necessitates the limited 'primary sources' and the interdisciplinary breadth of wider experience and knowledge cited.

In seeking a clear 'roadmap' to guide my use of grounded theory, an approach which can be hard to pin down and distinguish, I consulted Lynlee Howard-Payne's (2015) very informative and readable article. Howard-Payne's article reviews the differences and uses between the Glaserian and Straussian approaches. Finding, as I have, that when seeking to perform research which takes note of historical context and individual meaning-making, and which enables novel theory creation through the concurrent literature review and theoretical framework building – alongside data gathering and analysis – a Straussian (constructivist) approach is best, compared to the post-positivist, critical realism of the Glaserian approach. Acknowledging the vagueness of some Straussian accounts in the literature, Howard-Payne finds this improved by also consulting work by Strauss' intellectual progeny, Corbin (Strauss and Corbin, 1997; Corbin and Strauss, 1990). In doing so, Howard-Payne unpacks the Straussian approach thusly: "*(1) psychosocial developments direct and structure grounded theory inquiry; (2) the collection and analysis of data occur and proceed concurrently; (3) the research process, as well as its outcomes, is guided by the data as they are collected and analysed rather than by predetermined theoretical frameworks; (4) this approach triggers investigative processes and development of theory in favour of simple verification of existing theory; (5) the conceptual categories are (to the greatest extent possible) perfected, detailed, and finalised through the process of theoretical sampling; (6) in addition to investigating human behaviour and social practices, this grounded theory approach aims to understand social experiences by housing the investigative outcome in theory generation; and (7) the grounded theory analysis gradually results in further conceptual levels of analysis*" (pg. 58, 2015). As such, I have also found it a useful approach in this work. I was ultimately led by the scant data I had access to at different stages of the (hermeneutical) research process, collection and analysis often happened concurrently, and the outcomes shifted from those initially outlined (to some extent). I have been focused on experiences and the psychosocial to some extent, outlined below, and I ultimately wove my theoretical and methodological framework together as I was working with the 'data' and the writing up of the thesis (concurrently). This was a departure from my pre-PhD process of research, whereas I used to start with a definite theory and method to apply to a topic or issue – this time, I initially resisted my natural inclinations and began with an issue and some preliminary questions. The project then evolved from that, ultimately I returned to largely familiar theoretical territory.

However, a word of caution is offered, for those seeking to stick to such an approach, suggesting researchers try to avoid the following (for the sake of clarity in reproducing the

method): "*(1) confusing and mixing qualitative methods of analysis – the researcher should not compromise the canons of the grounded theory approach by relying on techniques from other qualitative methods (most commonly that of phenomenology); (2) generational erosion – the researcher can undermine the fundamental tenets of a Straussian grounded theory by shifting from the simultaneous nature of data gathering and analysis; (3) the premature closing of categories – the researcher should ensure that the data are adequately analysed to embrace higher levels of analysis and consequent interpretation of the data; (4) making use of excessively generic labels – the researcher may then have a purely descriptive account of the data rather than considering the conceptual processes that are specific to the context in which the phenomenon being investigated occurs. With the use of overly generic labelling of codes, the researcher is unable to adequately reflect on various emerging ideas, which would consequently guide the researcher in examining and reflecting upon the data in such a way so as to construct an analysis that is theoretically critical rather than simply descriptive; (5) importing concepts – the researcher may be unable to consider alternative concepts for the phenomenon being investigated as they cling to their discipline's preconceived notions and interpretations of the data. When this occurs, the researcher 'fails to provide an original and grounded interpretation' (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1996, p. 124); and (6) typology – the researcher can be guilty of this form of methodological transgression when there is a violation of the tenets of grounded theory philosophical assumptions and general method*" (pg. 58-59, 2015). Acknowledging the flexibility of the approach, the intertwined nature of method and methodology is also highlighted. Another critical reason for my choice of Straussian (and Corbin) inspired grounded theory is the importance placed on researcher reflexivity and the inclusion of the researcher as political subject in the research which is explored further below. I have tried to be mindful of these concerns, though certainly I did struggle with some 'descriptive' writing up and a limited analysis of Minerva Initiative data regarding the funded projects. I have elaborated on this and the challenges of my process below, particularly in the concluding chapter (six).

So, the work is qualitative (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009) using theoretical critique and a reflexive thematic analysis. It is widely understood that "*Theory underpins the development of any policy*", though some may question whether the 'tail wags the dog', in this context (Stiehm, J., 2003). The reason for using such methods and methodological approach are best considered in relation to the work of Stuart Croft (2012, pg. 198), who points out, "*New Britishness has been developed in part because of the 'new terrorism'; the new Britishness*

Self is being constructed against those who support home-grown terrorism, those are the internal Others. This discourse has led to the creation and adaption of institutions to further this new Britishness". This securitised concept of 'Britishness' has also been used to silence critics of government policy on counter-terrorism and austerity, by enabling a situation where such critics can be accused openly as terrorist sympathisers. I have argued and cited this point in the previous contextual work, in relation to the Corbyn example, among others. It is within this context that I am working as a critical scholar concerned with the production of terrorism knowledge, militarization and the neo-liberal higher education institution. As highlighted in the consideration of critical terrorism studies literature in chapter one, scholars such as Harmonie Toros have raised the very pertinent question of the impact agenda in higher education and the repercussions for scholars in the security field and wider IR. Taking the UK as her example, she states the impact agenda "*has become embedded in our work and, more worryingly, in the institutional evaluation of our work, the famous "so what" question asked about any research has gone from meaning "how does this contribute to knowledge?" to "how does this contribute to knowledge <u>and</u> how can it have relevance beyond academia, including in the policy world?*" (pg. 126, Toros, 2016). Further she warns, "*Many of us fear that there may come a dreadful day when the first question is marginalised in favour of the second. Just as worrying is the fact that there is little institutional discussion of the ethics of impact: How can this research hurt people if it is used by states or the private sector?*" (pg. 126, Toros, 2016). This concern is certainly shared by others in the critical scholarship community working on terrorism research and policy, and I too share this concern in looking at the work of the Minerva Initiative particularly. Indeed, I explore this very issue further below, in concluding the analysis in chapter five and concluding in chapter six. The methodology adopted and elaborated on in this chapter should provide a more ethically-sensitive and reflexive scholarship, like that discussed in much of Henry Giroux's work (Giroux, 2012; Giroux, 2006, 2006b; Giroux, 2005; Giroux, 2004; Henryagiroux.com, n.d.).

Theoretical Critique

Conducting the work as a feminist researcher, engaging in a feminist critique of current literature in the field(s) of IR and Security studies, I have engaged with critical security studies literature and concepts in this work (Wibben, 2011; Bellamy, 2004; Wyn Jones, 1995; Tickner, 2004). This is also an area for which academic feminism is becoming known. Conflict resolution literature (Galtung, 1969), as it relates to: inter-personal group dynamics, violence, communication, hierarchies and power (Deutsch and Coleman et al., 2011;

Coleman and Deutsch, 2012) is also useful in this context. Catia Confortini (2011; 2006) has also done some fine work in trying to combine the work of Galtung with a Feminist Peace studies (Wibben, 2016d). Such work further helps in seeking to bridge disciplinary gaps in this project (Richmond, 2008). Whilst this sample collection of theoretical views and work does not do justice to the project of this thesis, it is a representative sample of some works cited in the consideration and critique of theory.

Discourse Analysis

The discourse analysis used in this project has involved a review and analysis of sections of the Minerva Website and some research documents produced by the Initiative and wider Department of Defense community. A list of Minerva sources considered in the analysis can be found below under the '*Sources*' sub-heading. This has required me to cross-reference between diverse sources of information, it has also required me to take my background knowledge of International Relations theory, Critical (feminist) Security studies and the concept of Militarization to analyse the written material and make certain assumptions/draw conclusions, using this knowledge. It is an original analysis which is personal to me, predominantly because there has not yet been any kind of analysis of the Minerva Initiative in IR scholarship, but also because my discourse analysis is informed by my experience and identity as a feminist researcher (Shepherd, 2008a; Sylvester, 1994; 2011). It is part of my feminist academic toolbox, another researcher approaching the same subject may use different tools or sources and this may result in an alternative 'reading' of the subject matter. With this thesis, I put forward my argument for why this feminist analysis is useful and necessary to critique this subject matter, not least as there currently does not seem to be any critique or analysis of the Minerva Initiative in Critical Security studies or Critical Terrorism studies.

What is 'Discourse Analysis' and How is it Used?

Discourse analysis is impossible to define in the form of a singular technique; it varies across many disciplines in which it is used. The idea of what constitutes 'discourse' is also questioned. We can say that, "*Saying things in language never goes without also doing things and being things*" (Gee, 2014, pg. 2). So, for example, a builder on a construction site is not only a builder, that is their job description and represents their everyday actions on the job, but the language they use, the vernacular is also indicative and representative of their identity, culture and experiences. Such a vernacular is unlikely to be found in a resident of a stately

home, who represents a member of a higher social class – the discourse such a person uses to interact and describe their world and experiences will be very different. You might say, they represent a different 'tribe' or socio-economic group and the performance of their distinct identity via the medium of discourse/language to differentiate themselves from other socio-economic groups enables them to assert authority or superiority over an imagined 'Other', particularly in insecure times. So, "*underlying the word 'discourse' is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being 'medical discourse' and 'political discourse'. 'Discourse Analysis' is the analysis of these patterns*" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, pg. 1). So, we can say, discourse is inherently social and connected to actions and identity. Discourse Analysis as a method involves interrogating the everyday patterns and structures represented in language/discourse (Sousanis, 2015). It is generally agreed, however, that "*discourse concerns the way in that language is used to construct meanings and make sense of the social world*" (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009, pg. 263). Language has a purpose which is considered to reach beyond the informative to a form of legitimation for the actions of individuals and institutions (Jackson, 2012; 2009; Shepherd 2008b). "*Discourse therefore combines both language and the function and effects of language*" (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009, pg. 263). The focus of analysis tends to be upon written or printed forms of spoken language (such as speeches and broadcasts) and written documentation (policy documents for example). It is thus a very useful method in dealing with the medium of media and political discourse. An analyst's interest often lies in understanding psychological and political functions of language (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009, pg. 263), concerned not only with 'what' is being said, but also 'why' it is being said. It is useful and vital in understanding the constructions of identity, motivations and perceived responsibilities of the subject or group in question. This is also, I believe, why it is often used in feminist methodology – a methodology which concerns itself with the 'personal' and 'political', constructions of identity and power inherent in language, society and organisations.

Foucault, Discourse and the Feminist Method

Foucauldian theory on language as socially constructed and as enabling power structures is deeply connected to both discourse analysis and feminist critique. My own previous feminist research was always based within a Foucauldian contextual analysis. "*Foucault was opposed to the notion dominant in rationalist theories and positivism that knowledge is immune from*

the workings of power. Instead, Foucault argued that power in fact produces knowledge. All power requires knowledge and all knowledge relies on and reinforces existing power relations", (Smith and Owens in Baylis and Smith, 2004, pg. 285; see also Kritzman 1998; Moss 1998).[19] Smith and Owens also, with reference to Jean-Francois Lyotard, whom they suggest further simplifies post-modernism (and to some extent, critical theory) as incredulity towards metanarratives, state "*Incredulity simply means scepticism; 'metanarrative' means any theory that asserts it has clear foundations for making knowledge claims and involves a foundational epistemology. Post-modernism then, is essentially concerned with deconstructing and distrusting any account of human life that claims to have direct access to 'the truth'*" (Baylis and Smith, 2004, pg. 285-287).

This theoretical perspective on methodology asserts that reality is also constructed (perhaps the ultimate construction), and that it can change over time (Sousanis, 2015). Therefore "*dominant discourses operating at any one time contribute not to an absolute truth, but to regimes of truth*"… "*that what is held to be true can change over time crucially illustrates the point that dominant discourses reflect the interests of those wishing to exert power at the time*" (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2009, pg. 265). Considerations of regimes of truth and knowledge production is very relevant to this project, given the issues raised by feminist scholarship (particularly the vast anecdotal work) on claims to knowledge and power, the issues around that mentioned in this thesis and the implications of the realist, patriarchal power over the definition of 'terrorism' (Jackson, 2012; Shepherd, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2015). Whilst it is true that the work in this thesis is heavily influenced by such fundamental ('post-structural') feminist discourse analysis, as many other feminist security scholars have been, I have found that there is also a need to move beyond such work and explore the benefits of a more flexible and radical approach. It is thus at this juncture that we should consider CDA regarding the methodological framework pursued, as discourse analysis does not enable the social justice activism I am seeking for a scholar-activist framework.

Critical Discourse Analysis

For a definition and summary of CDA's history one may look no further than Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) who assert that it emerged, "*in the late 1980s as a programmatic development in European discourse studies spearheaded by Norman Fairclough, Ruth*

---

[19] This theory has been expanded on by other theorists since Foucault, such as R W Connell, Gender and Power (Stanford UP, Stanford 1987) and J Butler, Undoing Gender (Routledge, London 2004), with reference to the Introduction and Chapters 1, 9 and 10.

Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and others. Since then, it has become one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis" (pg. 447; see also Weiss and Wodak, 2007; Fairclough, Mulderrig, and Wodak, 2011). Seeking, as it does, a less opaque power object – opting instead for visibility and transparency of agendas and the inner workings of power inherent in our discourse; whilst taking the view that discourse is also "*coloured by and productive of ideology*" (pg. 1, Locke, 2004). Fairclough (1992) elaborates on a three-dimensional framework for analysing discourse in this critical way, including, 'discourse-as-text', 'discourse-as-discursive-practice' and 'discourse-as-social-practice'. It is this final element, viewing discourse as a social practice, which most interests me for the purposes of this work. I am not taking Fairclough's framework wholesale here, but using it for definitional purposes and focusing on this third dimension to introduce the concept of intertextuality (which is elaborated on further in the section below on the Hermeneutic cycle approach). That is, "*the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature*" (pg.449, Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). I will discuss hegemony further in relation to one of the Minerva key themes in the next chapter. Fairclough also appears to favour this latter dimension. Hegemony, it is suggested in Fairclough's view, concerns power that is achieved through constructing alliances and integrating classes and groups through consent. "*It is from this third dimension that Fairclough constructs his approach to change: Hegemonies change, and this can be witnessed in discursive change, when the latter is viewed from the angle of intertextuality. The way in which discourse is being represented, respoken, or rewritten sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power*" (pg.449, Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Regarding considerations of hegemony, ideology, ethics and class, Robert Cox has developed this further with his analysis of Gramscian work – in developing a 'Critical Method' to the study of International Relations (Cox, 1993; see also Cox and Schechter, 2003). I refer back to hegemony, ideology and ethics, in chapter five and elaborate further on the relevance to this thesis and my research on the Minerva Initiative.

It is not, however, enough to lay bare the social dimensions of language use, as traditional feminist discourse analysis does – action is required. "*These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analyzing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs. CDA advocates interventionism in the social practices it critically investigates…CDA thus openly professes strong commitments to*

change, empowerment, and practice-orientedness" (Pg.449, Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Such activist spirit is often developed at the most radical margins with reference to the work of Laclau and Mouffe as well as Zizek's work in psychoanalysis, as Smith (2003) describes, "*they have attempted to produce a political theory that captures the specificity of antagonisms*", Smith also believes, "*their theory provides a useful framework for the conceptualization of radical democratic pluralist practice, namely the political activism that aims to overthrow oppression and exploitation in all their multiple and hybrid forms*" (pg. 3; see also Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Torfing, 1999; Bloom, 2014). That is not to suggest that CDA is only concerned with the discourse of lofty or 'special status' sites such as bureaucratic or especially 'political' spaces, but rather such discourses CDA would seek to challenge may also appear to be unremarkable and the product of the everyday (Kress, 1990).

In pursuit of democratic ideals, CDA analysts tend to produce work which may be received by a non-specialist readership, avoiding the use of scholarly jargon or convoluted syntax wherever and whenever possible. In doing so, precision of analysis may be overlooked in favour of accessibility by the widest possible readership, especially demographics which tend to be marginalised by traditional scholarship. It is an ethically aware and active critical scholarship, concerned with societal issues – perhaps best understood as an approach or attitude to discourse analysis rather than a 'step-by-step' method (van Leeuwen, 2015). As an approach, CDA is highly context-sensitive particularly regarding historical considerations (Van Dijk, 1999). Much of the CDA scholarship also tends to seek to draw a distinction between the terms 'semiosis' and 'discourse' in the work produced, semiosis referring more to the mechanics of language use and discourse referring to the meaning, intent or wider issues associated with such language use.

As Widdowson (1998) asserts, "*What is most plainly distinctive about critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is its sense of responsibility and its commitment to social justice. This is linguistics with a conscience and a cause, one which seeks to reveal how language is used and abused in the exercise of power and the suppression of human rights. In a grossly unequal world where the poor and the oppressed are subject to discrimination and exploitation such a cause is obviously a just and urgent one which warrants support. And it has struck a chord, playing as it does on the academic conscience with its worries about its relevance to social life CDA has inspired a reconsideration of the purposes of language description, and it has pursued its own purposes with vigour, acting upon its own definition of discourse as a mode of social action*". So, CDA is a 'critical' form of discourse analysis

which is rooted in 'conscience and a cause', it is political, moral and ethical in its approach and embodies a kind of academic activism or social action. As such it is highly relevant to this feminist approach and analysis of the Minerva Initiative in this project, particularly as it draws inspiration from feminist (Foucauldian) discourse analysis (Lazar, 2007). This 'conscience and a cause' approach speaks to the pursuit for a scholar-activist approach, and a more ethical scholarship, at the heart of the thesis. An example of CDA being used as method in research on Critical Terrorism studies can be found in the work of Richard Jackson, particularly in relation to US counter-terror policy post-9/11 (Jackson, 2011; 2008a; 2007a; 2007b; 2005). For the purposes of this work, it may also be useful to acknowledge work pursued in the field of Social Movement theory, which has also sought to utilise a form of CDA (Zugman, 2003). This is useful as the Minerva Initiative research I am focusing on covers social movements ('contagions'), and this is connected to a key research question, considered above.

The Challenge?

The difficulty for the discourse analyst is often found in this interpretive method which requires analysis of constructions, performances and consequences which regularly occur at the unconscious level for the subject of analysis. The analyst must 'excavate' such constructions from often limited 'artefacts' or samples of text (such a limitation is necessary, given the broad array of language and discourse on offer for sampling), imbuing the text with context which would otherwise be missing. The analyst must also be continually aware and reflexively analyse their own constructions and impact on the subject. It is a very challenging method, for the above-mentioned reasons, and regardless of the relative validity of the results produced or the ability of the analyst – there is always the possibility for an alternative reading or interpretation of the source material. One could see this as a negative point, but I would argue that it is indicative of a method which enables a deeper, more holistic, understanding of the world and inter-personal relationships. This deeper, holistic approach is favoured within feminist academic circles to address a range of critical issues, one can find evidence of individual attempts at reflexivity and a kind of self-critique (auto-ethnography) documented currently in the form of the academic blog (a very useful space for collectively organising around issues and as a creative space to ferment ideas; Carpenter and Drezner, 2010; Sjoberg, 2012). Whether excavating, like a forensic anthropologist, or uncovering, like Plato's philosophical subject in 'The Cave' – the freed slave of the shadow puppet construct, who returns to liberate others only to find their reality is not wanted; there are differing

understandings of this method and diverse ways of practicing it, whether in pursuit of liberating the self or the other. I explore my particular understanding and practice of method, in detail below, when exploring reflexivity further and my methodological strategy.

Vulnerability and Bravery in Feminist Scholarship and Scholarly Practice

Such bravery is exhibited in Thwaites and Pressland (2016). I came to this book as one of the many 'early career feminist academics' or 'aspiring academics' seeking 'dispatches from the front' which detail successes, experience and challenges of those already performing this vital critical role for scholarship. This interdisciplinary, global collection of somewhat autobiographical narrative accounts does a commendable job of bearing witness to the many, and often unspoken experiences of an overlooked and vital part of the 'Academy', of academics working within the modern neoliberal higher education institution. I reviewed the book, including chapters detailing these experiences from an IR perspective, in a recent *IFjP* publication (Clarke, 2017a). Though that is not to say that the other chapters are in any way deficient - the book, overall, does an incredible job of representing a diverse array of feminist experiences in academia, across disciplines, and is a timely addition to a long-standing gap in the literature.

Part 1 introduces the reader to the early career experience, with a contribution on gender and age-based insecurity in Australia, among other contributions. Part 2 of the volume builds on these experiences to consider the tensions between affect and identities – thus invoking the very feminist notion of multiple identities embodied within the feminist researcher and academic. Indeed, Agnes Bosanquet considers the very topical and long-standing concerns of women navigating academia, using the autoethnographic method and moving, honest and frank survey data from other women facing similar challenges and personal conflicts (pg. 73-91). This is still a very controversial topic recently further explored among scholars online, not least as those of us who remain free of the challenges of motherhood and marriage still face considerable and often alternative challenges, which can often go overlooked by others (Sjoberg 2017; Lake 2016).

Part 3 of the volume holds particular interest for me at present, as I am amid navigating the issue of '*Experience Through Innovative Methodologies*' for my own thesis. Anna Tarrant and Emily Cooper give their 'auto/biographical' account as friends and colleagues, utilizing (often online) social networks and friendship to address sexism in the Academy and challenges faced in the neoliberal HE institution in the UK context. This is done, with

reference to scholarly literature, guided particularly by their collective knowledge of social geography and similar scholarship on this topic (pg. 131-39). This is heartening to see, as often feminist academics working at the fringes of critical methods development, find it so difficult to locate published (peer-reviewed) examples in support of their assertions, when trying to represent the current 'state of affairs', within the Academy.

However, it is Jauhola and Särmä's chapter which most interests me, as an account of feminist scholars in IR (in the Finnish context) (pg. 141-65). They utilize some aspects of Särmä's '*Junk Feminism*' method of collage to elaborate on emotions through an artistic method, which appears to have also been 'crowd-sourced' – further building upon the use of social networks and friendship as a support for feminist work (Särmä 2015b). As the authors assert, "*Most of the time, in academia, the emotionality of these experiences is either missed or sidelined as unimportant. Or - which is at times even worse - they are thrown back by those in power at whomever has been brave enough to be vocal about them – labelling such experiences as problems of personality, improper and misfit behaviour, or scholarly immaturity*" (pg. 142). Quite an affirmation, for me, but also for many women trying to survive in this unforgiving male-dominated landscape – a fact to which I believe the existence of this book would attest. Further addressing the vital position of social gatherings and sub-communities for the survival of 'dissidents' (those scholars embracing feminist work), the authors suggest that, "*Collectively shared feelings of neglect, dismissal and outright discrimination towards feminism and feminist ideas have simultaneously meant that, since the institutionalisation of gender/feminist strands within academic associations (such as the British International Studies Association and the International Studies Association), collegial networks, meetings, workshops, conferences, and even new journals and online publication avenues (Duck of Minerva, Disorder of Things, Feminist Academic Collective)*" (pp. 152) have enabled spaces for affective care and debate. I have found little support for such 'extra-curricular' engagement from my own institution, engagement which thus far, has many times, enabled me to survive the PhD process and maintain my feminist work.

Part 4 of the volume continues to build further on these experiences regarding the necessity for social networks within the context of the Neoliberal HE institution (pg. 167-236). Part 5 looks to the future of feminist academic work. Of interest to me, seeking a 'scholar-activist' inspired teaching career, is Katherine Natanel's "*Teaching to Transgress in Neoliberal Education*" (pg. 239-54). As Natanel suggests, "*drawing attention to power, structure, agency and resistance in our classrooms, yet remaining entangled within their tensions, we*

effectively undertake a mode of bargaining that positions us both inside and outside the system – in this, we are poised to disrupt" (pg. 248). She argues, with the support of critical pedagogy scholarship, that resistance to (and in) this system, is not an endpoint but rather an ongoing and unfinished process. This book is for 'Early Career' (i.e. PhD and Post-Doc level and beyond) feminist scholars seeking evidence of experiential views and affirmation for their concerns and aspirations. I would also argue that this book provides initial, yet ample evidence, endorsed by peer-reviewed publication - for all those 'non-feminist' academics who often challenge the anecdotal and experiential evidence which challenges the status quo of an 'Academy' that was never built to accommodate 'us' (Wibben, 2016e). It has great utility for undergraduate students, after all - 'If she can see it, she can be it!' – this common mantra for the contemporary feminist movement highlights clearly the need for such scholarly evidence to be taught as early as possible. This collection of experiences, discussing the necessity of social networks and the practice of activism, is so vital. I attended a PSA PGN (Political Science Association, Postgraduate Network) workshop recently, which hosted the editor of the volume as a keynote speaker, discussing the book, at the University of Manchester, there were clearly many students and early careerists attending and eager for advice. Such scholarly finds and experiences have certainly helped form this thesis, they gave me permission to experiment, to be honest and transgressive – especially at vital crisis points on the journey to completing the thesis work.

Reflexivity and the Autobiographical 'I' in IR

During a critical methods summer school (the Gregynog Ideas Lab, supported by Aberystwyth University), I further explored the use of lesser known and used critical methods in IR and international security studies more specifically (Edkins, 2016; Agathangelou and Killian, 2016). Methods which take inspiration from artistic methods and popular culture, problematizing the role of the researcher and scholar – as opposed to the more traditional approach of a focus on the 'researched', of the interview participant in ethnography, for example (Agathangelou and Killian, 2016). In considering our role, as scholar or researcher, we can better appreciate and understand the complexities, tensions and ethical dilemmas faced in the practice of 'creating knowledge' in a neoliberal higher education institution. Whilst such considerations may not be useful or necessary for some forms of research and theorising, for work such as that in this thesis which sheds light on the complex relationship and ethical tensions of the scholar-activist researcher with the knowledge-producing neoliberal institution, it is necessary and important. Given that my philosophical inquiry does

not involve interviewing and analysing participants, but rather acknowledges myself as 'political subject' as well as researcher (and multiple other 'identities' as elaborated on below), implicated in and resistant to the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism; a reflexive and autobiographical methodological approach appeared to be the only appropriate method to employ here.
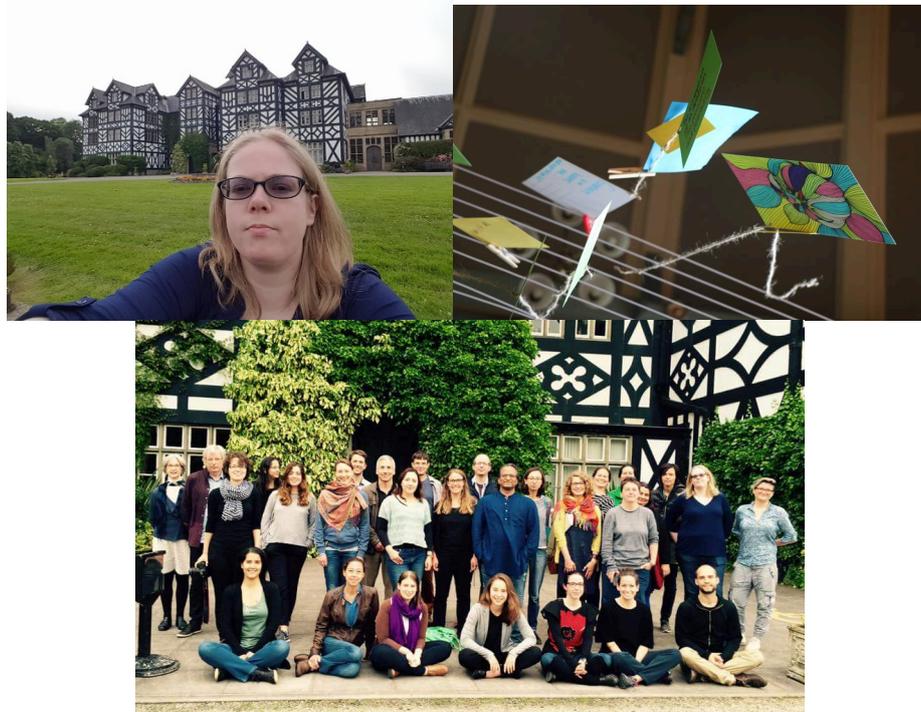
'Scenes from Gregynog Ideas Lab, 2016'. The first (left) is a self-portrait, while taking one of my many 'breathers' in the grounds. I was sick all week while sequestered at Gregynog Hall, and it turned out I was staying in the most haunted room of what has been known to be a very haunted Hall. This would, hopefully, explain the very pronounced whispering I heard at night while trying and failing to sleep. That week certainly, if nothing else, taught me to be brave, vulnerable, and open to artistic and experimental ways of knowing and practicing. The second (right) is an image shared online by Erzsebet Strausz, of her collaborative art installation/experimental learning space created throughout the week (Strausz, 2016). My own early attempt at 'art' (also created in trying to de-stress with 'adult colouring' materials provided), is visible...the colourful flower dangling on the right. Black and white/blank postcards and pens were available throughout the week, and we were encouraged to use them throughout (including in our 'seminar' sessions, while learning more traditionally). On the alternate side of the postcards, we were encouraged to add a message, thought or quote which we felt represented the week for us. These were voluntary contributions, and individuals could submit more than one. Erzsebet then turned them into a tree-like clothes line with cards pegged and threaded into it. When revealed at the end of the week, participants/attendees were encouraged to touch, read and appreciate the piece...this completed the immersive nature of the project. I was so touched that she had shared my contribution so clearly on the Facebook group for the event, even a year later in promoting that year's event, I had assumed I was not

(capable of being) an artist…this gesture proved me wrong. A second postcard created/used I have kept and used as a bookmark in my PhD thesis 'notebook' where I make notes on admin related meetings and events attended. That postcard was made in one of Annick Wibben's sessions at Gregynog, as part of an activity. The reverse side holds the Dauphinee quote from her book, 'The Politics of Exile' (2013), referenced elsewhere in the thesis. Wibben's exercise was based on a short/quick reading of the book. That passage 'spoke to me' that day. The final image, taken at the close of the week, is of the 2016 cohort of students and scholars/teachers/practitioners/activists, shared on my own Facebook profile post-event. It was during this time that I also became aware of a quote attributed to Audre Lorde, which I explore further below regarding trauma and vulnerability.

Reflexivity

Dating back to the late 1980s and early 90s, with respect to its use in IR at least, the terms 'reflexive' and 'reflexivity' began to be seen more frequently in IR literature(s). It has been most prominently featured in critical and feminist scholarship, given its focus on awareness of the researcher regarding impact and alternative knowledges. Citing Yosef Lapid, Mark Neufeld and Elizabeth Dauphinee as key proponents of the method in IR, Amoureux and Steele (2016) claim, "*for such an important concept and referent, the meaning of reflexivity has been more assumed than developed by those who use it, from realist and constructivists to feminists and poststructuralists*" (pg. 1). Reflexive practitioners are often accused of abstract meta-theorising and navel-gazing due to the self-referential orientation enabling an approach which situates the researcher as a political subject, also worthy of study and critique. Understood as an inherently historical endeavour, "*how researchers internalize that endeavour, let alone <u>which</u> historical forces they focus upon and which forms of theorizing they critically document – which scholarly practices they extract for examination, and how this all impacts our scholarship and our field – these are inherently subject to variation and idiosyncratic examination*" (pg. 3, emphasis added, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). Amoureux and Steele see reflexivity as a "*sociology of knowledge*" and as a "*craft*" within a context of "*larger institutional and discursive structures of power*", whilst rejecting the more limiting narrowing definitional attempts; viewing it as a "*socially meaningful, self-conscious, and continuous approach to ethical agency in scholarship <u>and</u> politics*" (pg. 4, 2016).

Reflexivity is understood through three interpretations or styles of the craft, these being, *Positionality*, *Critique*, and *Practice,* though overlap is certainly possible and for some scholars using reflexivity their approach appears to evolve through these three interpretations. *Positionality* is considered the most popular, with Amoureux and Steele citing feminist work as exemplar of the style, particularly the work of Jacqui True and J. Ann Tickner. It is

understood as "*a scholarly exercise that discloses the scholar's (or the scholarly field's) social/political position as (potentially) relevant for research, or as an exploration of the implications of the inseparability of subject and object for IR scholarship*" (pg. 4, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). As the authors suggest here, feminists have recently concerned themselves with the problem of situating oneself in the position of a potential tool of abuse (seeing themselves as implicated in abusive structures such as the neoliberal institution), questioning how we may mitigate wrongs either through scholarship or resistant practices (Amsler, 2014). Reflexivity therefore becomes "*a self-awareness of one's position as knowledge producer including one's epistemological authority endowed by the social organization of the field*" (pg. 5, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). Indeed, this is evident in issues raised in this feminist thesis on militarization of knowledge production on terrorism and scholar-activism. In this style, reflexivity may be considered an ethical obligation in research, given the impossibility of separating object from subject – as such, this would also speak to the complexity sought in feminist analysis, as embodied by Cynthia Enloe's work (Baker et al., 2016). By acknowledging and accounting for our roles in the research, this form of methodology precludes positivism (in IR) by rejecting claims of objectivity. In citing Dauphinee (also cited below), Amoureux and Steele (2016) claim auto-ethnography allows us to "*discuss experiences in our research that are otherwise relegated to the "private" as not properly belonging to the pursuit of knowledge and the communication of research findings*" (pg. 7). To summarise, this style, reflexivity as positionality, "*happens at the <u>site</u> of the scholar who takes as <u>objects of reflexivity</u> the scholar's research and theorizing through <u>processes</u> of contextual self-awareness, an ethical commitment to research subjects, and documenting/writing the research process and its implications. The overriding concern is with the context and power of epistemology*", though scholars can differ widely in response to this (pg. 7, emphasis added, Amoureux and Steele, 2016).

Reflexivity as *critique* may be thought of as stimulating self-reflexivity from within collective identities, one such collective identity may be the 'IR self'. By challenging the aesthetics of these identities and theoretical positions, it is hoped that commonly held truths of the collective may be disrupted to uncover insecurities (pg. 7-9, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). Whilst this style of reflexivity may not be deemed very useful for the purposes of this thesis, I would suggest it is worth noting the views of Cai Wilkinson regarding *critique* as style noted here, "*the researcher may experience a sense of cognitive dissonance or displacement that causes her to review her understanding of her role and of her relationship*

to both her research and the field. While the experience may be quite uncomfortable and evoke powerful emotions, the critical sensibilities arising from such displacement can also be used strategically, to create particular opportunities for the generation of additional insights into and critiques of both the phenomenon being investigated and the <u>nature and politics of knowledge production</u>" (pg. 8, emphasis added, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). I would suggest that this commentary not only speaks to this style of reflexivity, but could also be considered a solid attempt at describing the impact of trauma and post-trauma. Indeed, I too have experienced this 'cognitive dissonance' and witnessed the 'opportunities' this evokes, both personally and in the process of writing the thesis. I come back to this issue of trauma and the researcher below, considering the implications of my own trauma and PTSD on my role as researcher and the 'researched' subject (Levecque et al., 2017).

The third style, *practice*, views reflexivity as socially meaningful – taking a more fluid and loosened meaning. Thus, self-awareness of reflexive capacity "*the possibility of transformation of actions within time and space – comes through the ability of agents to place the self (including of groups and states) within an environment through a story that not only explains, but <u>justifies</u> action and orders the self within that environment on a continuous basis*" (pg. 9, emphasis added, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). Considered an attempt to confront the insecurity of the quickening pace and space of late modernity (i.e. globalization), this approach often overlooks variability, the 'unintended consequences' of action. Thus, reflexivity as practice "*can be understood not only through theorists of late modernity, but also within and perhaps especially via post-structural insights*" (pg. 10, Amoureux and Steele, 2016). This is perhaps also how this style of reflexivity sometimes overlaps or connects with the first, *positionality*, given the feminist connections.

What does this mean for the thesis? I think the reflexive approach favoured in this thesis is best viewed as predominantly concerned with *positionality*, though given the overlapping which occurs and the other aspect(s) of the methodology involving CDA and a form of autobiography (described below), one could also view it as reflexivity as *critique* to some extent. Some scholars have sought to align reflexivity with emancipation; this is somewhat problematic for me. Whilst I would agree that the aim is emancipation of the 'self', i.e. the scholar/researcher as political subject, I would disagree that this necessarily leads to the aim of emancipation of the 'other' – however one chooses to define that 'other'. One may hope that, by emancipating or liberating oneself via intensive (somewhat traumatic) self-reflection and critique, that one may be in a better or stronger position to facilitate the emancipation of

an 'other' – but I would not insist that this was a core aim of such an approach, not least as it is a highly problematic and subjective approach which is ill-suited to such an aim. The fluidity and room for individual interpretation and practice of reflexivity is also very beneficial for my desired approach or framework. The nature of reflexivity, as defined above, allows me to place myself (the self) as the political subject at the heart of the research, who impacts on and is impacted by the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies. There is clearly also room for a scholar-activist resistance to discursive power structures. Given my assertion in chapter one that I am seeking to position myself and this work somewhere in-between CTS and CMS, the necessity for reflexivity and ethical considerations (as addressed in chapter six) is vital to that aim, particularly given the connections between CMS and critical geography scholarship. As stated in a CMS journal article, "*A reflexive turn is identifiable in much of Anglophone social science towards the end of the twentieth century. What is more specific to the discipline is reflexivity's emergence as a response to geography's roots as a discipline in service to state power, manifest in ideas of fieldwork and data collection as potentially exploitative pursuits, and concerns about research engagement with other people, places, contexts, countries, and cultures as potentially destabilizing of the very thing researchers seek to study*" (pg. 49-50, Rech et al., 2014). Referring to a growing orthodoxy in expectations of the use of reflexivity, in such critical work, the authors suggest that "*A significant component…then, is an understanding of the necessity to address questions of power, participation, and collaboration as they are faced in fieldwork and data collection situations*" (pg. 50, Rech et al., 2014). Narrative and storytelling is a useful approach for writing or explaining one's reflexive practice, in a more engaging and immersive way.

The Autobiographical turn in (I)R

The use of narrative and storytelling to accept or comprehend the world, and events, can be traced back to the ancient Greek philosophical tradition and potentially further back (if one includes morality tales and fables). Though, it is often considered a recent methodological approach and writing style, by those scholars who view and understand academic IR through disciplinary divides and editorial (publishing) choices. Narrative and storytelling has been used to significant effect in traditional IR theory to elaborate on and understand processes at work in the interactions between actors in the international community and in understanding the motive(s) of states (i.e. the billiard ball model, 'the hunt' scenario, game theory, Machiavelli's 'The Prince', Thucydides 'Peloponnesian' saga, to name a few). Though

whether scholars of the realist tradition would admit that this is storytelling and narrative practice is another matter entirely. Indeed, International Relations, with an interdisciplinary background as mentioned in chapter one, has typically drawn on diverse disciplines to develop frameworks, illustrate examples and to support pedagogical approaches for 'passing on' IR knowledge to rising scholars.

Whilst it is difficult to differentiate between auto-ethnography and autobiography as method in IR, and other scholars appear to use the terms interchangeably, for me the difference is clear. Auto-ethnography may be understood as a methodological approach and style of writing which incorporates the researcher's personal experience in the analysis, often this looks like an almost clinical description placing the researcher at the centre of the research with a focus on process. What you get is an acknowledgement of impact, the impact of the researcher on the subject and to some extent, vice versa. One could say this serves to uncover agendas, political affiliations, motivations and constructions. Where autobiography differs, for me at least, is that in acknowledging and assuming the constructions, it goes beyond this understanding and allows the researcher to perform alternative constructions, via the medium of storytelling (narrative). This alternative construct creation may be viewed as a disruptive, controversial and transgressive act, and thus very political and activist in nature. So, whilst the researchers voice is very much present in the writing of the analysis, as it is in auto-ethnography, this voice is also somewhat obscured using creative/narrative writing – in extreme cases this may result in the form of a 'novel' or short story (Inayatullah, 2011; Inayatullah and Dauphinee, 2016; Ní Mhurchú and Shindo, 2016). Uncertainty in the analysis and process is expected and sometimes outright encouraged.

As the work of Shepherd (on transdisciplinarity and entanglement), Enloe (on complexity) and other feminist scholars have shown, this uncertainty is not to be feared, but rather embraced and harnessed to enable a more ethically aware, socially responsible and comprehensive approach to method and theorising. Given the controversy around this approach, I would further suggest that this method or style also be considered a certain form of resistance by the researcher or scholar, an individual who, in my case at least, is also seeking to embody the 'scholar-activist' model in their work (Agathangelou and Killian, 2016). I am referring here to a resistance against the standard or orthodox methods employed in IR theorising and writing, and a resistance to the disciplinary policing of the academy. As Megan Daigle asserts, exploring practices of writing that mitigate, and interrogate, the relationship between researcher and informant across multiple divides. Daigle states, "*As*

Western academics, we are taught to believe in the relevance and irrefutability of our own words, our right to speak about others, and a neutrality as authors and speaking voices that we do not actually possess. For me, narrative writing was and is a space to challenge that singularity of perspective, which is ultimately imperialist, by introducing uncertainty and engaging with a multiplicity of voices and standpoints" (pg. 37, Daigle, 2016). Daigle claims storytelling is a powerful methodology for IR, in this same article she elaborates on the possibilities such creative, less structured and interpretive writing provides the scholar: "*Far from merely a stylistic choice, this practice of writing bears real ethical and political implications for the research produced and for the individual subjects implicated in its production, built as it is on feminist, postcolonial, and queer principles. [...] Storytelling presents a challenge to traditional ways of writing, thinking, and knowing in the world of international politics. It opens up space to engage with personal, lived, embodied experiences – of violence and abjection, [...] but also of joy, love, freedom, and pleasure – and how those experiences mutate across lines of gender, class, race, and sexuality. It reveals the situated and contingent nature of research by refusing to conceal the presence of the author within the research and the writing*" (pg. 26, Daigle, 2016). I believe Daigle's views correlate with my own in this thesis and suggest a similar attempt at 'transgression' or resistance, based in a scholarly awareness of one's own role in constructing or resisting dominant and potentially abusive narratives and practices (Jones, 2017).

How does one 'give' an autobiographical (counter-) narrative approach in IR?

As a feminist critical junior scholar - with a keen eye on the innovative fringes of the field of IR scholarship – I am increasingly intrigued by the stories of other people's experience with 'method'. I have been seeking like minds and evidence of successful experiences with such, still rather controversial, methods. As a junior scholar, seeking to use methods such as Narrative, Autobiography and artistic forms of critique (such as pop-cultural artefacts), one seems to be constantly searching for the elusive 'step-by-step process' (clinical description of method) that our supervisors and reviewers have come to expect of IR scholarship. If this is what you are looking for, unfortunately, I don't think you will find it here. Indeed, this was a very intentional omission; in fact, it is due to a choice of resistance and transgression.

Dauphinee and Inayatullah, among the many other scholars contributing to their eagerly anticipated volume (*Narrative Global Politics*), delivered a much-needed and celebratory collection of examples regarding the narrative method. These examples range from Nicholas

Onuf's 'diary-style' reflection on a life lived through the IR discipline (pg. 104-121), to the first person narrative account of Jenny Edkins experience of walking through 'Ground Zero' in New York (pg. 97-103). Encompassing, also, ruminations on artefacts such as film and dance (pg. 122-138, 200-206); considerations of memory, loss, desire and borders (pg. 159-190) – this is indeed a topical and deep search for meaning in the pursuit of reclaiming the 'I' in IR scholarship (Inayatullah and Dauphinee 2016; Inayatullah 2011). The collection was also notable for its unflinching accounts of death, the self, survival and suicide (pg. 25-72, 171-199I), which, I am reliably informed, is still an unusual and controversial topic of exploration for critical scholars concerned with method (Heath-Kelly 2016). I don't believe there are many IR scholars who would question the relevance of such an undertaking, in our post-Globalization and now post-President Trump age, regardless of their theoretical or ideological banner-waving.

For those of us fascinated and intrigued by the inner workings and 'backstage lives' of fellow scholars – this book delivered. It managed to be aspirational whilst also feeling somewhat joyous and conspiratorial - showing the student of IR what is possible if one allows oneself to be brave and free of the usual boundary policing of the Academy (Thwaites and Pressland 2016; Särmä 2015b; Shepherd 2012). However, if you are seeking a helpful, supportive and informative guide or manual for using such methods in your own work – this will, I fear, remain elusive after reading the book. Is this a fair criticism of a book with many positive attributes? One may think not, given the stated aim of the editors and authors in exploring an interest in *Theory, History and the Personal* in International Relations. As practitioners of such critical methods, we all know how problematic an undertaking a 'how-to' text is to create for these methods – though I would argue this is further reason to try to elaborate in a clear and concise textbook for students lacking institutional or departmental support (Shepherd 2013b; Wibben 2016b, 2011).

Rather, it is perhaps best to consider this review a further commentary and criticism of the field of IR and the remaining challenges faced for emerging scholars seeking modern approaches to critique, which represent alternative experiences and identities. I would suggest, this latter view is still, unfortunately, a worthy critique of the Academy in 2017 (Wibben 2016c; Särmä 2015a). Though unfortunate for those seeking change and adequate representation in IR, it is perhaps fortunate for those scholars working in this feminist field of critique, as opportunities for development and improvement still abound in what is already a very fluid and inclusive scholarly community. My own 'counter-narrative' (to the

militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies) highlights the need for the scholar-activist to always have a cause to fight for, and a truth to seek out – even if this is only their own personal truth to accept and overcome. This is, I would argue, a more pressing concern for scholars, in the current (neoliberal) academic environment, than more abstract theorising and reaching for some elusive 'universal truth' and claims to knowledge (see Paulo Ravecca's account, pg. 51-63, Inayatullah and Dauphinee 2016).

The problem remains, for those not lucky (or 'privileged') enough to get to a 'Gregynog' or similar retreat, 'Where does one turn for an accessible and comprehensive 'how-to' guide to engage these methods in our own work, in the IR discipline?' It is only when such a book is widely available (both physically and financially) for any interested scholar, taught in IR schools, alongside other more orthodox methods – in tandem with books such as Dauphinee and Inayatullah's account - that we may consider IR an inclusive and conclusive wieldy tool for interpreting global interactions. I found it very telling, as a recent (2016) participant and convert to the '*Ideas Lab*', how many other returning and new participants claimed to have been desperate (as I was) for the opportunity to discuss and explore such critical methods with practitioners of the 'frontline' scholarship in these methods. I believe there is still much more work, activism and transgressing still to do, as feminists, before we can claim to be in such a position. However, this book and others like it which have been performing scholarly 'transgressions' via well-established scholarly publishing houses in recent years, illuminate the way (authoritatively) for those of us still fumbling around in the dark for a switch.

So, how does one 'give' an autobiographical narrative account? Perhaps one could say the 'answer' is … '*performance*'. In other words, don't worry about boundaries, norms and rules, just do it, reflect, and share. How will you know it when you see it? You will know it by the personal, story-telling style of writing – inviting the reader (and seeker of knowledge) into the author's world and experience. This may be a sometimes uncomfortable experience, for the reader, but also a necessary and transformative one.

Methodological Strategies

The methodological strategy chosen for this work incorporates reflexivity and autobiography, as well as CDA as outlined above. However, this is supplemented using a traditionally theological approach, that of the 'hermeneutic cycle', this has been used before in IR scholarship – Annick Wibben has been particularly proficient in the use of this approach. Here I outline this form of methodological process, with reference to Wibben's interpretation

of the method and highlight the utility of its use for this thesis. First, it may be useful to consider the origins of the word 'methodology'. This often used word in scholarly/academic circles and classrooms has its roots in the Greek word 'Methodos'. There is some dispute around the precise meaning of the Greek word, but we may accept that it can mean 'path, walk, or journey' as well as 'pursuit of knowledge'. The German philosopher Martin Heidegger also considered the origins of 'methodology' (Janicaud, 1976). He suggested it is best to consider methodology as 'walks that go nowhere'. So, if we were to take the above mentioned notions of methodological approach and consider where they fit within approaches currently employed by many IR/Security/Conflict studies programmes; I suggest that orthodox methods are incompatible with such notions. I would also note that the above descriptions do not indicate any gender bias towards such a 'pursuit of knowledge', in and of themselves. Anybody is capable of going on such 'journeys', in pursuit of knowledge and meaning. I have sought to incorporate this view, of methodology and practice, into my syllabus toolkit offering (thesis output) in chapter six.

In considering the origins of methodology and the process of gaining knowledge, particularly as it relates to issues in critical security, I think it is also useful to consider research carried out by neuroscientists. Some psychologists and neuroscientists have been exploring the 'processes' involved in 'insight' creation in the brain, having an 'idea' and creative thought/problem solving (Kounious and Beeman, 2009). The science suggests that literally 'taking a walk' or doing some other form of low intensity task or activity (requiring limited brain activity/concentration), allows the brain to 'wander', providing space for 'idea creation' and innovative connections between concepts. In other words, the brain is free to pursue knowledge, with no particular end point in sight or presupposed notion of an agreeable result. The brain can do as Heidegger suggests, such a practice often leading to innovative problem-solving and a surge of creative activity/ability. I have certainly found this to be true, from experience, while working on this PhD thesis. But why is this relevant to the IR community and in regards to methodological challenges?

I believe such interdisciplinary considerations and explorations are exceptionally important if the IR community is to be successful in navigating our globalized world with its myriad of security challenges, which are changing and adapting at an alarming rate. Due to globalization's technological advancements, knowledge is now more than ever before readily available to the masses. This in turn, should also encourage, or at least facilitate, the merging or interlocking of different academic disciplines and debates. The only barrier to such

cross/inter-disciplinary debate is the reluctance of many scholars within the distinct fields, scholars who seem to prefer to 'hoard' knowledge and stifle debate, which may challenge their own supremacy within debates.

Academic feminism has always been known for its anti-empirical approach and methodology (Bloom, 1998: Sylvester, 1994b), as empirical methods are considered to be created by men to support/facilitate the male-dominated hierarchies present in society and in academia particularly. Empiricism is thus seen by many feminist scholars to be a way of ring-fencing knowledge, creating barriers to the pursuit of knowledge by other alternative interested parties (such as women and other minorities). Anti-empirical methods include forms of analysis such as: discourse analysis, interviews, observation and so on. Such forms are often characterized by a focus on human interaction, or the analysis of uses of language and the inherent power structures created and supported by uses of language (see the feminist literature material in chapter three, for more on this). How could such 'feminist methods' of inquiry be improved, in these critical IR subject areas, in pedagogical practice?

The utilization of further 'alternative' and creative methods in academia would certainly improve our understanding of modern security threats and challenges. Such methods may include, in practice:

- Taking cues from the 'origins' of methodology

- Providing a space for more relaxed debate in the classroom, around key concepts, with less emphasis on 'established' knowledge (often associated with key male thinkers) - using such 'established' forms of knowledge as a launching-pad for further critical debate, rather than as an end point for inquiry

- 'Taking a walk' to nowhere in particular and seeing what is found on the journey (intellectually speaking, though incorporating a literal walk may be beneficial too)

- Supporting and actively encouraging cross-pollination of ideas and debate across disciplinary lines should also be paramount, the earlier the better (certainly by the second undergraduate year of an IR related degree course)

- Utilizing some of the great work that is being done and presented in well-established blogging communities, regarding IR (not only theoretical and subject-specific debates, but also very interesting insights on academia and challenges posed for fledgling academics) – as well as mixed media 'non-IR' sources

In challenging the tendency towards 'dogmatic', traditionalist and hierarchical (as well as heavily gender-biased) academic practice and discourse, we could greatly improve our responses to emerging security threats. But, crucially, we are able to open up spaces for deeper, classical, and innovative theorising and insights; spaces which are also more welcoming to alternative voices, and perspectives. This consideration of the origins of the word methodology, and related views on practice, bring me to elaborating further on my own strategy – based on Wibben's use of the hermeneutic cycle method. This strategy was not only utilised in the analysis of 'data' ('artefacts'), but I also represented it to some extent in the style and format of the written thesis.

The Hermeneutic Cycle method

As previously asserted, Hermeneutics traditionally is understood as a branch of philosophy regarding the interpretation of theological texts (i.e. the Bible). More importantly, the approach was used in pursuit of understanding the 'meaning' of the text and divining how this meaning may be applied to oneself and develops our comprehension of our world, relationships and environment. Annick Wibben has very successfully used this method of textual analysis with feminist theory to develop a methodological approach which enables a more relativistic, subjective and somewhat fluid understanding in feminist IR (Wibben, 2003). She takes Gadamer's form of philosophical hermeneutics, claiming, "*meaning is to be encountered in the interplay between pre-understandings with which the interpreter approaches the text and the conversation within it. Following Martin Heidegger in maintaining the finitude of Being (Dasein), for Gadamer a final form of truth is unachievable as any insight gained will always be part of our tradition and thus bound by our Being*" (pg. 89, Wibben, 2003). In referring to the multiplicity of 'meanings', Wibben establishes that it is possible to represent and embrace multiple identities of the researcher subject, which are brought to bear on the researched object – which must be accounted for, if we are to unravel the multiple meanings found in the object, produced by the subject and their individual form of interpretation (Wibben, 2003).

The 'cycle' refers to the process; one may start with the text, with an initial reading which provides limited understanding of meaning. The subject then leaves the object and lives life, has experiences, engages with other objects. When the subject comes back to the original text (object) for a secondary reading, the subject's understanding of the text and meaning may be greater as the subject is applying alternative knowledges (experiential, anecdotal, scholarly)

to the 'reading' which enable a deeper engagement with the text. That is not to say there would be only two readings, the subject may encounter the original text multiple times throughout a lifetime and thus their understanding of the meaning will grow and deepen, it is a continual cycle. As Annick asserts, the process involves a "*question and answer*", we (the interpreter) ask questions of the text and in seeking the answer reveal meaning from within ourselves, one could view this process as a sort of Socratic method (pg. 89, Wibben, 2003). Certainly, this is how I perceive the method. Our questions are embedded in our tradition or individual contexts, thus they reveal essential elements of the meaning, by revealing our socio-political stance and cultural markers. The text "*will only 'speak to us' according to the questions with which we approach it which in turn are shaped (and restricted) by the pre-understandings derived from a certain tradition*" (pg. 89, Wibben, 2003). This was my strategy, if one can call such an intuitive and loose process such.

In reading this 'definition' and description of process, it is not surprising that for some scholars such a method appears to resemble an approach one might find a fortune-teller or shaman using. For the uninitiated Positivist, who lacks a historical or contextual awareness of the development of 'science' from pre-enlightenment through to our post-modern understanding, this method can seem irrelevant. However, it is such 'artful', narrative based and highly textual methods which can get to the core of questions of knowledge production, albeit at the very meta-theoretical level. This is a figurative, symbolic method – as opposed to a more literal, clinical method - of course, the text does not 'literally' speak to us, but rather evokes connections, memories, meaning and awareness that may not have been previously readily accessible in the subject. Sometimes in the form of a 'flow of consciousness', in response to the 'text', which is then subject to reflexivity and self-analysis. As Wibben acknowledges, Sylvester's 'empathetic cooperation' feminist method also borrows from this hermeneutical tradition by listening to concerns, fears and agendas of those that are not usually heeded in IR while constructing social theory – finding our own fears and concerns reflected in the 'other' (pg. 107, Wibben, 2004). It "*goes to the heart of the matter by uncovering feminist knowledges where science denied their existence*" (pg. 108, Wibben, 2004). Annick further asserts, regarding the construction of knowledge, which this method would seek to uncover, "*it is also important to acknowledge how some groups of people systematically and structurally have more power to do the constructing than do others. When articulating a wrong it is crucial to recognize and indicate its local, personal, or community specific variability*" (pg. 108, Wibben, 2004). When inequality takes many differing forms, it

is sometimes necessary to tackle the oppression which seems manageable or most relevant to one's own position. In referencing Enloe, she asserts that we must 'stay curious'. Finally, Wibben asserts, "*feminists might be able to teach IR to be more comfortable with vulnerability and to learn to accept insecurity*" (pg. 109, Wibben, 2004).

Regarding the point above about 'science' and potential positivist critique, I would be remiss if I did not also note that the word 'scientist' as a descriptive term was created, in 1833, as a gender-neutral term – specifically for a woman (Mary Somerville), polymath, and tutor to Ada Lovelace (a famed mathematician, programmer, and originator of the modern 'computer') (Popova, 2016). It was suggested by William Whewell, a Cambridge don and member of the 'Philosophical Breakfast Club' – a group of noted early 'scientists' or 'natural philosophers' as they were called then who, together, comprised the British Association for the Advancement of Science. It is understood that the noted poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, stood up at one of the meetings and pronounced that they should no longer call themselves 'natural philosophers', as their work was more 'technical' and 'practical' in nature. Whewell agreed, and further suggested: "*If 'philosophers' is taken to be too wide and lofty a term," he said, "then, by analogy with 'artist,' we may form 'scientist*" (Bordenstein, 2013). As Maria Popova highlights, Whewell, "*had recognized in Somerville that singular creative genius of drawing connections between the seemingly disconnected, which is itself an artistic achievement*", calling her "*a person of real science*" (2016). The group, though mostly Whewell, were looking for a term describing the ability to synthesize separate, and potentially, disparate fields into a single discipline. This historical context, like some others noted throughout this work, may render a positivist critique of such an approach harmless. This context shows work such as that found in this thesis is <u>truly</u> 'scientific', in the classical sense, and worthy of inclusion in the scholarly canon.

Trauma, PTSD and 'getting comfortable' with vulnerability and insecurity in IR

"Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare." (pg.130, 'Epilogue', Lorde, 2017)

Before summarising and concluding this chapter, at this point it is useful to explore a key part of my own identity as researcher, which profoundly impacts on my choices and process of analysis and the reflexivity at the heart of the method. As mentioned above, one view of reflexivity as proposed by Cai Wilkinson, puts forward this idea of 'cognitive dissonance' which echoes descriptions of post-trauma experience (Silove et al., 2017). A somewhat

fragmentary view, which I would also suggest can be read as connecting to Wibben's Hermeneutic approach as discussed above. I find this connection to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) intriguing, as I have come across so many articles and blog posts by researchers commenting on various traumas and their impact on them during the process of completing a PhD (Busby, 2017). This does not appear to be a problem associated with only the IR or social science disciplines, though the nature of such work does make the phenomenon more frequent and acute (Levecque et al., 2017; Satterthwaite, 2017). Generally, as a PhD student (and ECR), you are familiar with the everyday trauma(s) of working at the lowest rung of the neoliberal higher education institutional ladder (Clarke, 2017a) – as an IR scholar, you study conflict and violence, as a feminist scholar you live with secondary (indirect) trauma from the stories you are seeking to expose and highlight. As a woman or minority in academia you are also faced with everyday trauma and micro-aggressions, as the various blogs and articles mentioned above attest. As a sufferer, myself, and given the 'personal' nature of the methodology adopted which also has some connection to psychoanalytic theory and methods, it is thus useful to consider a definition and description of PTSD (Med.upenn.edu, n.d.) at this point.

A very familiar aspect of trauma is the inability to articulate the wrong or harm, as Mark Wolynn asserts, we not only lose words, but something happens to our memory (Wolynn, 2016). During the incident, "*our thought processes become scattered and disorganized in such a way that we no longer recognize the memories as belonging to the original event. Instead, fragments of memory, dispersed as images, body sensations, and words, are stored in our unconscious and can become activated later by anything even remotely reminiscent of the original experience. Once they are triggered, it is as if an invisible rewind button has been pressed, causing us to reenact aspects of the original trauma in our day-to-day lives. Unconsciously, we could find ourselves reacting to certain people, events, or situations in old, familiar ways that echo the past*" (It Didn't Start With You: How Inherited Family Trauma Shapes Who We Are, 2016; Med.upenn.edu, n.d.). Freud referred to this phenomenon as 'traumatic reenactment' or 'repetition compulsion'. Carl Jung, Freud's contemporary and, for some time, his protégé, believed that unconscious trauma which was too difficult to process would not dissolve on its own, but was forever stored and doomed to be repeated, without the light of awareness. They both observed in their patients that fragments of suppressed experiences would show up in words, gestures and behaviours (i.e. Freudian slips). During a traumatic incident, physiologically, the speech centre shuts down,

as does the medial prefrontal cortex – the part of our brain responsible for experiencing the present moment (Kolk, 1989; O'Connor, Fell and Fuller, 2010). Bessel van der Kolk, a Dutch psychiatrist, has described a 'speechless terror' experienced by trauma survivors, commonly occurring when brain pathways of remembering are hindered during periods of threat or danger (Kolk, 1989). When we relive traumatic experiences, our frontal lobes are impaired – thus thinking and speaking are impaired. However, the fragments of words, images and impulses remain stored within us, without the clarity or contextual data of the experience to fully understand the event, thus often causing extreme anxiety, shock and confusion. There have been recent attempts to artistically represent the experience of PTSD from an audio-visual perspective, by creating an immersive audio experience, which, during the art installation at the Wellcome Collection Library, was constantly recreated for different individual experiences of the sound – thus adding to the sense of confusion and individual perception of an experience. There is a static sample of the audio used available on the blog regarding the '*Internal Reality*' installation (Wellcome Collection Blog, 2016). I mention this, as I am very interested in further exploring (post-PhD) the use of immersive 'Virtual Reality' (VR) relating to the methods I am using in this thesis to further explore the issue of trauma in IR, and regarding pedagogy (I discuss this further in the Conclusion chapter). Suffice to say, I am very encouraged by others' use of more creative methods in other fields and in early attempts by some critical IR scholars to incorporate such methods in our IR work (Vaitinnen, 2015; Sylvester, 2011; Daphna-Tekoah and Harel-Shalev, 2016; Webster and Dunn, 2005).

It is important to consider such work for this methodology as (traumatic) life experience and physiology, this identity, impacts on the methodological choices (tools) I seek to use to address the subject of research, as I require something which acknowledges the self, the subjectivity of individuals and experiences and the problem of trauma in analysis, for the researcher and scholar-activist. It is a lens through which I experience the world and comprehend it, like the feminist lens – though arguably much more complex, it is not something I have the luxury of removing, it is a part of me and my way of seeing and experiencing my world (Resende and Budryte, 2016; Thompson, 1995; Kennedy and Whitlock, 2011; Webster and Dunn, 2005). It is possible that, at least in my case as a trauma survivor, a key motivating factor in activism is a cyclical return to earlier trauma and an attempt to 'make it right', especially when PTSD associated with earlier trauma is triggered by experiences in a neo-liberal institution, which is often a site of symbolic and literal

violence, especially if you are a woman (Kolk, 1989; O'Connor, Fell and Fuller, 2010). This review of the nature of PTSD, and its impact on how an individual may view, and interacts with the world, is very useful, particularly in considering the use of alternative methods (incorporating pop-culture and audio-visual artefacts) as these methods lend themselves to the fragmentary and constructive nature of a trauma survivors individual view of the world. I needed a practice framework that not only acknowledged the existence of trauma, but also embraced it within a methodological framework. I strongly believe such an innovative framework improves my work and analysis as a scholar-activist, particularly in light of the above definition and exploration of scholar-activist practice in chapter two.

One could also suggest that my propensity to seek out 'alternative' artistic and anti-positivist (qualitative) methods may also be because of another aspect of my physiology (Wilson, n.d.). As someone who suffers from Developmental Dyscalculia (DD), a form of Dyslexia and neuro-diversity (LSE.ac.uk, 2013) affecting approximately 3 – 6% of the population (often going unofficially diagnosed, as mine has – though other members of my family suffer with the more commonly known Dyslexia) – I am always seeking alternative, and particularly artistic or audio-visual ways of interpreting the world, rather than relying on numerical ways of knowing and mathematical concepts (Price and Ansari, 2013; Gillum, 2012 estimates that 3 – 7% of the population are affected). Dyscalculia is often associated with a kind of 'number blindness', or rather, an inability to comprehend the intrinsic and relative value of numerical values. It is also associated with an anxiety around the potential use of number and attempts at calculations of any kind. Dyscalculia sufferers are often forced, by necessity, to seek creative ways to navigate the everyday and interactions which require the use of even simple calculations and empirical (numerical) evaluations. Why might this be relevant? I believe it may be another significant contributing factor to my political and theoretical inclinations, passions, and my choices of method. Like the PTSD, as a condition of brain physiology and chemistry, it tangibly affects my view and interpretation of the world around me – and impacts on my identity as a researcher, as I would never have been able, let alone sought to do an empirical quantitative IR study of the Minerva Initiative or the wider militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies, which this thesis seeks to do. Other scholars in IR have tried to address narrative and the autobiographical style, for example, Jackson regarding his sci-fi pop-cultural interests and his son's autism inspiring his IR work (pg. 161-172, Inayatullah, 2011; Naumes, 2015; Picq, 2013). Such scholarship provides precedent for what this work is doing, embracing the reality of lived experience as a scholar and incorporating

that into methodological practice. The lived experience represented in my own account, is that of a gendered, disabled, and abused body within the IR and critical scholarly community. But, even in that, my lived experience will be contested as not fully representative of such identities, for a variety of reasons…as it should be. Though the project has become more urgent and necessary for me, as while completing the work I became very ill (a result of severe PTSD and the trauma of surviving the PhD process) and discovered a second auto-immune disease and allergic march had been triggered. The way I live my life, long-term, has had to change and I have had to manage the emotional fall-out of that new development while navigating the final stages of attaining my PhD degree. It has, therefore, been necessary for me to articulate an 'alternative' approach and understanding of scholarship, and a practice that may help mitigate the very negative and damaging environment of the IR Academy and academia in general.

Audre Lorde's words have been quite influential to me and others, though technically aimed at issues of race, her words on self-care have also been referenced in feminist work regarding self-care and neoliberal resistance in academia. Indeed, as Sara Ahmed (Ahmed, 2014b) writes in her blog post considering self-care as warfare alongside Lorde's words which I opened this section with, Lorde's *"writing is made up of fragments or notes put together as Audre Lorde learns that she has liver cancer, that her death could only be arrested; as she comes to feel that diagnosis in her bones. The expression "a burst of light" is used for when she came to feel the fragility of her body's situation: "that inescapable knowledge, in the bone, of my own physical limitation.""* As Ahmed (2014b) states, *"Sometimes: to survive in a system is to survive a system. We can be inventive, we have to be inventive, Audre Lorde suggests, to survive"*, I certainly feel the necessity of that inventiveness. Ahmed (2014b) claims Lorde shows *"us how racism can be an attack on the cells of the body, an attack on the body's immune system; the way in which your own body experiences itself as killing itself, death from the outside in. A world against you can be experienced as your body turning against you. You might be worn down, worn out, by what you are required to take in"*, I think the same can also be said for other forms of oppression and trauma in academia…that has certainly been my experience, despite the relative 'privilege' of being white. Ahmed (2014b) finds that, *"Audre Lorde writes persuasively about how self-care can become an obscurant, how caring for oneself can lead you away from engaging in certain kinds of political struggle. And yet, in A Burst of Light, she defends self-care as not about self-indulgence, but self-preservation. Self-care becomes warfare. This kind of self-care is not*

about one's own happiness. It is about finding ways to exist in a world that is diminishing", I agree (Ahmed, 2014b). I think there is, or should be, space for a practice to be articulated which embraces lived experience of trauma and inherent vulnerability. Further, I think it is vital for feminist scholarship in this area to incorporate it.

Summary

As a political subject and as a body implicated in or representative of scholarship in IR on terrorism study, it is therefore imperative that I acknowledge the multiplicity of identities I inhabit (and thus the multiplicity of meanings derived from such identities). I am a feminist researcher, and an aspiring scholar-activist as mentioned in previous chapters, however I am also a woman, a daughter, a sister, a trauma (and PTSD) survivor, a pop-culture fan and consumer – among many other identities I may inhabit. These identities or 'traditions' impact on the decisions I make in choosing scholarly topics to pursue as an academic, the relationships and groups I join or choose not to join, and the questions I ask of the textual artefacts I choose to examine. The scholarly work I am pursuing in this thesis is not, and cannot be separated from who I am and the other roles I perform. My experiences, challenges and transgressions to date are what motivate me to complete the research. Therefore, whilst the methods chosen may appear unnecessarily 'meta', intuitive or 'emotional' and 'anecdotal' to some, these methods are imperative to gaining a deeper more holistic understanding of knowledge production and the scholar-activist in relation to terrorism study. As with Annick's view of the philosophical hermeneutic method in feminist work, my method involves engaging in a 'conversation' with the text, a conversation which is unfinished and ongoing and may have begun before I was aware of there being a conversation to be had – there may be multiple conversations happening and these conversations may emerge from the text or constitute it (pg. 90, Wibben, 2003).

Though, I have not gone as far as creating a graphic novel, a more literal visualisation of the constructive and constitutive nature of language and discourse (Sousanis, 2015) – I have still attempted to transgress common orthodox notions of scholarship with this work. Ultimately, one could see this as an experimental feminist 'scrap-booking' project, 'weaving' together fragments of stories, insights, experiences, and pop-culture with traditional forms of scholarly knowledge – in a non-linear way - in order to present a scholar-activist counter-narrative account. Much like the '*House of Eternal Return*' immersive art experience in Santa Fe, mentioned in chapter one, the traditional structure dissolves and bleeds into the artistic

methods and experiences. Appearances may be deceiving, assumptions will be challenged, the experience will not always be comfortable and confusion will abound. I have sought to make the PhD thesis a form of immersive art and experimental learning space. In order to appreciate it, and learn from it, one must be prepared (at some point at least) to let go. Let go of assumptions, conventions, expectations and boundary-policing standards which promote the exclusion of knowledges, voices, experiences, and bodies. I hope you enjoy the adventure, but I cannot promise you will – as I did not always enjoy the experience(s). I wanted to embody that unease, discomfort, and fear in this work. Nor can I promise you the change sought will be attained…that is entirely dependent on the baggage you bring, your present position on the journey towards wisdom and understanding, and your ability and capacity to 'let go'. It was only when I 'let go' and embraced the chaos and messiness of my artistic methods that I truly felt success in capturing the authenticity of my account. It was more than just reading and reframing the scholarship of others, it was experiencing it and finally understanding the pedagogical process of acquiring and creating knowledge – and fully comprehending the ethical implications and power of that role (the scholar-activist). It was also (re-)learning the art of storytelling.

The Thesis as a 'Tapestry' – 'Weaving' an argument together…

- Criticism: Too many threads, tangential issues

- Response: I am weaving together a number of issues, concepts and examples to develop a holistic and complex (counter-)narrative

- The **feminist**, **critical** approach taken requires that I retain and appreciate complexity in the analysis and my critique of the **knowledge production on terrorism studies** requires that I deliver an alternative which is heavily contextual

A slide taken from my presentation in support of upgrading to PhD candidacy (presented in 2017). I was seeking to provide quick clarity about the perceived 'messiness' of my approach, and alighted upon the 'Thesis as Tapestry' analogy. Whether the context of Nottingham Trent University's, and Nottingham City's, textile heritage played into my thinking is unclear to me, but was certainly a neat coincidence. In seeking to respond to criticisms I had faced from confused supervisors, I argued that my work put forward a detailed, complex and context-based analysis. This was intentional, given the argument laid out in Chapter one regarding a lack of contextual analysis in the terrorism studies literature. I further argued that it was also due to my framework and approach, which actively retained and sought out complexity in the analysis, rather than simplistic resolutions. This is a feminist analysis – it should be complex. This made me think of the

'tapestry' weaving visual – again, it is an artistic form, requiring a lot of skill and experience – to weave together disparate threads, resulting in a holistic representation and single form to appreciate. It also highlights the individual approach, as you may have the same raw materials, but weave a different image. As such, the thesis should thus be, when complete, a comprehensive and detailed narrative account incorporating the various issues at stake.

Sources

- Anonymous media
- Beyoncé 'Formation' HBO video
- Other pop-cultural media
- News Articles online
- The Minerva Initiative website
- Arizona State: New Analytics for Measuring and Countering social influence and persuasion of extremist groups (2015 Award cycle)
- Cornell: Tracking Critical-Mass Outbreaks in Social Contagions (2014 Award cycle)
- U Washington: Understanding the Origin, Characteristics, and Implications of Mass Political Movements (2014 Award cycle)
- Naval Postgraduate School: Who Does Not Become a Terrorist, and Why? (2013 Award cycle)
- UCLA: Neural Bases of Persuasion and Social Influence in the U.S. and Middle East (2013 Award cycle)
- U Iowa: Moral Schemas, Cultural Conflict, and Socio-Political Action (2013 Award cycle)
- UMD: The Strength of Social Norms Across Cultures (2013 Award cycle)
- UCSD: The Impact of the Military-Scientific-Industrial Complex in Brazil (2012 Award cycle)
- UMD: Motivational, Cognitive, and Social Elements of Radicalization and Deradicalization (2012 Award cycle)
- Princeton: Terrorism, Governance, and Development (2009 Award cycle)
- SFSU: Emotion and Intergroup Relations (2009 Award cycle)

The sources used in the discourse analysis include the Minerva Initiative website, research produced and published by 'affiliates' (i.e. successfully funded projects and academics) of the Minerva programme, such as those selected above. These were chosen due to an initial review of the offerings of the Minerva Initiative, whereby I pulled out only the research

projects relevant to the counter-terrorism agenda and related concerns. I then, in later exposure to the research projects, limited the projects further for the work on the next chapter. CDA, a particularly critical and activist form of discourse analysis is preferred in the approach outlined – particularly given the nature of the analysis and focus on the Minerva research on terrorism (and the inclusion of definitional terms such as 'activist' and 'extremist'). The writing style of the analysis is reminiscent of the autobiographical approach elaborated on above. Whilst this thesis does not go so far as to craft a full (fictional) narrative as Dauphinee's account does, the analysis used here incorporates my own narrative constructions and interests by viewing the Minerva materials and knowledge produced through a pop-cultural lens and sensibility. As this is how this researcher and scholar narrates and understands her world, this further strengthens the originality of the work as another researcher, even if using a similarly peculiar method, would no doubt have alternative frames of (pop-cultural) reference, which would be contingent upon factors such as their age, background, experiences, political affiliations, ethical and religious views and style. Given that national security and US foreign and domestic policy history and current events have often been the source of reference for media such as film, television and novels (including graphic novels), it can be difficult to discern whether art is imitating life or life is imitating art – particularly in our globalized hyper-interconnected reality. This is yet another reason for using such a methodological framework, which allows for the inclusion and centrality of narrative and storytelling (no matter the form this takes, (audio-) visual or text-based).

Conclusion

Given the above exploration of the literature relevant to formulating a theoretical approach to this thesis project (in chapters one – three), I moved on to a reflexive consideration of my method of analysis for the Minerva Initiative material and the relevant literature on the form of Discourse Analysis favoured in my approach. The use of a critical approach allows a greater access and insight to analyse the Minerva Initiative, in taking a position which seeks to challenge 'conventional wisdom' around the contemporary knowledge production on terrorism. When researching military/security policy, particularly regarding such topical and potentially problematic political decisions, it is not only very difficult to obtain source material to analyse (due to the national security context), but also the material one can access (often as it is made publicly accessible) is either redacted or there are obvious omissions of material or context. Thus, the material requires careful analysis and one must try to be somewhat sympathetic in the assumptions it is necessary to make in assessing the material.

As there is currently no other (comprehensive) analysis of the Minerva Initiative (a gap which this thesis seeks to address and, to some extent, fill), and much of the available material is of a conspiratorial nature, the intention was to put forward an analysis that was not only 'critical' but also as factual as possible – something which, with this subject matter, is very challenging to accomplish.

However, more than this, I find myself seeking to reject more traditional methods of analysis in favour of more flexible and inclusive approaches, as such approaches are more readily compatible with the theoretical framework put forward in the previous chapter, which embraces Shepherd's 'transdisciplinarity' approach. As a researcher, I find that I seek not to compartmentalise the knowledge I seek or the knowledge I currently hold, but rather seek an approach which is context-sensitive, relativistic and supportive of holding a definite ethical position regarding social activism in academia. Perhaps you could say, I am trying to "*Vitam impendere vero*", or 'dedicate my life to truth', as Juvenal would have it, even if this requires a meta-theorising of what 'truth' means and who that truth is for (Satire IV, line 91, Juvenal. and Kelk, 2010). In the pursuit for an ultimate truth, I uncover my own truth – viewed through the fragmentary prism of a PTSD survivor and feminist lens.

It occurs to me that a potential criticism of the reflexive, hermeneutic cycle approach adopted in this thesis may be that, this approach is a personal and singular approach in many ways – so how can this not be exclusionary, for those who have not had the same experiences? I would argue that whilst this is certainly a reasonable challenge to the approach, it misses the point of the work. The aim of this feminist research is not to force the adoption of 'truths' or the approach on other diverse scholars, as one may argue is typical of traditional (classical) IR approaches – but rather to explore alternatives and make room for insights which may come from more diverse and fluid approaches. It is hoped that by successfully completing such a project, I can show the value of similar projects – and this may encourage other voices and experiences to come forward and attempt a similarly ambitious project, as opposed to a more traditional approach. If all I achieve is encouraging one other student of IR to consider giving their own interpretation, based on their own identity and diverse experience, and to challenge themselves and others to critique the dominant narratives of their field – I will consider it a success.

Ch. 5: "Everything is More Complicated than You Think it is Right Now": An Analysis of the Watchmen, Illuminati, Beyoncé's 'Formation', and the Minerva Initiative

"Who watches the Watchmen?" (Watchmen, 2009)

"Difficile est saturam non scribere" (Satire I, line 30, Juvenal. and Kelk, 2010)

As Juvenal claims in his poetic work, quoted above, *"It is difficult not to write satire"*, I would add, especially in the contemporary economic and socio-political context. The first above quote is taken from a film. The film is an adaptation of a popular 'cult' graphic novel by Alan Moore (Moore and Gibbons, 1987; Darius, 2005; Watchmen.wikia.com, n.d.). Alan Moore's work tends to use a dystopian narrative style to tackle political issues and events (often drawing on historical examples): in this sense his work is not too dissimilar from other writers such as Arthur Miller, George Orwell, Shakespeare, or even Machiavelli. Though, given that Moore's work is 'graphic' i.e. a more visual medium of text it has tended to be overlooked in IR work as a pedagogical tool or referent work for exploring issues exposed by IR analysis. This is, I think, unfortunate as I believe, as with many other diverse literary pieces available across disciplines, this complex work of narrative has much to offer us to better understand and unpack issues played out in real life, as with the case of the Minerva Initiative (Moore et al., 2005). As highlighted in chapter four (methodology), literary and pop-cultural references are necessary examples for me in this analysis to elaborate and problematize the issues analysed, when using reflexivity, and the dialectical hermeneutic method (as used by feminist scholars such as Annick Wibben).

Indeed, ultimately the analysis for this chapter (and in addressing some of the research questions) undertaken can be considered a kind of 'excavation'. As discussed in the previous chapter on method, my reflexive, flexible, loose and hermeneutic method led me to begin with media representations of Minerva (i.e. via journalistic references and pop-culture). As I uncovered further leads, cast a wide net and reflected on the various fragments of material created about Minerva, I also considered the Minerva Initiative's 'public persona' as represented via the website and individual research produced from the Department of Defense patronage. Pop-cultural references were then used to 'unpack' themes and context, this also supported my quest for 'meaning' which is key in using the theoretical and methodological framework adopted here as outlined in the two previous chapters. Whilst not an exhaustive account of the myriad ways in which Minerva operates and the impact on

security; it is an attempt at finding some meaning in the counter-terror landscape regarding protest, and at questioning my role within that landscape, as a scholar, educator and feminist. Transgression is key, as discussed previously, particularly in my choices regarding methodology and how that is manifested here. Ultimately, I am seeking to peer through a window at a highly relevant issue for our current times, but also at a long-standing issue – and draw some initial conclusions with further questions for other scholars, or myself, to expand on and develop further. As is typical with the Hermeneutic Cycle method, I see this thesis as the beginning, or rather an early stage, of an ongoing conversation, which will provide fertile ground for future insight, understanding and meaning.

Guarding the Guards – Watchmen, Minerva and the Illuminati in Pop-Culture

The phrase "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" is thought to be the original form of the above quote, a Latin phrase from the 1st Century Roman satirical poet, Juvenal (Satire VI, lines 346–8, Juvenal. and Kelk, 2010). Literally translated, Juvenal's quote states "*who will guard the guards themselves*", in its original context, I believe it refers to the problem of ensuring marital fidelity – as it is taken from a passage on how to deal with women, when men (the 'guardians') are morally corruptible. Over time, the phrase has taken on a more universal applicability, in modern times it has most often been used to refer to concepts such as police corruption, tyrannical governments, oppression and overreach. The philosophical question and derivatives of the original translation have appeared in many examples in pop-culture, beyond the graphic novel cited here, which tackle issues of power, corruption and authority. Due to this, Plato is also believed to have referenced it in his writings, particularly regarding Socrates' concerns about the 'guardians' (i.e. 'The Republic'); traces of the concept and phrase have also been found in the works of Cicero, St. Augustine and the nineteenth century philosopher, political economist and feminist, John Stuart Mill (Mill, 1861; Plato., Ferrari and Griffith, 2000).

Graffiti like that which appears in Watchmen. Hemel Hempstead, May 2008 (En.wikipedia.org, n.d.; Wikipedia: Wikimedia Commons; Flickr, 2009)

Given this historical and narrative context, it is perhaps no surprise that the *Watchmen* quote and the wider themes explored in that text have been a recurring theme for me in researching and thinking about the Minerva Initiative. This may also be due to the Ancient Greek, Roman and philosophically symbolic (mythical) references and allusions in the online presence of the Initiative, as highlighted in chapter one (the introduction and literature review).

The Minerva Initiative website emblem (Gibbs, 2014; Minerva.defense.gov, n.d.)

The emblem of this Defense department programme is representative of the imagery used in representations of the Roman goddess of war (strategy), commerce, trade, the arts and knowledge (wisdom), based on the Ancient Greek goddess, Athena.

Athenian tetradrachm, or coin, representing the goddess Athena (Wikimedia Commons, 2012)

Interestingly, only when adopted by the Romans as a cultural or religiously relevant symbol did Minerva (Athena) become associated especially with war; originally the focus was on the arts and wisdom (Cartwright, 2014). I find this relevant here, as following the adoption of this

feminine symbol of peaceful activities, by one of the most important and historically influential imperialist nations, did this symbol take on connections to war, commerce and militaristic themes.

Statue of Minerva outside Leeds Trinity Shopping Centre, Public Art by Andy Scott (Photograph Credit: Author; Trinityleeds.com, 2017; Gormally, 2013)

Is this an early example of militarization of the arts and knowledge production? If so, it would indicate that the issues I explore in this thesis are by no means a new phenomenon, but rather a further (more recent) example of a phenomenon which, given this historical context, would appear to be entrenched and much more difficult to disrupt. The work in this thesis would certainly not be the first instance of arguing that modern America, since the turn of the 20th century (Post-Queen Victoria's 'Imperialist' rule), bears similarities to Imperialist Rome, given US expansionism (Collin, 1985; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001; Steinmetz, 2003).

Initial and cursory wide-net casting for reference to the Minerva Initiative uncovers quite a few references to modern youth pop-culture and conspiracy theories, beyond my own personal connections to Minerva related references (including the one above). Minerva is claimed (by such conspiracy theorist 'preachers') to be associated with the murky world of the Illuminati, a shadowy, secretive and threatening 'cult' purportedly operating at the highest levels of Western society. I discuss the Anonymous conspiracies below in more detail. Indeed, it has become apparent to me through this analysis and research that IR could and should do more work on unpacking conspiracy theory, particularly considering its use and connections to globalization, protest, politics and propaganda (Aistrope, 2016; Aistrope and

Bleiker, 2018; Smith, 2017). This is also an area which I feel strongly would benefit from feminist analysis, particularly in relation to work on narrative, emotions and pop-culture. It is fertile ground for further analysis and would be very beneficial in our current historical and political environment; conspiracy theories are flourishing on both sides of the political divide aided by the 'alternative fact' phenomenon and attacks on knowledge and the intelligentsia (Herrington, 2013; David, 2015; Olmsted, 2011). There has been some interesting work done on this topic in the social and psychological sciences, the interdisciplinary approach as preferred in this thesis would allow for cross-pollination of such work for the benefit of IR analysis (Swami and Coles, 2010). I have tried to begin to address it here as an example of what could be done, using the framework established in previous chapters.

Considering the hostility towards the intelligentsia and secret societies and their financial or political interests, the Illuminati are one of many good and well-known examples. Though the name is used to refer to many groups or interests, real and fictitious, it is most commonly thought to derive from the Bavarian Illuminati, an enlightenment-era secret society founded in 1776 (Penre, 2009). Opposing superstition, religious influence over public life, and abuses of state power, they claimed to seek to control purveyors of injustice, without dominating them. Thus, they are essentially 'watchmen' or a check on supreme power, a power supported by dominant religious organisation. This would appear to be a group seeking to secure democratic ideals. As with many other secret societies, such as the Freemasons, the group was outlawed by the Bavarian ruler at the time, up until 1790, with encouragement by the Roman Catholic Church. In the following years, conservative and religious critics vilified the group, claiming they were still operating underground and were responsible for the French Revolution. The French Revolution, widely considered a historic moment of (violent) democratic change, ousting a ruling monarchy elite, and the precursor to the American Revolution and Independence movement. Many of the political theorists and philosophers, who developed their ideas in the furnace of radical upheaval of the French Revolution, ultimately guided the framers of the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution.

Essentially, the Illuminati appears to represent a 'bogeyman' myth for radical conservatives, given the role of the Roman Catholic Church I would suggest the myth has been supported by catholic propaganda at various points through history (see the chapter two section on propaganda). The many references to Satanism in many of the conspiracy theorist videos would also support this point. Though, clearly, with the effect of globalization this myth has taken on a mind of its own and been spun by the radical right-wing fringe movement in the

US for their own ends. Increasingly, the Illuminati reports (videos) also refer to Zionism and Israel as a puppet state for the Illuminati. Such secret societies tend to include captains of industry, the highly educated, rich, and politically savvy (members of society holding great political power). The more traditional Illuminati conspiracies are often represented as all male and often all white. Hence the view of such groups 'running the world' - as feminist analysis has shown, all-male panels and political organisation is not uncommon. Whereas more contemporary, pop-culture and music industry related conspiracy, theories about the Illuminati seem to focus more on black artists and celebrities, or those influenced by black culture and sexualisation and empowerment of women in such media (Read, 2012). Hence, the more recent pop-culture version of the myth has racist and misogynist or sexist undertones or influences, as well as the more traditional attacks on the talent, knowledge, and assets of its target. The myth and conspiracy theories around the Illuminati seem to suggest a fear of liberal democracy and global governance (the more modern bogeyman), or forms of republicanism (perhaps denoting a closer connection to the original Catholic propaganda in support of the monarchist order). Often the narrative presented in these modern videos seems to weave both elements rather confusingly.

The recently touted 'deep state' referred to by Trump and his supporters, to me, is reminiscent of the illuminati conspiracy theory and may be influenced by it (Lofgren, 2014; Smith, 2017). Indeed, Breitbart media and Stephen Bannon's influence on Trump is concerning given the connections to conspiracy theory interest, as well as the more widely known racist and anti-fact sympathies, and conservative connections (Worley, 2017). The notion of the Deep State also connects back to conspiracies around Kennedy's assassination in the 1960s and Nixon's attempts to constrain the CIA while he was in office. It would seem the UK is not immune to such conspiracies regarding its own government (Barnett, 2010).

The Illuminati is said to control and abuse the modern 'cult of celebrity' and popular music. Such views are now so commonplace in our pop-culture, pop artists reference the Illuminati in lyrics, videos and symbols in their work and there are many low-budget user-generated videos and reviews on the YouTube platform apparently 'exposing' the Illuminati abuse and threat to society. Often, such material focuses on women artists as 'victims' of Illuminati control and abuse – even after artists such as Beyoncé and Madonna (Vigilantcitizen.com, 2014) have openly satirised these views in their own work (acknowledging awareness of the conspiracy, though ultimately this appears to add further fuel to the conspiracy). A feminist critique would find this gendered 'victim' narrative quite troubling.

For example, with Beyoncé's recent HBO worldwide release of her 'visual' album '*Lemonade*', in the first music video release titled '*Formation*', she states in the opening lines, "*"Y'all haters corny with that illuminati mess / Paparazzi catch my fly and my cocky fresh / I'm so reckless when I rock my Givenchy dress (stylin') / I'm so possessive so I rock his Roc necklaces."*" (Beyoncé, 2016; Riotta, 2016). This is a call out to those conspiracy theorists who attribute her success to the shadowy workings of an elite cult, as opposed to her own graft, ambition and talent. Many women, in history but also in a contemporary sense, are familiar with the experience of having their endeavours attributed to a man or men. This is also not the only point at which she highlights power dynamics. For example, the video and lyrics or audio chatter depicting scenes from post-Katrina New Orleans and urban conflict between riot police and black youth in modern America; yet another key theme represented highlighting race in the 'Deep South' and the history of slavery in America. Katrina is considered the catalyst for the 'Black Lives Matter' movement, which began in 2005 (Bouie, 2015).

The call for women (particularly black women) to 'get in formation' echoes a militarized aesthetic; this is further elaborated on in scenes in the video and in her performance during America's Super Bowl (50), a national and global sporting event. Though, the aesthetic in that performance was considered more reminiscent of the 'Black Power' (Black Panther) movement in America, which also had somewhat militaristic undertones. This artistic work was released whilst Beyoncé's husband, business and creative partner was donating a considerable amount of money to the 'Black Lives Matter' social justice movement; they have both been prominently involved in supporting the movement (Beyoncé more so for working with mothers of the victims). I've mentioned this movement before in the thesis, in relation to the 'Homs' Black-site in Chicago, and the unlawful detention of protesters (Black Lives Matter supporters). Indeed, another much publicised scene in the video depicts a black youth dancing in the street, in front of a row of riot police. The scene then cuts to a graphitized wall with the slogan "*Stop Shooting Us*"; referring to the frequency of which black youth and adults in America are shot and killed, for the most minor of offences or indeed no known offence other than being black and at liberty in America.

Two scenes, one depicting the black youth and riot police standoff, the other depicting Beyoncé atop a New Orleans Police vehicle in a flood reminiscent of Hurricane Katrina scenes (Beyoncé, 2016)

This view of New Orleans, black America and urban conflict is something quite unfamiliar to me, and no doubt other white Westerners. Indeed, when I visited New Orleans for the International Studies Association conference, hosted in the wealthy chains of international hotels by the riverside, the landscape experienced was largely one of hotel rooms, Mardi Gras festivities, and tourism. This was quite shortly after (within a few years) Katrina had ripped through the area, and in 2015, the year before Beyoncé's controversial release. This artistic submission from Beyoncé is generally considered, among cultural and music critics, as the first time the artist produced work which was overtly political and so closely wedded to black consciousness and representation in America. In creating and selling this work, it was clear, Beyoncé was speaking to and for a marginalised community (her racial community). Whereas, much of her work before this has been very popular and more generally applicable and received, this work was different. Prior to the 2016 presentation of the *Lemonade* work, her earnings slowed. This was not just a political decision, on her behalf, but it would have also been an economic or financial decision. Despite the work being somewhat exclusive to the black consciousness in America and highly politicised, something usually considered suicidal for sales, Beyoncé's sales dramatically increased, largely due to the more common and saleable concept in the work, gossip about her marriage and relationship (Mitchell, 2016). Where feminist IR scholars find they must wrap their security scholarship in economic arguments and benefits for the state, to be taken seriously (as mentioned previously in this thesis), women music artists must wrap their work in sexualised content and more frivolous 'relationship drama' in order to be taken seriously, particularly in modern western media. Indeed, Ariana Grande is another contemporary artist who has typically presented a hyper-sexualised and 'innocent' image, to boost sales. This is something I have struggled with in

reflecting on the 2017 Manchester attack, as a feminist, and a critical terrorism scholar (to some extent). I struggled to accept the non-acknowledgement of that imagery and the gendered nature of the attack, it was incredibly difficult to address those concerns or attempt critique in the widespread pressure to 'get behind' Grande as a symbol of innocence and apparent womanhood (Cauterucci, 2017; Hurlburt and O'Neill, 2017).

Beyoncé aficionados will know that as an artist she has never missed an opportunity to frame her lyrics with mentions to domestic financial arrangements and power relationships. Is she a feminist, in the classical sense? Yes – I think she absolutely is and I suggest it goes beyond mere popular affectation or aesthetic. She's offering a personal and political counter-narrative to security and protest, in modern-day America, utilising historical context and reflexive analysis from lived experience. Indeed, with the concept album (*Lemonade*), she uses fragments, anecdotes/memories, storytelling, quotes, poetry, fashion, and visual media. Therefore, along with the themes evident in the work discussed above, in '*Formation*', and its relevance to themes in this thesis work regarding social justice and protest towards a violent and terrorising state, it warrants inclusion in the analysis. I found it a useful alternative representation of common and contemporary themes I was considering whilst completing the thesis. I found that in considering this artefact and context, using my method(s), my thesis work was in dialogue with Beyoncé's output in '*Formation*' and further improved by the acknowledgement of an alternative, racial approach to the common narrative of the militarization of domestic policing and protest. This was also a similar 'scrap-booking' style in the delivery of Beyoncé's message, she situates the self in regard to the protest issue – by utilising a personal narrative style – framing it through her relationship(s).
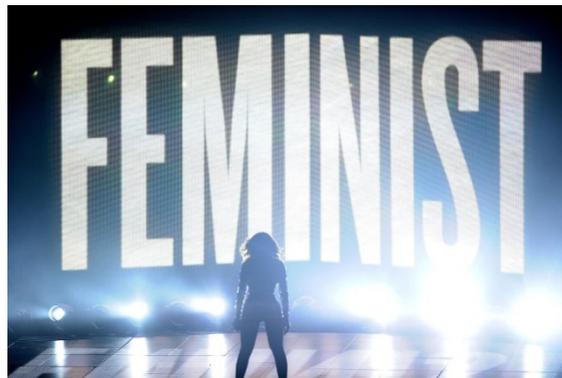
Beyoncé performs on-stage at the 2014 MTV Video Music Awards at The Forum on August 24, 2014 in Inglewood, Calif. (Photograph Credit: Jason LaVeris—FilmMagic/Getty Images; Bennett, 2014)

Digging deeper, again referencing this idea of an excavation process in the method, you may come across, as I did, the small sample of Guardian UK newspaper articles circulating in recent years, focusing on the Pentagon research on mass civil breakdown (as a security risk) and 'emotion' and 'social contagion' research conducted by Cornell University.

Representations of Guardian news articles found online, referring to Minerva Initiative research, mass civil breakdown, and Facebook's emotional contagion study (Ahmed, 2014; Gibbs, 2014; Chambers, 2014)

Russia Today (RT) is currently the only other journalistic source which appears to have picked up the story, though even within critical scholarly communities RT is not usually considered a credible source as it is considered an extension of the Russian government and Putin's 'black propaganda' (Berger, 2017). Though given recent events in the US (noted in chapter two) and investigations into Russian interference in elections and unrest abroad, particularly through hacking methods, one might consider it interesting that Russian state propaganda media has been reporting on it for some time (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Berger, 2017; Shane and Goel, 2017).

Regarding the Pentagon Op-Ed piece, by reviewing search terms on that in YouTube, one can find further film material (much of it created by individuals claiming to represent the Anonymous hacking collective) referring to 'Jade Helm', the 'New World Order', and a secret military or government plot to prevent the risk of protest violence (Anonymous Official, 2015; Anonymous Immagical, 2015; Anonymous Official, 2014). One claims there was an attempt, via a bill (the National Defense Authorization Act), passed by the Senate to demolish the 'Bill of Rights' to allow for US forces (i.e. the military) to occupy and illegally

detain US citizens (Anonymous04210, 2011). Jade Helm essentially refers to a covert military exercise/training in 2015, by elite members of four branches of the military, on US soil (particularly Texas), which was seen by conspiracy theorists as an attempt at martial law, or at the very least preparations for such (Lamothe, 2015; Kaplan, 2015). The New World Order (NWO) is a widespread conspiracy theory claiming there is an emerging clandestine totalitarian globalist world government, conspiring to rule over us all via authoritarian government which will replace sovereign nation-states. This would also echo Brexiteer ideology, or misinformation about the EU (that the Union and its bureaucrats seek to demolish our national sovereignty). The claim is that such a totalitarian cabal at the pinnacle of our society is seeking to orchestrate World War Three, and other crises to encourage the masses to go along with increasing militarization of their social spaces.

After a while, themes and 'agendas' begin to appear, if you listen closely to the speeches and avoid the distraction of the 'Anonymous' visual propaganda. Interestingly, though the videos and short clips purport to be almost 'whistleblowing' on nefarious activities and schemes of the US government, for the benefit of all citizens of the world, their real message appears to echo that of radical right-wing fringe interests in the US. I note this as, not only do some of the videos seek to disrupt and reverse or stop government activity, especially in relation to Obama's presidency, but there are also claims about national figures on gun violence being lies, or 'fake news' for those of us watching in post-Trump 2017 (Darnton, 2017). This suggests to me that, 'Anonymous', or its members, are interested in limited or non-existent government and are pro-gun lobby/NRA and the right to bear arms, especially against one's own government or ruling elite. When they refer to 'mass civil breakdown' and the Minerva research as concerning and something to be challenged, I think what they are doing is seeking to incite further quarrels between citizens and the US government. It is not for 'our' benefit, it is to support their own fringe, radical right-wing agenda. This view is also represented and confirmed by the US military, as cited below regarding Cambridge Analytica and computational propaganda. Some related videos one finds are also attributed to self-styled evangelical 'preachers' in the US, which, taken with the crisis fear-mongering and fanaticism found in the material further supports my view that Anonymous are connected to the radical right-wing in America. At least, the more recent iteration or representatives appear to be, as this does not appear to be the case from a review of the original and 'official' representation of the Anonymous collective (Wearelegionthedocumentary.com, 2017). It is not, I believe, out of the realms of possibility that the original 'Anonymous' group and media is being

hijacked and manipulated by a belligerent state such as Russia (or its proxies) to further its own geopolitical ends (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017).

This further demonstrates to me that it is vital to have a deeper understanding of history, rhetoric and propaganda, to critique and question any examples of propaganda, whether state created, or that claiming to act for left-leaning citizens and liberals. It may be a wolf in sheep's clothing. Whilst there may be some truth to the events or activities of the hegemonic state (the US), in these videos, the narrative is biased and potentially harmful, they also lack a gendered or feminist critique which would improve the message considerably. I believe this is intentional though. The radical right-wing fringe movement in the US, which got Trump elected as President recently and has been bolstered by nefarious Russian hacking activity and propaganda, is not typically respectful or supportive of feminist ideals (such as equality, or anti-racism, anti-sexism sentiments). We must remember to question, who speaks and for whom do they speak. The more recent, and more popular, videos posted online about Trump and global events support this: they refer to the DNC hack, militarization of the police, more mainstream democratic and republican scheming against civil liberties among other geopolitical examples cited (Anonymous Official, 2017b). Another, again referring to rich elites, secret societies (for example, the 'skull and bones' of Yale, the Illuminati), and critiquing the international banks and financial sector, claims these societies to be a threat to individual liberties – yet again does not broach the feminist analysis, a fairly typical critical approach (Anonymous Official, 2017a).

As I have discussed above, such secret societies and the conspiracy theories surrounding them rarely if ever discuss the patriarchal underpinnings or overt paternalistic themes, which also appear to be present in the propaganda of the conspiracy theorists themselves. So, they discuss protest, militarization, austerity, political economy, social and behavioural issues, and inequality – but only the inequality between the rich and the poor (white man). It does not appear concerned with the wider inequality and injustices. This right-wing propaganda, masquerading as left-wing propaganda against the securitised state, more than anything further serves to confuse and divert attention on the Minerva Initiative. It is not the heroic transparent movement millennials are looking for – which makes its ubiquity in our popular culture rather troubling. Indeed, there is now a flashy and expensive looking website purporting to represent the 'Illuminati' secret society, touting for members who are seeking wealth and fulfilment and an idealised society, the images shown of current or new members seem to represent largely the millennial generation (those influenced by the various

references in our popular culture). In this guise, this 'group' seems more reminiscent of a Scientology-like cult, with expectations placed on its members to buy into an 'alternative' education on the 'true' organisation of society and enlightenment (IlluminatiOfficial.org - The Illuminati's Official Website, 2017).

A photo of the 'Anonymous' anarcho-hacktivist collective mask, worn by a protester in Madrid (Photograph credit: Mario Pereda/Demotix; The Guardian).

This mask, a piece of merchandising for the 'Warner Bros' Hollywood film studio which produced Alan Moore's 'V for Vendetta' (Benedictus, 2011), has been co-opted by the Anonymous group and its supporters as a symbol of resistance and protest (particularly against the forces of global Capitalism). It is now widely recognised in (Western) popular culture, in use for these purposes since 2008 (Wearelegionthedocumentary.com, 2017). The film, and graphic novel it was based on, uses the mask to reference the historical British 'activist' known as Guy Fawkes, a well-known character in our culture and folklore for his attempt at blowing up the Houses of Parliament (in 1605).

It is true, the mask worn by supporters is taken from a dystopian story about a corrupt UK government and resistance to its power by an anti-hero on behalf of the masses, by recreating the Guy Fawkes attack on Parliament – however, the real 'Anonymous' hacktivist group we are faced with is almost as secretive and threatening as the ruling elite it seeks to attack. We must not forget, the radical right-wing movement is also classified as a terrorist organisation in the US, despite media representations of its attacks being described as an anomaly of individual violence by the mentally unstable (Kurzman and Schanzer, 2015). This may be supported by a connection on one site reviewed, which claims to be supported by another site

selling a book titled '*Doubts of Infidels*' (Penre, 2009), by an anonymous author. The word 'infidels' is more often associated with the rhetoric of the so-called 'Islamic terrorists' (also somewhat religiously motivated, however their understanding of religion may be distorted).

Spending even a few short hours reviewing the various YouTube media material on the Illuminati conspiracy connection and the Anonymous material leaves one quite paranoid and discombobulated to say the least – though it is somewhat entertaining and engrossing in small doses, it must be said. It can feel almost like falling down a 'rabbit hole' in to another world, like Alice following the white rabbit and falling into Wonderland. As is often the case, there's no smoke without fire – when considering conspiracy and gossip. It was clear that I would need to find a way to distil the 'facts' from such media, dig even deeper, and openly discuss the Initiative in scholarly circles (as there was almost complete silence or ignorance of it within the IR and critical security community when I started). As my methods developed, it was also clear I would need to derive some meaning from the material and Minerva research sources. This was not an easy task.

The Minerva Initiative – a Chronological summary

It is within this context that I now explore a small sample of indicative Minerva Initiative materials and relevant 'propaganda' (i.e. the online presence of the Initiative). This analysis is further supported with historical and pop-cultural examples to highlight core themes and IR concepts running through the work of the Minerva Initiative[20]. It is expected that this form of analysis will not only shed light on myself, as a political subject and activist, implicated in the relationship between the military (the security arm of the state) and higher education (particularly the creation of knowledge on terrorism and counter-terrorism); but also enable a deeper, historically sensitive analysis of the motivations and aims of the Minerva Initiative and the security policy elite who created it. This should serve to facilitate considerations by those scholars in the habit of critiquing security and terrorism studies particularly, to better address ethical considerations regarding the militarization of knowledge production and potentially enable further disruptive practices in the academic community against this militarization (Knight, 2016).

I begin with a preliminary analysis and summary of the Minerva research funding arrangements which have been completed since 2008 (when the Minerva Initiative was set

---

[20] Propaganda, its use, history and meaning is further discussed in chapter two. In that section, I also made it clear, the term can have both positive and negative connotations.

up), which pertain to terrorism research. At this point I have already omitted some material from the website, as I ascertained that the material was not directly related to the aims of this thesis. I discussed the choices made and details of the process in the previous chapter (regarding methodology). This provides a sort of aerial view or narrative map of the information surveyed during research. Following that initial analysis, I returned to the research and made a further selection (using this preliminary work) to select a small sample of highly relevant (given my stated interests and concerns) research materials produced by the funding arrangements and have elaborated on and further analysed these documents and examples, using the methods outlined in chapter four. It is here that I have also drawn out of the samples key themes, I explore these themes further by incorporating pop-cultural analysis and references, as well as other sources of knowledge. Finally, I provide a conclusion summarising key themes and points of note from the analysis, to carry forward into the conclusion chapter of the thesis and plans for future work. Given the updated analysis regarding connections and relevance to the Cambridge Analytica scandal, it became clear that my initial narrow selection(s) based on the research questions above, may have been a mistake – given the result of that analysis and the evidence of wider interest of the Minerva Initiative in traditional realist concerns and an information war with Russia and China. Though, that 'mistake' has not hampered the finding of militarization. It has highlighted the more entrenched, embedded, and widespread nature of such militarization in wider society and online.

Summary of preliminary analysis

Again, noting the 'excavation' approach of the method and the hermeneutic cyclical return to the source text, an initial cursory glance at the publicly available US Department of Defense Minerva Initiative website provides the DoD description of Minerva and a limited rationale for the Initiative (Minerva.dtic.mil. 2008, [Accessed: 14 Feb 2014]; Asher, 2008). The Initiative "*seeks to build deeper understanding of the social, cultural, and political dynamics that shape regions of strategic interest around the world*". At first glance, the purpose of Minerva, stated on their website, involves a 'global' outlook focusing on "*valuable, warfighter-relevant insights*". This rhetoric suggests a more traditional approach to conflict (with a focus on 'war').

Following a review of the website and some review of other materials such as the proceedings and some presentation slides of the closed conference(s) arranged by the

Initiative in recent years, some questions are raised by the limited information produced for the public. One such issue, for me and no doubt other critical security scholars concerned with militarization, is regarding the question of 'conflict of interest' (regarding military funding for social science research and on such a scale). The DoD does provide a clear statement of their view, in response to such potential criticism, in the FAQs section of the website (see analysis below). In cross-referencing this information with that found on PowerPoint slides from Minerva's second annual conference on '*Developing foundational knowledge for Present and Future Conflict*' in 2011, from a summary briefing to the conference by two US Army representatives – this issue was raised for me. In the presentation on the "*Cultural Knowledge Consortium*" (CKC) a "*Joint and Inter-Agency Activity Connecting the Socio-cultural Community*" according to the information provided, there is mention of the concern of the US Military community that previously knowledge has been 'degraded' by being co-opted into the military framework (Prinslow, 2011). This is something they are seeking to avoid, by leaving knowledge producers embedded in the academic research community – whilst being supported (funded) by the military. It is assumed that this enables the military greater access to premium knowledge and, in their view, enables greater 'open' collaboration for academics. In the DoD's view, this is a great platform for resources. From a critical security perspective, one would suggest that this just increases militarization of public/civic and knowledge producing spaces and individuals, which is highly problematic. It would seem to be a more beneficial arrangement for the military, than for the wider society. Concerns have also been echoed by the prominent anthropologist Hugh Gusterson, he states, "*any attempt to centralize thinking about culture and terrorism under the Pentagon's roof will inevitably produce an intellectually shrunken outcome....The Pentagon will have the false comfort of believing that it has harnessed the best and the brightest minds, when in fact it will have only received a very limited slice of what the ivory tower has to offer—academics who have no problem taking Pentagon funds. Social scientists call this "selection bias," and it can lead to dangerous analytical errors*" (Gusterson, 2008).

The research conducted and chosen for funding awards is based in social science disciplines. If one looks to the program management of the Initiative, i.e. those individuals and departments in the DoD who are tasked with overseeing the various research projects, one would note a clear socio-cultural, anthropological, psychological and biological research interest and expertise (see below analysis). This was particularly puzzling for me, given that

the military service research organisations covered in my research consisted of the office of naval research, the air force office of scientific research and the army research office. One may not expect at least two of these offices to be engaged in such research (namely the navy and air force), as they are more traditionally considered to cover classical forms of warfare (as opposed to contemporary challenges related to protest…and on land). All three office representatives listed also represent all four of the priority research topics under Minerva's responsibility. These topics include: *Identity, Influence, and Mobilization*; *Contributors to Societal Resilience and Change*; *Power and Deterrence*; *Innovations in National Security, Conflict, and Cooperation.*

I. Identity, Influence, and Mobilization
(1-A) Culture, identity, and security
(1-B) Belief formation and influence
(1-C) Mobilization for change
II. Contributors to Societal Resilience and Change
(2-A) Governance and rule of law
(2-B) Resources, economics, and globalization
(2-C) Additional factors impacting societal resilience and change
III. Power and Deterrence
(3-A) Power projection and diffusion
(3-B) Beyond conventional deterrence
IV. Innovations in National Security, Conflict, and Cooperation
(4-A) Analytical methods and metrics for security research
(4-B) Emerging topics in conflict and security

This matrix was originally taken from the Minerva DoD website, sometime between 2014-2016 during my preliminary research into Minerva, it does not appear to be accessible by the original hyperlink any longer, following the recent changes to the Initiative's online presence (original source: http://minerva.dtic.mil/topics.html)

'Terrorism' as a subject of research put forward in the various successful funding bids potentially may fall within any of or all the four core streams on the DoD created matrix shown above. I have found however that successful projects have tended to fall under the following specific sub-categories: I A-C, 2-B and C, IV-A and B. It is perhaps important to note that Minerva research covers other more 'traditional' or 'conventional' security concerns as well. Research on Russia, Asia (China specifically) and trafficking is represented in the material. And what's interesting to me is that the aims stated on the website for the Initiative invoke conventional security concerns (i.e. regional powers and state security – Realist concerns), but many of the projects funded since its inception in 2008 through to 2015 have been focused on 'contemporary security concerns' i.e. terrorism or protest. This would indicate to me that such contemporary issues are considered a higher risk factor for the US in

the short term, but also potentially in the future. Indeed, as one Foreign Affairs article has suggested, "*In an incentive structure that rewards an emphasis on countering global threats and securing the homeland, the devil lies in the definitions. In this framework, the Boston Marathon bombing becomes a national security problem, whereas the Sandy Hook massacre remains a matter for the police and psychologists—a distinction that is both absurd as social science and troubling as public policy*" (King, 2015).

The projects ranged from the recently funded 2015 awards (expected to run through to 2018) to the 2009 DOD/NSF Minerva awards (which ran into 2013/2014) including other funding awards in the interim period. As one considers the earlier projects on the website there is significantly less information provided, though the more recent project descriptions can be rather minimalist and vague. I also found, while using my hermeneutic method, that during the process of working towards this PhD, the Minerva website and available material was changed and/or removed from public view and access (such as the matrix above). This posed a significant problem, given my loose approach to engagement with the 'text' and sources. I sought to remedy this by leaning in more to my alternative approach and focusing more heavily on my experience and interpretation or perception, utilising pop-cultural references. As I have noted elsewhere in this thesis, dealing with national security material can be very high-risk, for many reasons not least of which is the issue of access. Given the historical, contextual and narrative approach, it is also worth noting that when I returned to research Minerva further (via the website in 2017) I found the DoD's 'History' section of the website particularly wanting, as it held a single sentence, for a vast project which has been running since 2008 (at least 9 years as of writing). When I last visited the older website (which is no longer accessible), there was a more developed history statement provided, though still quite limited in its own way (no more than a paragraph or two). Though, as I've noted in the methodology chapter, I cannot always rely on my memory as it is often fragmentary at best, and even for those not plagued by PTSD memory is often subject to being re-written over time. Also, given the context of President Trump's White House shutting down and deleting traces to previous protections on government websites, the blank '404 error' page I was faced with when I followed the link to the '*Office of Privacy and Civil Liberties*' was rather concerning.
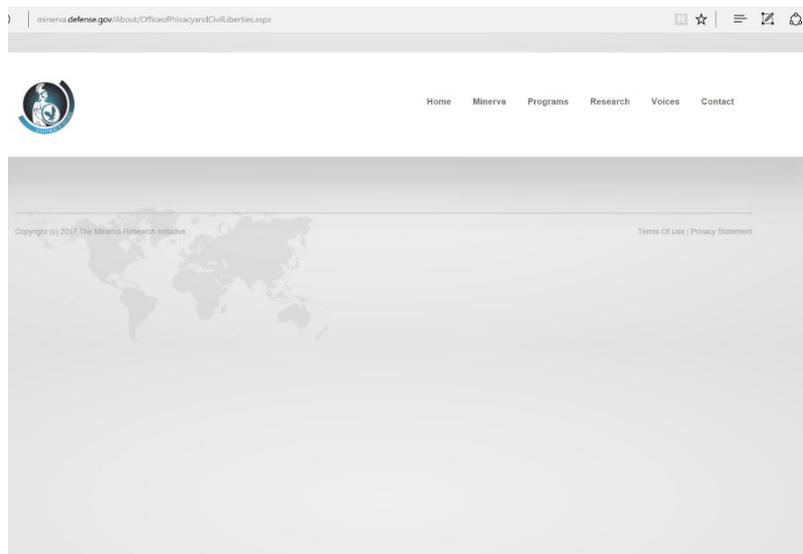
The new and improved Minerva Initiative website, the Office of Privacy and Civil Liberties appears alarmingly vacant in Trump's America (The Minerva Research Initiative, n.d.).

2015 Awards

Regarding the terrorism definition and the Minerva Matrix above, one example project from Arizona State, (with collaborators at USMA West Point and University of Exeter, UK) references the term 'Extremist' but it is not clear how the term is being used as the research involves a social media analysis of the spread of ideologies (The Minerva Research Initiative, n.d.). Another project (from Georgia State University with collaborators from USMA West Point, City University of New York, a non-profit and University of London), awarded funds during the same recent 2015 funding period, again uses the 'extremist' term aligning it with the phrase 'groups of great relevance to national security' (The Minerva Research Initiative, n.d.). This research examines the relative success of various media platforms in transmitting propaganda. Though, obviously, they only focus on non-state propaganda. This point speaks to the points raised elsewhere in the thesis regarding the lack of focus on 'state coercion' (also referred to as terror or violence). I would therefore assume that, despite this being a key concern highlighted in the literature (theory), as outlined in my chapter one literature review, the state approach (in this instance the US, a representative leader of the Western approach) has still not changed and does not expect to in the short term. One could infer, with some knowledge of the specialism(s) at the University of London various satellite colleges involved in such research, that the term is being used in the radicalisation sense (as used regarding contemporary research on 'Islamic' terrorism). This may be connected to another project which references fields such as criminology and geography, with analysis of the

'social ecology' (both geographic and virtual) and its impact on radicalisation. The project mentioned here certainly is led by University College London with collaboration from Imperial College and University of East London (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008).

2014 Awards

A project of great relevance to this thesis, particularly one of the research questions, is that created by Cornell University with the collaboration of Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory and a company called Morningside Analytics, overseen by a representative of the Air Force office of scientific research. This particular 2014 award (expected to run 2014 - 2017), refers to "*analysis and empirical modelling of the dynamics of social movement mobilization and social contagions*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). Focusing on the digital traces of such social contagions, the project analyses four datasets, including twitter posts and conversations: around the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, the 2011 Russian Duma Elections, the 2012 Nigerian Fuel Subsidy crisis and the 2013 Gazi Park protests in Turkey. They seek to identify individuals mobilized in these 'social contagion' events and identify the point at which they are mobilized, looking for a 'critical mass' in the data. Such words and phrases, as are used in this project abstract, indicate that a view or approach to protest movements is being adopted and it is one which borrows heavily from biology and the discourse around a 'virus' outbreak. Such discourse is also found regarding social technology, the internet, social and computing networks, or in relation to 'hacking', cyber-crime and terrorism. 'Anonymous' and other hacktivists have been known to support or enable such recent revolutions and protests via the internet. So, it is perhaps not a surprise to find similar discourse being used. I provide deeper analysis on this project below, following the further application of the hermeneutic cycle method.

In this same award period, we can find reference to an academic at the University of Denver; notable given the research centre based there, which focuses on protest research, and academics such as Erica Chenoweth who focus on 'non-violent' protest analysis. This project, led by a representative of the Army research office, focuses on (im)balances in a country's development (including social mobilizations) examining the conditions necessary for "*popular grievances to spark abrupt socio-political change*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). If we look to the University of Memphis project, under the Air Force office of research remit, it is purported to continue work from a previous grant funded project, and analyses the speech of international actors to detect motives and identify threats. This project analyses "*the*

relationship between language and contentious behaviour like protests, riots, and rebellions", and extends regional focus beyond China and MENA to incorporate Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). This last region (Latin America), was of interest to me as I was reminded of a news item which briefly reached international attention, not long before the demotion of Cuba from the risk list for terrorism held by the USA hit the headlines. The news item regarding Cuba involved the USAID programme of the USA (similar in scope to the UK Overseas Development Institute), which was implicated in a secret Cuban-specific version of Twitter. It had apparently been running for two years (with the US involvement unknown until the news broke), it was swiftly shut down in 2012, just prior to the news breaking – allegedly due to funds running out (Associated Press, 2014; Roig-Franzia, 2014; Bigwood, 2014; Herrick, 2014; Traywick, 2014). This project indicates Latin America is still on the agenda as a security risk of note to the USA. When also taken with the Venezuelan context, cited in chapter two above, this would also make a lot of sense – Venezuela has increasingly garnered international attention, most notably in 2017. Post-Trump Presidency tensions with Mexico have also become apparent.

The University of Washington (with collaborators from Harvard University), under the remit of the Army research office; also has mass political movements as its focus. It seeks to "*uncover the conditions under which political movements aimed at large-scale political and economic change originate…what their characteristics and consequences are*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). They suggest these 'large-scale' movements would involve "*more than 1,000 participants in enduring activity*" – this criterion seems quite a small number of participants to be considered 'large-scale', particularly if you consider typical numbers of people located in most towns/cities. This project claims to build upon existing research on 23 countries, they seek to extend that database to 58 countries with the funding award in 2014, mapping these movements over time and space across 216 variables – clearly a very large database will be resulting from this funding. The abstract does not state any of the countries in these numbers.

2013 Awards

Here we find a project titled '*Who Does Not Become a Terrorist, and Why?*', the project is led by a representative of the Naval Postgraduate School with collaborators from University of St. Andrews (UK) and King Juan Carlos University (Spain). This project has had some involvement from Professor Richard English or at the very least the Centre for the Study of

Terrorism and Political Violence. English is more commonly known for his research on the IRA, but led the Centre as Director until recently and taught on the Olympia Summer Academy module on Terrorism and Counter-terrorism, which I attended and influenced the creation of my chapter one literature review. The abstract is slightly odd in that it begins by stating "*This project is not about terrorists, but about supporters of political violence*". It purports to study supporters of armed militancy to outline the various activities they would be willing to undertake short of violence. The project also seeks to contribute to theory building in the field of "*individual radicalization*" by focusing on a control group, which has, according to the abstract, never been studied – though it does not list this group. One element of note is that this project does not list a government program manager (Minerva Initiative military staff member), this is true of most of the 2013 and pre-2013 award projects.

Harking back to the more recent biologically influenced projects mentioned above, the next three projects engage neuroscience/neurobiology and combine this with a socio-cultural analysis. A project from UCLA with collaborators from University of Michigan and a company called Defense Group Inc, examines the "*neural bases of successful persuasion and social influence in both the U.S. and Egypt*", examining how "*neural assessments of individuals in the U.S. can be used to predict social media trends in Cairo…to effectively insert persuasive messages into their social media*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). More oddly, they will assess the utility of functional near infrared spectroscopy "*that can be shipped around the world to conduct operational neuroscience investigations in key places around the world*", though it does not say where these key places are. This is somewhat reminiscent to the '*Men who Stare at Goats*' storyline of a recent George Clooney film which turned out to be based on the true story of a secret military team which was conducting experiments on the utility of psychic powers for military strategic needs (Ronson, 2006; The Men Who Stare At Goats, 2009; Neweartharmy.com, n.d.). The University of Iowa was awarded funding for their project which employed a cross-cultural empirical strategy "*combining social scientific survey methodology with neuroscientific brain imaging techniques to reveal the role of values in social mobilization*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008).

Stills from the 2009 Clooney film about the real-life military research and experimentation with LSD and other 'new age' methods (Drummond, 2010; Heslov et al., n.d.).

The third project I looked at put forward by University of Maryland with collaborators from Jacobs University in Bremen, Germany, looks at reactions to norm violations at the level of brain mechanisms. It is suggested the lack of available cultural neuroscience research on social norms limits the understanding of group identities, cultural norms and belief systems. This appears ethically problematic to me, as it seems odd that they would seek to study cultural practices and norms via neuroscience, in a presumably 'objective' and 'clinical' way, rather than in an immersive anthropological way. I struggle to imagine what they would hope to achieve by this study, other than uncovering neuroscientific 'triggers' for manipulating cultural norms, beliefs and practices: that, would very clearly seem unethical, if it was the case.

2012 Awards

Here we find two projects of note. One from Penn State with collaborators from Harvard University looks at Autocratic stability in regime crises. In gathering data on all authoritarian regimes from 1990-2012, they seek to examine how "*foreign policy influences two outcomes in the context of domestic protest in dictatorships: state-led violence and regime instability*". The project at UCSD however, with collaborators from the Naval Postgraduate School and the Brookings Institute, looks at the "*Impact of the Military-scientific-Industrial Complex in Brazil*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). In examining how states are able "*to benefit from the interaction of science, technology, and military innovation to emerge as important powers in the international system*". This appears as if it reflects the Minerva Initiative in miniature.

2009 Awards

Here we find a collection of potentially relevant projects, though information is rather limited. A project at Princeton simply titled "*Terrorism, Governance, and Development*", with collaborators from UC San Diego, Yale and Stanford University, focused on "*how to*

implement governance and development policies to more efficiently (re)build social and economic order in conflict and post-conflict areas" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). The stated aim is to test current theory and provide empirical findings to inform policy on these three issues. Another project of note is that put forward by San Francisco State University with collaborators at University at Buffalo, State University of New York. This project's focus is emotion and intergroup relations, specifically "*anger, contempt, and disgust, in facilitating the build up to aggression and violence*' and '*the motivation of groups that transform angry or fearful groups into organizations of violence and hostility*" (Minerva.dtic.mil, 2008). These projects are representative of others in this funding period covering discourse and social dynamics, strategies of violence and ideologies. The 2014 award for a University of Memphis project listed above continued the work of one of these grants on modelling discourse and social dynamics.

Key Themes

Given the above preliminary analysis, outlined in chronological order (descending from the most recent to the oldest), I have selected certain funded projects to focus on in the next stage of the hermeneutic cycle-based analysis. I have completed a deeper analysis of the selected projects outlined below regarding key themes which I have uncovered throughout the process. These key themes relate directly to the research aims and questions outlined in chapter one, as well as connecting to previous chapters. The first refers to the issue of militarization as highlighted in chapter three under feminist theory and the militarization of knowledge production for the purposes of state security. The second refers to the claim of a broadening of an already muddled and complex definition of terrorism (as outlined in the chapter one lit review) to incorporate social movements, activists, dissenters and those critical of government policy. This has involved a peculiar development of incorporating virology terms such as 'contagion', thus further entrenching claims of empirical objectivity and scientific certainty in contemporary terrorism study – particularly in response to the cyberterrorism threat and globalization. Third and finally, I elaborate on a theme associated with (political) social movements and economic crisis. This final theme appears to be in response to globalization, and recent economic crises (i.e. the 2008 recession which preceded the creation of Minerva), seeking to reduce or prevent the impact of political instability during or following such events. This theme therefore refers to the chapter on Globalization and Neoliberalism (chapter two). Following this exploration of the three key themes, I provide further context and analysis regarding the use of data analytics to study and

manipulate emotions via computational propaganda. This is offered in the sub-section on Cambridge Analytica, which I suggest relates to this Minerva analysis, before the conclusion to this chapter. This further analysis indicates that the USA is seeking to operationalise citizens (social media users), turning them into 'combatants' in their 'information war' with Russia (and China). This is surely evidence of the militarization of social (media) spaces.

Anthropological research and HUMINT – weaponizing the social sciences?

This first theme refers and links back to the issue of militarization of knowledge production, a core element of the thesis research. Under this theme I consider the co-optation of anthropologists predominantly, as well as some criminologists – whilst largely ignoring IR scholars working on terrorism research, which the Minerva Initiative has done in creating the *Cultural Knowledge Consortium* (CKC). This echoes the arrangement under Project Camelot in the 1960s, when anthropologists (and other social scientists) were incorporated into the project, academics who were affiliated with American University (Gusterson, 2009; Petras, 2009). The term 'HUMINT' refers to the military project of human intelligence and the assessment of human terrain systems (Klinger, 2014; Robben, 2009). Essentially, this involves the weaponizing, or use of anthropological research for the benefit of military operations in 'hostile' environments (conflict zones). As I elaborate below, reviewing specific Minerva projects and in the following section on Cambridge Analytica, this HUMINT approach has become more insidious and embedded within our everyday social media interactions. Our social (media) landscape has become militarized for the benefit of the hegemon state's military strategy in an 'Information War'.

UCLA: Neural Bases of Persuasion and Social Influence in the U.S. and Middle East (2013 Award cycle)

U Iowa: Moral Schemas, Cultural Conflict, and Socio-Political Action (2013 Award cycle)

UMD: The Strength of Social Norms Across Cultures (2013 Award cycle)

The above three projects, funded within the same award cycle, appear to all relate to neuroscience and neurobiology research, combined with a socio-cultural analysis. As I indicated in the preliminary analysis, this raises some ethical concerns for me, given the nature of their work, as described in the abstract found. There is also unmistakable evidence of the military-industrial complex at work here, as the complex is described below (Smart, 2016), most notably in relation to the UCLA project. I considered 'Defense Group Inc',

which was mentioned as a collaborator on that project, a veteran-owned small business. It is described on its website as "*a high-technology and high-expertise company, advancing public safety and national security through innovative research, new technologies, and systems assessments. DGI has key competencies in U.S. strategy and policy, intelligence, weapons of mass destruction, vulnerability assessments and homeland security, and special operations, as well as technologies and products that support the first responder and medical communities. Our customers include a wide range of government organizations at the federal, state, and local levels, and a growing base of commercial clients. DGI maintains several offices across the country, supporting a multidisciplinary staff that includes nationally recognized subject-matter-experts in nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, intelligence analysis, and project management. Key DGI managers and staff members serve in advisory roles at the highest levels within the Cabinet and the Congress. Our outstanding Board of Directors, with extensive background in all aspects of government and corporate management, provides visionary guidance and oversight to DGI's activities*" (Defensegroupinc.com, n.d.). Their services focus primarily on Afghanistan-Pakistan and Africa regions, while also offering CoBRA emergency response solutions. It is not clear whether these 'CoBRA' solutions relate to US or UK operations (News.bbc.co.uk, 2006). Although it has connections in Europe via Belgium and is marketed as a suite of "*digital tools to support daily operations as well as managing special events, emergencies, and disasters*"; they go on to say, "*It provides a distributed collaboration environment including resource tracking, activity logs, chat rooms, interactive maps, and multiple other tools and resources that can be shared by users at the local, regional, and headquarters level*" (Cobra2020.com, 2017). Cobra's booth had the "*most visited booth at the 2015 EU Civil Protection forum*" (Cobra2020.net, n.d.). The website holds the tagline, "*Many missions, one solution*" (Cobra2020.com, 2017). The list of Board Directors, on review, indicates connections between, nuclear science, physical chemistry, the CIA, law, economics, and finance, the military and national security, among other related areas. It includes a previous Director of the CIA. One of the executives is also the President of a group called 'Global Initiatives Inc', which purports to be "*Advancing Partnership Solutions to Global Challenges*" (Globalinitiatives.com, 2013). Though appearing to be squarely aimed at business interests and sustainability concerns, there is limited information on the website to explore further. All I can ascertain is it appears to be basing its operations in Singapore, though also has connections in London, Jakarta, and Hong Kong, as well as thirty or more countries worldwide (Globalinitiatives.com, 2013). Its work appears to focus on media and

film content, and international events. I find the closeness of these interests in one private company, collaborating and funded by the Minerva Initiative defense contract, particularly regarding work on manipulation of behaviour via messages on social media, very troubling. I think it would be beneficial to have more analysis of such an arrangement and further light shed on it. The infrared spectroscopy is puzzling and still unexplained, particularly as my physicist father has indicated such a tool might only usefully be used to find something 'under the skin'. Even he finds its deployment in such research puzzling.

UCSD: The Impact of the Military-Scientific-Industrial Complex in Brazil (2012 Award cycle)

This UCSD project reviewing the impact of the military-scientific-industrial complex (MIC) in Brazil is interesting, given the assertion in this thesis that the complex is at work in the US via the Minerva Initiative. A project of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) looks at and defines the complex. Quoting US President Eisenhower's 1961 address: "*In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together*" (Reachingcriticalwill.org, n.d.). One may counter that the Initiative is seeking to promote peace, given the collaboration with the US Institute of Peace through research grants and dissertation support, promoted on their website. WILPF traces the MIC back to Europe and World War I, seeing its development through the technological advancements in World War II and the influences on the corporate economy, which became more entrenched with the Cold War (a relentless armaments race between superpowers). WILPF claims, these "*robust and seemingly inextricable ties between the political, military, and economic establishments led E.P. Thompson to declare in 1982 that the United States (and the Soviet Union) "do not have military-industrial complexes; they are such complexes."*" (Reachingcriticalwill.org, n.d.). Other scholars have dated the MIC back to the 19th century (Bernstein and Wilson, 2011). This would echo Tilly's sentiments 'war made the state, and the state made war', as quoted elsewhere in the thesis. The violent economy sustains the state, if it is the violence of the state, rather than of non-state actors, as that weakens the state's economic power. The case-study of Brazil, is

congruent with the historical interest in Latin America for such projects, Chile was used as a pilot by the Camelot project. The interest in Brazil may be due to the context of expansion and disintegration of its MIC by the 1990s, as it would allow an analysis of the factors leading to chaos, insecurity and instability which the failure of Brazil's MIC created (Conca, 1997).

UMD: Motivational, Cognitive, and Social Elements of Radicalization and Deradicalization (2012 Award cycle)

SFSU: Emotion and Intergroup Relations (2009 Award cycle)

The above two projects (UMD and SFSU) appear to relate to emotions, motivational factors and relationships. The UMD project clearly focuses on radicalization and how to counter it through anthropological and psychological methods. The awards in the 2009 cycle, when I first reviewed the Initiative, were already limited in the information or text provided through Minerva. However, this has worsened as I have continued through my hermeneutic cycle approach. As mentioned elsewhere here, the limiting of publicly available information has also gone on to affect the more recent award periods, given the changes to the Minerva Initiative website, since I began considering the Initiative. I can say that these projects appear to be in line with other such projects which use anthropological and psychological insights and collaborations to understand and prevent further radicalization and resistance to the state (Hamid, 2017; Norman and Mikhael, 2017). In this sense, also, I would suggest such projects are linked to the interest of Minerva in the use of propaganda by 'Islamic' terrorist organisations and groups. They appear to be seeking to find ways to counter such emotionally charged propaganda, but as I've mentioned elsewhere, they do not appear to consider the impact of state propaganda as a motivational factor for such radicalized individuals. This is, I think, an oversight.

Johan Galtung, American University, and Project Camelot – a blueprint for Minerva's weaponization of the social sciences?

As I have elaborated in the above sections on the weaponization of the social sciences in various Minerva Initiative examples, this is a form of militarization (of higher education), as it weaponizes anthropological and sociological research for the benefit of military interests. As can be seen, especially regarding the discussion of MIC, it is not just military interests, but private companies and business interests. We have also seen how this is connected to neuroscientific research, though this remains somewhat of a mystery, regarding how tools

used in that field are being operationalised. I would suggest it certainly requires further investigation and the limited material or awareness gleaned from research on these projects is concerning, particularly given the online material found about the funding on protest related research and 'mass civil breakdown', explored further below.

The earlier incarnation of such a project (Camelot) was halted by the peace researcher, Johan Galtung. The Project was housed in the Special Operations Research Office (SORO) at The American University. According to testimony given to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, following the projects' demise, "*The purpose of this project was to produce a better understanding of how the processes of social change operate in the developing countries. On the one hand, Project Camelot was intended to assist in identifying the forerunners of social breakdown and the resultant opportunity for Communist penetration and possible takeover; on the other hand, it was also expected to produce basic information which would furnish some guidelines with respect to actions that might be taken by or with the indigenous governments to foster constructive change within a framework of relative order and stability*" (No authorship indicated, 1966). It has been suggested that in the America of the 1960s, the objective of foreign policy was to prevent the spread of communism which rejected capitalism and US interests.[21]

As Keil Eggers, a one-time researcher at the 'Galtung Institut' explains with reference to the context of Project Camelot, "*If the United States' economic hegemony is threatened, there is not peace. That is to say, the definition of peace in this sense is reliant on the policy of the hegemon. Of course, this politicized & partial definition of "peace", this Pax Americana, is impossible to accept for any peace scholar dedicated to the dispassionate sociological study of the phenomenon*" (Eggers, 2014). For Galtung and Eggers, the project was a counter-insurgency research study, seeking to weaponize anthropology and the social sciences in general, to prepare to deal with civil breakdown and attempts to overthrow government from within a state. Galtung's primary issue with the Project was something he calls "*Scientific Colonialism*"; essentially the fact that the process and centre of gravity for acquisition of knowledge about the nation was outside the nation itself (Eggers, 2014). Therefore, he was more concerned about the asymmetric power relationship between nations and international balance of power, as the potential for manipulation is there in the interests of big powers, or a hegemon. In this case, Galtung believed that the objectives and uses of social science by Project Camelot represented an erosion of self-determination for Latin American countries;

---

[21] I explore hegemony further below.

and thus, it would violate three articles of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (Arts. 21(3), 26(2), and 30 respectively). Ultimately, Eggers asserts, "*Project Camelot sought to curtail the right of the people to revolt and change governments. It was to do so by manipulating the social conditions that lead to revolt against regimes favored by the U.S administration. The greatest flaw in the research design was that the political aspects of the project eclipsed the potential for what is mentioned in article 26(2)- human development. Camelot was to be used as a tool to maintain structural violence, in this particular case to enforce political usurpation and heteronomy at the macropolitical level*" (Eggers, 2014). This is quite a damning assessment of the Project, the intentions of the US and Neoliberal interventionism. The implications of the connections between economy and peace are further explored below, particularly regarding war.

It is perhaps interesting to note that more recent leaks and 'whistleblowing' on military and security practices around big data mining and online activity have not led to Minerva's demise, or even wider public knowledge and awareness of the Initiative. Is this indicative of a shift in society, in how serious we view such practices? Or is it an erosion of our civil liberties and our expectations regarding security? I think we must still be vigilant against such practices. The lack of transparency and wider knowledge is very troubling and, I would argue, unnecessary if the work is above board. Taking context into account, the current President (Trump) may use insights gleaned from such research for his own ends.

I am unclear as to why the Initiative was created by Obama and Gates in 2008, as it seems counter to our understandings of Obama the statesman and leader of the free world (Petras, 2009). However, the same could be said for American University's involvement with Camelot as it is considered an institution which embodies public service, volunteering, sustainability and environmental commitments - in other words, an idealistic outlook. Hence, this may explain Kennedy's choice to have it host his historic speech on peace quoted at the start of this thesis. Minerva is nothing new in its aims and approach, though the tools and research may be innovative for their field and geared towards post-globalization challenges. However, it is still a problematic arrangement and its apparent focus on both traditional threats and religiously motivated terrorism ('Islamic terrorism' and culturally different examples) is troubling. This is especially troubling given the more serious threat of our own, radical Christian populist terrorism, which is also created by the impact of inequality and globalization, but in diverse ways. This deserves far more attention, at this juncture, particularly given the alleged links to law enforcement - claimed in both the USA and

German context (Kurzman and Schanzer, 2015; Perez and Bruer, 2015; Byman, 2016; Haag, 2017; Kurzman, Kamal and Yazdiha, 2017; Cunningham, 2017; Parkin et al., 2017; Ziv, 2017; Speri, 2017).

'Social Contagion' – broadening the definition of terrorism?

This second theme refers to one of the research questions posed for this thesis, regarding my assertion that the Minerva Initiative appears to be directly contributing to the broadening of an already muddled and complex definition in the scholarship on terrorism, particularly post-9/11 and perhaps even post-Munich as highlighted in chapter one. This new attempt at definition appears to be borrowing terminology from biological empirical work on virology, to refer to (political) social mobilisations as a 'virus' which must be monitored and preferably prevented. This appears to be connected to the rise of cyber-terrorism, online media and social networks and recent political instability in the West. Whilst ordinarily I would be supportive of interdisciplinarity or attempts at transgressing disciplinary boundaries, the use of 'hard science' phrasing or concepts with the increase in empirical aspirations of many contemporary terrorism scholars (as noted in chapter one) is particularly troubling as it appears to hold a position of objectivity which is clearly not present, given the problematic relationship between the military and the scholarly community, under Minerva. The use of corporations widely used and incorporated into modern pop-culture and society (i.e. Facebook), for monitoring and covert research purposes in this regard is also highly problematic and warrants further analysis (as I have attempted below regarding connections to Cambridge Analytica).

Arizona State: New Analytics for Measuring and Countering social influence and persuasion of extremist groups (2015 Award cycle)

Again, this project is concerned with how ideas go viral in the internet age. As with some other projects listed, further detail is extremely limited on the current Minerva website. However, on the Arizona State website, the limited information provided indicates this project is also concerned with religion, and combining the study of conflict and religion with big data and analytics (Asu.pure.elsevier.com, n.d.). This was confirmed and developed further with a web search which threw up sources such as Physics magazines and websites which elaborated on the project, with quotes from the members of the project team. This was the second Minerva Grant provided to ASU and most of the members of this project were also involved on the first. The project employs "*computational and ethnographic methods to*

determine the degree of correspondence between virtual and on-the-ground communities. Specific areas to be studied are Southeast Asia (Indonesia and Malaysia), West Africa (Nigeria), Western Europe (United Kingdom) and the Middle East (Iraq and Syria)" (Phys.org, 2015). The goal "*will be the development of a new logic-based framework to better understand the mindset and motivations of extremist groups. This will help intelligence officials better predict what viral conversations different communities will align with, or what information spikes may lead to real on-the-ground threats. This may, in turn, support new methods for devising and executing counter-messaging strategies*" (Phys.org, 2015). So, they are concerned with 'Islamic terrorism' predominantly, but are using insights from that research to explore countering the radicalisation.

Cornell: Tracking Critical-Mass Outbreaks in Social Contagions (2014 Award cycle)

This is an important one, as this is the project that has made the headlines, more than any other under Minerva, it is also the one which has caused so much controversy and brought the conspiracy theorists out (Ahmed, 2014; Gibbs, 2014; Chambers, 2014). Working with Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory and the mysterious Morningside Analytics private company (Berkleycenter.georgetown.edu, n.d.), the datasets studied analyses Twitter posts and conversations, among other social network data, regarding: the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, the 2011 Russian Duma Elections, the 2012 Nigerian Fuel Subsidy crisis and the 2013 Gezi Park protests in Turkey. As we can see, these events focus on authoritarian states and, regarding Nigeria particularly, access to fuel and other basic commodities. Most of these protests were also youth movements for change and against corruption and/or election rigging. The Russian example was an 'outbreak' against the pro-Putin far-right group gaining power, with claims of election rigging in that case. Despite this, Putin continues to project a Russian youth supportive of Putin's Russia and policies. It is difficult not to view such a project alongside recent events in the USA and UK. This project appears concerned with resistance to authoritarian power and the accelerating impact of technological globalization on resistance to such powers, in the form of 'outbreaks'. The terminology of 'social contagions' and 'outbreaks', as mentioned above, is reminiscent of virology terms referring to a, potentially fatal, infection to the body (politic). It speaks to me of a strategic view of such movements, viewing it as a threat to the security of the state and authoritarian power interests. The inclusion of Russia in the dataset is somewhat ironic, as in 2017 it is becoming increasingly clear that Russia has been using cyber-terrorism itself, in the form of hacking and other interference to democratic elections and practices in states such as the US, the UK

and Ukraine (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Griffin, 2017; Graff, 2017; Berger, 2017; Bertrand, 2017; Hansen, 2017). The muted response to such threatening and problematic behaviour, is compounded by the Trump Presidency, as we are increasingly aware of the influence of Russia on that Administration. The conspiracy theorists and journalists are concerned about the use of Facebook analytics for monitoring and researching human behaviour, in relation to this project, though Facebook is not explicitly mentioned in the material on this project, whereas Twitter is, indeed Cornell has both confirmed and denied the connection to Facebook. Further raising concerns around a lack of transparency. However, I would suggest, the terminology may in fact simply refer to the increasing awareness of the threat of cyber-terrorism and hacking collectives to the State as complex unknowns which require further analysis (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Choucri and Goldsmith, 2012). International Law is yet to catch up to such technological developments and the non-state groups who exploit this weakness. Given, my exploration of Anonymous and other right-wing terrorist elements connected to the conspiracy theories, it would appear necessary research for Minerva to be doing, though how it develops must be assessed and critiqued in the future.

Having attempted to dig deeper into Morningside Analytics, it is associated with a research center at Georgetown University in Washington D.C. which purports to provide research and resources on "*Faith, Ethics and Public Life*" (Berkleycenter.georgetown.edu, n.d.), though the only faith it appears currently concerned with is the Muslim faith (referred to as Islam on the site). The Analytics organisation is led by a chief scientist (John Kelly) based at Harvard, though the company is registered in New York (since 2013). The organisation "*blends social network analysis, content analysis, and statistics to make complex online networks both visible and understandable. Formed in 2007, the organization aims to uncover "attentive clusters"—communities that share knowledge and are interested in particular opinions and sources of information. Of primary focus to these attentive clusters are blogs, which the organization refers to as "the Internet's fastest growing information source.""* (Berkleycenter.georgetown.edu, n.d.). According to a blog on John Kelly's work, he focuses on clusters of activity online via social networks, blogs, twitter and maps them drawing political assumptions from the clusters, particularly focused on conservatives and progressives (Zuckerman, 2011). This social network analysis is explored further in the Cambridge Analytica section, as we shall see, this is key to understanding the work of the Initiative and many recent issues society is having regarding social media.

Naval Postgraduate School: Who Does Not Become a Terrorist, and Why? (2013 Award cycle)

This project initially appeared interesting, in the preliminary analysis above, however in trying to use my hermeneutic cycle approach with the recent changes to the Minerva website, it has become impossible to find further information on this project. Searches for publications related to this title and project do not shed any light and searches on the limited (redacted) Minerva website throw up no results for either the title of the project or for Richard English, who I had expected to be associated with the project. My preliminary research indicated the framers of the project were not interested in 'terrorists', but rather in supporters of political violence, which indicates to me that this is Minerva funding work which seeks to broaden the definition of 'terrorist' to incorporate protesters. Again, this is something I develop further below regarding the implications of such research and the bigger picture.

Political movements and change in political economics – preventing and assessing 'recession' and economic instability?

This theme is interesting to me, given the chronology of the creation of the Minerva Initiative, under the Obama Administration in 2008 (post-recession), following increasing political instability and the rise of political movements (social mobilisations) – particularly in the West, thanks in part to the impact of globalization. Project Camelot was also created in a similarly politically unstable context. Given that the focus of an integrated feminist security critique, the theoretical approach in the thesis, requires incorporating a political economy analysis – the assessments and funding of research by Minerva on this phenomenon is very interesting, as it appears to be trickling down into the policing and monitoring of social mobilisations, many of which are 'non-violent'. This theme also sheds further light on the contextual chapter on globalization and neoliberalism in relation to the issue of militarization of Higher Education in the thesis. This research connected with the 'social contagion' associated work above appears to be working towards Minerva having a politico-economic argument for the monitoring and surveillance of social mobilisations, which need not be bigger than 1,000 persons gathered around a common goal.

The myth that 'war is good for the economy' is wrong, as shown by economists researching peace who claim, "*While a small handful of individuals and companies may benefit from conflict, the majority suffer – not only in human terms, but also economically. Each year, IEP publishes an update of its economic impact of violence and conflict model. This year it*

showed a similar finding to previous years – each year, the world squanders an unimaginable amount of resources on violence" (Vision of Humanity, 2017). I cited Vision of Humanity's earlier work in chapter two, a recent publication provides up to date details, "*In 2016 the global economy lost $14.3 trillion to violence and conflict in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms. This is equivalent to 12.6% of the world Gross Domestic Product (GDP), or simply 12.6% of everything the world produces and consumes. This is an enormous amount of economic activity that is lost on creating, containing and dealing with the consequence of violence. While one group of countries suffer from civil war, ethnic violence and terrorism, others are devastated by organised crime and high homicide rate. The human, social and economic cost it exacts is enormous in either cases*" (Vision of Humanity, 2017). They claim that the increase in the economic impact of violence reflects a less peaceful world.

TREND IN GLOBAL ECONOMIC IMPACT OF VIOLENCE, TRILLIONS PPP, 2007-2016
The economic impact of violence decreased by three per cent from 2015 to 2016.

Source: IEP
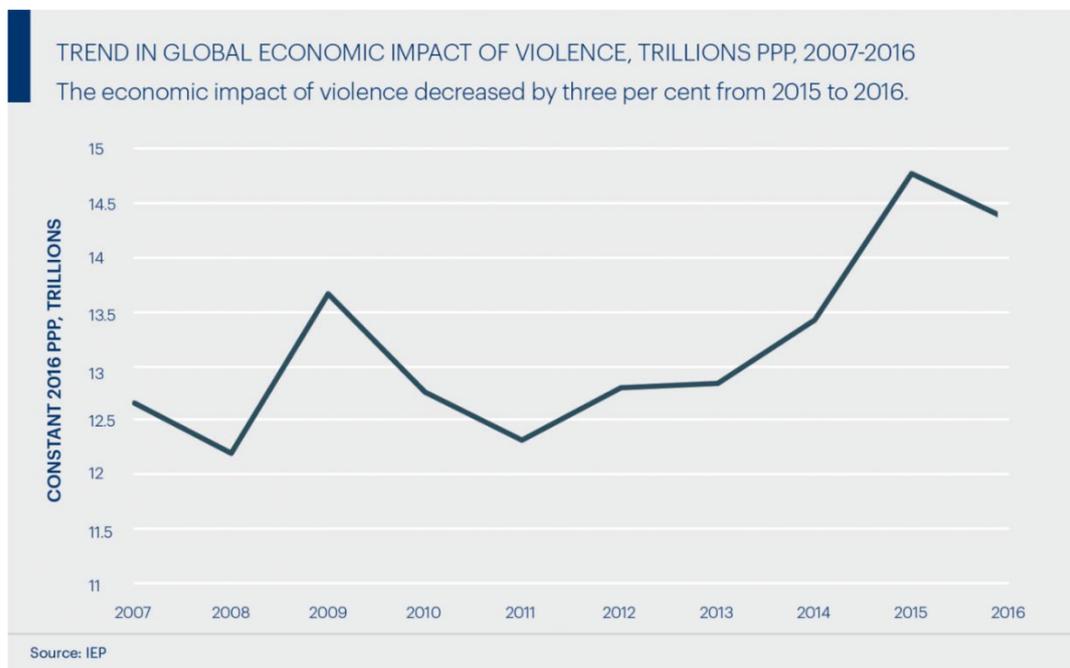
The above graph is taken from Vision of Humanity's recent 2017 publication on the Global Peace Index (Vision of Humanity, 2017). As the publication suggests, the "two major contributors to the global economic impact of violence are containment related. Military and internal security expenditure, which, while necessary for peace, can also create violence" (Vision of Humanity, 2017).

This, in my view, raises questions regarding the links between hegemony, political economy, and violence. Indeed, some 'militant' music artists have also sought to critique such issues. One such example, which I kept coming across during my thesis process, is this song (a form of militant poetry and rap) from 'Rage Against The Machine', an American rock band:

"So-called facts are fraud

They want us to allege and pledge and

Bow down to their God

Lost the culture, the culture lost

Spun our minds and through time

Ignorance has taken over

Yo, we gotta take the power back!

Bam! Here's the plan, motherfuck Uncle Sam

Step back I know who I am

Raise up your ear, I'll drop the style and clear

It's the beats and the lyrics they fear

The rage is relentless

We need a movement with a quickness

You are the witness of change and to counteract

We gotta take the power back

We gotta take the power back

Come on, come on

We gotta take the power back

The present curriculum, I put my fist in 'em

Eurocentric every last one of 'em

See right through the red, white and blue disguise

With lecture I puncture the structure of lies

Installed in our minds and attempting to hold us back

We've got to take it back

Holes in our spirit causin' tears and fears

One-sided stories for years and years and years

I'm inferior? Who's inferior?

Yeah, you need to check the interior

Of the system who cares about only one culture

And that is why we gotta take the power back"

('Rage Against the Machine' song lyrics, YouTube, 2008)

Hegemony, Political Economy, and Resistance

As I mentioned in the previous chapters related to Globalization, Activism and Neoliberalism, theoretical work on hegemony and resistance has been done in IR for quite some time (Gramsci, Forgacs and Hobsbawm, 2000; Bates, 1975; Thucydides. and Hobbes, 1959; Machiavelli and Lotherington, 2017). Hegemony refers to the state entity in the international system which is perceived to hold the most power and influence in the international system (Morton, 2007). For example, the US has long been considered the global hegemon in IR, before this the UK was perceived historically to fit this role during our Imperialist leadership (Foster, 2006; Cooper, 2002). Critics of the US have claimed the US' power has been waning for some time, and suggest China is a rising hegemon, especially given its economic power globally (Ogden, 2017). China has certainly benefited from investing in the debt of Western countries; such countries often rely on China to maintain their stability during recent economic crises. It is certainly a major player. The concept of hegemony in theory and practice (power politics) amongst states has also enabled human rights abuses to go unchallenged or unchecked, for example regarding China, but also regarding other wealthy nations such as Saudi Arabia, as trade deals (often military or defence related) are prioritised in globally unstable times, over international commitments to human rights. This has ignited resistance at the citizen level, through social movements and political violence against the State, regarding anti-globalization protest, but also in relation to protest on human rights abuses of states. Therefore, hegemony, or state supremacy, resistance and political economy are intertwined. Feminist Security Studies scholarship, as I have discussed in a previous chapter, has long addressed the issues of security and political economy as connected. CTS and CMS have also done this to some extent, in relation to research on funding of defence, security and the military. Classical work in political economy has also addressed these issues to some extent. For example, Ian Bruff has offered up the concept of 'Authoritarian Neoliberalism' to explain the incremental measures of a purported democratic state to suppress dissent (Bruff, 2013). More recently, this initial concept has been challenged, with one author suggesting a more complex and historical understanding, particularly in light of post-2007 events (Ryan, 2018).

As Stephen Duncombe highlights, "*Gramsci had also observed the skill of the Catholic Church in exercising its power and retaining the population's allegiance. Gramsci realized that in order to create and maintain a new society, you also needed to create and maintain a new consciousness*" (Duncombe, n.d.). Duncombe acknowledges that the repository of

consciousness is culture, in both the aesthetic and anthropological sense. He further asserts, "*The power of cultural hegemony lies in its invisibility. Unlike a soldier with a gun or a political system backed up by a written constitution, culture resides within us. It doesn't seem "political," it's just what we like, or what we think is beautiful, or what feels comfortable. Wrapped in stories and images and figures of speech, culture is a politics that doesn't look like politics and is therefore a lot harder to notice, much less resist. When a culture becomes hegemonic, it becomes "common sense" for the majority of the population*" (Duncombe, n.d.). Duncombe refers to Stuart Hall's development of the idea of 'counter-hegemonic' cultures, "*ways of thinking and doing that have revolutionary potential because they run counter to the dominant power. For Gramsci, these cultures might be located in traditional peasant beliefs or the shop-floor culture of industrial workers; for Hall they might be found in youth subcultures like Rastafarians and punks, and even in commercial entertainment. The activist's job, according to Hall, is to identify and exploit these cultural pockets, build a radical counter-culture within the shell of the old society, and wage the struggle for a new cultural hegemony*" (Duncombe, n.d.; Hall, 1987). One could view the project and presentation of this thesis in the same vein, a counter-cultural offering. As we see here, in this analysis of Minerva, this is still a pressing and relevant concern. Though, this may become more apparent following the Cambridge Analytica consideration below. The US is not only reinforcing problematic definitions regarding terrorism and its actors, it is also reinforcing the message that the greatest security concern in relation to terrorism is the financial cost to the state. In the parlance of the black community and modern popular culture, America is concerned about its 'coin'.

University of Washington: Understanding the Origin, Characteristics, and Implications of Mass Political Movements (2014 Award cycle)

This project seems like some others mentioned, regarding its aim of mapping political movements and understanding motivations and implications of such movements, using big data mining capabilities combined with anthropological or sociological insights. The project is concerned with politico-economic change movements, particularly 'large-scale' (though this is considered to include those of 1,000 participants or more). Again, I was not able to find much more information on this project. However, an RT article, which claims to discuss the Minerva funding, wrongly refers to two different studies from the same award period (RT International, 2014). RT confuses this project with another on child soldiers and children affiliated with terrorist groups; a project at UMASS Lowell, whilst referring to another on

American Muslim converts, regarding terrorist activity (Lowellsun.com, 2014). Given recent events with Russia, its operations regarding the US, and the fact that besides The Guardian newspaper only RT has also been reporting on the Minerva funding as being problematic, I would consider the motivations of Russia somewhat suspect. Given other work I have done in this thesis, I would instinctively question whether Russia is seeking to destabilise America via proxies, and whether this indicates further evidence of Russia seeking to change the balance of geopolitical power (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; d'Angelo, 2017). I have attempted to address this in the thesis, but I would suggest it also requires further analysis by others (Berger, 2017; Solon, 2017; Calabresi, 2017; Cadwalladr, 2017, 2017b; Palma, 2017).

Princeton: Terrorism, Governance, and Development (2009 Award cycle)

Concerned with rebuilding during and post-conflict, by focusing on the social and economic development needs, unfortunately there is little material to do a deeper analysis on this project, as mentioned in the preliminary section above. Though, given that Minerva funded a project combining terrorism with more traditional humanitarian and conflict issues, I would surmise that this indicates the US and its defense department perceived terrorism in terms of a 'war' in the more traditional sense, and was seeking to mitigate the cost of such disruption and damage to states. This was an early concern for the Initiative, given the award cycle this project was found in. The inclusion of 'Governance' in the description indicates to me that this project would be seeking to benefit and protect the liberal (international) democratic system. Given the focus on conflict and post-conflict, I would wonder whether the US, in funding such a project, was aware of the coming recent developments in terrorism and its move to the West and the urban sphere. If such foresight was there, one might imagine that insights from such a project may be utilised in the strategy for securing the domestic sphere in the US, particularly post-Trump Presidency.

The 'Feminization of Poverty' and resistance against the gendered state

I also find this theme interesting, when considered with the concept of the 'feminization of poverty' which feminists working on the intersection between international law, gender, the State and political economy have been thinking about[22]. I considered it in working on my alternative approach to the international law pertaining to human trafficking, which I further

---

[22] Research and material on this concept was done for an International Law paper, based on my 2011 LLM thesis. The paper was submitted for the ISA New Orleans conference 2015. I have reproduced some of this material here, as it relates to the work in this thesis.

developed for an ISA 2015 paper delivered in New Orleans. I was suggesting that the criminal (and to some extent, human rights) approach might be changed for an economic approach to the problem, and our understanding of the long-standing challenge of human trafficking be changed to improve the response to it and the experience for the women targeted by the historical trade. This alternative approach is somewhat like the approach suggested in this thesis, to consider context, and political and economic issues (root causes and push factors), rather than the orthodox counter-terror approach and militaristic framings.

Indeed, feminist work in this area sees the state as constructed in realist terms, and as male-centric and oppressive, maintaining gendered social conditions (as I mentioned in chapter three, this view is based around post-structural binaries). MacKinnon (1989) has asserted that the (productive and stable) state is one associated with the legal system it harbours, which is also a direct expression of men's interests (pg. 162-3). This essentially institutionalises the patriarchal family unit, as the basic and preferred socio-economic unit (pg. 93, Petersen and Runyan, 1993). Functions of the state are associated with the needs of men as opposed to the needs of women, or indeed a gender-neutral legal entity. The Foucauldian based view has it that, the state constructs and maintains an individual's reality, as power produces knowledge.

Feminist legal scholarship in this area has gone some way to challenging the accepted views of the concept of the state. For example, Charlesworth and Chinkin have asserted that the state, "*is constructed as a 'male' in international law, with 'female' features only in particular contexts*" (pg. 125, Charlesworth and Chinkin, 2000). Indeed, Koskenniemi states that statehood serves to privilege certain voices and silence others (Koskenniemi, 1989). In contrast to such bounded notions of legal statehood, economic globalization requires permeable national boundaries. Permeability is necessary for trade flows of knowledge, products, people, and money. The spread of globalization has been characterised, by some scholars and critics, as a corrosive force on state sovereignty (Held and McGrew, 2007; Epstein, 2001). Thus, it comes as no surprise that the movements and challenges to state supremacy (particularly of the western hegemon) would provoke an oppressive response from the State and its security community. It would seem globalization poses a great threat to the international system, as it has traditionally been conceived of: the various events we are witnessing are certainly symptoms of that incompatibility. Increased militarism provides legitimacy to the State, with militaristic values at the heart of state practice, hence the concern by feminists of creeping militarization and its effects on the social and local spaces we inhabit (Catalystjournal.org, 2016; E-IR, 2017).

Consider the concept of 'militarism' again (I mentioned it in chapter three) within this context: militarism looks at the relative legitimacy of control over the military by the state, and military values being at the forefront of state practice. Feminists working on the concept of militarism have questioned the spending of states on the military establishment over social expenditures (such as welfare programmes and health). They suggest this has a detrimental effect on women particularly, not only as victims of military engagements and conflict, but also as a contribution to the 'feminization of poverty' (pg. 14, Reardon 1985). This essentially refers to the impact poverty and related inequality has on women particularly, as women, minorities and children are the most at risk from that instability (TEDxLausanne, 2016). Therefore, taking a feminist approach, it is necessary to challenge or critique the power or authority of the State, rather than accepting this authority blindly, especially within a context of economic instability. I believe the research conducted here highlights the great need for such a critique and acknowledges the lack of scholarly critique in regard to the Minerva Initiative and the 'MIC' operating with(in) it. This, in turn, shows the necessity of the research question(s) outlined above in chapter one, and this thesis project, which (aside from the very early critique from some radical anthropologists) is currently the only attempt at researching and critiquing the Minerva Initiative. But the above iterations of hermeneutic cycle-based attempts at analysis still fall short in getting to the heart of the problem. A subsequent review and analysis, with reference to very recent public revelations about the work of Cambridge Analytica, has been very beneficial in leading to a better understanding. This further analysis has some troubling ramifications regarding the militarization of our social (media) spaces and lives, and the international legal ramifications of making everyone an (unwilling or unwitting) combatant in a truly global war.

Cambridge Analytica & 'The West Wing' Campaign – Weaponizing online public data with 'computational propaganda'?

> *"This is your last chance. After this, there is no turning back. You take the blue pill—*
> *the story ends, you wake up in your bed and believe whatever you want to believe. You*
> *take the red pill—you stay in Wonderland and I show you how deep the rabbit-hole*
> *goes."* (*Morpheus* quote, *The Matrix*, 1999; Khurana, 2019)

This section is taken from a recent blog post I wrote (Clarke, 2018a). The 'West Wing' mention taken from the context of Presidential/political campaigns and a link in the blog post to a scene in '*The West Wing*' television series, regarding statistics and polling data. The

information and research used, I believe, provides further context and evidence for the assertion(s) made in this thesis regarding the use of Minerva Initiative research for the aim of broadening the terrorism definition to incorporate protesters and activists. Civilians, en masse, are now considered a potential threat to state supremacy and control. It is possible, this is compounded by the activities of a 'rogue' state (i.e. Russia), as detailed above, in interfering or embedding in media and issue groups in Western nations (i.e. the US and the UK). This has been documented regarding the infiltration of the NRA group by Russia, in the Maria Butina and Alexander Torshin case which came to light recently (Woodruff, 2019).

The '*#FacebookGate*' Cambridge Analytica scandal is not problematic due to its use of online data gathering during the Trump campaign. It is problematic due to the misuse, the fraudulent and unethical methods in obtaining such data (Chenoweth, 2018; Gstalter, 2018; Wolffe, 2018). Typically, polling by political parties abides by ethical rules of conduct and use. Traditionally, the data used can only be harvested by consent with full disclosure of the potential uses given in the request. There is also some uncertainty inherent in that data, as you rely on respondents giving truthful and clear responses, as opposed to lies or obfuscation. As we have seen with the Russian interference in media in the U.S., confusion reigns as regards the finer points of that distinction. The confusion allows for political point-scoring and emotional appeals. This too is where propaganda thrives.

In trying to understand and contextualise the actions of the Minerva Initiative and Cambridge Analytica, in their online data-mining activities, I came across the following from the Oxford Internet Institute. Bolsover and Howard (2017), in seeking a critical approach to big data, state "*viewing computational propaganda only from a technical perspective—as a set of variables, models, codes, and algorithms—plays into the hands of those who create it, the platforms that serve it, and the firms that profit from it. The very act of making something technical and impartial makes it seem inevitable and unbiased. This undermines the opportunities to argue for change in the social value and meaning of this content and the structures in which it exists. Big-data research is necessary to understand the socio-technical issue of computational propaganda and the influence of technology in politics. However, big data researchers must maintain a critical stance toward the data being used and analyzed so as to ensure that we are critiquing as we go about describing, predicting, or recommending changes. If research studies of computational propaganda and political big data do not engage with the forms of power and knowledge that produce it, then the very possibility for improving the role of social-media platforms in public life evaporates*". This is, I think, a

very sensible attempt at addressing some of the core problems with the use of big data in the political realm – and again, we are seeing an argument for interdisciplinary engagement and 'balance' in the research created and operationalised for political ends. Bolsover and Howard (2017) provide a very clear definition, for this form of propaganda I have not encountered before, "*computational propaganda has two important parts: the technical and the social. Focusing on the technical, Woolley and Howard define computational propaganda as the assemblage of social-media platforms, autonomous agents, and big data tasked with the manipulation of public opinion. In contrast, the social definition of computational propaganda derives from the definition of propaganda—communications that deliberately misrepresent symbols, appealing to emotions and prejudices and bypassing rational thought, to achieve a specific goal of its creators—with computational propaganda understood as propaganda created or disseminated using computational (technical) means*". The authors further elaborate on the relationship of such big data to the long history of propaganda, "*Scholars who study propaganda as an offline or historical phenomenon have long been split over whether the existence of propaganda is necessarily detrimental to the functioning of democracies. However, the rise of the Internet and, in particular, social media has profoundly changed the landscape of propaganda. It has opened the creation and dissemination of propaganda messages, which were once the province of states and large institutions, to a wide variety of individuals and groups. It has allowed cross-border computational propaganda and interference in domestic political processes by foreign states. The anonymity of the Internet has allowed state-produced propaganda to be presented as if it were not produced by state actors. The Internet has also provided new affordances for the efficient dissemination of propaganda, through the manipulation of the algorithms and processes that govern online information and through audience targeting based on big data analytics. The social effects of the changing nature of propaganda are only just beginning to be understood, and the advancement of this understanding is complicated by the unprecedented marrying of the social and the technical that the Internet age has enabled*". This begins to highlight the worrying situation we now find ourselves in, especially when one applies the above consideration of propaganda here (in chapter two). Propaganda has become so embedded and intertwined in modern society, it is difficult to avoid and even harder to attribute to a 'culprit' (propagandist). Underlying agendas have become very difficult to distinguish and are easily 'faked', either for satirical reasons or more problematic political reasons – as the University of Washington's 'Synthesizing Obama' and other related AI tools have shown (Solon, 2017). The line between political propaganda and corporate business

interests appears to have dissolved completely too. In such a saturated environment, it is easy to fall prey to conspiracy theories.

As the President of RAND states in his blog commentary (Pung, 2018) about the popular RAND Truth Decay report, recently published, "*Truth Decay matters because disagreement about basic policy facts can make it hard for governments to pass laws for the greater good of society. External adversaries can also use disinformation to delegitimise systems of government. Both can lead to a decline in trust in institutions, which in some cases can be life-threatening. For example, this distrust could lead to people avoiding government recommendations on important health and safety issues. Truth Decay is not entirely new. We can find traces of it in both European and American history, in periods such as the Vietnam War in the 1960s and '70s or, in more extreme cases, Germany's move to fascism in the 1930s*". This truth decay is at the heart of the black propaganda, and political interference issue mentioned above. However, it is perhaps less obvious how it relates to Minerva. I would suggest the influence of this truth decay is insidious within wider society. It plays on conspiracy theories regarding expertise (fracturing the relationship between knowledge producing institutions and citizens), while encouraging distrust in law, security, and governance infrastructure(s). Such distrust breeds protest, mobilisations, and agitation amongst citizen populations, against their own host state particularly. This, in turn, encourages the state to view citizens (protestors) as the enemy, to claim legitimacy for broadening the definition of 'terrorist' and acting violently against its own citizenry. Therefore, I feel a consideration of 'truth decay' is germane to this consideration of the Minerva Initiative. The author of the RAND blog post further acknowledges the threat to Western democracy, posed by this 'truth decay', and cautions: "*While being able to provide a framework for facts, research alone cannot resolve the complex problem of Truth Decay. It will take a range of actors—researchers, policymakers, government officials, educators, journalists, and other interested individuals—to come together, debate the issues, and try to find solutions across Europe. It is in the public interest to work together and respond to the significant challenge of Truth Decay. And then, maybe, the truth will put on its racing shoes and sprint past the falsehoods of the day to take pride of place in the public discourse*" (Pung, 2018). This further highlights the great need for public engagement, scholar-activism, and cross-disciplinary, whole society engagement. We rely on corporations' statements about their use of our gathered data (often ignoring the small print), and their ethical practices, corporations which are increasingly encroaching on our personal spaces. When you add in to

the mix greed (money/donations), political power (access), and a lack of regulatory oversight, the situation becomes murkier still (Team, 2018). It is worth noting, however, that RAND has deep connections to the US military – going back to post-WWII – and originated the discipline of studying 'terrorism' in the 1970s, long before the United Nations had a working definition (Abella, 2009).

When one digs deeper into the popular Cambridge Analytica stories in the news, we find that it is part of a wider network and that it has a 'parent company'. SCL Group, the parent company, according to this *openDemocracy* report, "*provides data, analytics and strategy to governments and military organisations worldwide" reads the first line of its website. "For over 25 years, we have conducted behavioural change programmes in over 60 countries & have been formally recognised for our work in defence and social change". Of course, military propaganda was nothing new. And nor is the extent to which it has evolved alongside changes in media technology and economics*" (Ramsay, 2018). But, what is perhaps new is the delegation of military propaganda (in the contemporary context, this is computational propaganda) to private companies, utilising the personal data of citizens via mass data-mining operations of social media company held data – companies such as, SCL Group, Cambridge Analytica, and those companies operating with funding and support from the Minerva Initiative (US Department of Defense). Cambridge Analytica is not the only private data mining firm we need to be concerned about, but so far – it is the only company which has been exposed in the media. Indeed, a key assertion I have made in this thesis, linked to the original research question(s) and aims, was that the Minerva Initiative and the wider defense infrastructure was now viewing activists and regular citizens as equivalent to a terrorist. Certainly, this is the case in regard to Cambridge Analytica, and the way this company views social media users – by their own admission in legal proceedings. Thanks to British data protection laws, the legal intervention of the UK Information Commissioners Office (ICO), and a test case brought by a US academic (David Caroll), Cambridge Analytica was asked to provide all the data it held on US voters. In replying to the legal judgement, the company refused to accept the ruling and replied telling the ICO "*that Carroll was no more entitled to make a so-called "subject access request" under the UK Data Protection Act "than a member of the Taliban sitting in a cave in the remotest corner of Afghanistan"*" (Cadwalladr, 2018). The ICO did not accept this as a valid legal argument and threatened further legal action if the company (which subsequently went into liquidation and moved its operations to another company) refused to comply with the request (Cadwalladr, 2018). This would appear

to go some way to proving my assertion. I will elaborate below how Cambridge Analytica may relate to the work of the Minerva Initiative.

Indeed, as the *Scout* team have explored in their blog post, 'The Rise of the Weaponized AI Propaganda Machine' (Anderson, 2017), "*Presumably because of its alliances, Analytica has declined to work on any democratic campaigns—at least in the U.S. It is, however, in final talks to help Trump manage public opinion around his presidential policies and to expand sales for the Trump Organization. Cambridge Analytica is now expanding aggressively into U.S. commercial markets and is also meeting with right-wing parties and governments in Europe, Asia, and Latin America*". As the author(s) highlight, the company (Cambridge Analytica) is owned and controlled by conservative and alt-right interests. This agenda bias is further compounded by the company declining any 'left-leaning' or centre-left work. However, its reach far surpasses the traditional target audiences for such ideological interest. Further, the author(s) state, it may not be "*the only company that could pull this off—but it is the most powerful right now. Understanding Cambridge Analytica and the bigger AI Propaganda Machine is essential for anyone who wants to understand modern political power, build a movement, or keep from being manipulated. The Weaponized AI Propaganda Machine it represents has become the new prerequisite for political success in a world of polarization, isolation, trolls, and dark posts*" (Anderson, 2017). Acknowledging the wave of news reporting on the company, as well as individual parts of the machine (i.e. "*bots, fake news, microtargeting*"), the author(s) believe no coverage so far portrays the "*intense collective power of these technologies or the frightening level of influence they're likely to have on future elections. In the past, political messaging and propaganda battles were arms races to weaponize narrative through new mediums—waged in print, on the radio, and on TV*" (Anderson, 2017). Further they claim, regarding the personalised psychologically tailored embedded propaganda, that this new wave "*has brought the world something exponentially more insidious—personalized, adaptive, and ultimately addictive propaganda. Silicon Valley spent the last ten years building platforms whose natural end state is digital addiction. In 2016, Trump and his allies hijacked them. We have entered a new political age. At Scout, we believe that the future of constructive, civic dialogue and free and open elections depends on our ability to understand and anticipate it*" (Anderson, 2017). I would agree, we are in a new, troubling, political age – indeed, many of us are new to it…arguably the operationalisation of technology for these purposes has been going on for some time, it would seem. But, how are we to understand it and combat it? I believe (or hope) that approaches

such as that found in this thesis project, and the critical scholar-activism pedagogical approach would support developing more aware and engaged citizens (students). The scholar-activism toolkit draft syllabus, based on this thesis, incorporates lessons on propaganda and critical reasoning/rhetoric. How, also, are we to successfully counter attempts at weaponizing narratives (which we may be drawn into)? Perhaps a 'feminist audit', i.e. critical awareness and the toolkit, such as that suggested by Enloe in the above mentioned University of Westminster public lecture is needed. Awareness, I believe, is critical for creating the opportunity for resistance and change here.
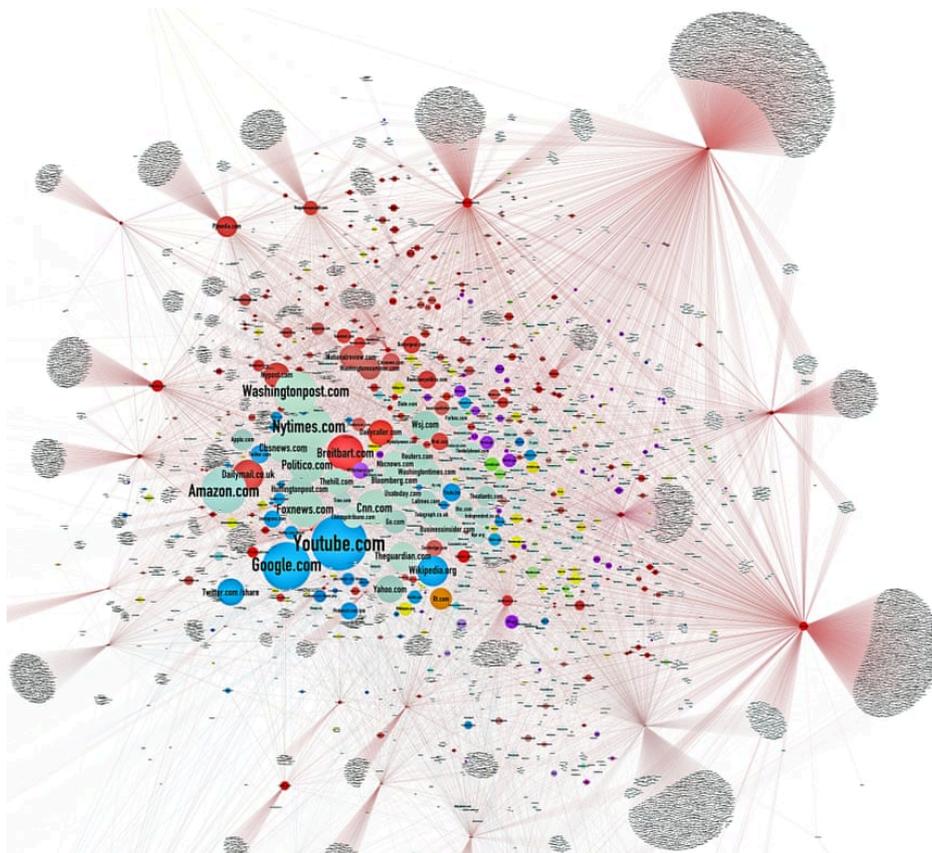
"Data-driven psyops" (Albright, 2016), a zoomed out image of Jonathan Albright's data-gathering in 2016 – when he researched the data analytic 'Fake news' operations fuelling the 2016 US Election.

The difference between traditional political polling and statistics, and the Cambridge Analytica-style data analytics is that we are no longer a 'stereotyped' anonymous number in the battle for power – we are a tracked and individualized dataset to be exploited covertly for political gain and corporate greed. Now, analytics firms can follow our likes and site visits, and create an eerily accurate portrayal of us, our lives and our choices. This is then used to

bombard us with 'fake news' tailored advertising (propaganda), or to exclude and socially isolate us. It is a bizarre form of (secret) social engineering.

The above images are taken from the Black Mirror episode 'Nosedive', a sci-fi dystopian series from Charlie Brooker, which gives us a glimpse of the horror of such social engineering (Black Mirror - 'Nosedive', 2016; Tiwari, 2018). The lead character in the instalment pictured above is named 'Lacie'…I wonder if this is an anagram of 'Alice'? The below images/graphs highlight the reality of China's attempt at implementing such a 'credit system', planned to peak in 2020, for the purposes of social engineering…and punishing dissenters of the authoritarian state (The Economist, 2016; Christopher, 2016; Scammell, 2018). It would seem, dystopia has become reality for some.
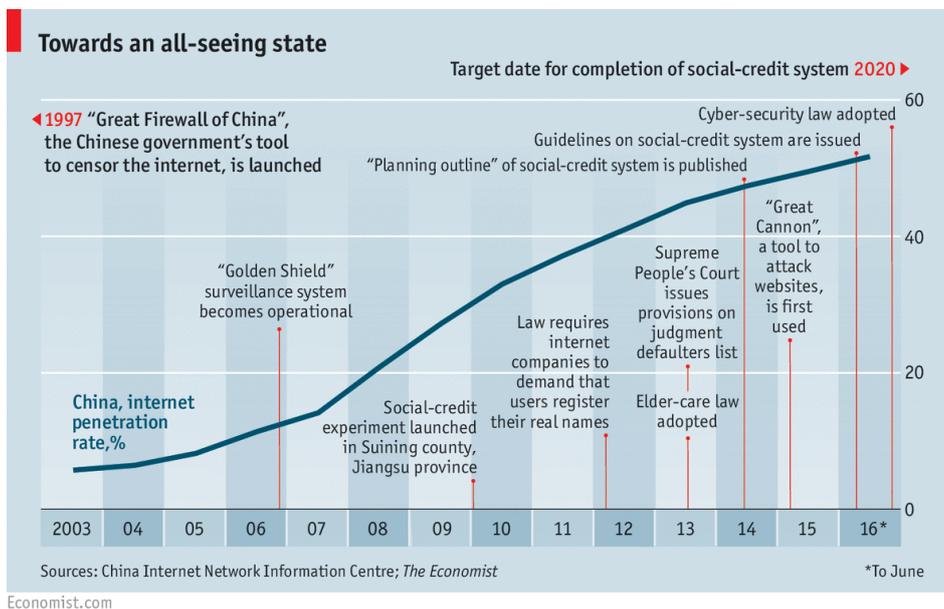
China's Sesame Credit score weighs how "compliant" a citizen is, assigning lower credit scores to dissenters.

Some may wonder why this is a problem. I would agree, human nature benefits (sometimes) from some 'nudging', especially if we accept the classical political science Hobbesian notion above. But, when such nudging is done by alt-right political actors exploiting data created from our identity and interest choices (sometimes privately), and sold to the security and defense community…I think we can all agree this is problematic. I can go further than that. As the author of this article concludes, regarding the Chinese example, "*There's a lot to be concerned by about the direction that China is heading in, but it is worth unpacking what's happening rather than treating it as one unified force for ill. Because, whichever episode of Black Mirror it turns out we may or may not be walking into, it's important that we understand who is collecting what data about us, what they can do with it, and why they might want to*" (Jefferson, 2018). There is evidence of defense thinking on the operational benefits of data-driven propaganda, and the Minerva Initiative's view on such work.

The US Army has been concerned about the impact of such propaganda ('fake news') on their troops. As Sgt. Brockman states, in this online article on data-driven propaganda, "*We have an obligation as noncommissioned officers to keep our Soldiers informed while training them to become leaders. Soldiers need to understand how their mission fits into the bigger picture. As social media swamps them with fake news and advertisements, it can be hard for Soldiers to distinguish truth from fiction. On top of this, propaganda further distorts Soldiers' understanding of the world. By educating them on information warfare and propaganda, we can prepare them to become better leaders who can make informed decisions*" (Brockman, 2017). Further, regarding the concept of information warfare, he states it "*continues to be a driving factor in operations across the world. Today, advertisers and political parties use data to optimize messages towards their target audience and persuade them to buy their products or political visions. Advertisers use data science principles called preference ordering and clustering to identify groups within populations that are susceptible to certain ideas. When foreign countries utilize these tactics, the resulting information campaigns can lead to poorly informed decisions*" (Brockman, 2017). The military has been aware of such 'hybrid (cyber) threats' for some time. As we know, from the consideration of the history of propaganda above (chapter two), military uses of propaganda date back to the 1930s – and potentially even further back, if one takes account of examples dating back to Alexander the Great. In this online article, Sgt. Brockman provides detail on the use of such 'social engineering', explaining (by using an ice cream flavour analogy): "*A single application of clustering identifies groups of common interests. Clustering applied a second time determines*

sub-group interests, which therefore exposing community fault lines…Divisive propaganda exploits these fault lines. For instance, we can put out propaganda that Chocolate is the best ice cream flavor in an attempt to isolate Amy from Bob and Carl" (Brockman, 2017). This further highlights the use of such data-driven propaganda to manipulate emotions and desires, for the purposes of social engineering and operational benefits (for defense and security actors). Circling back to the Minerva Initiative specifically and my own research on the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies, considering such 'data analytics' funded research – via the use of Facebook data by a Cornell University research study – how do they frame one of their key areas of concern?

Minerva program director, Erin Fitzgerald, told '*Defense One*' magazine "*Research on belief formation and the spread of ideas may help analysts, policy makers and trainers better understand the impact of operations on seemingly disparate populations. It may also inform the development of countermeasures to reduce the likelihood of militant behaviors*" (Tucker, 2014). Citing the 'public relations' disaster involving the Cornell University funding, reviewed below, Tucker (2014) states, "*the university was connected to a Facebook experiment that analyzed the posts of 600,000 users. That experiment also manipulated the way posts showed up in the newsfeed to study "emotional contagion." U.S. intelligence gathering relies increasingly on social network posts and other pieces of open-source intelligence to analyze groups like IS*". Here, again we see reference to 'manipulation' of social media data to influence (secretly) the emotions of users and mine data on influences and changes recorded. So, I believe we can assert at this point that the Cornell study funded by the US Department of Defense via the Minerva Initiative, is certainly similar to the operations of Cambridge Analytica above. It potentially is running in parallel with such operations. I cannot say for certain if it is connected to the operations of SCL Group or Cambridge Analytica. However, others may have suggested this. Whereas articles such as the *Defense One* piece in 2014 tended to explore the use of such data research, by Minerva, in places such as Iraq and other more traditional conflict zones – I have questioned the potential for use domestically, on U.S. soil. Given the way the Cambridge Analytica story is unfolding, I was right to worry. As Adam Ramsay points out, "*In simple terms, the SCL Group – Cambridge Analytica's parent firm – is the psychological operations wing of our privatised military: a mercenary propaganda agency*" (Ramsay, 2018). As Tamsin Shaw writes, "*Representatives have boasted that their list of past and current clients includes the British Ministry of Defense, the US Department of Defense, the US Department of State, the CIA, the*

Defense Intelligence Agency, and NATO. Nevertheless, they became recognized for just one influence campaign: the one that helped Donald Trump get elected president of the United States" (Shaw, 2018). She concludes that such an approach is not conducive to a truly democratic society, that the "*development of behavioral technologies intended for military-grade persuasion in cyber-operations is rooted in a specific perspective on human beings, one that is at odds with the way they should be viewed in democratic societies*" (Shaw, 2018). I would certainly agree this is a very reductive view of human beings. Shaw (2018) further cautions us, that if "*these technologies are becoming the core of America's military and intelligence cyber-operations, it looks as though we will have to work harder to keep these trends from affecting the everyday life of our democratic society. That will mean paying closer attention to the military and civilian boundaries being crossed by the private companies that undertake such cyber-operations. In the academic world, it should entail a refusal to apply the perspective of propaganda research more generally to social problems*". Shaw also seeks accountability from politicians, something we are all seeking, following various publicised scandals. Though, how this is possible - while the political system relies on lobbying, vast sums of money and private commercial interests – is less clear. Perhaps a scholar-activist toolkit and perspective is needed to support a truly democratic society. As Bolsover and Howard (2017) suggest, a human rights centred, interdisciplinary approach is needed to tackle this problem. This is something a recent College of Europe report has argued for, in light of concerns regarding the increasing use of algorithms in decision-making – they suggest some regulatory options for the future (Council of Europe, 2018).

Others, such as this retired career Air Force intelligence and information operations (IO) officer and current Department of Defense private consultant and contractor, are and have been lobbying for military dominance of the social media landscape (Herrmann, 2018). Herrmann (2018) sees the need for a taskforce which the Department of Defense would lead and have almost total control over, with staff liasons from the top five American social media organisations (e.g., Facebook, Google/YouTube, Twitter, Tumblr, and LinkedIn). He notes concern for the significant threat of challenge to American dominance. So this is all driven by traditional security concerns and power politics. Herrmann (2018) seeks a 'democratic' model strategy to defeat soviet-style autocrats and their own model strategies, he alludes a great deal to the Cold War and Soviet threat – in arguing for an 'American Grand Strategy', centred on propaganda and fighting disinformation. As we can see here, he outlines the need for such a strategy: "*Much like the Cold War, the information war rarely resembles*

traditional combat. This complication has spawned terms like gray zone and hybrid warfare in which today's military tries to explain the tactics and methods of increasingly unorthodox, creative, and dangerously innovative enemies. Adversaries know that defeating American power is unnecessary if they defeat America's will to use its power. Weaponized narratives, for example, target national will and can trick Americans into opposing each other. There are several examples. Russian trolls have worked to push gun control and gun rights groups further apart. China befriends some industries and undercuts others, pitting winners against losers in the U.S. and worldwide even as we consider today's trade policies. Radical Islamists try to persuade Muslims to act against U.S. cities, but also seek to turn American public opinion against Muslims—with Islamophobia used as justification for further actions, creating a vicious cycle. Internal struggles cripple the U.S. We need a single strategy to unify the nation". So he has clearly asserted here, as I have above, that there is evidence of Russian interference in sowing discord among some groups within US society, or rather on the fringes of society (Herrmann, 2018). He states very clearly, that the "*strategy must shape the environment to promote the flow of truth and contest the spread of disinformation and lies*" (Herrmann, 2018). He seeks to socially engineer the environment, in order to control the narrative(s).

The unified Information War strategy, as outlined by a retired career US Air Force IO officer (Herrmann, 2018).

As we can see here, Herrmann is lobbying for covertly and overtly operationalising individuals (citizens) through/via education, "*In the Cold War, Americans learned civil defense. In the information war, Americans must learn information defense. Education would ensure that innovators share information defense education news worldwide. News and social media would cooperate with the Department of Education (DoE) to promote unity on*

par with diversity. American values must be as unified as its people are diverse. Youth and faith groups, celebrities and community leaders, public schools and private enterprises would participate in the effort. The National Security Strategy directs "preparedness, informing and empowering communities and individuals to obtain the skills and take the preparatory actions necessary to become more resilient against the threats and hazards that Americans face."" (Herrmann, 2018). The author suggests using 'celebrities and community leaders', in a social media context these are referred to as 'influencers'. Such actors have an incredible capacity to draw online interest and followings, particularly among young people – the demographic most populous on social media platforms. Further, he acknowledges the benefit of critical thinking for combatting the threat, "*For example, critical thinking helps potential recruits debunk propaganda. Countering propaganda strengthens the individual, his social circle, and the nation. The National Security Strategy highlights how adversaries use disinformation to promote anti-American ideologies and exploit the vulnerable. This strategy describes the importance of "exposing…falsehoods, promoting counter-narratives, and amplifying credible voices." Using micro-targeted marketing could amplify benefits, equipping the most vulnerable to defend themselves*" (Herrmann, 2018), but I would question whether this is best done by the military – or by scholar-activists? Surely, such pedagogical work is better done by a scholar-activist. But, is it possible to truly not be affected by this militarization? I'll explore this below.

Finally, the author of this blog article asserts that, "*Information is the dominant force in the modern era. Information is the weapon of the future, and the information war is the new Cold War. Information's power will only increase as new technologies (e.g., virtual/augmented reality) advance. Failing to develop an information strategy today is as foolish as failing to develop a Cold War nuclear strategy. The information war, even more than the Cold War, requires participation at every level. But every person and every nation has limited resources. To win the information war, we must use our resources wisely and cooperate to defend each other. To win the information war, we must have a collaborative, unified information strategy*" (Herrmann, 2018). What are we to take from this? We find ourselves caught up in an 'Information War' fought between superpowers on the global stage (the US, Russia, and China), the 'New Cold War', a war where every one of us is 'operationalised' and manipulated (largely without our consent or knowledge) for the purposes of a dominant state winning the war. Further, the use of black propaganda, fake news, bots, and the international trade in data, means that we may never be clear who we are being 'used' by to

score points in this protracted, possibly never-ending, war. Therefore, we all become militarized. Anyone using social media…is potentially militarized already, or will be imminently. The boundaries outlined by previous critical scholars, Enloe et al, have dissolved completely – every interaction on social media platforms is potentially an example of that militarization, in micro. How do you feel about that? I must admit, this still has not sunk in for me, it is very difficult to comprehend the implications of this reality. The rules we thought were being applied are irrelevant, the social engineering used by the various actors render us potentially liberated of free will or the right to choose whether we engage in militarization...or, literally, in an information war. If you consider yourself a pacifist, for example, but use social media at all - for personal or intellectual/educational/business reasons – you can no longer claim to be a pacifist…your interactions online are highly likely to be monitored and manipulated in some way. The many educators and scholars online, using social media, are also implicated with everyone else – regardless of how critical or aware they may consider themselves – thus, I suggest, this further highlights the great need for scholar-activism and a toolkit which enables individuals to usefully resist this militarization.

This information war, militarization, and computational propaganda realisation reminds me of a film from my youth in the 1990's. So prolific in pop-culture, was this sci-fi action film (franchise), that humorous user-generated memes have proliferated online since its release in 1999 (The Matrix, 1999). This is one such example from a film still (Meme Crunch, 2013). The essential premise of the film being that we are all living in a simulated reality, created by a human-like AI (the 'Architect'), to study human psychology while harvesting heat from our bodies to sustain those who created the AI (Erion and Smith, 2002; Rothstein, 2003). The Matrix is administered by identical 'Agents'. However, the 'Architect' (in the guise of a stereotypical old white man) was deemed to have failed to capture the emotion data needed to understand and control humans, so the 'Oracle' was created to appear more approachable to human users. The Oracle was created

in the image of a black, spiritual 'mother' figure. The way 'she' interacts with characters and her environment design is very different from that of the Architect. The 'Neo' character in the above meme, a computer hacker and worker bee, ultimately attempts to revolt against the system (like many before him). Like the character in Plato's Cave allegory, this seems a doomed endeavour. He ends up questioning the utility of revolutions, whether free will exists at all, and which reality is real. However, where reality diverges from that sci-fi reality, in this case, is that we are not only in the Matrix, we have inadvertently created and populated it. We are both Neo (user) and the Architect. This matrix is then being studied and operationalised in the Information War between superpower states. This is some eerie foreshadowing.

Tucker (2014) continues, ultimately quoting Fitzgerald, "*For all our technological ability to see the earth and nearly everyone from every direction at once, we're still far away from a real understanding of human motivation from a national security perspective. That gap in intent intelligence speaks to a real [sic] Defense Department need, according to Fitzgerald. It's why understanding the sociological roots of [sic] movements like IS are very much military business. "As insurgencies and ethnic, religious, and class-based movements reshape the political and economic landscape in many regions vital to U.S. national security, it has become clear that decreasing terrorism and political violence requires an understanding of the underlying forces that shape motivations and (importantly) mobilize action."*". This is, I think, a useful segue back into my own research on the Minerva Initiative and the potential 'broadening' of the terrorism definition, to incorporate protestors, dissenters and social movement supporters. Those who feel an emotional and activist connection to issues, and decorate their online social environment with evidence of that. As seen above, this appears to be the case with China's 'sesame credit score'. I can imagine that, if you are aware and critical (as I am) of the information war and state actions (of the US), it would not be surprising to find yourself considered an 'enemy of the state' and considered a threat to the military objective(s). One could find oneself considered a 'terrorist' under such circumstances, as the state has the power of defining and naming in this context (as elaborated on above).

Conclusion

"Coercive action in the absence of consensus…could well pose greater long-term dangers to the fabric of a democratic society than the evils they are supposedly designed to negate. The problem is one of balance…It behoves governments and citizens to carefully consider their obligations and actions."

(pg, 96, Wardlaw, 1989)

Regarding the Minerva Initiative and the attempts of the US military at collaborating with scholars to prevent and tackle security concerns, it is my contention that there is a significant focus on the study of 'social contagions', socio-political mobilizations and to some extent its impact on the 'development' of a country (from a socio-economic perspective largely). This indicates that the DoD via the Minerva Initiative sees such movements as a high-priority future security risk to the United States. Whilst many of the projects' regional foci are in other regions (such as MENA, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa), I would suggest insights gleaned from (or tested on) such case studies could easily be utilised for the purposes of western/domestic security concerns of a state such as the USA or UK. State response to social justice protest in the West (particularly the USA and UK) increasingly resembles a repressive militarized response, with protesters and supporters of the movements being viewed as a state security threat (McBride et al., 2017). It is also not difficult to imagine the technology/science developed and adopted by the military in this regard to be utilised in domestic/civil policing operations (as military grade weaponry is already disseminated among domestic police forces), particularly if citizens are mobilized (i.e. more than 1,000 individuals) in protest of state policies or actions (Bauman, 2014). We have already seen military hardware used in such urban settings, regarding the Black Lives Matter protests particularly. Indeed, some of this hardware has already been condemned for use in more traditional conflict settings, due to human rights and health concerns (McCoy, 2014; Beckhusen, 2014; Parakilas, 2014; Giovanello, 2012; Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, n.d.). The detainment of black youth on US soil, in black-sites (purportedly for interrogation and preventative purposes) is also highly concerning, as such measures are internationally condemned as human rights abuses in other countries relating to conflict contexts (McCormack, 2015; Fernandez, 2016; Cohen, 2007).

However, when I tried to focus on a deeper analysis of the Minerva projects I had selected, I found my interest in their operations lacking, as I had done a deeper pop-cultural analysis and

felt that was more congruent with my framework and sensibilities. I had become far more interested in the issues that analysis had uncovered, as such the Minerva Initiative had almost become irrelevant as it was just another example of the militarization explored above and the ramifications of the conspiracy theories and its impact on the millennial generation was a far more pressing and immediate concern. If the key themes section, regarding the Minerva projects seems at times a rather rough or limited analysis, this may be why – I found myself uninterested and unsure of the relevance of the analysis I was doing in that section, it sometimes felt more forced and descriptive. I am much more surprised, aware and interested in the contextual pop-culture analysis I provided, and its relationship to the wider issue of militarization of the social landscape. Whereas much feminist work which deals with that issue covers physical social spaces, I have had to consider the online social world(s) we inhabit and representations of this militarization, as well as the patriarchal forces operating and to some extent running those world(s). Such concerns are more often found in work on 'Cyber-feminism' (Mohanty and Samantaray, 2017; Walsh, 2017). This also led me into the connections to the Cambridge Analytica issue, which highlighted a key concern with the Minerva Initiative. They are not simply broadening the definition of terrorism, they are seeking to operationalise citizens (who use social media), turning them in to combatants in their Information War with Russia (and China). The implications of this, from a scholar-activist and critical military studies point of view, are immense and I am still struggling to come to terms with that. Wardlaw's words above seem prescient, in regard to this problem. Citizens must be aware that this is happening, in order to 'carefully consider their obligations and actions' in response to that knowledge. I do not believe the majority of citizens are aware that this is happening, though they are aware of aspects (such as the Cambridge Analytica scandal) – I do not think they have the ability to contextualise it sufficiently, yet.

By using my framework, outlined in the previous chapters, and an awareness of popular-culture, I have considered Minerva within that context and found a further complicated picture emerging. It is clear to me that much of the media awareness of the Initiative is based in deep and long-standing conspiracy theory propaganda, which I have also attributed to the radical right-wing fringe movement in the USA. The lack of or limited attempts at fact-checking is troubling and has further emboldened conspiracy propaganda and the populist movement it relates to, which ultimately resulted in the Trump Presidency. I am very concerned about the ubiquity of the Illuminati related conspiracy in popular culture, particularly the influence it may exert on the millennial generation (my generation). I am also

concerned this generation, due to the context of globalization and its impact on our prospects, may not be equipped to critique and unpack such misinformation and conspiracy theory which abounds in the current climate. This has further encouraged me to develop the teaching tool-kit, with a focus on propaganda, argumentation, and rhetoric, as these skills will be vital and are gradually being eroded (Fuller, 2017; Goodstein, 2017; Gross, 2017; Murray, 2017; Schiappa, 2017; Tindale, 2017; Zerilli, 2017). My analysis was by no means exhaustive, of either the Minerva Initiative or of the Illuminati and popular culture influences, I have highlighted elsewhere how difficult it is to fully map out and understand, due to its vastness and complex networks, but also due to its relationship to contemporary national security. However, I think I have begun to establish the great need for further feminist analysis and critique of these topics and issues, its suitability to the questions raised and themes, and the gaps existing in our understanding of such a highly complex issue. This is perhaps an area for which my thesis framework would be very beneficial.

I have surmised, through my analysis, that more troubling than the conspiracy theories touted, the real problem is in fact the resurgence in patriarchal views and concerns, the radical right-wing terrorist movement and the fragility of the (poor) white male ego – which is fuelling the rollback of vital supportive services for vulnerable women and children. This is a counter-productive approach, economically speaking, as feminists have already shown that women are vital to the growth and sustainability of global economies. My feminist approach and view suggests we must be sceptical and critical of militarization, but we must also be sceptical and critical of those narratives which purport to benefit us, but instead are simply another form of patriarchal oppression and terror. The analysis and research I have completed for this project has certainly opened my eyes to this problem. Patriarchy, by any other name, is still patriarchy, whether in the form of religious organisation, monarchy, government, political movement, or secret-society. All to some extent are still threatened by the success of women and 'minorities' (i.e. the black community or other perceived 'interlopers'). Until we can respect and appreciate the benefits of a feminist analysis, for understanding such things, the fear, conspiracies and perceived security threats will continue – as will the confusion, which is fatal to any attempts to protect our fragile democracies.

Considering the Minerva Initiative again, one question this arrangement leaves me with is: How much do individual scholars know about the implications and intended consequences of such work, for military purposes? For example, by the same token, how much would an Al Qaeda foot-soldier really know about the overall long-term strategy of the 'leadership'? Is it

an unrealistic expectation to expect that they would know, or care about such things? When researching such vast 'networks', linked to a core 'command centre', it is almost impossible to find an answer to such questions without experiential evidence from those working in the network (i.e. defectors or ex-Initiative scholars). Even with such 'evidence', can it be trusted? You are relying on the word of someone who is already ethically compromised, by their previous actions, they could be rewriting their history in talking about their involvement for any number of self-serving reasons. In regard to Minerva, I am inclined to think (perhaps cynically) that individual scholars may know the implications of their involvement, but may be less inclined to concern themselves with the ethical ramifications of their involvement or the content of the work produced. I find this very troubling, if true, and further evidence of the need for more scholar-activist work. What is apparent is the ubiquity and vastness of the Minerva Initiative in many different institutions in the US and Europe (UK predominantly), the military-industrial complex is apparent from some collaboration with private (big data/data analytics) companies. The vastness of this arrangement between the US military and institutions for knowledge production requires critique or at the very least, acknowledgement – particularly as I have found many scholars in IR apparently unaware of such an Initiative and arrangement. I have also shown, this goes beyond Higher Education (academia and scholars), everyone using social media is potentially implicated in this militarization.

One could see parallels in the Nazi regime's interest and support for science and technology knowledge production, particularly regarding atomic/nuclear science as considered in a recent television series called '*The Saboteurs*' regarding Norwegian and British attempts to disrupt such activity (The Saboteurs, 2015; Snyder 2017). The well-known and popular physicist, Albert Einstein, had been vocal about such a troubling relationship between scientific research (and knowledge production more broadly) and the military – the culmination of this relationship and Einstein's intervention with US President Roosevelt being the creation of the Atomic Bomb, and the devastation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Einstein was known to be troubled about the ethics of scholarly engagement and support for military operations; upon hearing about the 'success' of the Manhattan Project and the bomb dropping on Hiroshima, Japan, he apparently exclaimed "*Woe is me*" (American Museum of Natural History, n.d.). Though not directly involved in the Manhattan Project in the USA, as the Atomic scientist who lobbied President Roosevelt to begin extensive research on the possibility of a bomb – fearing the Nazis were already well on the way to it – as a self-

confessed militant pacifist, he certainly felt some guilt for his role…however minimal (Einstein, 1952). A version of the Manhattan Project is also found in Alan Moore's '*Watchmen*', cited above in this chapter. I now conclude the thesis by first considering Einstein's ethically conscious view on peace and the feminist call for seeking truth and meaning, both also key elements in this scholarly work.

Ch. 6: Conclusion

"Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by <u>understanding</u>"

(Albert Einstein on Peace, from a speech to the New History Society, 14 December 1930, emphasis added)

"A feminist is any woman who tells the truth about her life", (V. Woolf cited in Harrison 2017)

As Virginia Woolf previously claimed, truth – or rather the bravery required in honestly and critically (through self-reflexivity) divulging the truth of our lives, professionally and personally, is an essential element of the feminist account and method. Following the last five chapters of this thesis, the above Einstein quote also felt somewhat fitting – from the man known to be a militant pacifist (Einstein, 1931), as well as a great scientist. Coincidentally, Einstein is also known to have struggled with the 'orthodox' schooling and education system at the time, he apparently particularly struggled with mathematics – hence his reliance on 'thought experiments'. Ultimately, I also sought to use an immersive story-telling style and approach to get to a deeper understanding of the issues. I believe I have addressed and to some extent answered the questions I began with (in chapter one). Though, due to the methodological approach used, the contemporary contextual changes, and the way the process unfolded (with various challenges) – these questions ultimately gave way to more interesting questions. The project became less about seeking to answer specific (potentially measurable) questions, and instead an opportunity to capture a particular experience and represent that in a way which allows a deeper engagement from the reader (knowledge seeker), and insight regarding replication of an experiential 'scrap-booking' artistic style. So, how were the aims and research question(s) answered?

A core aim I had at the beginning of my thesis journey was to foster and enable a greater understanding of the issues around the use of political violence (by protesters and some 'terrorist' actors) against the State. This rather broad aim ultimately developed into a nuanced consideration of the theoretical landscape, the creation of an original contribution to knowledge - the proposed 'transdisciplinary' feminist peace economics and the use of an alternative methodological framework based on reflexivity and (counter-) narrative. An

attempt was made to map and analyse some of the terrorism studies discourse as created by the Minerva Initiative as part of a wider global research programme, funded by the Department of Defense in the USA. The review of the Minerva Initiative was done to provide a case-study of sorts, the work needed to be grounded in a practical example and the Minerva Initiative is under-researched in IR (especially amongst the critical communities I work within). I wanted to find out, ultimately, how the Initiative was influencing our understanding of protest, and relatedly, how that affected the definition of terrorism. I was particularly interested in the puzzling use of 'virology' and social networking terms, which seemed central to the Minerva approach (i.e. the use of 'social contagion' to refer to social mobilisations). I sought to apply a, broadly, critical (feminist) security studies approach to my inquiry. I elaborate in my summary review of the chapters, below, how the thesis addresses these questions and issues. However, as I mention above, the answers to the questions (and the questions themselves) became less important through my experience of seeking the knowledge. The final iteration of the thesis reflects this journey and embodies the cyclical, artistic, and conversational reflexive process. This is a 'non-standard' feminist critique and account of experience(s). There are stories within stories – my own stories, and those of others. Fragments bleed together, foreground and background constantly shift and switch. The result is a 'thesis' which is more reminiscent of an artistic immersive installation, like the *House of Eternal Return*, rather than an orthodox description of research, data collection, and analysis. This style is embodied throughout the work, including in the structure and format of chapters. I sought to find some middle-ground between the orthodox thesis format and the immersive artistic representation.

In concluding this work, I will first summarise the main arguments and issues elaborated on in the previous five chapters, with some final analysis and an explanation of the chosen quotes heading each chapter. This will be followed with a consideration of 'future prospects' for further research, work which I have unfortunately not been able to complete this time, but which I hope to explore further soon. I will then offer a conclusion. Ultimately, with this thesis, I want to consider how one 'performs' a successful autobiographical (counter-) narrative approach in IR, regarding the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies, as a 'scholar-activist' and student of IR. There will be those scholars who go further than I have in this thesis, to embody such an approach, indeed I would have liked to have gone further myself (given the development of this thesis over five – seven years, this was not ultimately possible). However, I am confident that the work produced here is honest,

detailed, ethically conscious and brave – it also provides ample room for further development by me and others. In this regard, I consider this a very successful endeavour which I am proud of as an 'activist' scholar, particularly in the current historical and political context – globally and domestically in the UK and USA.

I hope to demonstrate the relative success of this project by creating a 'scholar-activist' toolkit (how-to guide) as a syllabus which may be deployed in a variety of settings, formats, and for a variety of audiences. It has been argued elsewhere in this thesis that a 'practical' methodological 'how-to' guide has been lacking in the literature consulted for this thesis, in my own attempt to create such a framework. I am creating such a syllabus, that I can use in my own teaching and knowledge-sharing endeavours, a syllabus which meets all the criteria I have discussed when assessing the need for greater (wider) representation (Jones, 2017; Pilcher, 2017). Such criteria as; greater engagement with feminist scholarship, methods, and modern innovative pedagogical tools (methods) – developed due to the creation of the Minerva Initiative, and recent global events (i.e. Post-Brexit and Post-Trump). Thus, I seek to evidence a very clear 'output' and (another) original contribution which may also live on in the future via teaching and publication outputs. The analysis of the US defense (military) strategy regarding propaganda and the 'Information War' shows the great need for such an output.

First, I provided an introduction for the thesis and a literature review. I provided some contextual background for the Minerva Initiative (while also considering Project Camelot as a 'blueprint' of sorts), and explored the ramifications of historical analysis in IR. This enabled me to begin to elaborate on my own choices and agenda in alighting upon a historical narrative for the thesis. I then explored further narrative and feminist scholarship in chapter three. The chronology and themes I discussed here would not have been particularly surprising to a traditional IR scholar, they were standard, though the 'reading' and selection of events, coupled with a consideration of more recent events (regarding national security and the opposition leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and academic protest, for example) would be more familiar to critical security and critical terrorism scholars. This served to create a contextual foundation for the discussion of theory and explanation of my theoretical framework in chapter three.

The literature review focused heavily on terrorism studies research, casting a critical eye over this work and arguments made, as much of this work is used and cited in developing

contemporary counter-terrorism policy. My critique followed established CTS points of contention and themes, such as the messy issue of definition, cause and the lack of, or silence of, state violence scholarship in more recent scholarship. Here I also sought to draw out briefly the concept of Neoliberalism and highlight the political economy approach found in CTS work, as this would be further elaborated on in chapter two and three, respectively. Finding that in developing a theoretical and methodological framework (in chapters three and four), I would also need to utilise work at the fringes of critical scholarship which allows for a more intimate engagement with the subject and elaborates on the issue of militarization; I thus sought some engagement with a newer and fast developing body of work, i.e. CMS. Therefore, in positioning myself in the literature, my feminist approach should be considered as sitting and in dialogue with both CTS and CMS and being influenced by both to some degree. However, it is ultimately a critical (feminist) security critique and I am a feminist scholar first and foremost.

The chapter began with a quote from President Kennedy's address at American University (AU) in Washington D.C. from 1963. This was deemed relevant and used for two reasons, personal and academic. Firstly, the personal, because I had a personal connection to this, which was that I almost embarked on a 2 year second Masters at AU prior to starting the NTU PhD, which I hoped would give me a greater understanding and training in Peace and Conflict Resolution (for an eventual PhD). I have also had something of a personal obsession with the Kennedy Administration and mythology, having studied it at various times, culminating in visits to Kennedy historical sites in the US (the Presidential Library/museum, an exhibition on the Cuban Missile Crisis at the National Archives (USA) and a visit to the favoured Kennedy family holiday site in New England), whilst attending conferences. The academic reason for the inclusion of this quote is regarding the date, and site of the speech and the themes it evokes – which are highly relevant to the thesis.

The famous and often quoted speech by the President was given at AU in 1963. From 1964-1965 the following Johnson Administration (which began following Kennedy's assassination in '63), as part of the broader Cold War strategy, ran a US military project (a collaboration between the US Army and AU) in Washington D. C. and 'piloted' in Chile, with plans to expand to other Latin American countries if successful. As elaborated on in Chapter one and chapter five, if Prof. Galtung had not intervened publicly, this project may have expanded as planned, rather than being swiftly dismantled and silenced. It transpired that Chile was not aware of the Project within its borders and this had grave ramifications for diplomatic

relations between the USA and its southern neighbours – especially given heightened tensions during the Cold War era. The themes Kennedy invokes in this speech regarding a 'Strategy of Peace' cover the family, prosperity, development and 'growth' (economic?) and his rhetoric implies a search for global peace, rather than a peace imposed on nations by a neo-liberal hegemon (the USA) and enforced by American Weapons of War or perhaps restrictive sanctions. There is a well-used popular saying which has it that: 'Actions speak louder than words'. Critical scholars of US foreign and security policy would suggest we look to the actions of the US as hegemon, to better understand the thinking behind actions, in parallel to rhetoric and public discourse. I have sought to do this, regarding Minerva, to a limited degree, to better understand the issues and prospects for change – which critical scholars seek. This was explored in the previous chapter (analysis), and contextualised as these actions do not happen in a vacuum.

In chapter two, I considered the context of the Globalization phenomenon, the three facets of that phenomenon and the impact of Globalization on the rise in 'populist' anti-globalization movements in the US and EU (and UK particularly). That also gave me the opportunity to consider the cost of (political) violence on the International Community, or the cost to the State of such violent acts. I explored the issue of scholar-activism in the social sciences, and the marketization of higher education in relation to the contemporary political landscape and the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies. This enabled me to consider propaganda, its history and its contemporary use. I believe this to be a relevant concern, particularly with the increasingly overt use of propagandist methods in recent political campaigns, the references to George Orwell in popular discourse on the security debate(s) of late. This is also useful as the scholar-activist toolkit I am preparing for future teaching includes a lesson plan on propaganda and debate class - focused on understanding rhetoric.

It could be said that the work in this thesis and the approach taken is more reminiscent of the work of sociologists, anthropologists, artists, philosophers, or historians. I believe this work certainly speaks to those communities and hopefully re-energises the more traditional, inclusive IR of the past. Unfortunately, given such an interdisciplinary project, I have not been able to cover all of the wide-ranging literatures sufficiently. I had to make choices about what I could cover sufficiently given the relevance to the project. Hopefully, I have at least acknowledged the existence of other relevant literatures, even if I have not been able to incorporate them here. In this instance inclusivity refers to the interdisciplinary nature of the field, as opposed to diversity – as this has long been a problem for this male-dominated field

of study. I sought to show that the feminist, scholar-activism and storytelling counter-narrative approach cited in the title does not make this project any less of an IR endeavour than any other classical Realist text or modern political science inspired, data-driven, policy-relevant account. Indeed, by its very nature it is inherently IR, more so even than the articles and books purporting to address security issues post-9/11, in the 'vogue' for terrorism themed work in chasing the elusive 'impact' in the neoliberal academy. I established this in regard to narrative and storytelling above.

I sought to show that scholar-activism, though often maligned and ignored by the 'academy' in IR, is embraced by other familiar social science disciplines; disciplines that for a long time were previously considered fertile ground for IR to draw on. Methods used by such scholar-activists, like those chosen in this thesis, enable a more ethically sound and immersive engagement with the issues analysed and explored. If you find, as I do, the 'objectivity' claims of contemporary IR and associated policy problematic and the ethnographic methods adopted to be ethically challenging, then such methods may be your only option for engaging in scholarly activity. This does not invalidate the scholarly work you do – but rather represents a deeper understanding of the issues, the literature and the philosophical challenges inherent in academic activity. As the literature review in chapter one underlined, the lack of such a deeper, historical approach is highly problematic in relation to security and the militarization of knowledge production.

In chapter three I elaborated on my feminist framework for the project. The approach offered here utilized concepts such as Shepherd's 'Transdisciplinarity' (or as I have sometimes referred to it, interdisciplinarity), the 'feminist security ethic' of Sjoberg and True's 'feminist peace economics'. It is rooted in the seminal work of Cynthia Enloe, in seeking to use a unified approach to the critical security critique (i.e. security and political economy) and with a focus on the militarization of the everyday. This very feminist approach included insights from Peace Economics, which has traditionally been considered a theoretical approach in opposition to feminist views on political economy and security. I sought to highlight opportunities to adapt and incorporate Peace Economics insights into a feminist critical security approach and in so doing, the approach created in the thesis may be considered a 'Critical Peace Economics'. This chapter also highlighted the problematic of binaries and the issue of scholars commonly defining feminist critique only in a subordinate comparison to Realist theory. I sought to disrupt this practice with this thesis, as I felt it served to sustain the

unequal power dynamics of the academy. This in turn impacts the ability of critical feminist scholars to gain acceptance and research impact.

Regarding feminist theory and methods in academia, I now consider the impact of feminist work in or on the Academy and vice versa. I believe this is an important consideration, given that feminists do not work 'in a vacuum': by that I mean, feminists and feminist scholarship have always – and still must - operate within the constraints of a male-dominated system, both in society at large and within (IR) academia. This poses many challenges in developing new scholarship and ensuring scholars pursuing such work may have access to opportunities for success in the field of IR. Thus, considering such 'environmental' issues and barriers is vital to fully understanding the lot feminist scholars are faced with in developing security scholarship and perhaps allows greater insight into the development of their critical views on security and the Academy.

Indeed, Cynthia Enloe has been somewhat outspoken on this topic (which is elaborated on further in the section on militarization). I have been very aware of a kind of tension within the critical security (feminist) community regarding this issue of public communication of theoretical concepts and methods. There seems to be a concerned element (of which I would consider myself a part) within the wider feminist community, who find many of the contemporary critical security scholarship (and scholars) to be performing to and seeking approval from the male elite of traditional security scholarship. This has seemed particularly jarring given that it also happens at 'feminist' conferences (where most of the participants are women). This is particularly problematic as feminist scholarship has traditionally served to 'disrupt' such 'ivory tower' practices (such as overly convoluted/inaccessible discourse). It has been suggested to me that this may not be a gendered issue, as such, but rather a problem with the use of post-structuralism in the feminist work. This argument may be due to the nature of post-structuralist work, the very ideological underpinnings, and the obsession with boundaries (hierarchies). Whilst I concede, that may be a contributing factor, I feel the problem is rather more complex. I believe that, much in the same way that I have mentioned previously, regarding the militarization of knowledge production via Minerva, what we are seeing is critical (feminist) scholars taking on the favoured discourse of the traditional security community – of which they wish to become a part, or at the very least influence. The concern from some quarters of the feminist community is that, while this may raise up certain individuals to potential academic positions of influence, it excludes the rest of the 'disruptive' feminist community and further marginalizes the communities feminists have been fighting

to support. This replication of hierarchy and dominance further plays into patriarchal structuring and the militarization of knowledge production, as patriarchy and militarization are inextricably linked (which I have highlighted above).

There is a further concern that, by taking on such convoluted and exclusionary discourse as your form of academic communication, you are also becoming securitized or 'militarized' (as Cynthia Enloe would have it). Indeed, Cynthia Enloe has spoken at length on the militarization of the everyday and of scholars in her various public lectures, films of which can be found on YouTube. I have sought to remedy this in my own work by somewhat 'side-stepping' around such work of other scholars, which I find particularly problematic in this way. Unfortunately, at least in terms of the problem of legitimation that faces feminist theorising, significant issues in feminist scholarship particularly regarding claims to knowledge and gender representation in academia have largely been analysed in the form of anecdotal evidence. Often this evidence is collected and curated in the form of blogs, or collected via the medium of 'Storify' collections online of twitter activity (usually around a certain event or academic conference). There is currently limited empirical data on such disparities in scholarship (Carpenter, 2007; Foster et al., 2012; Murdie, 2015), along gender lines – though there has been talk of pursuing this in the future, once funding and resources have been found, for those scholars inclined to this project (Savonick and Davidson, 2016). Saara Särmä's much publicised blog (Särmä, 2015a) collecting evidence from others 'all male' meetings, conferences and academic gatherings is a good example of such anecdotal scholarship in the feminist community, which has moved beyond that space into the mainstream media (thanks to the recent 'vogue' for feminism in popular culture). The 'Academy's' reluctance to include, embrace or even acknowledge the existence of such immediate and activist forms of experiential knowledge, particularly given the social science nature of IR, is an ongoing concern (Carpenter and Drezner, 2010; Sjoberg, 2012; Wibben, 2014; Åhäll, 2018). Indeed, Hoffman talks about the necessity of 'brick-makers' or engaged scholars in academia who can engage the public (Hoffman, 2016).

A turn to such alternative methods as auto-ethnography, particularly regarding the issue of counter-terrorism policy and critical terrorism studies theoretical response, is something James Fitzgerald has called for (Fitzgerald, 2015). The move in IR to favouring Positivism and absolute generalisations in relation to the study of violence and human behaviour is worrying (Minerva works with many anthropologists, sociologists and criminologists, along with a selection of IR scholars). I am particularly referring to work on terrorism and counter-

terrorism here which have increasingly (post-9/11) favoured positivist work, often to the exclusion of feminist and critical work (further discussion on this can be found in chapter one in the literature review). I suggest this arrangement leads to academia, knowledge and specific academics becoming effectively 'handmaiden' to the State (via the excuse of security concerns). I have discovered, through my analysis, that this is not solely a problem for the academic community – but also wider society (social media users). As a student, it has become apparent that despite recent widening participation schemes within academia, particularly in the UK, knowledge is still narrowed to male-dominated, empirical theorising thanks to the US school political science model being favoured (Smith, 2000; Wibben, 2014).

Whilst I have witnessed many women filling the lecture halls of security, terrorism and criminal international law related classes (in the UK), I do not see such gender representation in the literature when viewing author lists of papers covering such subjects. Nor are women particularly visible in high-ranking positions in such fields, given the distribution of gender representation in the academic field (via participation in class). To be clear, I am referring to high-ranking academic positions, as opposed to policy or institutional positions, as there have been some appointments to political office for some women. Though even such 'figure-head' appointments such as Hillary Clinton's appointment to Secretary of State in the US have been criticised in the feminist community, as her political behaviour and attitudes are still seen as 'hawkish' and largely representative of the male-dominated views on security. The same could also be said of Theresa May's leadership of the Conservative government in the UK, and of Margaret Thatcher's leadership in government.

On the left, Thatcher in a tank in 1986, utilising the imagery of war and strength to guarantee an election win, post-Falklands War, at a NATO training camp near Hamburg (Selwyn-Holmes, 2009). A less well-known story of the day is that she was accompanied by the West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. Kohl has recently been in the news, following his death in 2017 and the resulting EU 'state funeral'. Purportedly the event was to celebrate the architect of German reunification and supporter of greater

integration in the EU. Such imagery is considered as evidence of the proverbial 'glass ceiling' being well and truly smashed (Hickey, 2013). On the right, Ruth Davidson, leader of the Scottish Conservative party recreating the photo-op during the 2015 general election campaign (Channel 4 News - Election 2015 Live Blog, 2015). When women in power adopt the aesthetic and/or ideals of state security, they can no longer be considered to be resembling any semblance of feminism, especially when their policies in power threaten the safety and security of the vast number of women and children suffering through poverty, austerity, and conflict.

This has recently led me to question (via a conference paper presentation), what is 'acceptable' feminism for the 'Academy' and the male-elite in the security policy field and conversely, what is not?

An example of the controversy around women, security, and feminism, which continues (BBC, 2015). This image went viral online when it was published, though some were supportive of the view of women in the military celebrating their dual role as combatant and mother, many critiqued it as problematic propaganda and as tarnishing the reputation of the security services. Interestingly, it appeared many of the critics of such an image, were more supportive of the kind of imagery as above (Thatcher in a tank) or similar. It would seem the idea of women as mothers and combatants is problematic, though the same is not said for men as fathers and combatants. The photographer, Tara Ruby, had previously served on Active Duty in the US Air Force.

The literature in these fields is still dominated by men, as authors and as scholars who predominantly cite other male scholars (King et al., n.d.). As a woman scholar (and thus often in the minority), it is then also very difficult, though not impossible, to cite other women scholars in my own work, as they are seldom represented in the literature, class reading lists or on typical conference panels and discussions (Savonick, 2015; Murdie, 2015; Atchison, 2016; Beaulieu et al., 2017; Åhäll, 2018). Indeed, I have witnessed many instances of women scholars and lecturers taking to well-known social media platforms to seek guidance and group support from networking groups in seeking out research by feminist and/or scholars of

colour to populate student reading lists, wanting to provide a more balanced or inclusive debate. Whilst this is always great to see in academia, it is often discouraging to put it in context – as the same is rarely necessary when creating reading lists inclusive of male theorists, particularly white Western male theorists. Knowledge and research production has been securitised within international relations and the social sciences, but crucially (from a critical perspective), this securitisation is a male construct which enables and perpetuates a classic masculine concept of security. The (realist construct of the) state still pursues this realist masculine concept of state security/national security. As Saxena (2014) rightly asserts in her review article, "*it has been observed that the idea of security privileges the stereotypical notions of masculinity at the expense of feminine virtues. Informed by values of violence and militarism, both of which are attached irrevocably to masculinity, the idea of security comes to trivialise the notions of peace and pacific behaviour, for such are not deemed 'manly' enough in a world full of self-interested and self-seeking actors and agents*" (pg. 107). This is further evidenced in my analysis. There has been relatively minor change in how feminist work is received or approached by the Academy, despite some policy-related changes (Tickner, 1997). Indeed, even in the discourse on security and leadership in UK politics this is borne out, with Conservative attacks on Jeremy Corbyn's leadership often claiming, 'weakness' due to his record of pacifism and support of peace arguments and disarmament – in comparison to the 'strong and stable' leadership of a government which is increasingly reliant on the arms trade post-Brexit.

In Chapter four, I dealt with the methodological framework used in connection to the theoretical framework and in preparing for the analysis of certain examples of Minerva Initiative output. Following a definition of discourse analysis, as it is more commonly known and used, in relation to feminist methodology and theory particularly, I provided a definition of the more commonly used CDA. I then provided a rationale for choosing to use CDA and elaborated on the process followed in analysing the discourse of Minerva (the hermeneutic cycle method). I also addressed challenges faced in doing such work. CDA is a small part of my methodological framework, which relies heavily on reflexivity, autobiography and the hermeneutic cycle method as favoured by Annick Wibben in her narrative approach. Therefore, I used this chapter to elaborate further on these aspects of the research work; in doing so, I also acknowledged the multiplicity of identities I inhabit as a political subject implicated in the problematic arrangement between the neo-liberal higher education institution and the defence community as represented through the Minerva Initiative. I

outlined the reasons for using this very subjective, 'Meta' and complex methodological approach in this thesis and the benefits of such an approach. This chapter allowed me to elaborate on a very important issue at the heart of this project, that being the difficulty of separating oneself from the subject of research when the subject impacts on, and is impacted by, the researcher as political subject. This also highlighted the wider implications explored in chapter two regarding the symbolic violence perpetrated by an institution such as the neo-liberal institution.

Thus, one requires a complex methodological framework to address a complex, contemporary and intertwined issue. The transgressive, disruptive and controversial approach favoured in this thesis is not necessarily a purely feminist endeavour, though feminist work lends itself more readily to this approach. A very controversial example of this form is Elizabeth Dauphinee's 'The Politics of Exile'. Much of the controversy, which was also discussed at length during the Gregynog Ideas Lab 2016, appears to centre around the issue of whether a 'novel' is an appropriate method, and whether Dauphinee's attempt adequately ticks various ethical and academic boxes for her academic peers (a related concern being whether her intentions in publishing the piece, with an academic publisher, was for reasons other than her own ambition). My own view on this issue is that, storytelling and narrative have been at the heart of the human experience and have been used to carry knowledge, hopes and fears and culture throughout our history (Inayatullah and Dauphinee, 2016). It is vital to our existence and evolution. If Dauphinee had published the piece with a non-academic publishing house, would it have been such a controversy? I don't think so. So, if the issue is that by publishing with an academic publisher it is assumed that she is seeking controversy for personal gain, I would suggest that perhaps it is more complicated than that. Perhaps she is seeking to open a discourse, with her 'imperfect' novel, perhaps she is asking us to consider, 'why not?' We can't all be Plato, Machiavelli, Roald Dahl, Aesop, J. K. Rowling or Alan Moore, but maybe that's not the point – maybe in the act of trying, we move the discussion forward and uncover something of note, even if only about ourselves. Like Elizabeth, in pursuing this research, "*I wanted to understand how it was so that some people wear their souls on the surface of their skins, and why. I believed in my ability to order and classify my world. But later, as the weeks and months slipped by, I grew to be plagued more and more by impassable silences, and I found myself sinking deeper into a mire of terminal uncertainty*" (pg. 1 – 2, Dauphinee, 2013). I have sought to explore this uncertainty through storytelling and an experiential (immersive) narrative style. It was hoped that, by doing this, I

lend a greater empathy and humanity to the issues at the heart of this thesis. I have told my own story, which is also shaped by the stories of others. Another recent example being '*The Politics of Evasion*', like Dauphinee's attempt described above, a narrative construction in the form of a dialogue between the author and a fictional character to unpack issues regarding security, the State and activism (Latham, 2016). Such high profile and controversial publications, published by a well-known academic publishing house, only serves to open spaces for debate in IR scholarly circles – forcing debates forward, creating a greater awareness of what is possible for those seeking an activist, ethical scholarship.

The nature of the critical scholarship (which has some foundation in the Foucauldian/post-structural approach) and method (Hermeneutics, reflexivity, CDA) chosen for this project has very often reminded me of *Alice in Wonderland*. Laura Shepherd, whom I have often referred to in this piece, has also found *Alice* to be a useful analogy in considering the critical scholarship. Lewis Carroll's protagonist, Alice, is often characterised as curious and pedantic. In the story, this young daydreamer finds herself in a peculiar alternative reality which leads her to question herself, identity, the nature of time and reality and ultimately to assert herself and her views on her return to the Victorian society she left. In the Tim Burton film (Alice in Wonderland, 2010) a less confident, somewhat flustered teenage Alice returns to Wonderland to end a 'Reign of Terror' by the Red Queen, one of my favourite lines from the film has Alice exclaim: "*From the moment I fell down that rabbit hole I've been told where I must go and who I must be. I've been shrunk, stretched, scratched, and stuffed into a teapot. I've been accused of being Alice and of not being Alice but this is my dream. I'll decide where it goes from here*". For me, this resonates with the considerations of the creation and subversion of boundaries and the response to transgressions of a narrow and rule-laden community such as the 'Academy' in IR. As a feminist scholar and given my frustrations about the relative 'invisibility' of feminist security approaches, or rather the Academy's reluctance to engage and support them – it is no surprise I find this Carroll story resonating with me. I have sought to make my own way through feminist scholarship, acknowledging the splendid work which has gone before, whilst also carving out my own unique framework for this project, like Alice, "*I make the path!*".

As well as the analysis of certain publicly available examples of discourse from the Minerva Initiative in chapter five, I have sought to shed light on the historical context surrounding this social science research framework and find some meaning in the motivation for its creation. I have suggested and further elaborated on a link between Minerva and Project Camelot (a

President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara brainchild of the 1960s). Whilst my inclination as a critical scholar is to uncover truths from rhetoric and 'propaganda' to discover real motivations of a masculine state and hegemon, through the process of this thesis, I have had to challenge pre-conceived notions I had held – to consider instead that perhaps major security decisions are more indicative of individual power plays and personalities, rather than symptomatic of universal and apparently entrenched views on power in the international community. Though, ultimately I found that perhaps my initial assumptions were correct – though possibly a little naïve. In other words, through the process of this thesis, I have uncovered further complexity rather than a simple solution or result. At least this indicates to me that the feminist analysis and approach I sought to use has been successful, if we still accept Cynthia Enloe's view of quality feminist work.

Further to this and perhaps more worrying still, the historical (narrative) analysis used highlighted a more troubling issue regarding militarization of knowledge production. I managed to trace back the origins of militarization to Ancient Roman Imperialism regarding Ancient Greece specifically, with a consideration of the emblem and symbolism of the Minerva Initiative – while also tracing the 'Watchmen' reference back to a 1st Century poet and satirist, Juvenal. In doing this another more troubling question was uncovered. If, as I now suspect, militarization of knowledge production (culture) regarding security concerns does originate there rather than my own initial view of Project Camelot being a key historical point, or other feminist views on its origins – then does this indicate that it is far more entrenched in civilisation than I had initially suggested? If so, is 'disruption' of the phenomenon or concept ever going to be successful, given that disruption has happened throughout history regarding various events and manifestations of the phenomenon? Given the work I have done in this thesis and the analysis used, I am now becoming rather sceptical as to whether successful or useful (transformative) disruption or activism is possible – one may have to accept that the only transformation or change to be found in activism, of this kind, is to be found in oneself. This has certainly been true for me, throughout the process of development during this PhD.

The quote reference at the top of chapter five is taken from a popular dystopian graphic novel and film. Created by Alan Moore, the graphic novel takes as its subject the Cold War era, Manhattan (nuclear) Project and a group of 'Anti-heroes' or costumed vigilantes, some of whom have been recruited by the US government to deal with criminal elements and protest movements in the USA (due to Vietnam and other controversial domestic policy). One of the

central characters, a member of the costumed 'Watchmen' is particularly interesting given his views and role in the story. Named 'The Comedian', his costume is reminiscent of 'Captain America', a popular hero in the Marvel Universe of comics from the USA often historically linked to US Government propaganda. The Comedian is an inflated and tragic example of masculinity, an alcoholic womaniser who enjoys the ultraviolence expected of his role. This quote was chosen, not just as I am a fan of the novel, film, and Alan Moore's brand of dystopian allegory, but also due to the similar themes found in the book and this thesis. The Cold War backdrop, focus on domestic instability and protest or civil disobedience, and the ever-present issues around violence and security played out in the story, to name a few of the common themes. This particular quote refers to the civic distrust of the State and its 'agents' working on the security of the society, it highlights the lack of oversight and questioning of such agents. It is found on graffiti in the novel, the film and has been replicated in the real world by those distrusting of our own government and security policy. For these reasons, I felt it was relevant to issues discussed here and a useful way to consider the argument laid out in the thesis. Some questions you may be considering at this point, are: How can you trust a state which enlists you, covertly, into an Information War – which you didn't even know existed? How can you trust companies with your data, when these companies are selling and handing over that data to political actors and the military infrastructure – with seeming impunity? I am not sure whether I have the answers to these questions here, but I hope the approach offered enables others to work on finding such answers for themselves – or at least enlightens them to the existence of these crucial questions. Perhaps these questions, once acknowledged, should be debated and explored in a 'democracy festival', like those found in the Nordic region (Clarke, 2019).

Regarding the use of pop-culture, references to satire and dystopian narratives in this chapter – I strongly believe such references and pedagogical tools are too often overlooked by IR scholars in favour of more traditional methods and more 'objective' mathematical modelling (Saunders, 2017). Such sources are a rich resource for the contemporary IR scholar, particularly given the interdisciplinary roots of IR. Pop-culture and humour (satire) has been used to significant effect by other (social science and humanities) disciplines to analyse similar issues (Watson, 2014; Evans, 2016). By using a hermeneutic, reflexive and historical form of analysis, alongside varied sources including some pop-cultural references and seeking interdisciplinary dialogue between diverse scholarship – I have tried to show that it is possible to access greater meaning and understanding of the subject. As someone who has

also studied International Law in the past, the argument for a selective hierarchy of authoritative scholarly sources, for reaching understanding and a resolution to a problem, is well-known to me. However, I am of the strong belief that as a social researcher, concerned with human behaviour, state actions and IR in the everyday – it is highly restrictive to limit oneself to only 'scholarly' commentary of a not very representative or diverse Academy. Pop-culture sources, blogs and other such modern sources are artefacts of our life and experiences, anecdotal evidence of impact and use – as I have highlighted with my analysis, these artefacts elaborate on the impact of insidious and pervasive influences (such as militarization, propaganda, and Minerva), enabling a greater holistic understanding of our role, its effects and how we are implicated in the wider context (Carpenter and Drezner, 2010; Sjoberg, 2012). In knowing, and experiencing, we are better able to decide our own fates – considering this knowledge, what kind of scholar, teacher, activist, citizen do I want to be? And, how might I seek change? This is also explored, to some extent, in the Television series '*Madam Secretary*' (MacAaron, 2014); I have used imagery and video clips of this series in conference presentations about my thesis research (mentioned in the above review of chapter three). I used a quote from that series as part of my title for chapter five, to indicate the complexity the research uncovered (Dunn, 2015).

Regarding the challenge of the subject matter and access to material for analysis, to perform the kind of intertextual, hermeneutic analysis I was seeking, one requires the 'text' with which to work with. Unfortunately, as I have already highlighted, national security text, especially contemporary material, is very difficult to get hold of and analyse, as the text one does find is so limited and lacking in contextual threads to work with. However, there was much more, multi-layered, material available in the various conspiracy theory references, pop-culture and news media work found. Indeed, this provided a rich and fascinating insight into an emerging security threat (right-wing radicals), not just for the neoliberal state, but for citizens, particularly the youth or millennial generation. I have shown how useful and vital a feminist framework analysis is, such as that employed in the thesis. Such work supports the counter-narrative, storytelling style and looks at the embedded and unseen. It is an analysis which is embedded in reflexivity, autobiography and scholar-activism, to improve our understanding of these troubling times.

Flipping the Language of Minerva

The use of terms such as 'social contagion' in the Minerva research on political violence (and terrorism), in relation to social movements is troubling – as I have suggested – however, when taken and analysed with a historical, critical and contextual lens, it appears even more problematic. Such social contagions are currently considered a security and economic threat to the state (i.e. the neoliberal US particularly in this case) and its stability. However, an alternative (critical) reading might posit that a positive view of the '#resist' movement(s) in the wake of the Trump Presidency is to view it as an immune system response, of the body politic, to the virus or 'contagion' of populism and 'alt-right' nationalism plaguing the modern democracy (USA). In recent times, this populism contagion has appeared to be spreading (contagious) via social media and the use of propaganda by the Russian state and its various proxies (Berger, 2017; Solon, 2017; Levin, 2017). One could be forgiven for wondering whether the Cold War ever really ended, or was simply put into a deep freeze and is now thawing out (Ames, 2015; Ames, Cami and Kanani, 2017; Clarke, 2017b; Buzan, 2006). As the analysis in chapter five highlights, the USA has been clear that we are fighting an Information War (the 'New Cold War') with Russia particularly for some time already. But this is a problem created by Allied powers too, they also unleashed propaganda and 'fake news' on the world. Mixing it with capitalist business interests and technological advancements has created a monster – it has turned us all into unwitting combatants in a global war, and I am not sure the monster can be tamed. Such contemporary concerns and events, only serve to further highlight the great need for historical and contextually rich analysis, often now considered 'slow scholarship' thanks to globalization and the competitive hyper-masculinity of neoliberalism. Our fragile democracies and freedoms, often taken for granted in the West, depend upon such critical, bias-aware and ethical scholarship – free of state security interference (militarization), and the distortion of propaganda from various wide-ranging sources.

By using the methodological framework of reflexivity, narrative, autobiography and personal experience, I am also able to gain a deeper more complex understanding of the state motivations in response to the 'contagion threat'. When I was a teenager, immediately after I sat my GCSEs, my 'common cold' I had been nursing throughout my stressful exam period had mysteriously and suddenly mutated into a very rare and potentially life-threatening virus, Henoch–Schönlein Purpura (HSP). As far as we know, this virus is a random mutation of a more common virus. The mutation occurs inside the patient and essentially is characterised

by the patient's immune system turning against itself, fighting phantom threats which do not exist, causing the immune system to attack the whole body on multiple fronts. There are many unpleasant symptoms and side-effects of such a virus; it is a form of vasculitis (attacking the blood vessels). Damage, often to some extent irreparable, is done to both the inside and outside of the body and as a sufferer you are told to expect the virus to return, in some cases more than once in a lifetime, and of varying severity. None of the doctors at the hospital knew why I had developed this rare virus, especially as it was more commonly seen in young males in North America, or why I had developed the most severe form of the virus (whereby it also attacks the patient's kidneys). I may never know the origins, or reasons for that traumatic experience. So, I get it! The feeling of instability, insecurity and fear of the chaotic attack which comes out of nowhere to attack the nervous system of the body (politic). Like an invisible plague, there is no physical thing to fight or disable. It is frustrating, depressing and debilitating. You run through all the emotions, particularly anger. It is a long and slow road to recovery. It is possible that my life was saved by the quick actions of a local family doctor who saw me shortly after the initial symptoms occurred suddenly. She was shortly to retire from a lengthy career, instinctively on taking one look at me, she knew this may be HSP; it would be a quick escalation and could be fatal, as a senior member of her practice she acted quickly and got me seen by younger specialists (who appeared to know less about it than she did. My case was so singular and severe, the teaching hospital which treated me asked for my consent for them to use pictures and other data for future teaching aids. Whilst I understand that a state may seek to fight back with force (further military funding and technology), I also understand how futile such responses to such sporadic and devastating attacks are. Much of the fight is psychological, surviving moment to moment, it must be endured. I also see things from the protester perspective, HSP was not the only traumatic experience, nor was it the last. I appreciate the 'underdog' mentality, resisting against powerful forces who seem neglectful of your needs and struggles. I would not have gained the insights I have without my framework approach or the ability to bring my personal experience and anecdotal references to bear on the analysis. I am not claiming it is wrong for the US to protect itself or its assets, I am however querying the use of force in protest situations and the targeting of research to only specific communities (on racial or religious grounds). The analysis I have done has led me to surmise that there is a greater threat to our security (feminists, and citizens in general) and the security of the state. That threat is the 'enemy within', the radical right-wing populist movement; which has been emboldened by the racial and religious targeting of the state, and has been radicalized by the inequality

brought about by a combination of globalization and capitalism. In the fervour of the 'War on Terror' and the 'Clash of Civilizations', we are overlooking our own 'Christian crusaders'. Indeed, America's security services (police) are increasingly concerned about the lack of awareness and research on this growing threat, unaware of how best to respond (Kurzman and Schanzer, 2015). A more holistic and historically aware approach, like the one I have used, may benefit the security community. Working on the literature review in chapter one, I was led to question, 'what comes next' if we are to accept Rapoport's (2002) historical definition of terrorism, anarchist terrorism, nationalist terrorism, eco-terrorism or something else (Bartlett, 2017). Perhaps we are already seeing the 'new-new' terrorism, but military research (in the West) is slow to adapt.

Future Prospects

Here I consider further avenues for research on issues related to those in the thesis. I suggest three future projects which could be done which would develop on insights found in the thesis. Firstly, at an earlier stage of the thesis I had intended to conduct primary research on protesters regarding the impact of the Minerva Initiative on them and their activities, these interviews were also intended to be coupled with interviews with a small selection of academics that had some connection to Minerva and Militarization more broadly. I got as far as gaining agreement for participation from the selected academics, but ultimately had to make the decision to no longer continue with my plans for primary research at that time (due to time and financial constraints largely). I still believe this could be very beneficial research, particularly regarding the impact on protesters (as the target demographic of much of the Minerva research, such as that referring to 'social contagion' – as outlined in the previous chapter). Given more time and less financial constraints, I believe this would be a valuable addition to the development of knowledge on Minerva. Further to this, I would have liked to explore further the scholar-activist issue regarding the militarization of higher education and knowledge production, which I have briefly engaged with in the thesis. I believe it would be very beneficial to the scholarly community (within IR at least) and to society's benefit, to explore further the ethical ramifications of defense funding of terrorism studies knowledge – which then impacts on policy and law created to counter terrorist activity. I am aware of others engaging, at the fringes of critical scholarship communities, with this issue currently. I hope to go on to also explore this issue further as a 'scholar-activist' myself.

I have attempted to further my understanding of this community and the issue at stake through attendance and engagement with a critical methods summer school training in international security scholarship while completing my PhD and through online and in-person engagement with scholars currently working in that specialist community. As previously mentioned in an earlier chapter, I also attended an academic protest at the DSEI arms fair in London during my PhD, an experience which has helped to give a greater depth of understanding of the issues. As shown in this thesis, experience/immersion is key to deeper learning. I look forward to building on these experiences in my future academic career, particularly as I am now seeking a greater intimacy with and understanding of my subject of research, as opposed to the distance and alleged objectivity which more mainstream, traditional and orthodox IR communities of scholarship seem to favour.

Finally, as evidenced by the occasional pop-cultural references, images and quotes scattered through the thesis, and in support of my interdisciplinary interest, I would be very interested in pursuing further the prospects for the use of pop-culture in teaching and learning in IR, as well as developing a focus on the use of allegory. I believe films, comics, art, music and other alternative media forms and cultural artefacts are a rich and all too often overlooked source of knowledge and understanding for the contemporary IR academic and student in a post-globalization world, in the cyber age (Saunders, 2017). Indeed, scholars such as Caron Gentry have sought to incorporate emotions, music and pop-culture into a reading of counter-terror work (Mancha Productions - Vimeo Inc., 2011). I have found that my interest also lies in the subject of propaganda and the use of simulations increasingly – therefore I may seek to explore this further in future teaching, if not in future research. Again, this is something that other scholars are increasingly exploring (Mancha Productions - Vimeo Inc, 2017), for example Saara Särmä's 'Junk Feminism', a recently published book on World Politics and Popular Culture, and the various references to sci-fi/fantasy and simulation exercises in teaching as published in the many international conferences (such as ISA, BISA APSA, among others). Clearly, my interests are quite varied and broad, but also, I think they are very complementary of each other. There is certainly plenty of scope for further research and development of issues found in this thesis project, whether by me or other scholars and teams. Indeed, for a more comprehensive critical review of the breadth and scope of Minerva in its entirety – one would need greater funding, more scholars working perhaps as part of a team dedicated to such focused research on the Minerva Initiative. I hope this thesis goes some way to facilitating such a comprehensive review in the IR community, at some point.

Thesis Output: Activism for students and scholars in a Post-Brexit and Post-Trump Reality

As mentioned in the above introduction to this chapter, as a (final) part of the process of the scholar-activist counter-narrative project of this thesis, I have decided to produce a syllabus based on the thesis – which also acts as a 'how-to' guide for others wishing to engage in scholar-activism (or seeking to create their own theoretical/methodological framework in this vein). This collection of teaching materials, developed around a core theme (scholar-activism in HE - IR) was developed initially as a response to US, UK and global events in 2016-17. In answer to the question, what can 'I' do – for myself and for others – as a scholar activist and concerned citizen/human being? Following this initial idea, while I was also in the final stretch of writing my PhD thesis (a scholar-activist counter-narrative of the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies and the Minerva Initiative) – I quickly realised that developing these materials into a syllabus, alongside completing the thesis, would make a fascinating and somewhat original (practical) contribution to an already unique and original project. I was particularly motivated to do this as I was not aware of a similar and easily accessible offering, given the current political context, this seemed a necessary addition. The insights from the analysis chapter (four) have also made this an even more pressing concern. It is hoped this may be developed into a book (an 'artistic' and scholarly representation of a manual of sorts), with contributions from other scholar-activists. I am also exploring the possibility of setting up the UK's first democracy festival with support from a Nordic consultancy and association which runs other democracy festivals.

I have offered the outline of the syllabus here (in list/bullet point format), it is my view and intention that the individual 'topics' may either be separated from the whole and delivered for more individual purposes, or kept whole as a 'module' and delivered across several weeks, for example. At present, I believe the material may be aimed at both students (undergraduate – postgraduate level) and other academics/scholars who may be interested in learning more about how to engage in scholarly political action. It is intended that depending on the audience and format in which it is delivered, lesson plans may be adapted to fit the core content – so these are not currently provided. The topics and approach are interdisciplinary, and I aim to incorporate innovative pedagogical methods and tools for engagement. This also fits with the aims, theory and method employed in the materials – which covers the material from a feminist, scholar-activist approach (as it is based on my thesis work). I initially plan to develop the syllabus draft further, beyond the material created so far, to include topics on

Globalization, Militarization, 'State Terror', and (Feminist) Peace Economics/IPE. I may also decide to create a class lesson regarding International Law, as it relates to the issues raised in the syllabus, given my background in International Criminal Law, Armed Conflict, Justice and Human Rights (at LLM level).

Syllabus Outline

- Feminist Theory & Method(s)

An introduction to feminist theory & methods (from an IR perspective – also somewhat applicable to other disciplines and subject areas in the social sciences, and humanities). Focusing on scholarship and examples as deployed in my own work – i.e. not necessarily exhaustive review, students encouraged to explore beyond this offering themselves.

- Feminist IR vs. feminist theory

- Why is a feminist approach needed for activism?

- Methodology for Action: CDA, Reflexivity, narrative, auto/biography & participatory ethnography

- Critical Thinking 101

Introduction to Critical Thinking skills (exploring rhetoric, debate, argumentation, etc.). How to spot and deconstruct or critique poor examples i.e. lies, misinformation and propaganda. Debating skills/simulation – students build their own logical arguments, based on valid and sound argument and discernible fact(s) checking and research.

- Core concepts of CT: debate, argument(ation), logical reasoning, fallacy

- Examples: compare – critically analyse

- Critique – Debate!

- Propaganda

Introduction to Propaganda – covering definition(s), examples from history, politics, advertising/psychology etc. Developing an awareness of its impact and our role in the

propaganda of the everyday. Resulting in the creation or critique of your own propaganda example(s).

- What is it?

- How is it used?

- How are we implicated?

- Scholar-Activism – 'how-to' guide

A 'how-to' guide for scholar-activism - exploring what it is, how to start and examples regarding global events of 2016-17. This may also be supplemented by my own example and an overview of my PhD relating to scholar-activism and the auto/biographical counter-narrative.

- What is it – combination of ethical & rigorous scholarship & activism/direct action?

- Where to start? – finding your own voice through alternative (feminist) scholarship & methods

- #RESIST

- One woman's journey – 'Alice Asserts herself in Wonderland: Adventures Through the Looking Glass and 'At the Gates''

Conclusion

In summarising the issues at the heart of this thesis project, it is also worth considering related concerns which impact on and are impacted by the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies and the theoretical/disciplinary divides in the Academy. I would suggest that the first (and related second) of these summaries is considered most relevant for the purposes of this project, as my intention was to bring the reader into my story as a developing scholar-activist operating within a certain context and discipline. I have used the form of counter-narrative to do this, to highlight often overlooked narratives in the scholarship on security and terrorism to date. As I explored in the Globalization and Neoliberalism chapter (incorporating, among other things, protest and instability), as well as in other chapters, recent global and arguably Western events have highlighted the necessity of such considerations and the great need to include the voices and experiences of under-

represented people in the scholarship and teaching in IR (security). We must also be cognisant of context, history, and ethics especially in times of instability and perceived increased threat. I have sought to argue for such awareness, and provide an example of a scholarship which incorporates such concerns, as a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse on terrorism. It seems problematic to leave such an approach to the military, as highlighted in chapter five. Though I am privileged in some ways (race for example), I also lack privilege in other ways. As a woman and a scholar-activist with 'hidden' challenges, I consider myself currently under-represented in scholarship and teaching in this area. By offering such a 'personal' and transgressive account, I have attempted to 'open up space' for similar voices and experiences – though much more diversity is clearly needed. Whilst such scholarship and such an approach may not be for everyone, it certainly addresses the stated concerns in the chapter one literature review, and is harmonious with a feminist account.

Academic protest – Pragmatism vs Idealism?

Unfortunately, in such an environment, to raise ethical concerns could be construed as being pro-violence/anarchy/chaos; when state security concerns are used as an excuse or reason for state behaviour, with few checks on authority – terrible things tend to happen. If one was to seek an example, McCarthyism in the US and the resulting 'witch-hunts' within US political and social life (in the 1950s/1960s), is a good example. At a time of widespread fear and panic related to the 'Soviet' threat at the height of the Cold War, America (or at least some prominent political figures) turned their suspicions inward to the 'enemy within', particularly focusing on people who worked in the media and entertainment industry – as this was perceived to be a hotbed for communist (i.e. left-wing) idealism. Civil liberties were again 'suspended' for certain groups of society, in seeking to rid America of 'sleeper' agents and 'undesirables'. This is a classic example of a security threat being used by a state as a 'weapon' of state terror (coercion) - it can be incredibly effective particularly in globally unstable times and often is linked to the use of propaganda. It is one of many 'invisible' coercive measures which can be utilised within liberal democratic states, as well as authoritarian or totalitarian regimes – the key difference being that in liberal democracies, such measures go largely unnoticed by the general populace for some time, and tend to be connected to a creeping erosion of civil liberties. The declaration of a 'state of emergency' in a liberal state often precedes such measures. Since the Inauguration of Donald Trump as President of the United States in 2017, we are seeing increasingly that scholars feel duty bound to draw an ethical line, even to the detriment of their own careers (Weaver and

Bengtsson, 2017; Flaherty, 2017; Turnage and Thomason, 2017). Society needs this leadership, if we are to address the militarization of social media and ourselves.

Academic Protest and National Security Discourse

For an example of the issues at stake, one need look no further than the political climate in the UK in recent years (2015 particularly). There has been much made, in the media and public political discourse, of the potential 'threat to national security' which the election of the opposition leader (Jeremy Corbyn) brings. As a public and long-time supporter of causes related to peace in the Middle East, opposition to UK government war-mongering and arms sales/nuclear deterrence and the (re-)nationalization of public assets – and of course his plans to chase tax avoiders (often large companies/business and individuals in the 1%). The fact that, since his landslide victory to lead the flagging Labour Party (with such interests/policies), he and his supporters have been engulfed by the national security discourse and publicly accused, by the Prime Minister (David Cameron), of posing a real threat to the security of the family, the State and the economy, is frankly astonishing (Association, 2015; Hopkins, 2015; Hutchings, 2017).

Examples of the 'Red Scare-esque' propaganda used by the Conservative Party in 2015, and the Prime Minister Cameron's original 'tweet' equating Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party with threats to our national, economic and family (personal) security (Gunter, 2015; Cameron, 2015). Following events in 2017, I can only imagine such 'political rhetoric' and propaganda is rather embarrassing for Cameron and the Conservative Party, though May's post-Brexit election rhetoric has been no better, so perhaps 'out of sight, out of mind'. Right-wing pro-Brexit 'political' representatives have made many attempts to accuse anti-Brexit campaigners of 'Project Fear' tactics in their campaigning. Any casual observer, however, would no doubt view such Conservative Party campaigning against the rise of the Left, as more representative of a 'politics of fear'.

It is however, unfortunately, not a surprise to those of us researching critical terrorism studies and security discourse in relation to such threats. A recent academic protest, by members of Occupy and members of the academic community who are critical of post-9/11 developments

in relation to knowledge production, universities and government policies to counter terrorism, highlighted the creeping securitization of academia (also schools and wider society). This protest happened during a week of planned protests prior to the opening of the annual DSEI arms fair in London; protests also included rallying against the refugee crisis and UK response to the problem[23].


Photograph taken at the event by attendees, a mixture of activists and scholar-activists, conducting a peaceful non-violent and intellectual challenge to the arms trade in the UK outside the DSEI Arms Fair (CAATblog, 2015).

I attended the '*Conference at the Gates*' and was struck by, not only the size of the gathering and lack of knowledge of a vast research network such as Minerva, but also the comparatively large police presence at the event[24]. Potentially significant given the debates around cuts to the police service and resources and the national security agenda. Some of the more limited police force has been reallocated to the anti-terror wing of the police efforts. The almost total lack of media coverage of the various protests was also astonishing. In such an environment, it is not difficult to see how/why people would draw the Orwellian comparisons. I suggest we are faced with a situation where 'questioning' is 'sympathy', knowledge is illegal, and hope is a 'threat'; though I am sure an activist may be more inclined to optimism. Given my analysis insight(s) – I can see how critics of the Information War could be painted as 'terrorists' and sympathizers – and this concerns me greatly.

---

[23] Dsei.co.uk, (2015). *DSEI 2015 - Welcome to DSEI*. [online] Available at: http://www.dsei.co.uk/ [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].

[24] Stop The Arms Fair, (2015). *Day 4: 'Conference at the gates' …and more great action to challenge the setup of the arms fair!*. [online] Available at: http://www.stopthearmsfair.org.uk/day-4-conference-at-the-gates-and-more-great-action-to-challenge-the-setup-of-the-arms-fair/ [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].
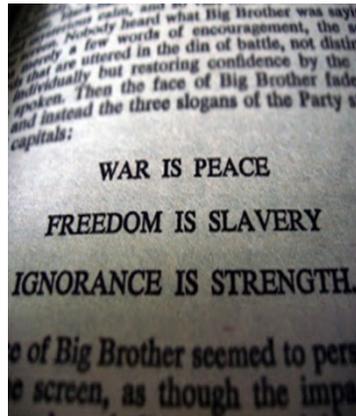
The paradoxical literary device Orwell used in his famous book to explore the idea of 'doublethink', evidence of the possibility for propaganda slogans to support contradictory conceptual thinking (Orwell and Pynchon, 2004; Johnson, 2015).

It is worth noting, however, that though I have made a few references to Jeremy Corbyn, his campaign and the propaganda aimed at him and his efforts, I should not be considered necessarily a die-hard Corbyn follower. I have made such references to enable me to draw parallels, to highlight the singularity of the political movement(s) and events which are associated with Corbyn's rise in popularity, and because many of the causes or issues Corbyn has been fighting for throughout his extensive career are relevant to the themes and issues in this work. As a 'millennial', which incidentally is defined as "*utopian, idealistic, visionary*" by the dictionary (spell checker) associated with the Microsoft Word programme I am using, the anti-militarism, anti-austerity, resistance ideals which he represents are well known to me and reflect my own frustrations and challenges. Having said that, I do not claim to be a full convert to the 'Corbynistas' or the 'Momentum' grassroots campaign, or indeed the Labour Party, especially given the differences in views on Brexit and the EU relationship which Corbyn and myself hold. I consider him a politician of conscience, with clear social justice causes a priority in his career, which appeals to me as a millennial voter. Given the themes, argument and context I have submitted in the thesis, and the social justice issues, Corbyn (much like Bernie Sanders in the USA) is an interesting representative example of an alternative to the status quo at an unfolding divisive moment in history. Whilst I understand this may be perceived as a 'Corbyn-bias' or a radical biased 'left-wing' account for a thesis, particularly given the troubling and unfair portrayals of critics of the securitized state (i.e. UK and US in this context), I would hope there is enough nuance to indicate a more complex reading is possible and was intended.

International Law – help or hindrance?

I believe it is also 'interesting' to note here that in relation to the 'reason of states' (the analysis of state motivation), international law has no concept of this (known simply as 'opinio juris' in the literature of that field). By which I mean, despite having a legal term for it, international legal scholars and practitioners simply refuse to engage in any analysis or debate on the 'reason of states' (motivations for state actions); I found this very challenging as a student of International Law (with my IR background and preference) and still do. At worst, this can encourage a lack of questioning state actions, simply accepting the authority of the State – despite repressive policies and restrictions on civil liberties. In other words, it provides a strong legal basis of support for realist policy and theory (from an IR perspective); by raising the State up as the ultimate unquestionable authority in the international system, in contradiction to the liberal international governance system (the UN, ICC etc.). Whilst this may be somewhat off topic, it is perhaps useful to keep this in mind when considering the involvement of international legal measures in the definitional debate on terrorism and in considering the legitimation that International law has afforded states in creating counter-terror law and policy. I refer to feminist legal scholarship, in this regard, in chapter five under the third key theme, specifically, I discussed the 'feminization of poverty' and the 'gendered state' as considered in feminist legal scholarship. This helped me to consider priorities for the masculine (realist) state entity, inequality and structural violence (coercion), these issues were previously addressed elsewhere in the thesis. But, how can the international law community address the actions of super power states who operationalise their own citizens, turning them into combatants in its Information War? If the (hegemon) state is the ultimate priority and authority in international law, then it would seem, citizens have no recourse to challenge these actions. That is very troubling – international laws still lag behind the times in regards to the laws of war, they are not fit for the contemporary battlefield. This should trouble every social media user (reluctant combatant).

Somalia, Statehood and the right to violence – an International legal rebuttal?

Such a consideration of the realist state evolution, violence and legitimation prompts one to consider then an example such as Somalia. From an International Law perspective (a view the author is also familiar with), Somalia has not been 'recognised' as a state in International Law with sovereign rights or responsibilities which result from such recognition, and in fact it is considered a 'failed' state (pg. 92-96, Harris, 2010). Taking a view such as that

developed from Tilly's work one could be forgiven for questioning why such a violent 'state' such as Somalia may not be considered a legitimate state by international legal standards (though there are of course some other basic measures a potential state entity must meet to be conferred with this recognition, though the bar is low). I would suggest it is either the relative 'anarchy' within Somalia (which the West has so far failed to 'control' or 'intervene' in) or, using a feminist/post-colonial view, the inability of the (male elite) 'White' West to control and organise such violence to its advantage, which presents the greatest bar to Somalia's international legal recognition (Lisle and Pepper, 2005). This in turn has wider consequences for the security of the international system, particularly in relation to the contemporary 'terrorist threat', as Somalia is widely considered one of the key international hubs for 'radicalisation' within the 'Islamist terror movement' - many Western Jihadi's (home-grown terrorists) have passed through that hub. I would therefore suggest that it is not violence which the (Western) Realist State objects to, but rather it is violence which is not 'organised', facilitated or 'controlled' by the Realist State (of the West), and further it is violence directed at the State – as opposed to the violence 'of' the State (i.e. State Terror, as discussed in chapter one), which a state such as the UK or the US are opposed to ideologically, economically and politically. In other words, terrorism and violence is acceptable when used by the (liberal) state for its own purposes (coercion or control), but terrorism or violence by citizens against a state is not permissible, especially when it has a detrimental effect on a states' economy. The same could also be said of propaganda, as I have stressed in chapter two, a coercive tool of the state, as well as political movements and business entities. The Minerva Initiative is only concerned with 'terrorist' propaganda as a motivation for terrorist acts; it does not analyse propaganda more broadly (holistically) by also considering the propaganda of the state, which I would suggest it should, if it wishes to address the issue of security comprehensively. However, as the chapter five analysis shows, it is not in the interest of the State to address its use of propaganda…when we are being used in a grand strategy in seeking to win the Information War. As I mentioned in the chapter one literature review, scholarship is currently limited on state violence (coercion) and propaganda also, though such work has been done previously, it rarely gets cited in contemporary work on terrorism and political violence. This seems a major, odd oversight which I have, somewhat, sought to counteract with my 'biased', contextually-concerned, thesis.

Globalization, Propaganda, and Virtual Realities

To bring the issue of globalization up to date here, the continual development and advancement of technology has again impacted on the types of terrorism/political violence and the concept of the modern 'battlefield' has again had to adapt. For example, women, children, MPs and Millwall football fans are now represented in media discourse as 'heroes' and 'soldiers', post-terrorist attacks in the UK in 2017 (Sullivan et al., 2017; Riley-Smith, 2017). In the case of the Millwall supporter, typically stereotyped in the UK as a 'football hooligan' and purveyor of sport-based violence, a petition circulated asking for him to receive the 'George Cross' (a military honour) for his bravery in the terrorist attack on Borough Market area in London (Oakley, 2017). Though, interestingly, the term 'hero' seems still almost exclusively attached to white male westerners in sites of western recreation, with only occasional examples of alternative identities (Peace, 2017). These identities have been increasingly incorporated into the battlefield discourse of conflicts which have moved into the domestic sphere (with targets including the London high street, foodie districts and the pop concert arena). These changes have most notably included methods such as the recent 'cyber-terrorism', operating in the virtual landscape. This form of violence is causing intelligence communities and international legal communities much difficulty, not only from a definitional point of view, but also in practice (due to the vastness of the virtual landscape and the data encompassed within, data which is continually expanding and diversifying as it is created by us and our virtual inter-personal, economic and political interactions). Globalization and Neo-liberalism is considered more fully in chapter two, as it relates to the wider issues in this thesis.

As is propaganda, particularly modern advertising (capitalist tool) and the use of propaganda by President Trump (a T.V. personality and real estate tycoon). The toolkit syllabus I am creating does cover this aspect in more detail, particularly as it encourages students' awareness and critique using well-known or familiar products, services and pop-culture. Trump's use of the 'cult of personality' aspect of propaganda (mentioned in chapter two), as well as Theresa May's recent attempts pre-General election 2017, have certainly been overt – though the chaos, confusion and disbelief he cultivates as President daily makes it very difficult for people to ascertain whether he is orchestrating an authoritarian coup or he is simply mentally unstable, dumb or oblivious to his own manipulation by a Republican party so desperate for power they allowed the Trump train wreck to happen, despite him not particularly representing core republican ideals. Or, if Trump does somewhat represent

republican views, they are certainly being distorted and radicalised. Certainly, Trump's celebrity, media knowledge and extensive use, particularly via popular social apps has certainly created and sustained his Presidency of the USA, interviews with him on the campaign trail indicate he was very aware of modern media's power and impact, especially on a limited budget.

The bias in my representation of propaganda, its uses and abuses, is necessary given the blatant bias I have highlighted, of the state, regarding defence and security related concerns. For example, the Minerva Initiative only funds research which covers the propaganda and use of media propaganda, of 'Islamic' terrorists; it does not fund research on the implications or effects of propaganda from a holistic point of view (i.e. its use by all parties). This is short-sighted at best, problematic and intentional at worst, and serves to further deteriorate our fragile western democracies (as such recent state propaganda and violence continues to go largely unchallenged and even supported in the War on Terror, now the 'Information War'). My bias is also clearly acknowledged and presented in all its messiness and humanity, the various biases of the state and state agents is not always so readily presented and open to debate, this makes it far more insidious, only those with critical insight and interest seem aware and ready to challenge it. In times of instability, fear and chaotic threat, a lack of critical insight is highly problematic and unfortunately all too common in the wider society.

In my chapter five analysis of Minerva, while comparing the Initiative's work to that of other private companies such as Cambridge Analytica, I was able to further highlight the embedded nature of propaganda (now known as computational propaganda) and how we are all (as social media users) implicated and militarized in the Information War playing out between powerful opposing global forces. Though we may not be able to detangle ourselves from this 'Matrix', other than isolating ourselves from the online world completely, we can potentially work to disrupt it…peacefully. The scholar-activist training and toolkit would be very beneficial in this endeavour. Awareness of the problem is half the battle, then, only then may you work to change how you are being militarized. We are all combatants now, regardless of whether we know who or what we are fighting for, we must now decide what we do with that knowledge.

I have sought to elaborate on the structural violence(s) and abuse(s) which ultimately serve to facilitate and uphold unequal power structures which foster a climate of fear and leads to unfortunate truths like the broadening of the already muddled 'terrorist' definition. Though

my original interest and focus for this project was the macro, structural and politico-economic world, I have found – through the process of completing this work - that it is also important to remember not to also overlook crucial variables, such as the individual psychology and motivations of individual actors in positions of power. I hope to explore this further and hope to further incorporate it into future analysis I embark on in the field of IR, along with the other potential work suggested in 'Future Prospects'. I still believe this 'macro', and innovative theoretical and conceptual approach is valid and ultimately of use to the scholarship as it is, but following my research it is clear to me how even this may still be improved in the future. This is indicative of a truly feminist (fluid) approach to theorising, which I sought to embody in this work, as other scholars in that community have done.

Finally, the feminist backbone and scholar-activist counter-narrative approach (developed through the theory and method chapters) has enabled me to consider the ethical and political ramifications at the heart of the personal tension to become an IR scholar with a feminist disposition and personal experience of trauma and vulnerability. It has led me to question for the first time, properly, the nature and limitations of knowledge (claims) and of wider practices in the Academy. So, as I have offered a potential 'how-to' guide, scholar-activist toolkit, as the output of this thesis – I'll end this chapter (and thesis) with the following consideration of the field of IR, the words we use, and a reminder of the suggestion to consider the concept of 'performance' as an approach to the scholar-activist method employed.

IR as Performance?

Classic IR texts and scholars talk about 'actors' and the international or 'global stage'. Critical scholarship is based on the philosophical notion of reality as essentially a 'social construct' and suggests that individuals perform either to conform to imposed constructions regarding fundamental understandings of the self (such as identity), or to resist such external constructions of the self. Auto/biographical narrative IR uses artistic, literary and psychoanalytical methods to transgress and resist orthodox constructions of the self - instead, creating a 'counter-narrative' representing the scholar's experience(s) and a personal approach to interpreting meaning from those experiences.

For IR, as with acting and 'showbiz' in the 'real world', there are many different motivations at play for actors performing their roles and entering the business of performance. One, no doubt, can think of individual actors, celebrities and scholars who may fit into one of the

following three (rough) categories. For some it may feel like a 'vocation' or 'calling' to expose, explore and resist constructions and human behaviour; for others, it may just be to 'pay the bills'; for others, they may be motivated by more narcissistic needs such as the fame and 'the women'. As a critical feminist scholar-activist, concerned with and motivated primarily by social justice, personal experience of trauma, ethics and issues of power and resistance, it is the former that most closely resembles my own raison d'etre for beginning and continuing with a career in academia with the inherent challenges posed by the 'Academy' in IR (Heller, 2017). Others may view my performance and motivations differently, indeed they are almost certain to do so - given the pivotal role of perception (interpretation and search for meaning) in the process or exchange (figurative conversation). This is also true of 'real world' actors and their performance. However, what is certain (at least, for me as a critical feminist scholar), is that we are all performers - performing the roles and constructions of the self which we were assigned, either through socialisation and hierarchy; personal and political agency; environmental factors; traumas and biology, or a combination of these factors and more besides. Celebrity or Scholar, Prince or Pauper - our identity and choices are impacted by and impact on that performance. Some of us are just more candid, aware and brave in exploring and challenging these performances.

The researcher as 'the researched' – ethical issues and challenges

I initially intended to do a largely theoretical examination and framework for improving responses to political violence. I was then encouraged to do an ethnographic analysis, using interviews as the core of my original contribution. I had a lot of trouble trying to figure out how I would reconcile conducting interviews, on a particularly controversial and contemporary topic, with my views on the ethics of 'detachment' between the researcher 'observer' and the researched 'subject'. I found that I could not for a couple of reasons. As someone who strongly believes and subscribes to the feminist view of the 'Academy' as a patriarchal hierarchy which is obstructive and resistant to research which transgresses accepted norms and boundaries. As someone who believes it is unethical to reinforce the belief, with my own research, that there can or should be any distance, separation or 'objectivity' between observer and subject – and thus that, as the 'observer' in that unethical relationship I would therefore hold extraordinary access to some greater knowledge or insight. My feminist beliefs on the sociology of knowledge render this notion improbable. Those two points refer to issues discussed in chapter three and four on the theoretical and methodological framework created and adopted for this project. Thus, this project and the

choices I made in the way I conducted it was the only way I could have done it – as a scholar-activist counter-narrative (Rossdale, 2016; 2014; Tilley and Taylor, 2014). It is a personal story, placing myself as the researcher, impacted by and impacting on the militarization of knowledge production on terrorism studies. I am not conducting and writing this work for the old guard of the IR academy, I am writing it as a testimony for potential future generations of diverse communities who seek to find representative examples of alternative scholarship. Students who may be energised by the politics of our times, the innovative teaching pedagogy of critical scholars like myself, and are seeking further examples to improve their own attempts at incorporating social justice sensibilities with a holistic and historically-informed modern approach to IR.

A (feminist) 'Strategy of Peace' (Economics) – Look to the Past…and the Presidency

I shall end as I began, with reference to President Kennedy's AU Commencement speech (American.edu, 2013). One might say, a President who was the antithesis of 2016-2018 President Trump, at least regarding his politics, his Presidential behaviour, idealism and public-intellectual 'scholar-activist' commitment – as found in his speeches, particularly two of the most famous given, over two days in 1963, shortly before his assassination (Cohen, 2016). One, a speech on Global Peace at a crucial point in the Cold War (JFK Library Foundation, 1963a), the other, a speech advocating action on domestic civil rights (JFK Library Foundation, 1963b), at a time of rising tensions and racial division; both resulting in action, legislative and political (Clymer, 2013). As a Professor in Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond's Jepson School of Leadership Studies on one blog asserts, "*His intelligence and what psychologists call "openness," that is, curiosity and broad interest in ideas and feelings, enabled him to grow and become ever more realistically flexible. These are personal qualities that almost always serve leaders well*" (Goethals, 2013). Post-2017 it is hard not to draw harsh comparisons to the present incumbent of the Oval Office and the vacuum of such leadership which currently marks international politics.

Statesman, public intellectual, and scholar-activist, President John F. Kennedy giving the famous Commencement Address speech, also referred to as the 'Strategy of Peace' speech (EmmersonKent.com, 2016; see also Lindsay, 2013).

A man who previously stated at his Inauguration, "*And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man*", a call to public service and action heard around the world and remembered through the decades (JFK Library Foundation, 1961). He supported knowledge production and expertise, sharing with the AU graduates, in 1963, the following, "*"There are few earthly things more beautiful than a university," wrote John Masefield in his tribute to English universities--and his words are equally true today. He did not refer to spires and towers, to campus greens and ivied walls. He admired the splendid beauty of the university, he said, because it was "a place where those who hate ignorance may strive to know, where those who perceive truth may strive to make others see." I have, therefore, chosen this time and this place to discuss a topic on which ignorance too often abounds and the truth is too rarely perceived--yet it is the most important topic on earth: world peace*" (JFK Library Foundation, 1963a).

His 'strategy of peace' is described as: "*a more practical, more attainable peace-- based not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions--on*

a series of concrete actions and effective agreements which are in the interest of all concerned. There is no single, simple key to this peace--no grand or magic formula to be adopted by one or two powers. Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenge of each new generation. For peace is a process--a way of solving problems. With such a peace, there will still be quarrels and conflicting interests, as there are within families and nations. World peace, like community peace, does not require that each man love his neighbor--it requires only that they live together in mutual tolerance, submitting their disputes to a just and peaceful settlement. And history teaches us that enmities between nations, as between individuals, do not last forever. However fixed our likes and dislikes may seem, the tide of time and events will often bring surprising changes in the relations between nations and neighbors" (JFK Library Foundation, 1963a). For me, this view works well with my proposed feminist approach to Peace Economics and the 'framework' I put forward in this thesis. This is further evidenced when he goes on to state, "*And even in the cold war, which brings burdens and dangers to so many nations, including this Nation's closest allies--our two countries bear the heaviest burdens. For we are both devoting massive sums of money to weapons that could be better devoted to combating ignorance, poverty, and disease. We are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle in which suspicion on one side breeds suspicion on the other, and new weapons beget counterweapons*" (JFK Library Foundation, 1963a). An American President, for recent generations such as my own, who espouses social justice, public service and activism, as well as an anti-militarist stance – and crucially, who acts in support of those aims is somewhat astonishing and a necessary history lesson (Dallek, 2013; Sorensen, 2003a; 2003b).

Many have also referenced the following words from his speech, further highlighting a commitment to civil rights: "*And if we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future*", perhaps even a visionary environmentalism and awareness of climate change? (Goldgeier, 2013). Finally, President Kennedy asserts, "*And is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights--the right to live out our lives without fear of devastation--the right to breathe air as nature provided it--the right of future generations to a healthy existence? While we proceed to safeguard our national interests, let us also safeguard human interests. And the elimination of war and arms is clearly in the interest of*

both" (JFK Library Foundation, 1963a). Though we may be faced with accepting the Trump Presidency, for now, as Kennedy urges – we need not give up on our duty to humanity, our activist ideals, our institutions, nor our scholarly integrity.

"*Henry McCord: "When <u>every</u>thing seems to be lacking in integrity, you know what you do? You find it in yourself. You change the world right from where you're standing."*"

(From the *Madam Secretary* series, Season 1, Episode 22, titled '*There But for the Grace of God*', IMDb, 2018)

References

Abdenur, A. and Muggah, R. (2017). *How to Avoid a Venezuelan Civil War*. [online] Foreign Affairs. Available at: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/venezuela/2017-08-09/how-avoid-venezuelan-civil-war?cid=int-lea&pgtype=hpg [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Abella, A. (2009). *The Rand Corporation: The Think Tank That Controls America*. [online] Mentalfloss.com. Available at: http://mentalfloss.com/article/22120/rand-corporation-think-tank-controls-america [Accessed 8 May 2019].

Abrahms, M. (2011). Does Terrorism Really Work? Evolution in the Conventional Wisdom since 9/11. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 22(6), pp.583-594.

Ackerly, B. and True, J. (2008). Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations. *International Studies Review*, 10(4), pp.693-707.

Adamek, R. and Lewis, J. (1973). Social Control Violence and Radicalization: The Kent State Case. *Social Forces*, 51(3), p.342.

Agathangelou, A. (2017). From the Colonial to Feminist IR: Feminist IR Studies, the Wider FSS/GPE Research Agenda, and the Questions of Value, Valuation, Security, and Violence. *Politics & Gender*, 13(04), pp.739-746.

Agathangelou, A. and Killian, K. (2016). *Time, temporality and violence in international relations*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Åhäll, L. (2016). The dance of militarisation: a feminist security studies take on 'the political'. *Critical Studies on Security*, 4(2), pp.154-168.

Åhäll, L. (2018). Dear Hurt Male Egos. [Blog] The Disorder of Things. Available at: https://thedisorderofthings.com/2018/01/09/dear-hurt-male-egos/#more-16780 [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Ahmed, N. (2014). *Pentagon preparing for mass civil breakdown | Nafeez Ahmed*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/jun/12/pentagon-mass-civil-breakdown [Accessed 18 Jun. 2017].

Ahmed, S. (2014). Selfcare as Warfare. [Blog] *feministkilljoys*. Available at: https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/08/25/selfcare-as-warfare/ [Accessed 19 Apr. 2019].

Aistrope, T. (2016). Conspiracy theory and American foreign policy. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Aistrope, T. and Bleiker, R. (2018). Conspiracy and foreign policy. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617748305 [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Albright, J. (2016). *Zoomed out perspective of #MPM network*. [image] Available at: https://medium.com/@d1gi/the-election2016-micro-propaganda-machine-383449cc1fba [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Allen-Ebrahimian, B. (2017). *In Landmark Move, GOP Congress Calls Climate Change 'Direct Threat' to Security*. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/14/in-landmark-move-gop-congress-calls-climate-change-direct-threat-to-security/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Ali, N. (2017). *How can the academy ease the barriers Muslim scholars face?* [online] Times Higher Education (THE). Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.com/comment/how-can-academy-ease-barriers-muslim-scholars-face [Accessed 17 Apr. 2017].

Alice in Wonderland. (2010). [film] Hollywood, California: Tim Burton.

American.edu. (2013). 50th Anniversary of JFK at American University: Building Peace For All Time. [online] Available at: http://www.american.edu/jfk/?documents [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

American Museum of Natural History. (n.d.). *The Manhattan Project | AMNH*. [online] Available at: https://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/einstein/peace-and-war/the-manhattan-project [Accessed 15 Apr. 2019].

Ames, P. (2015). Security Jam Report: Reappraising Global Security. [ebook] Brussels: Friends of Europe (Geert Cami), pp.7, 10-11, 57. Available at: http://www.friendsofeurope.org/sites/default/files/media/uploads/2015/02/SecurityJamReport 2014-finalLR.pdf [Accessed 6 Jan. 2018].

Ames, P., Cami, G. and Kanani, D. (2017). *DEBATING SECURITY PLUS: Crowdsourcing Solutions To The World's Security Issues*. 5th ed. [ebook] Brussels: Geert Cami (Friends of

Europe), pp.19, 53-60, 139. Available at: http://friendsofeurope.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/DS%2B_Report_Final_0.pdf [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Amoureux, J. and Steele, B. (2016). Introduction. In: J. Amoureux and B. Steele, ed., *Reflexivity and International Relations: Positionality, Critique, and Practice*, 1st ed. New York: Routledge, pp.1 – 20.

Amsler, S. (2014). *For Feminist Consciousness in the Academy by Sarah Amsler*. [online] Politics and Culture. Available at: https://politicsandculture.org/2014/03/09/for-feminist-consciousness-in-the-academy/ [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Anderson, B. (2017). The Rise of the Weaponized AI Propaganda Machine. [Blog] *Medium - Join Scout*. Available at: https://medium.com/join-scout/the-rise-of-the-weaponized-ai-propaganda-machine-86dac61668b [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Anderton, C. and Carter, J. (2007). A Survey of Peace Economics. In: K. Hartley and T. Sandler, ed., *Handbook of Peace Economics Vol 2*, 1st ed. New York: Elsevier, p.1212.

Anisin, A. (2016). Violence begets violence: Why states should not lethally repress popular protest. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 20(7), pp.893-913.

Anonymous04210 (2011). *Anonymous - Message to the American People*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HrXyLrTRXso [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Anonymous Immagical (2015). *Anonymous New World Order Martial Law Minerva Initiative URGENT UPDATE-2015*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hq_blfzBmoE [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Anonymous Official (2014). *Anonymous - Plan to defeat the Illuminati and New World Order 2016*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kobrwhxgkgQ [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Anonymous Official (2015). *Anonymous: Jade Helm Goes Global*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xLFTCwOIbZQ [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Anonymous Official (2017). *Anonymous - It's Time You Know This and Wake Up... (NWO Elites EXPOSED 2017)*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qUjpBS3qaDY [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Anonymous Official (2017). *Anonymous - The TRUTH about Donald Trump*. [video]

Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rM-WpZ0ZO4Y [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Aradau, C. (2004). Security and the democratic scene: desecuritization and emancipation. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 7(4), pp.388-413.

Aradau, C. and Van Munster, R. (2009). 'Exceptionalism and the 'War on Terror': Criminology Meets International Relations'. *Br J Criminol*, 49 (5), pp. 686-701.

Aradau, C. and Vans Munster, R. (2007). 'Governing Terrorism Through Risk: Taking Precautions, (un)Knowing the Future'. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13 pp. 89-115.

Arboleda-Florez, J. (2007). Mass violence and mental health - A view from forensic psychiatry. *Int Rev Psychiatry*, 19(3), pp.211-220.

Arendt, H. (1970). *On violence*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Asher, T. (2008). *Making Sense of Minerva Controversy and the NSCC*. 1st ed. [ebook] SSRC. Available at: http://essays.ssrc.org/minerva/files/2008/10/asher.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].

Ashworth, L. (2009). Interdisciplinarity and International Relations. *European Political Science*, 8(1), pp.16-25.

Ashworth, L. (2015). Taking narratives seriously… taking history seriously? *Critical Studies on Security*, 3(3), pp.321-322.

Associated Press (2014). *US secretly created 'Cuban Twitter' to stir unrest and undermine government*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/03/us-cuban-twitter-zunzuneo-stir-unrest [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Associated Press (2017). *Violence in Charlottesville 'meets the definition of terrorism,' McMaster says - The Boston Globe*. [online] BostonGlobe.com. Available at: http://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2017/08/13/violence-charlottesville-meets-definition-terrorism-mcmaster-says/ [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Association, P. (2015). *Jeremy Corbyn poses national security threat, says George Osborne*. [online] the Guardian. Available at:

http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/aug/31/jeremy-corbyn-poses-national-security-threat-george-osborne [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].

Asu.pure.elsevier.com. (n.d.). *New Analytics for Measuring and Countering Social Influence and Persuasion of Extremist Groups — Arizona State University*. [online] Available at: https://asu.pure.elsevier.com/en/projects/new-analytics-for-measuring-and-countering-social-influence-and-p-4 [Accessed 8 Jul. 2017].

Atchison, A. (2016). Bringing Women In: Gender Mainstreaming in Introduction to Political Science. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(03), pp.546-549.

Auchter, J. (2016). Paying Attention to Dead Bodies: The Future of Security Studies? *Journal of Global Security Studies*. [online] Available at: http://jogss.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2016/02/16/jogss.ogv005 [Accessed 22 Feb. 2016].

Aur.org.au. (2017). *Current Issue - Australian Universities' Review*. [online] Available at: http://www.aur.org.au/current [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Authors, M. (2017). *Is Fascism Making a Comeback? (Part I)*. [online] Critical Legal Thinking. Available at: http://criticallegalthinking.com/2017/12/04/fascism-making-comeback-part/ [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

AWOL (2016). *Meow Wolf, interior*. [image] Available at: https://awol.junkee.com/george-r-r-martin-invested-in-a-strange-wonderful-funhouse/26854 [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Ayala, F. (2010). The difference of being human: Morality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 107(Supplement_2), pp.9015-9022.

Baele, S., Sterck, O., Slingeneyer, T. and Lits, G. (2017). What Does the "Terrorist" Label Really Do? Measuring and Explaining the Effects of the "Terrorist" and "Islamist" Categories. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, [online] pp.1-21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1393902 [Accessed 28 Dec. 2017].

Bahadur Lamb, J. (2014). Gendered counter terrorism? The potential impact of police officer perceptions of PREVENT policing. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 6(3), pp.183-194.

Baker, C., Basham, V., Bulmer, S., Gray, H. and Hyde, A. (2016). Encounters with the

Military. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 18(1), pp.140-154.

Baker, P. (2016). *Bad Intelligence*. [online] The Nation. Available at: https://www.thenation.com/article/bad-intelligence/ [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Balfour, R. (2017). What are think tanks for? Policy research in the age of anti-expertise. [online] Medium. Available at: https://medium.com/@lseideas/what-are-think-tanks-for-policy-research-in-the-age-of-anti-expertise-d7d8131fff45 [Accessed 6 Jan. 2018].

Barbieri, K. (1996). Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict? *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(1), pp.29-49.

Barnett, A. (2010). *Is there a UK "deep state"?* [online] openDemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/anthony-barnett/is-there-uk-deep-state [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Bartlett, J. (2017). *The Next Wave of Extremists Will Be Green*. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/01/the-green-radicals-are-coming-environmental-extremism/ [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Basham, V. (2018). Liberal militarism as insecurity, desire and ambivalence: Gender, race and the everyday geopolitics of war. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617744977 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

Basham, V., Belkin, A. and Gifkins, J. (2014). What is Critical Military Studies? *Critical Military Studies*, 1(1), pp.1-2.

Bates, T. (1975). Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36(2), pp.351-366.

Baty, P. (2017). *Universities must rethink how they communicate in a post-truth world*. [online] Times Higher Education (THE). Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/universities-must-rethink-how-they-communicate-post-truth-world [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Bauman, D. (2014). *On Campus, Grenade Launchers, M-16s, and Armored Vehicles*. [online] The Chronicle of Higher Education. Available at: http://www.chronicle.com/article/On-Campus-Grenade-Launchers/148749 [Accessed 1 Sep. 2017].

Baylis, J., Smith, S. and Owens, P. (2004). *The Globalization of World Politics*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press.

BBC (2015). *Army mothers pose for photo - while breastfeeding babies*. [image] Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-34229556 [Accessed 4 Jul. 2017].

Beaulieu, E., Boydstun, A., Brown, N., Dionne, K., Gillespie, A., Klar, S., Krupnikov, Y., Michelson, M., Searles, K. and Wolbrecht, C. (2017). Women Also Know Stuff: Meta-Level Mentoring to Battle Gender Bias in Political Science. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(03), pp.779-783.

Beckhusen, R. (2014). *Even the Army's Crowd Control Rulebook Says Ferguson Police Tactics Are Dumb*. [online] Medium. Available at: https://medium.com/war-is-boring/even-the-armys-crowd-control-rulebook-says-ferguson-police-tactics-are-dumb-541156b710f2 [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

Bellamy, A. (2014). Security communities and their neighbours. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bendl, R. and Schmidt, A. (2012). Gender Mainstreaming: An Assessment of Its Conceptual Value for Gender Equality. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(4), pp.364-381.

Benedictus, L. (2011). *The Irony of the Anonymous Mask*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/aug/30/irony-of-anonymous-mask [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Bennett, J. (2014). *How to Reclaim the F-Word? Just Call Beyoncé*. [online] Time.com. Available at: http://time.com/3181644/beyonce-reclaim-feminism-pop-star/ [Accessed 18 Jun. 2017]

Berger, J. (2017). *Here's What Russia's Propaganda Network Wants You to Read*. [online] POLITICO Magazine. Available at: http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/08/23/russia-propaganda-network-kremlin-bots-215520 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Berkleycenter.georgetown.edu. (n.d.). *Morningside Analytics*. [online] Available at: https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/organizations/morningside-analytics [Accessed 8 Jul. 2017].

Berkowitz, P. (2005). *Terrorism, the laws of war, and the Constitution*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press.

Bernazzoli, R. and Flint, C. (2009). From militarization to securitization: Finding a concept that works. *Political Geography*, 28(8), pp.449-450.

Bernish, C. (2016). *It's the Anniversary of the One School Shooting the Govt Won't be Ramming Down Your Throat*. [online] The Free Thought Project. Available at: http://thefreethoughtproject.com/kent-state/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Bernstein, M. and Wilson, M. (2011). New Perspectives on the History of the Military-Industrial Complex. *Enterprise and Society*, 12(1), pp.1-9.

Bertrand, N. (2017). *A new website named after a Founding Father is tracking Russian propaganda in real time*. [online] Business Insider. Available at: http://uk.businessinsider.com/russian-propaganda-website-tracker-2017-8?r=US&IR=T [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Beyoncé (2016). *Formation Music Video*. [video] Available at: http://www.beyonce.com/formation/# [Accessed 18 Jun. 2017].

Bigwood, J. (2014). *Why USAID's Cuban Twitter Program was Secret*. [online] NACLA. Available at: https://nacla.org/news/2014/4/14/why-usaid%E2%80%99s-cuban-twitter-program-was-secret [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Black Mirror - 'Nosedive'. (2016). [image] Available at: https://collaborativedialogues.wordpress.com/2017/01/05/nosedive-black-mirror-technologys-influence-on-life-today/ [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Blakeley, R. (2007). Bringing the state back into terrorism studies. *European Political Science*, 6(3), pp.228-235.

Blakeley, R. (2011). *State terrorism and neoliberalism*. London: Routledge.

Blakeley, R. (2008). The elephant in the room: a response to John Horganand Michael J. Boyle. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(2), pp.151-165.

Blog #1/ The Hyphenated Life of a Scholar-Activist. (2015). [Blog] *Scholar Activism*. Available at: https://medium.com/scholar-activism/blog-1-the-hyphenated-life-of-a-

scholar-activist-b1e74baa6f07 [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

Blomberg, S. B. and Hess, G. D. (2002). 'The Temporal Links between Conflict and Economic Activity'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46 (1), p. 74.

Blommaert, J. and Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, pp.447-466.

Bloom, L. R. (1998) *Under the sign of hope: feminist methodology and narrative interpretation*. SUNY Press

Bloom, P. (2014). Discourse theory and critical media politics. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 11(2), pp.246-249.

Boboltz, S. (2017). *Obama Warns Americans Against Following In The Path Of Nazi Germany*. [online] HuffPost UK. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/obama-warns-americans-against-following-in-the-path-of-nazi-germany_us_5a2c032ce4b0a290f0512487 [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Bolsover, G. and Howard, P. (2017). Computational Propaganda and Political Big Data: Moving Toward a More Critical Research Agenda. *Big Data*, 5(4), pp.273-276.

Booth, K. (2014). Global Security. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.11-30.

Bordenstein, S. (2013). *The History of Science: When Was The Word "Scientist" First Used?* [online] Symbionticism.blogspot.co.uk. Available at: http://symbionticism.blogspot.co.uk/2013/04/the-history-of-science-when-was-word.html [Accessed 31 Dec. 2017].

Bouie, J. (2015). *If You Want to Understand Black Lives Matter, You Have to Understand Katrina*. [online] Slate Magazine. Available at: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2015/08/hurricane_katrina_10th_anniversary_how_the_black_lives_matter_movement_was.html [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Boulding, K. (1977). Twelve Friendly Quarrels with Johan Galtung. *Journal of Peace Research*, 14(1), pp.75-86.

Boyle, M. (2012). Progress and Pitfalls in the Study of Political Violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(4), pp.527-543.

Bracken, H. (2017). *Violent Extremist data graphic*. [image] Available at: https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2017/aug/16/look-data-domestic-terrorism-and-whos-behind-it/ [Accessed 28 Apr. 2019].

Brannen, P. (2017). *This is how your world could end*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/sep/09/this-is-how-your-world-could-end-climate-change-global-warming?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Brauer, J. and Dunne, J. (2011). 'On the Cost of Violence and the Benefit of Peace'. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 16 (2), pp. 1-12.

Brockman, S. (2017). *Introduction to Data Driven Propaganda*. [online] Armyupress.army.mil. Available at: https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/NCO-Journal/Archives/2017/November/Data-Driven-Propaganda/ [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Brodie, C. (2017). *Venezuela was once South America's richest country. Here's what went wrong*. [online] World Economic Forum. Available at: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/08/venezuela-economic-woes-2017-explained/ [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Brown, M. (2017). *Paddy Ashdown 'horrified' by parallels between UK and 1930s Germany*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/30/ashdown-horrified-parallels-between-uk-1930s-germany?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Bruff, I. (2013). The Rise of Authoritarian Neoliberalism. *Rethinking Marxism*, 26(1), pp.113-129.

Busby, J. (2017). *Let's talk about mental health | Duck of Minerva*. [online] Duckofminerva.com. Available at: http://duckofminerva.com/2017/04/lets-talk-about-mental-health.html [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. Routledge: London.

Butler, N., Delaney, H. and Śliwa, M. (2017). *The labour of academia | ephemera*. [online] Ephemerajournal.org. Available at: http://ephemerajournal.org/issue/labour-academia [Accessed 30 Dec. 2017].

Buzan, B. (2006). Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War? *International Affairs*, 82(6), pp.1101-1118.

Byman, D. (2016). *How to fight terrorism in the Donald Trump era*. [online] Brookings. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/research/how-to-fight-terrorism-in-the-donald-trump-era/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

CAATblog. (2015). *Stop the Arms Fair: Conference at the Gates*. [online] Available at: https://blog.caat.org.uk/2015/06/18/stop-the-arms-fair-conference-at-the-gates/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Cadwalladr, C. (2017). *Cambridge Analytica affair raises questions vital to our democracy*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/04/cambridge-analytica-democracy-digital-age [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Cadwalladr, C. (2017). *The great British Brexit robbery: how our democracy was hijacked*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/may/07/the-great-british-brexit-robbery-hijacked-democracy [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Cadwalladr, C. (2018). UK regulator orders Cambridge Analytica to release data on US voter. *The Guardian*. [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/may/05/cambridge-analytica-uk-regulator-release-data-us-voter-david-carroll [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Calabresi, M. (2017). *Inside Russia's Social Media War on America*. [online] Time.com. Available at: http://time.com/4783932/inside-russia-social-media-war-america/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Cameron, D. (2015). *David Cameron on Twitter*. [online] Twitter. Available at: https://twitter.com/David_Cameron/status/642984909980725248 [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Carpenter, C. (2007). Conclusion and Rejoinder. *Int Studies Perspectives*, 8(3), pp.340-343.

Carpenter, C. (2016). The Future of Global Security Studies. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, [online] pp.1-3. Available at: http://jogss.oxfordjournals.org/content/jogss/early/2016/01/25/jogss.ogv009.full.pdf [Accessed 22 Feb. 2016].

Carpenter, C. and Drezner, D. (2010). International Relations 2.0: The Implications of New Media for an Old Profession. International Studies Perspectives, 11(3), pp.255-272.

Cartwright, M. (2014). *Minerva*. [online] Ancient History Encyclopedia. Available at: http://www.ancient.eu/Minerva [Accessed 21 Aug. 2016].

Caruso, R. (2011). 'On the Nature of Peace Economics'. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 16 (2), pp. 1-13.

Carver, T. (2003). Gender/Feminism/IR. *International Studies Review*, 5(2), pp.287-302.

Casebook.icrc.org. (n.d.). *ICJ, Nicaragua v. United States | How does law protect in war? - Online casebook*. [online] Available at: https://casebook.icrc.org/case-study/icj-nicaragua-v-united-states [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Casserly, M. (2015). *Who is Anonymous? A short history of hacktivism*. [online] Tech Advisor. Available at: http://www.techadvisor.co.uk/feature/internet/what-is-hacktivism-short-history-anonymous-lulzsec-arab-spring-3414409/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Caso, F. and Hamilton, C. (2015). *Popular Culture and World Politics*. Bristol, UK: E-International Relations Publishing.

Catalystjournal.org. (2016). *Vol 2, No 1 (2016)*. [online] Available at: http://catalystjournal.org/ojs/index.php/catalyst/issue/view/6/showToc [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Cauterucci, C. (2017). *The Bombing at a Manchester Ariana Grande Show Was an Attack on Girls and Women*. [online] Slate Magazine. Available at: http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2017/05/22/the_bombing_at_a_manchester_ariana_grande_show_was_an_attack_on_girls_and.html [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Chambers, C. (2014). *Facebook Fiasco: Was Cornell University's study of 'emotional contagion' a breach of ethics?* [online] The Guardian. Available at:

https://www.theguardian.com/science/head-quarters/2014/jul/01/facebook-cornell-study-emotional-contagion-ethics-breach [Accessed 18 Jun. 2017].

Channel 4 News - Election 2015 Live Blog. (2015). *Ruth Davidson on a tank*. [online] Available at: https://news.channel4.com/election2015/04/29/update-4401/ [Accessed 4 Jul. 2017].

Charlesworth, H. (1984). Customary International Law and the Nicaragua Case. *Australian Year Book of International Law*, 11, pp.1-31.

Charlesworth, H. and Chinkin, C. (2000). *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Chenoweth, E. (2013). Terrorism and Democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, pp.355-78.

Chenoweth, E. (2018). Lessons from the Cambridge Analytica Files: Don't Be Evil. [Blog] *Political Violence @ A Glance*. Available at: http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2018/03/20/lessons-from-the-cambridge-analytica-files-dont-be-evil/ [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

Chenoweth, E. and Stephan, M. (2011). *Why civil resistance works*. Columbia University Press.

Chisholm, A. (2017). Clients, contractors, and the everyday masculinities in global private security. *Critical Military Studies*, 3(2), pp.120-141.

Chisholm, A. and Stachowitsch, S. (2017). (Re)integrating Feminist Security Studies and Feminist Global Political Economy: Continuing the Conversation. *Politics & Gender*, 13(04), pp.710-715.

Choucri, N. and Goldsmith, D. (2012). Lost in cyberspace: Harnessing the Internet, international relations, and global security. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 68(2), pp.70-77.

Christopher, G. (2016). *Sesame Credit Score*. [image] Available at: https://coinweek.com/bullion-report/my-new-years-resolution-dont-confuse-debt-with-wealth/ [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Claridge, D. (1996). State terrorism? Applying a definitional model. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 8(3), pp.47-63.

Clarke, R. (2017). Being an early career feminist academic: global perspectives, experiences, and challenges, edited by Rachel Thwaites and Amy Pressland. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 19(3), pp.1-3.

Clarke, R. (2017). 'Militarisation' and the CFSP Strategy 2016: Post-'Brexit' alternatives?. [Blog] *Feminist Reflections on the EU at 60*. Available at: https://euat60.wordpress.com/2017/03/27/militarisation-and-the-cfsp-strategy-2016-post-brexit-alternatives/ [Accessed 19 Jun. 2017].

Clarke, R. (2018). Cambridge Analytica & 'The West Wing' Campaign. [Blog] *Scholar-Activism for the Fake News Generation: Adventures Through the Looking Glass & 'At the Gates'*. Available at: https://scholaractivismforthefakenewsgeneration.wordpress.com/2018/03/22/cambridge-analytica-the-west-wing-campaign/ [Accessed 19 Apr. 2019].

Clarke, R. (2018). The Militarization of Knowledge Production & the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Shooting. [Blog] *Scholar-Activism for the Fake News Generation: Adventures Through the Looking Glass & 'At the Gates'*. Available at: https://scholaractivismforthefakenewsgeneration.wordpress.com/2018/03/14/the-militarization-of-knowledge-production-the-marjory-stoneman-douglas-high-school-shooting/ [Accessed 17 Apr. 2019].

Clarke, R. (2019). Sweeney Todd, foreshadowing? – Or, why the UK needs a democracy festival!. [Blog] *Scholar-Activism for the Fake News Generation: Adventures Through the Looking Glass & 'At the Gates'*. Available at: https://scholaractivismforthefakenewsgeneration.wordpress.com/2019/04/03/sweeney-todd-foreshadowing-or-why-the-uk-needs-a-democracy-festival/ [Accessed 19 Apr. 2019].

Clausewitz, C., Howard, M. and Paret, P. (1993). *On War*. London: David Campbell.

Clymer, A. (2013). Remembering Two Seminal Kennedy Speeches. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/09/us/remembering-two-seminal-kennedy-speeches.html?pagewanted=all [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Cobra2020.com. (2017). *COBRA2020.com*. [online] Available at: http://cobra2020.com/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Cobra2020.net. (n.d.). *COBRA2020.net - Homepage*. [online] Available at: http://cobra2020.net/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Cohen, A. (2016). Two Days in June: And the 48 Hours that Made History. USA: Signal (Penguin Random House Company).

Cohen, R. (2007). *The Cry of the Disappeared*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/iht/2007/06/13/opinion/IHT-13edcohen.1.html [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

Cohn, C. (1987). Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 12(4), pp.687-718.

Cohn, C. (2018). The Perils of Mixing Masculinity and Missiles. [online] nytimes.com. Available at: https://mobile.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/opinion/security-masculinity-nuclear-weapons.html?referer [Accessed 6 Jan. 2018].

Coleman, P. T. and Deutsch, M. (2012). *The Psychological Components of a Sustainable Peace*. New York: Springer.

Collin, R. (1985). *Theodore Roosevelt, culture, diplomacy, and expansion*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Collins, P. (2013). *Truth-Telling and Intellectual Activism - Contexts*. [online] Contexts.org. Available at: https://contexts.org/articles/truth-telling-and-intellectual-activism/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

Colvin, R. (2017). *Resistance efforts are taking root in pro-Trump country — and women are leading the charge*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/resistance-efforts-are-taking-root-in-pro-trump-country--and-women-are-leading-the-charge/2017/08/14/91e69daa-7874-11e7-8f39-eeb7d3a2d304_story.html? [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Conca, K. (1997). *Manufacturing Insecurity: The Rise and Fall of Brazil's Military-Industrial Complex*. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers.

Confortini, C. (2006). Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace

Studies/Feminism Alliance. Peace & Change, 31(3), pp.333-367.

Confortini, C. (2011). Doing Feminist Peace. International Feminist Journal of Politics, 13(3), pp.349-370.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power*. Stanford UP: Stanford.

Cooper, R. (2002). *Robert Cooper: the new liberal imperialism*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/07/1 [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

Copeland, D. (1996). Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations. *International Security*, 20(4), p.5.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Cortright, D. (2014). Protest and Politics: How Peace Movements Shape History. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.482-504.

Cotte Poveda, A. (2011). 'Socio-Economic Development and Violence: An Empirical Application for Seven Metropolitan Areas in Colombia'. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, 17 (1).

Council of Europe (2018). *Algorithms And Human Rights: Study on the human rights dimensions of automated data processing techniques and possible regulatory implications*. [online] Council of Europe. Available at: https://rm.coe.int/algorithms-and-human-rights-en-rev/16807956b5 [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Cox, R. (1993). Gramsci, Hegemony And International Relations: An Essay in Method. In: S. Gill, ed., *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.49.

Cox, R. and Schechter, M. (2003). *The political economy of a plural world*. London: Routledge.

Cram, I. (2009). *Terror and the war on dissent*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Crane-Seeber, J. (2016). Sexy warriors: the politics and pleasures of submission to the state. *Critical Military Studies*, 2(1-2), pp.41-55.

CRASE. (n.d.). *CRASE | Scholar Activist Writing*. [online] Available at: http://craseusf.org/scholar-activist-writing/ [Accessed 19 Apr. 2017].

Crenshaw, E. and Robison, K. (2010). Political Violence as an Object of Study: The Need for Taxonomic Clarity. In: K. Leicht and J. Jenkins, ed., *Handbook of Politics*, 1st ed. Springer.

Crenshaw, M. (1981). The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*, 13(4), p.379.

Crenshaw, M. (1991). How terrorism declines. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 3(1), pp.69-87.

Critical Perspectives. (2015). *Politics and Gender*, 11(2), pp.406-438.

Croft, S. (2012). *Securitizing Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.198.

CSTPV (2017). *Studying the Victims and Perpetrators of Terrorism – CSTPV – Medium*. [online] Medium. Available at: https://medium.com/@cstpv/studying-the-victims-and-perpetrators-of-terrorism-2fd5741055aa [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Cunningham, V. (2017). *The Ugly, Violent Clichés of White-Supremacist Terrorism*. [online] The New Yorker. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/culture/annals-of-appearances/the-ugly-violent-cliches-of-white-supremacist-terrorism [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Daigle, M. (2016). Writing the Lives of Others: Storytelling and International Politics. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 45(1), pp.25-42.

Dallek, R. (2013). *JFK vs. the Military*. [online] The Atlantic. Available at: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/08/jfk-vs-the-military/309496/ [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

D'Amato, A. (1985). Nicaragua and International Law: The "Academic" and the "Real." *The American Journal of International Law*, 79(3), pp.657-664.

d'Angelo, M. (2017). *Debating Security Plus Report – 10 recommendations addressing shifts in security thinking*. [online] Friendsofeurope.org. Available at: http://friendsofeurope.org/publication/debating-security-plus-report-10-recommendations-addressing-shifts-security-thinking [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Daniel, J. and Musgrave, P. (2017). Synthetic Experiences: How Popular Culture Matters for Images of International Relations. International Studies Quarterly, 61(3), pp.503-516.

Daphna-Tekoah, S. and Harel-Shalev, A. (2016). The Politics of Trauma Studies: What Can We Learn From Women Combatants' Experiences of Traumatic Events in Conflict Zones? *Political Psychology*, 38(6), pp.943-957.

Darius, J. (2005). *Watchmen and Intertextuality: How Watchmen Interrogates the Comics Tradition*. [online] Sequart Organization. Available at: http://sequart.org/magazine/2664/watchmen-and-intertextuality-how-watchmen-interrogates-the-comics-tradition/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2016].

Darnton, R. (2017). *The True History of Fake News*. [online] The New York Review of Books. Available at: http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2017/02/13/the-true-history-of-fake-news/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Dauphinee, E. (2013). *The politics of exile*. New York, NY: Routledge.

David, O. (2015). *Conspiracy Theory 2.0*. [online] International Center of Photography. Available at: https://www.icp.org/perspective/conspiracy-theory-20-0 [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Decision on Targeted Killing [2005] HCJ 769/02 (Israel Supreme Court).

Defensegroupinc.com. (n.d.). *About | Defense Group.* [online] Available at: https://defensegroupinc.com/about/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Delaney, R. (1979). World Terrorism Today. *California Western International Law Journal*, 9, p.450.

Derickson, K. and Routledge, P. (2014). Resourcing Scholar-Activism: Collaboration, Transformation, and the Production of Knowledge. *The Professional Geographer*, 67(1), pp.1-7.

DeRuiter, G. (n.d.). Meow Wolf's House of Eternal Return, Santa Fe, New Mexico. [Blog] *Everywherist - Draft*. Available at: https://medium.com/@everywhereist/c91c5fa5ce71 [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Deutsch, M., Coleman, P. T. and Marcus, E. C. (2011). *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution:*

Theory and Practice. 2nd ed. London: Wiley.

Dickens, C. (1865). *All the Year Round, Volume 13*. 1st ed. Champaign, Ill.: Project Gutenberg, pp.60 - 63.

Dni.gov, (2012). *Ref Book - 1947 National Security Act*. [online] Available at: http://www.dni.gov/index.php/about/organization/ic-legal-reference-book-2012/ref-book-1947-national-security-act [Accessed 12 Sep. 2015].

Drakos, K. (2009). *Security Economics: A Guide for Data Availability and Needs*. 1st ed. [ebook] Berlin: Economics of Security. Available at: https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/94892/diw_econsec0006.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].

Drummond, K. (2010). *Chemical Concussions and Secret LSD: Pentagon Details Cold War Mind-Control Tests*. [online] Wired.com. Available at: https://www.wired.com/2010/05/chemical-concussions-and-secret-lsd-military-releases-cold-war-mind-control-report [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Dsei.co.uk, (2015). *DSEI 2015 - Welcome to DSEI*. [online] Available at: http://www.dsei.co.uk/ [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].

Duncombe, S. (n.d.). *Cultural hegemony*. [online] Beautiful Trouble. Available at: http://beautifultrouble.org/theory/cultural-hegemony/ [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

Dunn, L. (2015). *20 Reasons Elizabeth McCord From "Madam Secretary" Is Flawless*. [online] BuzzFeed Community. Available at: https://www.buzzfeed.com/lauraemilyd/21-reasons-why-madam-secretarys-elizabeth-mccord-1m9vp?utm_term=.rwbDV31yKb#.kypYAm57zM [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

Dunne, J. (1995). The Defense Industrial Base. In: K. Hartley and T. Sandler, ed., *Handbook of Defense Economics*, 1st ed. New York: Elsevier.

Eastwood, J. (2018). Rethinking militarism as ideology: The critique of violence after security. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617730949 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

Eckert, J. (2008). *The social life of anti-terrorism laws*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Edkins, J. (2016). *GREGYNOG IDEAS LAB V*. [online] Gregynog.blogspot.co.uk. Available at: http://gregynog.blogspot.co.uk/ [Accessed 22 Aug. 2016].

Eggers, K. (2014). *Project Camelot: A Legacy of Imperial Geostrategy*. [online] Galtung-Institut. Available at: https://www.galtung-institut.de/en/2014/project-camelot-a-legacy-of-imperial-geostrategy/ [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

Einstein, A. (n.d.). *Albert Einstein Archives - Description Codes: Professor Albert Einstein when speaking...*. [online] Alberteinstein.info. Available at: http://alberteinstein.info/vufind1/Record/EAR000073955 [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Einstein, A. (1931). *Interview of Albert Einstein, with G. S. Viereck*.

Einstein, A. (1952). *On My Participation In The Atom Bomb Project: The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki | Historical Documents | atomicarchive.com*. [online] Atomicarchive.com. Available at: http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Hiroshima/EinsteinResponse.shtml [Accessed 15 Apr. 2019].

E-IR (2017). *10th Anniversary Interview - Cynthia Enloe*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/04/interview-cynthia-enloe-2/ [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Eldridge, J., Dawson, M., Fowler, B., Miller, D. and Smith, A. (2015). *Stretching the sociological imagination*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp.246-262.

Elias, J. (2017). Continuing the Conversation … Some Reflections. *Politics & Gender*, 13(04), pp.747-751.

Else, H. and Morgan, J. (2017). *'Tawdry' politicians want to damage universities, says Oxford v-c*. [online] Times Higher Education (THE). Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/tawdry-politicians-want-damage-universities-says-oxford-v-c [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

EmmersonKent.com (2016). JFK'S Commencement Address at American University 1963. [image] Available at: http://www.emersonkent.com/speeches/world_peace.htm [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Enders, W. and Sandler, T. (1995). Terrorism: Theory and Applications. In: K. Hartley and T.

Sandler, ed., *Handbook of Defense Economics*, 1st ed. New York: Elsevier.

Enfield, N. (2017). Home. [online] Post-Truth Initiative. Available at: https://posttruthinitiative.org/ [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Engene, J. (2007). Five Decades of Terrorism in Europe: The TWEED Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(1), pp.109-121.

English, R. (2009). *Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Enloe, C. (1993). *The Morning After*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Enloe, C. (2000). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Enloe, C. (2016). *Globalization and militarism*. 2nd ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Enloe, C., Lacey, A. and Gregory, T. (2016). Twenty-five years of Bananas, Beaches and Bases: A conversation with Cynthia Enloe. *Journal of Sociology*, 52(3), pp.537-550.

En.wikipedia.org. (n.d.). *Watchmen*. [online] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Watchmen [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Epstein, A. (2015). *The woman who inspired "Rosie the Riveter" has died at 92*. [online] Quartz. Available at: https://qz.com/389794/the-woman-who-inspired-rosie-the-riveter-has-died-at-92/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Epstein, B. (2001). Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Monthly Review*, 53(4).

Erion, G. and Smith, B. (2002). In Defense of Truth: Skepticism, Morality, and The Matrix. In: W. Irwin, ed., *Philosophy and The Matrix*. La Salle and Chicago: Open Court, pp.16-27.

Eschle, C. and Maiguashca, B. (2007). Rethinking Globalised Resistance: Feminist Activism and Critical Theorising in International Relations. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 9(2), pp.284-301.

Evans, R. (2016). Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus, and Zombies are from … Feminist Theories of International Politics and Zombies. *PS: Political Science &*

Politics, 49(03), pp.554-557.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J. and Wodak, R. (2011). Critical Discourse Analysis. In: T. Van Dijk, ed., *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 1st ed. London: Sage, pp.357-378.

Falk, R. (2014). Global Security and International Law. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.320-337.

Feinberg, M. (2015). International counterterrorism – national security and human rights: conflicts of norms or checks and balances? *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 19(4), pp.388-407.

Feltz, A. and Cokely, E. (2014). The terror of 'terrorists': an investigation in experimental applied ethics. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 6(3), pp.195-211.

Fernandez, B. (2016). *In Latin America, people disappear but crimes remain*. [online] Aljazeera.com. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/08/latin-america-people-disappear-crimes-remain-160829092008984.html [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

Filkins, D. (2016). *"Do Not Resist" and the Crisis of Police Militarization*. [online] The New Yorker. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/do-not-resist-and-the-crisis-of-police-militarization [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Finn, M. and Momani, B. (2017). Building foundations for the comparative study of state and non-state terrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(3), pp.379-403.

Fitzgerald, J. (2015). Why me? An autoethnographic account of the bizarre logic of counterterrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(1), pp.163-180.

Flaherty, C. (2017). *Academics on Twitter Are Taking on the Trump Administration With Satire*. [online] Slate Magazine. Available at: http://www.slate.com/articles/life/inside_higher_ed/2017/02/academics_on_twitter_are_taking_on_the_trump_administration_with_satire.html [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Fletcher, G. (2006). The Indefinable Concept of Terrorism. *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 4(5), pp.894-911.

Folk.uib.no, (2004). *The data set Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data, or TWEED for short, was constructed and collected for the purpose of analysing patterns of terrorism in Western Europe as related to historical and structural preconditions (see Jan Oskar Engene: Eur*. [online] Available at: http://folk.uib.no/sspje/tweed.htm [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].

Ford, K. (2017). *The UK government thinks I am an extremist – and you might be one too*. [online] openDemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/kieran-ford/uk-government-thinks-i-am-extremist-and-you-might-be-one-too [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Foster, E., Kerr, P., Hopkins, A., Byrne, C. and Ahall, L. (2012). The Personal is Not Political: At Least in the UK's Top Politics and IR Departments. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 15(4), pp.566-585.

Foster, J. (2006). *Naked imperialism: America's Pursuit of Global Hegemony*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Foucault, M. and Kritzman, L. (1998). Politics, philosophy, culture. Routledge.

French, M. (2008). *From Eve to Dawn: A History of Women in the World Vol. I - IV*. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York.

Freudenberger, N. (2017). *An Accidental Activist*. [online] The New Yorker. Available at: https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/an-accidental-activist [Accessed 28 Dec. 2017].

Friedman, T. (2012). Opinion | Words of the Prophets. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/29/opinion/sunday/friedman-words-of-the-prophets.html [Accessed 20 Nov. 2017].

Fuller, S. (2017). The Post-Truth About Philosophy and Rhetoric. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 50(4), pp.473-482.

Gabbatt, A. (2017). *Anti-protest bills would 'attack right to speak out' under Donald Trump*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/08/donald-trump-anti-protest-

bills?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Galtung, J. (1969). 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6 (3), pp. 167-191.

Galtung, J. (1985). Twenty-Five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses. *Journal of Peace Research*, 22(2), pp.141-158.

Gartzke, E., Li, Q. and Boehmer, C. (2001). Investing in the Peace: Economic Interdependence and International Conflict. *International Organization*, 55(2), pp.391-438.

Gee, J. (2014). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. 4th ed. Oxon: Routledge, p.2.

George, A. (1991). *Western state terrorism*. New York: Routledge.

Gibbs, S. (2014). *Facebook denies emotion contagion study had government and military ties*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jul/04/facebook-denies-emotion-contagion-study-government-military-ties [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Gillum, J. (2012). Dyscalculia: issues for practice in educational psychology. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, [online] 28(3), pp.287-297. Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02667363.2012.684344 [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].

Giovanello, S. (2012). Riot Control Agents and Chemical Weapons Arms Control. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 5(4), pp.1-18.

Giroux, H. (1996). *Counternarratives*. New York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. (2004). *The terror of neoliberalism*. Boulder: Paradigm.

Giroux, H. (2005). The Terror of Neoliberalism: Rethinking the Significance of Cultural Politics. *College Literature*, 32(1), pp.1-19.

Giroux, H. (2006). *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism: Global Uncertainty and the Challenge of the New Media*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Giroux, H. (2006). *The abandoned generation*. 2nd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giroux, H. (2012). *Disturbing Pleasures: Learning Popular Culture*. 2nd ed. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1965). *Awareness of dying*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Atherton.

Globalinitiatives.com. (2013). *Global Initiatives*. [online] Available at: http://www.globalinitiatives.com/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Globalpolicy.org. (2005). *US Interventions*. [online] Available at: https://www.globalpolicy.org/us-military-expansion-and-intervention/26024.html [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Goethals, G. (2013). John F. Kennedy: The Peace President? [online] Richmond.edu Blog. Available at: https://blog.richmond.edu/heroes/2013/12/10/john-f-kennedy-the-peace-president/ [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Gofas, A. (2012). The Terrorism-Democracy Nexus and the Trade-off between Security and Civil Liberties. In: N. Tzifakis, ed., *International Politics in Times of Change*, 1st ed. Springer.

Goldgeier, J. (2013). *Opinion | J.F.K.'s 'Strategy of Peace'*. [online] Mobile.nytimes.com. Available at: https://mobile.nytimes.com/2013/06/10/opinion/global/jfks-strategy-of-peace.html [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Goldrick-Rab, S. (2014). On Scholarly Activism. [Blog] *Contexts: Understanding people in their social worlds*. Available at: https://contexts.org/blog/on-scholarly-activism/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

Goldrick-Rab, S. (2015). What is "Scholar Activism"? [Blog] *The Synapse*. Available at: https://medium.com/synapse/what-is-scholar-activism-1b746ef38b0b [Accessed 19 Apr. 2017].

Goodstein, E. (2017). Money, Relativism, and the Post-Truth Political Imaginary. Philosophy & Rhetoric, 50(4), p.483.

Gormally, S. (2013). *The Briggate Minerva - Andy Scott - Sculpture - Submitted by: Seán Gormally - Leeds Art Gallery Online*. [online] Leedsartgallery.co.uk. Available at:

http://www.leedsartgallery.co.uk/review/listings/l0046.php [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Graff, G. (2017). *Russia's High Tech Tool Box for Subverting US Democracy, A (Semi-Complete) Guide*. [online] WIRED. Available at: https://www.wired.com/story/a-guide-to-russias-high-tech-tool-box-for-subverting-us-democracy/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Gramsci, A., Forgacs, D. and Hobsbawm, E. ed., (2000). *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*. New York: NYU Press.

Greenberg, K. (2017). Marching as to War. World Policy Journal, 34(2), pp.83-86.

Griffin, A. (2017). *Anonymous didn't hack the world's most notorious Nazi website. The truth is far more sinister*. [online] The Independent. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/gadgets-and-tech/news/daily-stormer-anonymous-hack-cyber-attack-nazi-charlottesville-virginia-godaddy-a7891836.html [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Grogg, P. (2012). IPS - Q&A: Colombia's FARC Guerrillas "Took Up Arms to Make Ourselves Heard". [online] 27 Sept 2012. Available at: http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/09/qa-colombias-farc-guerrillas-took-up-arms-to-make-ourselves-heard/ [Accessed: 30 Jan 2013].

Grollman, E. (2014). Toward A Self-Defined Activist-Academic Career In Sociology. [Blog] *Conditionally Accepted*. Available at: https://conditionallyaccepted.com/2014/01/09/activist-academic-career/ [Accessed 19 Apr. 2017].

Gross, D. (2017). Heidegger's 1924 Lecture Course on Aristotle's Rhetoric: Key Research Implications. Philosophy & Rhetoric, 50(4), pp.509-527.

Grove, J. (2017). *Turkey's persecution of academics is 'unmatched'*. [online] Times Higher Education (THE). Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/turkeys-persecution-academics-unmatched [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Gstalter, M. (2018). *Woman sues Facebook, Cambridge Analytica for misuse of personal data*. [online] The Hill. Available at: https://thehill.com/regulation/technology/379616-woman-sues-facebook-cambridge-analytica-for-misuse-of-personal-data [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

Guidolin, M. and La Ferrara, E. (2010). 'The Economic Effects of Violent Conflict: Evidence from Asset Market Reactions'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47 (6), p. 671 – 684.

Gunitsky, S. (2017). *Analysis | These are the three reasons fascism spread in 1930s America — and might spread again today*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/12/these-are-the-three-reasons-that-fascism-spread-in-1930s-america-and-might-spread-again-today/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Gunning, J. (2007). 'Babies and Bathwaters: reflecting on the pitfalls of critical terrorism studies'. *Eur Polit Sci*, 6(3), pp.236-243.

Gunning, J. (2007). 'The Case for a Critical Terrorism Studies?'. *Government & Opposition*, 42(3), pp.363-394.

Gunter, J. (2015). *Tory theme of Corbyn's 'threat to national security' draws criticism*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/13/tory-theme-corbyn-threat-national-security-criticised [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Gusterson, H. (2009). Project Minerva and the Militarization of Anthropology. *Radical Teacher*, 86(1), pp.4-16.

Gusterson, H. (2008). *When Professors Go to War*. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: https://foreignpolicy.com/2008/07/21/when-professors-go-to-war/ [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Haag, J. (2017). *Canada Must Counter The Growing Terror Threat Of Right-Wing Extremism*. [online] HuffPost Canada. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/julius-haag/right-wing-extremism_b_14629734.html [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Hale, C. (2008). *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hall, S. (1987). Gramsci and Us. *Marxism Today*, 6(25), pp.16-21.

Hamid, N. (2017). *What Makes a Terrorist?* [online] The New York Review of Books. Available at: http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2017/08/23/what-makes-a-terrorist/ [Accessed 1 Sep. 2017].

Han, H. (2015). Narrative Politics: Stories and Collective Action. By Frederick W. Mayer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(4), pp.e17-e18.

Hancock, A. (2007). When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(1), pp.63-79.

Hansen, F. (2017). *Russian Hybrid Warfare: A Study of Disinformation*. [online] Css.ethz.ch. Available at: http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/specialinterest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/1c93c122-e11f-45d4-afde-c5e17a3185fb [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Hansen, L. (2000). The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 29(2), pp.285-306.

Hariman, R. and Lucaites, J. (2001). Dissent and emotional management in a liberal democratic society: The Kent state iconic photograph. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 31(3), pp.5-31.

Harris, D. (2010). *Cases and Materials on International Law*. 7th ed. Sweet and Maxwell.

Harrison, Olivia. (2017). "30 Virginia Woolf Photos And Quotes In Celebration Of Her Birthday". *Bust.Com*. Accessed January 7. http://bust.com/books/15466-virginia-woolf.html.

Harvey, D. (2006). 'Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction'. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 88 pp. 145-158.

Heath-Kelly, C. (2012). Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK PREVENT Strategy. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 15(3), pp.394-415.

Heath-Kelly, Charlotte. (2016). *Death And Security: Memory And Mortality At The Bombsite*. 1st ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Heath-Kelly, C., Baker-Beall, C. and Jarvis, L. (2015). Editors' introduction: neoliberalism and/as terror. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 8(1), pp.1-14.

Held, D. and McGrew, A. (2007). *Globalization/Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity.

Heller, C. (2017). Trump Trauma: Where Reality TV Meets 'Reality by Decree'. *Tikkun*, 32(3), pp.9-10.

Henn, M., Weinstein, M. and Foard, N. (2009). *A Critical Introduction to Social Research*. 1st ed. London: Sage.

Henderson, E. (2017). The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory. *Millennium*, 45(3), pp.492-510.

Hendrix, C. (2017). Climate Change and the Syrian Civil War. [Blog] *Political Violence @ A Glance*. Available at: http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2017/09/19/climate-change-and-the-syrian-civil-war/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Henryagiroux.com. (n.d.). *Dr.Henry A. Giroux-Online Articles*. [online] Available at: https://www.henryagiroux.com/online_articles.htm [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Herman, J. (2014). *Hashtags and Human Rights: Activism in the Age of Twitter*. [online] Newsweek. Available at: http://www.newsweek.com/hashtags-and-human-rights-activism-age-twitter-290950 [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Herrick, M. (2014). Eight Facts About ZunZuneo. [Blog] *USAID.gov*. Available at: https://blog.usaid.gov/2014/04/eight-facts-about-zunzuneo/ [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Herrington, L. (2013). *Beyond Boston: Conspiracy Theories and International Relations*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/04/16/beyond-boston-conspiracy-theories-and-international-relations/ [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Herrmann, J. (2018). *Defense and Self-Defense in the Information Age: Collaborative Strategy and Collective Vision*. [online] Thestrategybridge.org. Available at: https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2018/4/5/defense-and-self-defense-in-the-information-age-collaborative-strategy-and-collective-vision?format=amp&__twitter_impression=true [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Heslov, G., Ronson, J., Straughan, P., McGregor, E., Clooney, G., Spacey, K., Clooney, G., McGregor, E., Bridges, J., Spacey, K., Lang, S., Patrick, R., Zuaiter, W., Root, S. and Morshower, G. (n.d.). *The Men Who Stare at Goats (2009)*. [online] IMDb. Available

at: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1234548/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Hess, A. (2016). *Earning the 'Woke' Badge*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/24/magazine/earning-the-woke-badge.html [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Hickey, W. (2013). *16 Badass Photos Of Margaret Thatcher*. [online] Business Insider. Available at: http://www.businessinsider.com/margaret-thatcher-badass-photos-2013-4?IR=T [Accessed 4 Jul. 2017].

Hiller, P. (2016). *Give Peace Science a Chance - Diplomatic Courier*. [online] Diplomatic Courier. Available at: http://www.diplomaticcourier.com/2016/07/05/give-peace-science-chance/ [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Hinton, E. (2016). *How not to handle protests? Look to the 1960s*. [online] latimes.com. Available at: http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-hinton-protests-1968-20160715-snap-story.html [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Hoffman, A. (2016). Reflections: Academia's Emerging Crisis of Relevance and the Consequent Role of the Engaged Scholar. *Journal of Change Management*, 16(2), pp.77-96.

Hoffman, B. (2019). *How Serious Is White Nationalist Terrorism?*. [online] Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: https://www.cfr.org/article/how-serious-white-nationalist-terrorism [Accessed 28 Apr. 2019].

Hopkins, S. (2015). *PM: Labour Is A 'Threat To National Security'*. [online] The Huffington Post UK. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/09/13/pm-says-labour-a-threat-to-national-security_n_8129002.html [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].

Horgan, J. and Boyle, M. (2008). A case against 'Critical Terrorism Studies'. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(1), pp.51-64.

Horowitz, I. (1965). The life and death of Project Camelot. *Society*, 3(1), pp.3-3.

Horvat, S. (2017). *We came to Hamburg to protest about G20 – and found a dystopian nightmare | Srećko Horvat*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/06/hamburg-protest-g20-dystopian-nightmare-security-disunity-politics [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Howard-Payne, L. (2015). Glaser or Strauss? Considerations for selecting a grounded theory study. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 46(1), pp.50-62.

Hudson, H. (2005). 'Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security. *Security Dialogue*, 36(2), pp.155-174.

Humphreys, M. (2003). *Economics and Violent Conflict*. [e-book] Harvard University. Available through: UN Global Compact www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/issues_doc/Peace_and_Business/Economics_and_Viol ent_Conflict.pdf [Accessed: 14 Feb 2014].

Hurlburt, H. and O'Neill, J. (2017). *We need to think harder about terrorism and gender. ISIS already is*. [online] Vox. Available at: https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/6/1/15722746/terrorism-gender-women-manchester-isis-counterterrorism [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Hutchings, K. (1994). Borderline ethics: Feminist morality and international relations. *Paradigms*, 8(1), pp.23-35.

Hutchings, R. (2017). *A victory for Labour's left-wing women*. [online] Engenderings. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2017/07/05/a-victory-for-labours-left-wing-women/ [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

IlluminatiOfficial.org - The Illuminati's Official Website. (2017). *What Is The Illuminati? – Illuminati Official Website*. [online] Available at: https://www.illuminatiofficial.org/the-official-website-for-the-illuminati/ [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

IMDb. (2018). *Quotes from "Madam Secretary: There But for the Grace of God"*. [online] Available at: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4531946/quotes/qt2561627?mode=desktop&ref_=m_ft_dsk [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

IMFDB (2009). *Watchmen still image*. [image] Available at: http://www.imfdb.org/wiki/File:Watchmen-M1Garand-1.jpg [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Inayatullah, N. (2011). *Autobiographical International Relations: I, IR*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon [England]: Routledge.

Inayatullah, N. and Dauphinee, E. (2016). *Narrative Global Politics: Theory, History and the*

Personal in International Relations. New York: Routledge.

Intriligator, M. (1990). On the nature and scope of defence economics. *Defence Economics*, 1(1), pp.3-11.

Invisible Children. (2014). *KONY 2012 | Invisible Children*. [online] Available at: https://invisiblechildren.com/kony-2012/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Isvg.org. (n.d.). *The Institute for the Study of Violent Groups*. [online] Available at: http://www.isvg.org/organization.php [Accessed: 14 Feb 2014].

It Didn't Start With You: How Inherited Family Trauma Shapes Who We Are. (2016). [Blog] *Science and Nonduality*. Available at: https://www.scienceandnonduality.com/an-excerpt-from-it-didnt-start-with-you-how-inherited-family-trauma-shapes-who-we-are-and-how-to-end-the-cycle-viking-april-2016-by-mark-wolynn/ [Accessed 27 Aug. 2016].

Jackson, R. (2005). *Writing the war on terrorism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Jackson, R. (2007). An analysis of EU counterterrorism discourse post-September 11. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20(2), pp.233-247.

Jackson, R. (2007). Constructing Enemies: 'Islamic Terrorism' in Political and Academic Discourse. *Government & Opposition*, 42(3), pp.394-426.

Jackson, R. (2007). The core commitments of critical terrorism studies. *European Political Science*, 6(3), pp.244-251.

Jackson, R. (2008). The ghosts of state terror: knowledge, politics and terrorism studies. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(3), pp.377-392.

Jackson, R. (2008). *Why We Need Critical Terrorism Studies*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2008/04/08/why-we-need-critical-terrorism-studies/ [Accessed 30 Mar. 2016].

Jackson, R. (2009). The Study of Terrorism after 11 September 2001: Problems, Challenges and Future Developments. *Political Studies Review*, 7(2), pp.171-184.

Jackson, R. (2011). Culture, identity and hegemony: Continuity and (the lack of) change in US counterterrorism policy from Bush to Obama. *International Politics*, 48(2-3),

pp.390-411.

Jackson, R. (2012). The Study of Terrorism 10 years after 9/11: Successes, Issues and Challenges. *Uluslararasi Iliskiler/International Relations*, 8(32), pp.1-16.

Jackson, R. (2016). *Routledge handbook of critical terrorism studies*. London: Routledge.

Jackson, R., Gunning, J. and Smyth, M. (2007). *The Case for a Critical Terrorism Studies*. 1st ed. [ebook] Aberystwyth: American Political Science Association. Available at: http://www.aber.ac.uk/en/media/departmental/interpol/csrv/case-for-a-critical-terrorism-studies-richard-7.pdf [Accessed 30 Mar. 2016].

Jackson, R., Smyth, M. and Gunning, J. (2009). *Critical Terrorism Studies*. Taylor & Francis.

Janicaud, D., 'Heidegger and Method' (1976) *Man and World*, 9(2), 140-152.

Jarvis, L. (2009). The Spaces and Faces of Critical Terrorism Studies. *Security Dialogue*, 40(1), pp.5-27.

Jarvis, L. and Lister, M. (2014). State terrorism research and critical terrorism studies: an assessment. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 7(1), pp.43-61.

Jefferson, E. (2018). *No, China isn't Black Mirror – social credit scores are more complex and sinister than that*. [online] Newstatesman.com. Available at: https://www.newstatesman.com/world/asia/2018/04/no-china-isn-t-black-mirror-social-credit-scores-are-more-complex-and-sinister [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Jefferson, H. (2016). Waking up from a real-life national nightmare. [Blog] *The Scholar Activist*. Available at: http://thescholaractivist.tumblr.com/post/152946950267/waking-up-from-a-real-life-national-nightmare [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

JFK Library Foundation (1963). Excerpt from the Commencement Address at the American University, 10 June 1963. [video] Available at: https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/BWC7I4C9QUmLG9J6I8oy8w.aspx [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

JFK Library Foundation (1963). Excerpt from a Report to the American People on Civil Rights, 11 June 1963. [video] Available at: https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/LH8F_0Mzv0e6Ro1yEm74Ng.aspx [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

JFK Library Foundation (1961). Inaugural Address, 20 January 1961. [video] Available at:

https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/BqXIEM9F4024ntFl7SVAjA.aspx [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Jfklibrary.org. (n.d.). *John F. Kennedy Quotations - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum*. [online] Available at: https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/Ready-Reference/JFK-Quotations/Harvard-University-Speech.aspx [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

Johnson, J. (2015). *"War is Peace. Freedom is Slavery. Ignorance is Strength": Chomsky on Words That Have Lost All Meaning*. [online] Words of Dissent. Available at: http://wordsofdissent.com/war-is-peace-freedom-is-slavery-ignorance-is-strength-chomsky-on-words-that-have-lost-their-meaning/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Johnston, E. and Osumi, M. (2017). *Influential science group votes no to increased military research at academic institutions*. [online] The Japan Times. Available at: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/03/07/national/influential-science-group-votes-no-increased-military-research-academic-institutions/#.WVK3iIWcHic [Accessed 27 Jun. 2017].

Jones, D. (2017). Considering (auto)biography in teaching and learning about race and racism in a diverse university. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 22(7), pp.867-878.

Jones, R. (1995). 'Message in a bottle'? Theory and praxis in critical security studies. Contemporary Security Policy, 16(3), pp.299-319.

Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage Publications, p.1.

Jowett, G. and O'Donnell, V. (2014). *Propaganda and Persuasion*. 6th ed. London: Sage Publications, Inc., pp.57-104.

Juvenal., and Kelk, C. (2010). *The satires of Juvenal*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.

Kaldor, M. (1999). *New and old wars*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Kaldor, M. and Rangelov, I. (2014). Introduction: Global Security Policy in the Twenty-First Century. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley Blackwell.

Kaplan, S. (2015). *Jade Helm 15, a military exercise, brings wild speculation in Texas about 'martial law'*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/04/29/jade-helm-15-a-military-simulation-draws-scrutiny-and-wild-speculation-in-texas/?utm_term=.d009f7dde732 [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Kazin, M. (2017). Trump and the F-Word. *Dissent*, 64(2), pp.6-8.

Kean, D. (2017). *Orwell and Atwood books given away to encourage readers to 'fight back!'*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/feb/07/orwell-and-atwood-given-away-fight-back-nineteen-eighty-four-the-handmaids-tale [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Kellner, D. (2017). Brexit Plus, Whitelash, and the Ascendency of Donald J. Trump. *Cultural Politics*, 13(2), pp.135-149.

Kennedy, L. (n.d.). *Hearts and Mirrors*. [image] Available at: https://santafe.meowwolf.com/the-thing-to-do-in-santa-fe/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Kennedy, R. and Whitlock, G. (2011). Witnessing, Trauma and Social Suffering: Feminist Perspectives. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 26(69), pp.251-255.

Khurana, S. (2019). *Morpheus Quotes From The Matrix*. [online] ThoughtCo. Available at: https://www.thoughtco.com/morpheus-wisdom-quotes-from-the-matrix-2832834 [Accessed 27 Apr. 2019].

King, C. (2015). *The Decline of International Studies: Why Flying Blind Is Dangerous*. [online] Foreign Affairs. Available at: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-06-16/decline-international-studies [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

King, M., Correll, S., Jacquet, J., Bergstrom, C. and West, J. (n.d.). *Men set their own cites high: Gender and self-citation across fields and over time*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: http://www.eigenfactor.org/gender/self-citation/SelfCitation.pdf [Accessed 17 Nov. 2015].

Klinger, J. (2014). Caveat Emptor: Social Science and U.S. National Security Strategy. *Comparative Strategy*, 33(2), pp.167-176.

Knight, C. (2016). *An anti-militarist's moral dilemmas - Weekly Worker*. [online]

Weeklyworker.co.uk. Available at: http://weeklyworker.co.uk/worker/1134/an-anti-militarists-moral-dilemmas/ [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Kolk, B. (1989). The compulsion to repeat the trauma: Re-enactment, revictimization, and masochism. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 12(2), pp.389 - 411.

Koskenniemi, M. (1989). *From Apology to Utopia: The Structure of International Legal Argument*. Helsinki: Finnish Lawyers' Pub. Co.

Kounios, J., Beeman, M., 'The Aha! Moment: The Cognitive Neuroscience of Insight' (2009) *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 18(4), 210-216.

Krause, P. (2013). The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate. *Security Studies*, 22(2), pp.259-294.

Kress, G. (1990). Critical Discourse Analysis. *Ann Rev Appl Ling*, 11, pp.84-99.

Krueger, A. and Maleckova, J. (2003). Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17(4), pp.119-144.

Kurzman, C. and Schanzer, D. (2015). *Opinion | The Growing Right-Wing Terror Threat*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/16/opinion/the-other-terror-threat.html [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Kurzman, C., Kamal, A. and Yazdiha, H. (2017). Ideology and Threat Assessment: Law Enforcement Evaluation of Muslim and Right-Wing Extremism. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 3, pp.1-13.

LaCapria, K. (2015). *FACT CHECK: Did Donald Trump Say Republicans Are the "Dumbest Group of Voters"?* [online] Snopes.com. Available at: https://www.snopes.com/1998-trump-people-quote/ [Accessed 30 Dec. 2017].

LaCapria, K. (2017). *FACT CHECK: Do These Twitter Images Depict Trump Inauguration Crowds?* [online] Snopes.com. Available at: https://www.snopes.com/twitter-images-inauguration/ [Accessed 30 Dec. 2017].

Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and socialist strategy*. London: Verso.

Lake, David A. (2016). "White Man'S IR: An Intellectual Confession". *Perspectives On Politics* 14 (04): 1112-1122. doi:10.1017/s153759271600308x.

Lamothe, D. (2015). *Why Operation Jade Helm 15 is freaking out the Internet — and why it shouldn't be*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/03/31/why-the-new-special-operations-exercise-freaking-out-the-internet-is-no-big-deal/?utm_term=.5673d472816d [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Lansberg-Rodriguez, D. (2014). Nice Try, Venezuela, But Your Censorship Backfired. *Transitions*, [blog] 20th Feb, Available at: http://transitions.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/02/20/nice_try_venezuela_but_your_censorship_backfired [Accessed: 27 Feb 2014].

Latham, R. (2016). *The Politics of Evasion*. New York: Routledge.

Lazar, M. (2007). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4(2), pp.141-164.

Leibel, R. (2003). Research after September 11: Security is now the sturdy child of terror. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 16(2), pp.84-95.

Levecque, K., Anseel, F., De Beuckelaer, A., Van der Heyden, J. and Gisle, L. (2017). Work organization and mental health problems in PhD students. Research Policy, 46(4), pp.868-879.

Levin, S. (2017). *James Damore, Google, and the YouTube radicalization of angry white men*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/aug/13/james-damore-google-memo-youtube-white-men-radicalization?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Levy, M. (2013). *United States presidential election of 1992 (United States government)*. [online] Available at: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1574499/United-States-presidential-election-of-1992 [Accessed: 27 Feb 2014].

Lindsay, J. (2013). *TWE Remembers: JFK's "Strategy of Peace" Speech*. [online] Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: https://www.cfr.org/blog/twe-remembers-jfks-strategy-peace-speech [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Lisle, D. and Pepper, A. (2005). The New Face of Global Hollywood: Black Hawk Down and The Politics of Meta-Sovereignty. *Cultural Politics*, 1(2).

Locke, T. (2004). *Critical discourse analysis*. London: Continuum.

Lofgren, M. (2014). *Essay: Anatomy of the Deep State | BillMoyers.com*. [online] BillMoyers.com. Available at: http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/anatomy-of-the-deep-state/ [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Loofbourow, L. (2017). *How Kellyanne Conway became the greatest spin doctor in modern American history*. [online] Theweek.com. Available at: http://theweek.com/articles/675240/how-kellyanne-conway-became-greatest-spin-doctor-modern-american-history [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Lorde, A. (2017). *A Burst of Light and Other Essays*. 2nd ed. Dover Publications Inc.

Lossel, M. (2017). *Life Under Alternative Facts*. [online] The New Yorker. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/life-under-alternative-facts [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Lowellsun.com. (2014). *UMass Lowell gets $2 million grant to study*. [online] Available at: http://www.lowellsun.com/breakingnews/ci_25858287/umass-lowell-gets-2-million-grant-study [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

LSE.ac.uk. (2013). *About neurodiversity - Dyslexia and neurodiversity - Disability and Wellbeing Service - Services and divisions - Staff and students - Home*. [online] Available at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/intranet/LSEServices/disabilityAndWellBeingService/dyslexiaNeurodiversity/aboutNeurodiversity.aspx [Accessed 7 Jan. 2017].

Lutz, C. (2008). Selling our independence? The perils of Pentagon funding for anthropology. *Anthropology Today*, 24(5), pp.1-3.

Lutz, J. (2011). A Critical View of Critical Terrorism Studies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(6).

Lyle-Gonga, M. (2013). A Critical Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming. *Pol & Gen*, 9(02), pp.209-213.

Mabee, B. (2016). From 'liberal war' to 'liberal militarism': United States security policy as the promotion of military modernity. *Critical Military Studies*, 2(3), pp.242-261.

Mabee, B. and Vucetic, S. (2018). Varieties of militarism: Towards a typology. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617730948 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

MacAaron, A. (2014). *TV Reviews: "Madam Secretary" and "How to Get Away With Murder"*. [online] Women's Voices For Change. Available at: https://womensvoicesforchange.org/tv-review-madam-secretary-and-how-to-get-away-with-murder.htm [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

Machiavelli, N. and Lotherington, J. (2017). *The Prince*. Laguna Hills: Race Point Publishing.

MacKinnon, C. (1989). *Towards a feminist theory of the state*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Madlena, C. (2011). *Telecomix: tech support for the Arab spring*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/jul/07/telecomix-arab-spring [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Mahnken, T. (2008). Partnership for mutual benefit: A reply from the Pentagon. *Anthropology Today*, 24(5), pp.3-3.

Mahnken, T. (2010). Bridging the Gap Between the Worlds of Ideas and Action. *Orbis*, 54(1), pp.4-13.

Mancha Productions - Vimeo Inc (2017). *Propaganda*. [video] Available at: https://vimeo.com/219533611 [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Mancha Productions - Vimeo Inc. (2011). *Caron Gentry, Plenary. Governing Emotion: Disrupting the Construction of Counter-Terrorism Policies*. [video] Available at: https://vimeo.com/29271357 [Accessed 6 Jul. 2017].

Marhia, N. (2014). Gender and Security. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.51-67.

Marsden, H. (2016). *Did Trump really call Republican voters 'the dumbest in the country'?* [online] indy100. Available at: https://www.indy100.com/article/donald-trump-people-magazine-interview-republicans-dumbest-in-the-country-7406921 [Accessed 30 Dec. 2017].

Martini, A. (2016). *Brexit: implications for counter-terrorism*. [online] Cesran.org. Available at: http://cesran.org/brexit-implications-for-counter-terrorism.html [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Maslow, A. H. (1943). 'A theory of human motivation'. *Psychological Review*, 50 (4), pp. 370-396.

Mason, P. (2017). *Democracy is dying – and it's startling how few people are worried | Paul Mason*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/31/democracy-dying-people-worried-putin-erdogan-trump-world [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

McBride, M., Blackmon, T., Reid, F. and Skinner, B. (2017). *Opinion | Waiting for a Perfect Protest?* [online] Mobile.nytimes.com. Available at: https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/09/01/opinion/civil-rights-protest-resistance.html [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

McCormack, S. (2015). *Chicago 'Black Site' 'Not First Time' Anti-Terror Tactics Allegedly Used On Americans*. [online] HuffPost. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/27/war-on-terror-coming-home_n_6770990.html [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

McCoy, T. (2014). *Tear gas is a chemical weapon banned in war. But Ferguson police shoot it at protesters*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/08/14/tear-gas-is-a-chemical-weapon-banned-in-war-but-ferguson-police-shoot-it-at-protesters/?utm_term=.1a1dbef418bc [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

McPhail, C., Schweingruber, D. and McCarthy, J. (n.d.). *Policing Protest in the United States*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: http://www.public.iastate.edu/~dschwein/policing.pdf [Accessed 5 May 2015].

Mearsheimer, J. J. (1990). 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War'. *International Security*, 15 (1), pp. 5-56.

Medium. (2017). *THE CHARLOTTESVILLE SYLLABUS – UVa Graduate Coalition – Medium*. [online] Available at: https://medium.com/@UVAGSC/the-charlottesville-syllabus-9e01573419d0 [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Med.upenn.edu. (n.d.). *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Symptoms) | Center for the Treatment and Study of Anxiety | Perelman School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania*. [online] Available at: http://www.med.upenn.edu/ctsa/ptsd_symptoms.html [Accessed 22 Sep. 2016].

Meger, S. (2017). *Introducing Feminist 'Secureconomy' - Progress in Political Economy (PPE)*. [online] Progress in Political Economy (PPE). Available at: http://ppesydney.net/introducing-feminist-secureconomy/ [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Meme Crunch (2013). *Neo Wakes Up*. [image] Available at: http://memecrunch.com/meme/SPVL/matrix-wake-up [Accessed 27 Apr. 2019].

Meow Wolf. (2019). *Home - Meow Wolf*. [online] Available at: https://meowwolf.com/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Meow Wolf (2018). *House of Eternal Return, Exterior*. [image] Available at: https://www.curbed.com/2018/1/30/16948266/meow-wolf-santa-fe-house-of-eternal-return [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Mill, J. (1861). *Considerations on representative government*. London: Parker, Son and Bourn.

Miller, D. and Mills, T. (2009). The terror experts and the mainstream media: the expert nexus and its dominance in the news media. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 2(3), pp.414-437.

Miller, D. and Mills, T. (2010). Counterinsurgency and terror expertise: the integration of social scientists into the war effort. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 23(2), pp.203-221.

Miller, D., Griffin, T., Aked, H. and Marusek, S. (2015). *The Henry Jackson Society and the Degeneration of British Neoconservatism: Liberal interventionism, Islamophobia and the 'War on Terror'*. 1st ed. [ebook] London, UK: Spinwatch. Available at: http://thecordobafoundation.com/attach/spinwatch%20report_web.pdf [Accessed 18 Apr. 2016].

Minerva.defense.gov. (n.d.). *The Minerva Research Initiative*. [online] Available at: http://minerva.defense.gov/ [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Minerva.dtic.mil. (2008). *Minerva Initiative*. [online] Available at: http://minerva.dtic.mil/

[Accessed: 14 Feb 2014].

MissedinHistory.com. (2009). *What really happened at Kent State?* [online] Available at: http://www.missedinhistory.com/podcasts/what-really-happened-at-kent-state.htm [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Mitchell, J. (2016). *Beyoncé Has Become The Queen Of Earning Cultural Capital*. [online] Forbes.com. Available at: https://www.forbes.com/sites/julianmitchell/2016/06/03/flawless-victory-how-beyonce-became-the-queen-of-creating-cultural-capital/#577d1ae22067 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Mitchell, W. (2018). The Trolls of Academe: Making Safe Spaces Into Brave Spaces - Los Angeles Review of Books. [online] Los Angeles Review of Books. Available at: https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/the-trolls-of-academe-making-safe-spaces-into-brave-spaces/#! [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Mohanty, J. and Samantaray, S. (2017). Cyber Feminism: Unleashing Women Power through Technology. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, 9(2), pp.328-336.

Monteiro, N. and Ruby, K. (2009). IR and the false promise of philosophical foundations. *INT*, 1(01), p.15.

Moore, A. and Gibbons, D. (1987). *Watchmen*. New York: DC Comics Inc.

Moore, A., Lloyd, D., Whitaker, S., Dodds, S., O'Connor, J., Craddock, S., Fell, E. and Weare, T. (2005). *V for vendetta*. New York: Vertigo/DC Comics.

Morgenthau, H. (1967). *Politics Among Nations*. New York: Knopf.

Morton, A. (2007). *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Political Economy*. London: Pluto Press.

Moss, J. (1998). *The Later Foucault*. 1st Edn, Sage Publications: London.

Mosser, M. (2010). Puzzles versus Problems: The Alleged Disconnect between Academics and Military Practitioners. *Persp on Pol*, 8(04), pp.1077-1086.

Murray, M. (2014). Seven Things To Know About The Venezuela Crisis. *Storyline*, [blog] 25th Feb, Available at: http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/venezuela-crisis/seven-

things-know-about-venezuela-crisis-n38556 [Accessed: 27 Feb 2014].

Murray, S. (2017). On Rhetoric and the School of Philosophy Without Tears. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 50(4), pp.528-551.

Murdie, A. (2015). *New Evidence on Gender Bias in IR Syllabi | Duck of Minerva*. [online] Duckofminerva.com. Available at: http://duckofminerva.com/2015/08/new-evidence-on-gender-bias-in-ir-syllabi.html [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Mutimer, D. (2014). Security and Social Crititque. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.31-50.

National Strategy for Counter-Terrorism. (2011). 1st ed. [ebook] Washington D.C.: The White House. Available at: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb. 2015].

Naumes, S. (2015). Is all 'I' IR? *Millennium*, 43(3), pp.820-832.

Neumann, P. (2013). The trouble with radicalization. *International Affairs*, 89(4), pp.873-893.

Newartharmy.com. (n.d.). *Welcome*. [online] Available at: http://newartharmy.com/Welcome.html [Accessed 28 Aug. 2016].

News.bbc.co.uk. (2006). *BBC NEWS | Politics | Cobra: The UK's emergencies team*. [online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4663369.stm [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Nexon, D. (2013). The Minerva Project: Time for a Disciplinary Appraisal? [Blog] *Duck of Minerva*. Available at: http://duckofminerva.com/2013/01/the-minerva-project-time-for-a-disciplinary-appraisal.html [Accessed 12 Sep. 2015].

Ní Mhurchú, A. and Shindo, R. (2016). *Critical Imaginations in International Relations*. New York: Routledge.

No authorship indicated (1966). Testimony before house subcommittee on international organizations and movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. *American Psychologist*, 21(5), pp.455-470.

Norman, J. and Mikhael, D. (2017). *Analysis | Youth radicalization is on the rise. Here's what we know about why.* [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/25/youth-radicalization-is-on-the-rise-heres-what-we-know-about-why/?utm_term=.4737a2740798 [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Normile, D. (2017). *Japanese military entices academics to break taboo*. [online] Science | AAAS. Available at: http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2017/01/japanese-military-entices-academics-break-taboo [Accessed 27 Jun. 2017].

Norton, Q. (2012). *How Anonymous Picks Targets, Launches Attacks, and Takes Powerful Organizations Down*. [online] WIRED. Available at: https://www.wired.com/2012/07/ff_anonymous/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Nyman, J. and Burke, A. (2016). *Ethical Security Studies: A New Research Agenda*. New York: Routledge.

Oakley, N. (2017). *How hero Millwall fan 'took p***' out of London terrorists so they turned on him*. [online] Mirror. Available at: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/f-you-im-millwall-how-10568626 [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

O'Brien, C. (2012). *O'Brien: Kony 2012 campaign tests impact of online activism – The Mercury News*. [online] Mercurynews.com. Available at: http://www.mercurynews.com/2012/03/08/obrien-kony-2012-campaign-tests-impact-of-online-activism/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

O'Connor, J., Fell, M. and Fuller, R. (2010). Escaping, forgetting and revisiting the scene: The post-traumatic compulsion to repeat in obsessive-compulsive disorder. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 23(1), pp.55-66.

Office of the President of the United States (2018). *National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America*. Washington D.C.: Office of the President of the United States.

Ogden, C. (2017). *The Coming Storm: US-China Relations Under Trump*. FPC Briefing. [online] London: The Foreign Policy Centre, pp.1-5. Available at: http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/1792.pdf [Accessed 18 Nov. 2017].

O'Gorman, K. and MacIntosh, R. (2015). *Research Methods for Business & Management*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd., pp.50 - 74.

Olmsted, K. (2011). The Truth Is Out There: Citizen Sleuths from the Kennedy Assassination to the 9/11 Truth Movement. *Diplomatic History*, 35(4), pp.671-693.

Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. (n.d.). *Riot Control Agents*. [online] Available at: https://www.opcw.org/about-chemical-weapons/types-of-chemical-agent/riot-control-agents/ [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

Orwell, G. (1984). *1984*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p.76.

Orwell, G. and Pynchon, T. (2004). *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.

Pain, R. (2014). Everyday terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(4), pp.531-550.

Palma, B. (2017). *Data Firm That Helped Trump Threatens to Sue the Guardian Over Investigative Series About Brexit*. [online] Snopes.com. Available at: http://www.snopes.com/2017/06/14/data-firm-helped-trump-sues-the-guardian-brexit-cambridge-analytica/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Parakilas, J. (2014). *Weapons of protest, weapons of war | AOAV*. [online] AOAV. Available at: https://aoav.org.uk/2014/weapons-protest-weapons-war/ [Accessed 5 Jul. 2017].

Parkin, W., Klein, B., Gruenewald, J., Freilich, J. and Chermak, S. (2017). *Analysis: Deadly threat from far-right extremists is overshadowed by fear of Islamic terrorism*. [online] PBS NewsHour. Available at: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/analysis-deadly-threat-far-right-extremists-overshadowed-fear-islamic-terrorism/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Peace, L. (2017). *Manchester Terror Attack: Boyfriend of hero Sheffield woman who died in blast says she was 'happiest she has ever been'*. [online] Thestar.co.uk. Available at: http://www.thestar.co.uk/news/manchester-terror-attack-boyfriend-of-hero-sheffield-woman-who-died-in-blast-says-she-was-happiest-she-has-ever-been-1-8559218 [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Penre, W. (2009). *| Illuminati News | The Secret Order of the Illuminati*. [online] Illuminati-

news.com. Available at: http://www.illuminati-news.com/moriah.htm [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Perez, E. and Bruer, W. (2015). *DHS report warns of domestic terror threat - CNNPolitics*. [online] CNN. Available at: http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/19/politics/terror-threat-homeland-security/index.html [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Peterson, V. (1998). Feminisms and International Relations. *Gender & History*, 10(3), pp.581-589.

Petersen, V. and Runyan, A. (1993). *Global Gender Issues*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Petras, J. (2009). Guest editorial procuring academics for empire: the pentagon minerva research initiative. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 33(1), pp.1-4.

Petras, J. and Veltmeyer, H. (2001). *Globalization unmasked*. Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.

Pham, S. (2017). *Domestic Terrorism incidents by type*. [image] Available at: https://www.vox.com/world/2017/10/2/16396612/las-vegas-mass-shooting-terrorism-islam [Accessed 28 Apr. 2019].

Philo, G. and Miller, D. (2000). *Market killing*. Harlow: Longman.

Phys.org. (2015). *Countering social influence and persuasion of extremist groups*. [online] Available at: https://phys.org/news/2015-07-countering-social-persuasion-extremist-groups.html [Accessed 8 Jul. 2017].

Piazza, J. A. (2011). 'Poverty, minority economic discrimination, and domestic terrorism'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48 pp. 339-353.

Picq, M. (2013). Critics at the edge? Decolonizing methodologies in International Relations. *International Political Science Review*, 34(4), pp.444-455.

Pilcher, K. (2017). Politicising the 'personal': the resistant potential of creative pedagogies in teaching and learning 'sensitive' issues. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 22(8), pp.975-990.

Plato., Ferrari, G. and Griffith, T. (2000). *The republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Poole, S. (2017). *'Strong and stable leadership!' Could Theresa May's rhetorical carpet-*

bombing backfire? [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/10/strong-and-stable-leadership-could-theresa-mays-rhetorical-carpet-bombing-backfire [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Popova, M. (2016). *Meet Mary Somerville: The Brilliant Woman for Whom the Word "Scientist" Was Coined*. [online] Brain Pickings. Available at: https://www.brainpickings.org/2016/12/26/mary-somerville-scientist/ [Accessed 31 Dec. 2017].

Poynting, S. and Whyte, D. (2012). *Counter-Terrorism and State Political Violence*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Presley, S. (1996). *Rise Of Domestic Terrorism And Its Relation To United States Armed Forces*. Lieutenant Commander. U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College.

Price, G. and Ansari, D. (2013). Dyscalculia: Characteristics, Causes, and Treatments. *Numeracy*, [online] 6(1). Available at: http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/numeracy/vol6/iss1/art2/ [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].

Prinslow, K. (2011). *Cultural Knowledge Consortium: Joint and Inter-Agency Activity Connecting the Socio-cultural Community*.

Prozorov, S. (2010). The other as past and present: beyond the logic of temporal othering in IR theory. *Rev. Int. Stud.*, 37(03), pp.1273-1293.

Pruitt, D. (2006). Negotiation with Terrorists. *International Negotiation*, 11(2), pp.371-394.

Pung, H. (2018). The Danger of Truth Decay Across Europe. [Blog] *The RAND Blog*. Available at: https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/03/the-danger-of-truth-decay-across-europe.html?adbsc=social_TruthDecay_20180322_2223321&adbid=976657724426502144&adbpl=tw&adbpr=22545453 [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

Purdy, J. (2017). The Fight Ahead. *Dissent*, 64(1), pp.7-9.

Quinn, A. (2014). The United States. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.446-462.

Ram, R. (1995). Defense Expenditure and Economic Growth. In: K. Hartley and T. Sandler, ed., *Handbook of Defense Economics*, 1st ed. New York: Elsevier.

Ramani, S. (2015). *An Homage to John Nash: The Genius of Game Theory | UNU-MERIT*. [online] Merit.unu.edu. Available at: http://www.merit.unu.edu/an-homage-to-john-nash-the-genius-of-game-theory/ [Accessed 27 Jun. 2017].

Ramsay, A. (2018). *Cambridge Analytica is what happens when you privatise military propaganda*. [online] openDemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/cambridge-analytica-is-what-happens-when-you-privatise-military-propaganda/ [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

Rangelov, I. and Teitel, R. (2014). Transitional Justice. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.338-352.

Rapin, A. (2013). Why is it So Difficult to Evaluate the Political Impact of Terrorism? In: S. Sinclair and D. Antonius, ed., *The Political Psychology of Terrorism Fears*, 1st ed. OUP USA, p.306.

Rapoport, D. (2002). The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11. *Anthropoetics - The Journal of Generative Anthropology*, 8(1).

Reachingcriticalwill.org. (n.d.). *Critical issues*. [online] Available at: http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/fact-sheets/critical-issues/6738-military-industrial-complex [Accessed 9 Jul. 2017].

Read, M. (2012). *A Comprehensive Guide to the Illuminati, the Conspiracy Theory That Connects Jay-Z and Queen Elizabeth*. [online] Gawker. Available at: http://gawker.com/5886988/a-comprehensive-guide-to-the-illuminati-the-conspiracy-theory-that-connects-jay-z-and-queen-elizabeth [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Reardon, B. (1985). *Sexism and the war system*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Rech, M., Bos, D., Jenkings, K., Williams, A. and Woodward, R. (2014). Geography, military geography, and critical military studies. *Critical Military Studies*, 1(1), pp.47-60.

Redden, E. (2017). *International relations scholars meet against backdrop of Trump's presidency and travel ban*. [online] Insidehighered.com. Available at: https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/02/27/international-relations-scholars-meet-against-backdrop-trumps-presidency-and-travel [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Reese, H. (2017). Cornel West: Neoliberalism Has Failed Us | JSTOR Daily. [online] JSTOR Daily. Available at: https://daily.jstor.org/cornel-west-interview/?cid=soc_fb_JSTOR [Accessed 6 Jan. 2018].

Reid, E. (1997). Evolution of a body of knowledge: An analysis of terrorism research. *Information Processing & Management*, 33(1), pp.91-106.

Reimann, A. (2012). *Paradise Lost: Did the Breivik Massacre Change Norwegian Politics? - SPIEGEL ONLINE - International*. [online] SPIEGEL ONLINE. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/norway-after-breivik-populists-gain-lost-ground-a-845586.html [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Resende, E. and Budryte, D. (2016). *Using Gender Lenses to Decolonize Trauma and Memory in IR*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2016/02/12/using-gender-lenses-to-decolonize-trauma-and-memory-in-ir/ [Accessed 27 Aug. 2016].

Reyes-Manzo, C. (2006). *Killing Guatemala's Women*. [online] Amnesty International. Available at: http://www.amnesty.org.uk/article_print.asp?ArticleID=2759 [Accessed 26 Apr. 2009].

Rice, S. (2009). Emotions and terrorism research: A case for a social-psychological agenda. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37(3), pp.248-255.

Richard Dimbleby Lecture Series. (2014). [TV programme] BBC, 3rd February.

Richmond, O. (2008). Reclaiming Peace in International Relations. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies,* 36(3), pp.439-470.

Riley-Smith, B. (2017). *Parliament terror attack: Hero MP Tobias Ellwood battled to save life of stabbed officer*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/22/hero-mp-parliament-terror-attack-tobias-ellwood-battled-save/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Riotta, C. (2016). *"Formation" Lyrics: Meaning Behind Beyoncé's New Black Power Anthem*. [online] Mic.com. Available at: https://mic.com/articles/134573/formation-lyrics-meaning-behind-beyonc-s-new-black-power-anthem [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Robben, A. (2009). Anthropology and the Iraq war: An uncomfortable engagement.

Anthropology Today, 25(1), pp.1-3.

Roberts, A. and Guelff, R. (2000). *Documents on the laws of war*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Roberts, G. (2006). History, theory and the narrative turn in IR. *Rev. Int. Stud.*, 32(04), p.703.

Robertson, R. (2002). *The three waves of globalization*. London: Zed Books.

Robinson, F. (2013). Feminist Ethics in World Politics. In: P. Hayden, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Ethics and International Relations*, 2nd ed. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp.79-95.

Rockquemore, K. (2016). *How to be both a scholar and an activist (essay) | Inside Higher Ed*. [online] Insidehighered.com. Available at: https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2016/10/26/how-be-both-scholar-and-activist-essay [Accessed 18 Apr. 2017].

Rodriguez, S. (2018). Building civilian militarism: Colombia, internal war, and militarization in a mid-term perspective. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617743201 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

Roig-Franzia, M. (2014). *USAID effort to undermine Cuban government with fake 'Twitter' another anti-Castro failure*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/usaid-effort-to-undermine-cuban-government-with-fake-twitter-another-anti-castro-failure/2014/04/03/c0142cc0-bb75-11e3-9a05-c739f29ccb08_story.html?utm_term=.193ec94df68d [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Ronson, J. (2006). *The men who stare at goats*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Roosevelt, F. and Rosenman, S. (1938). *The public papers and addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. New York, N.Y.: Random House, pp.11-16.

Rosenberg, J. (1994). The International Imagination: IR Theory and 'Classic Social Analysis'. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 23(1), pp.85-108.

Rossdale, C. (2016). Activism, Resistance and Security. In: J. Nyman and A. Burke, ed., *Ethical Security Studies: A New Research Agenda*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, pp.201-

215.

Rossdale, C. (2014). Occupying Subjectivity: Being and Becoming Radical in the Twenty-First Century: Introduction. *Globalizations*, 12(1), pp.1-5.

Rothstein, E. (2003). *Philosophers Draw On a Film Drawing On Philosophers*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/24/movies/philosophers-draw-on-a-film-drawing-on-philosophers.html [Accessed 27 Apr. 2019].

RT International. (2014). *Pentagon spending millions to prepare for mass civil unrest*. [online] Available at: https://www.rt.com/usa/165844-pentagon-minerva-research-initiative/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Runyan, A. and Peterson, V. (1991). The Radical Future of Realism: Feminist Subversions of IR Theory. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 16(1), pp.67-106.

Russell, K. (2019). *Tree-House, House of Eternal Return, Interior*. [image] Available at: https://shop.meowwolf.com/merch/hoer-exhibition-catalog/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

Ryan, M. (2018). Interrogating 'authoritarian neoliberalism': The problem of periodization. *Competition & Change*, 23(2), pp.116-137.

Ryan, Y. (2011). *Anonymous and the Arab uprisings*. [online] Aljazeera.com. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/05/201151917634659824.html [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Saideman, S. (2017). *Trump Reminded Me Why I Am An Academic | Duck of Minerva*. [online] Duckofminerva.com. Available at: http://duckofminerva.com/2017/02/trump-reminded-me-why-i-am-an-academic.html [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Sarat, A. and Culbert, J. (2009). *States of violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Särmä, S. (2015). Congrats, EISA and the 9th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, you have dedicated all male room names! [Blog] *Congrats, you have an all male panel!* Available at: http://allmalepanels.tumblr.com/post/128842730286/congrats-eisa-and-the-9th-pan-european-conference [Accessed 12 Sep. 2015].

Särmä, S. (2015). *Junk feminism and nuclear wannabes*. Tampere: Tampereen Yliopisto.

Satterthwaite, M. (2017). *Evidence of trauma: the impact of human rights work on advocates*. [online] openDemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/meg-satterthwaite/evidence-of-trauma-impact-of-human-rights-work-on-advocates [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Saunders, R. (2017). *10th Anniversary Post - Pop Culture @ E-IR: A Reflection*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/21/10th-anniversary-post-pop-culture-e-ir-a-reflection/ [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Savonick, D. (2015). Gender Bias in Academe: An Annotated Bibliography of Important Recent Studies. [Blog] *HASTAC: The Futures Initiative*. Available at: https://www.hastac.org/blogs/superadmin/2015/01/26/gender-bias-academe-annotated-bibliography-important-recent-studies [Accessed 17 Nov. 2015].

Savonick, D. and Davidson, C. (2016). *Gender Bias in Academe: An Annotated Bibliography of Important Recent Studies*. [online] Impact of Social Sciences. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2016/03/08/gender-bias-in-academe-an-annotated-bibliography/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Saxena, C. (2014). Through the Gender Lens: A Feminist Analysis of 'Security'. *Strategic Analysis*, 38(1), pp.107-113.

Scammell, R. (2018). *China's Social Credit system*. [image] Available at: https://www.verdict.co.uk/facebook-rating-score-china-social-credit/ [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Schechner, R. (2017). Donald John Trump, President?. *TDR/The Drama Review*, 61(2), pp.7-10.

Schiappa, E. (2017). The Greeks, Pragmatism, and the Endless Mediation of Rhetoric and Philosophy. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 50(4), pp.552-565.

Schmid, A., Jongman, A., Stohl, M. and Horowitz, I. (1988). *Political terrorism*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Selchow, S. (2014). Security Policy and (Global) Risk(s). In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.68-84.

Selwyn-Holmes, A. (2009). *Thatcher in a Tank*. [image] Available at: https://iconicphotos.org/2009/04/23/thatcher-in-a-tank/ [Accessed 4 Jul. 2017].

Shane, L. (2017). *One in four troops sees white nationalism in the ranks*. [online] Army
Times. Available at: https://www.armytimes.com/news/pentagon-
congress/2017/10/23/military-times-poll-one-in-four-troops-sees-white-nationalism-in-
the-ranks/ [Accessed 28 Apr. 2019].

Shane, S. and Goel, V. (2017). *Fake Russian Facebook Accounts Bought $100,000 in
Political Ads*. [online] Mobile.nytimes.com. Available at:
https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/09/06/technology/facebook-russian-political-ads.html
[Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Shaw, T. (2018). *The New Military-Industrial Complex of Big Data Psy-Ops*. [online] The
New York Review of Books. Available at:
https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/03/21/the-digital-military-industrial-complex/
[Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Shayan, F. (2013). Interdisciplinarity and the Emerged Shift in the Study of International
Relations. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 41(3), pp.669-678.

Shepherd, L. (2008). *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*. London: Zed
Books, pp.3-5.

Shepherd, L. (2008). Visualising violence: legitimacy and authority in the war on terror.
Critical Studies on Terrorism, 1(2), pp.213-226.

Shepherd, L. (2012). Transdisciplinarity: The Politics and Practices of Knowledge
Production. [Blog] *The Disorder of Things*. Available at:
http://thedisorderofthings.com/2012/11/23/transdisciplinarity-the-politics-and-practices-of-
knowledge-production/ [Accessed 14 Jan. 2016].

Shepherd, L. (2013). Introduction: critical approaches to security in contemporary global
politics. In: L. Shepherd, ed., *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories
and Methods*, 1st ed. Oxon: Routledge, pp.1-9.

Shepherd, L. (2013). Teaching (in)security: critical pedagogies in global politics:
Introduction. *Critical Studies on Security*, 1(3), pp.348-348.

Shepherd, L. (2015). Complicating security: bodies out of place. *Critical Studies on Security*,
3(1), pp.106-106.

Shepherd, L. (2015). Out of Place: Space/Time and Quantum (In)security. [Blog] *The Disorder of Things*. Available at: http://thedisorderofthings.com/2015/04/21/out-of-place-spacetime-and-quantum-insecurity/ [Accessed 14 Jan. 2016].

Shin, S. (2015). "Mourning becomes the law" - Judith Butler from Paris. [Blog] *Verso Books Blog*. Available at: http://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2337-mourning-becomes-the-law-judith-butler-from-paris [Accessed 17 Nov. 2015].

Silke, A. (2001). The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13(4), pp.1-14.

Silke, A. (2003). *Terrorists, victims, and society*. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley.

Silke, A. (2004). Courage in Dark Places: Reflections on Terrorist Psychology. *Social Research*, 71(1), pp.177-198.

Silke, A. and Schmidt-Petersen, J. (2015). The Golden Age? What the 100 Most Cited Articles in Terrorism Studies Tell Us. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, pp.1-21.

Silove, D., Baker, J., Mohsin, M., Teesson, M., Creamer, M., O'Donnell, M., Forbes, D., Carragher, N., Slade, T., Mills, K., Bryant, R., McFarlane, A., Steel, Z., Felmingham, K. and Rees, S. (2017). The contribution of gender-based violence and network trauma to gender differences in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. PLOS ONE, 12(2), p.e0171879.

Silvert, K. (1965). American Academic Ethics and Social Research Abroad: The Lesson of Project Camelot. *Background*, 9(3), p.215.

Simon, P. (2017). *The Sound Of Silence - The Paul Simon Official Site*. [online] The Paul Simon Official Site. Available at: http://www.paulsimon.com/track/the-sound-of-silence-8/ [Accessed 20 Nov. 2017].

Sinclair, S. and Antonius, D. (2012). *The psychology of terrorism fears*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sjoberg, L. and Gentry, C. (2015). Introduction: gender and everyday/intimate terrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, pp.1-4.

Sjoberg, L. (2006). *Gender, justice, and the wars in Iraq*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, p.48.

Sjoberg, L. (2007). Gender and Personal Pedagogy: Some Observations. International Studies
Perspectives, 8(3), pp.336-339.

Sjoberg, L. (2009). Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism/Terrorism Studies. *International Relations*, 23(1), pp.69-74.

Sjoberg, L. (2012). Feminist IR 101: Teaching through Blogs. International Studies
Perspectives, 14(4), pp.383-393.

Sjoberg, L. (2013). *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. New
York: Columbia University Press.

Sjoberg, L. (2015). *Viewing Peace Through Gender Lenses | Ethics & International Affairs*.
[online] Ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org. Available at:
http://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2013/viewing-peace-through-gender-
lenses/ [Accessed 5 Feb. 2015].

Sjoberg, Laura. (2017). "Caging Confessions: My Womanhood In David Lake's White Man's
IR - Relationsinternational". *Relationsinternational*.
http://relationsinternational.com/caging-confessions-womanhood-david-lakes-white-
mans-ir/#more-2013.

Slann, M. (1987). The States as Terrorist. In: M. Slann and B. Schechterman, ed.,
Multidimensional Terrorism, 1st ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner, p.39.

Smart, B. (2016). Military-industrial complexities, university research and neoliberal
economy. *Journal of Sociology*, 52(3), pp.455-481.

Smith, A. (2003). *Laclau and Mouffe*. London: Routledge.

Smith, D. (2017). *How Trump's paranoid White House sees 'deep state' enemies on all sides*.
[online] the Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/us-
news/2017/aug/13/donald-trump-white-house-steve-bannon-rich-higgins?CMP=fb_gu
[Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Smith, R. (1995). The Demand for Military Expenditure. In: K. Hartley and T. Sandler, ed.,
Handbook of Defense Economics, 1st ed. New York: Elsevier.

Smith, S. (2000). The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social

Science? The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 2(3), pp.374-402.

Smith, T. (2017). Reading Room: Conspiracy theory and American foreign policy - AIIA. [online] Australian Institute of International Affairs. Available at: http://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/reading-room-conspiracy-theory/ [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Snyder, T. (2017). *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons From the Twentieth Century*. London: Bodley Head.

Solovey, M. (2001). Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution: Rethinking the Politics-patronage-social Science Nexus. *Social Studies of Science*, 31(2), pp.171-206.

Solon, O. (2017). *Facebook admits: governments exploited us to spread propaganda*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/apr/27/facebook-report-government-propaganda [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Solon, O. (2017). *The future of fake news: don't believe everything you read, see or hear*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/jul/26/fake-news-obama-video-trump-face2face-doctored-content [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Sorensen, T. (2003). JFK's Strategy of Peace. *World Policy Journal*, 20(3), pp.2-6.

Sorensen, T. (2003). Ted Sorensen's Speech About JFK at AU. [online] issuu. Available at: http://issuu.com/americanu/docs/sorensen-speech/1?mode=window [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Soto, Alvaro de. (2014). Diplomacy and Mediation. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.300-319.

Sousanis, N. (2015). *Unflattening*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Southern Poverty Law Center. (n.d.). *White Nationalist*. [online] Available at: https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/white-nationalist [Accessed 28 Apr. 2019].

Speri, A. (2017). *The FBI Has Quietly Investigated White Supremacist Infiltration of Law Enforcement*. [online] The Intercept. Available at: https://theintercept.com/2017/01/31/the-fbi-has-quietly-investigated-white-supremacist-infiltration-of-law-enforcement/ [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Spiller, K., Awan, I. and Whiting, A. (2017). 'What does terrorism look like?': university lecturers' interpretations of their Prevent duties and tackling extremism in UK universities. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, [online] pp.1-21. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1396954 [Accessed 28 Dec. 2017].

Sprinzak, E. (1998). The Great Superterrorism Scare. *Foreign Policy*, (112), p.110.

Sproat, P. (1990). Can the State be Terrorist? *Terrorism*, 14(1), pp.19-29.

Squires, J. and Weldes, J. (2007). Beyond Being Marginal: Gender and International Relations in Britain. The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 9(2), pp.185-203.

Stark, A. (2013). *Interview - Cynthia Enloe*. [online] E-International Relations. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/03/13/interview-cynthia-enloe/ [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Start.umd.edu. (n.d.) *START.umd.edu*. [online] Available at: http://www.start.umd.edu/start/ [Accessed: 14 Feb 2014].

Stavrianakis, A. and Stern, M. (2017). Militarism and security: Dialogue, possibilities and limits. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617748528 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

Strausz, E. (2016). *Experimental learning art space*. [image] Available at: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10154727300486563&set=g.675435315871900&type=1&theater&ifg=1 [Accessed 19 Apr. 2019].

Steinmetz, G. (2003). The State of Emergency and the Revival of American Imperialism: Toward an Authoritarian Post-Fordism. *Public Culture*, 15(2), pp.323-346.

Stepanova, E. (2014). Terrorism and Antiterrorism. In: M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov, ed., *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*, 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, pp.126-144.

Stern, M. (2017). Feminist Global Political Economy and Feminist Security Studies? The

Politics of Delineating Subfields. *Politics & Gender*, 13(04), pp.727-733.

Stewart, D. and Kleinfeld, R. (2016). *A World History of Political Violence | Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs*. [online] Carnegiecouncil.org. Available at: https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20160629-a-world-history-of-political-violence [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

Stiehm, J. (2003). Recent Efforts by Feminists to Advance Peace: Some Reports. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 28(4), pp.1231-1232.

Stone, J. (2016). George Orwell on politics and war. *Review of International Studies*, 43(02), pp.221-239.

Stop The Arms Fair, (2015). *Day 4: 'Conference at the gates' ...and more great action to challenge the setup of the arms fair!* [online] Available at: http://www.stopthearmsfair.org.uk/day-4-conference-at-the-gates-and-more-great-action-to-challenge-the-setup-of-the-arms-fair/ [Accessed 13 Sep. 2015].

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1997). *Grounded theory in practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Stump, S. (2014). *Urban Outfitters apologizes for shirt appearing to reference Kent*. [online] TODAY.com. Available at: http://www.today.com/style/urban-outfitters-apologizes-shirt-appearing-reference-kent-state-shooting-1D80148648 [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Sullivan, M., Pollard, C., Phillips, R. and Godden, M. (2017). *Hero rugby player cop stabbed in the face after taking on terrorists*. [online] The Sun. Available at: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3720222/london-bridge-attack-hero-cop-fought-three-terrorists-stabbed-in-face/ [Accessed 28 Jun. 2017].

Surviving Progress. (2012). [DVD] Canada: Mathieu Roy, Harold Crooks, Martin Scorcese.

Suzuki, D. and Mayorga, E. (2014). Scholar-Activism: A Twice Told Tale. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 16(1), pp.16-20.

Swami, V. and Coles, R. (2010). *The truth is out there | The Psychologist*. [online] Thepsychologist.bps.org.uk. Available at: https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-23/edition-7/truth-out-there [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Sylvester, C. (1994). Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method For IR. *Millennium -*

Journal of International Studies, 23(2), pp.315-334.

Sylvester, C. (1994). *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sylvester, C. (2011). The Forum: Emotion and the Feminist IR Researcher. *International Studies Review*, 13(4), pp.687-708.

Sylvester, C. (2013). *War as Experience*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Taylor, A. (2014). Amid the coverage of Ukraine, is a crisis in Venezuela being ignored? *World Views*, [blog] 24th Feb, Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/02/24/amid-the-coverage-of-ukraine-is-a-crisis-in-venezuela-being-ignored/ [Accessed: 27 Feb 2014].

Taylor, C. (2003). *"The Fog of War"*. [online] Salon. Available at: https://www.salon.com/2003/12/19/fog_of_war/ [Accessed 30 Dec. 2017].

Team, I. (2018). *Data, Democracy and Dirty Tricks*. [online] Channel 4 News. Available at: https://www.channel4.com/news/data-democracy-and-dirty-tricks-cambridge-analytica-uncovered-investigation-expose [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

TEDxLausanne (2016). *Gender, War and Peace: Why does the international system keep failing us?* [video] Available at: http://www.tedxlausanne.com/fr/node/188 [Accessed 22 Aug. 2017].

The Economist. (2016). *China invents the digital totalitarian state*. [online] Available at: https://www.economist.com/briefing/2016/12/17/china-invents-the-digital-totalitarian-state [Accessed 7 May 2019].

The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons of Robert S. McNamara. 2003. [film] NY: Errol Morris.

The Japan Times. (2017). *Taking a stand on defense research*. [online] Available at: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2017/03/09/editorials/taking-stand-defense-research/#.WVK3gIWcHic [Accessed 27 Jun. 2017].

The Matrix. (1999). [film] Directed by T. Wachowskis. United States; Australia: Warner Bros.

The Men Who Stare At Goats. (2009). [DVD] New Mexico, USA: Grant Heslov.

The Minerva Research Initiative. (n.d.). *Office of Privacy and Civil Liberties*. [online] Available at: http://minerva.defense.gov/About/OfficeofPrivacyandCivilLiberties.aspx [Accessed 19 Jun. 2017].

The Minerva Research Initiative. (n.d.). [ebook] USMA Westpoint, pp.1-16. Available at: https://www.usma.edu/minerva/Shared%20Documents/Minerva_Research_Initiative_Fr amework.pdf [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

The Saboteurs. (2015). [DVD] Norway: Per-Olav Sorensen.

Thompson, A. (2017). *Police Stood By As Mayhem Mounted in Charlottesville — ProPublica. [online] ProPublica.* Available at: https://www.propublica.org/article/police-stood-by-as-mayhem-mounted-in-charlottesville# [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Thompson, B. (1995). Ethical dimensions in trauma research. *The American Sociologist*, 26(2), pp.54-69.

Thomsen, J. (2017). *Trump to reverse ban on local police using military equipment: report*. [online] TheHill. Available at: http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/348201-trump-to-reverse-ban-on-local-police-using-military-equipment-report [Accessed 1 Sep. 2017].

Thucydides. and Hobbes, T. (1959). *The Peloponnesian War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Thwaites, Rachel and Amy Pressland. (2016). *Being An Early Career Feminist Academic: Global Perspectives, Experiences And Challenges*. 1st ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tickner, J. (1992). *Gender in international relations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tickner, J. (1997). You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists. International Studies Quarterly, 41(4), pp.611-632.

Tickner, J. (2001). *Gendering world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tickner, J. (2004). Feminist responses to international security studies. Peace Review, 16(1), pp.43-48.

Tickner, J. (2005). What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions. *Int Studies Q*, 49(1), pp.1-22.

Tilley, S. and Taylor, L. (2014). Complicating Notions of 'Scholar-Activist' in a Global Context: A Discussion Paper. *Journal of the International Society for Teacher Education*, 18(2), pp.53-62.

Tilly, C. (1985). War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. In: P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Scocpol, ed., *Bringing the State Back*, 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Publishing.

Tindale, C. (2017). Replicating Reasons: Arguments, Memes, and the Cognitive Environment. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 50(4), pp.566-588.

Tiwari, A. (2018). *Black Mirror - 'Nosedive' episode*. [image] Available at: https://fossbytes.com/china-social-credit-system-people-rating/ [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Tobias, M. (2013). *JFK Revisited: Nebraskan Ted Sorensen, Kennedy's Speech Writer | netnebraska.org*. [online] Netnebraska.org. Available at: http://netnebraska.org/article/news/jfk-revisited-nebraskan-ted-sorensen-kennedys-speech-writer [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Torfing, J. (1999). *New theories of discourse*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Toros, H. (2016). Dialogue, praxis and the state: a response to Richard Jackson. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 9(1), pp.126-130.

Travis, A. and MacAskill, E. (2017). *Critical threat level: who made the decision and what does it mean?* [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/23/raise-terror-level-critical-5000-troops-streets-operation-temperer [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Traywick, C. (2014). *'Cuban Twitter' and Other Times USAID Pretended To Be an Intelligence Agency*. [online] Foreign Policy. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/04/03/cuban-twitter-and-other-times-usaid-pretended-to-be-an-intelligence-agency/ [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Trinityleeds.com. (2017). *Public Art at Trinity Leeds | Trinity Leeds*. [online] Available at: https://trinityleeds.com/centre-information/public-art [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

True, J. (2015). A Tale of Two Feminisms in International Relations? Feminist Political Economy and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. *Pol & Gen*, 11(02), pp.419-424.

Tucker, P. (2014). *The Military Wants to Understand Why You Believe What You Believe.* [online] Defense One. Available at: https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2014/09/military-wants-understand-why-you-believe-what-you-believe/94775/ [Accessed 26 Apr. 2019].

Turnage, C. and Thomason, A. (2017). *As White Supremacists Wreak Havoc, a University Becomes a Crisis Center. [online] The Chronicle of Higher Education.* Available at: http://www.chronicle.com/article/As-White-Supremacists-Wreak/240912 [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Ucdp.uu.se. (n.d.) *Database - Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)*. [online] Available at: http://www.ucdp.uu.se/database [Accessed 4 December 2011].

University of New Mexico (n.d.). *Meow Wolf logo image*. [image] Available at: https://www.unm.edu/ [Accessed 18 Apr. 2019].

U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2009). *Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment*. DHS.

Vaitinnen, T. (2015). *Subjective traumas and healings of the "I" in IR. (Or, burying The Question)*. [online] Feminist Academic Collective. Available at: https://feministacademiccollective.com/2015/06/10/subjective-traumas-and-healings-of-the-i-in-ir-or-burying-the-question/ [Accessed 19 Nov. 2017].

Vallance, T. (1966). Project Camelot: An interim postlude. *American Psychologist*, 21(5), pp.441-444.

Van Dijk, T. (1999). Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 10(4), pp.459-460.

van Leeuwen, T. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis. *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, [online] pp.1-7. Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi174/abstract;jsessionid=D0021FADE7BAC718B37786664D8B48F1.f01t03?userIsAuthenticated=false&deniedAccessCustomisedMessage= [Accessed 30 Apr. 2016].

Versobooks.com. (2017). *The Anti-Inauguration: Building Resistance in the Trump Era*. [online] Available at: https://www.versobooks.com/books/2502-the-anti-inauguration?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=UK+UTM+-+The+Anti-Inauguration%3A+Building+Resistance+in+the+Trump+Era [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Vick, K. (2017). *Perhaps the Largest Protest in U.S. History Was Brought to You by Trump*. [online] Time.com. Available at: http://time.com/4649891/protest-donald-trump/ [Accessed 17 Nov. 2017].

Vigilantcitizen.com. (2014). *Madonna Spreads Disinformation With New "Illuminati" Song - The Vigilant Citizen*. [online] Available at: https://vigilantcitizen.com/musicbusiness/madonna-spreads-disinformation-new-illuminati-song/ [Accessed 31 Dec. 2017].

Vision of Humanity. (2011). *Global Peace Index*. [online] Available at: http://www.visionofhumanity.org/info-center/global-peace-index-2011/ [Accessed 8 Feb 2013].

Vision of Humanity. (2017). *The Surprising Economic Benefits of Peace – Vision of Humanity*. [online] Available at: http://visionofhumanity.org/economics/surprising-economic-benefits-peace/ [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Vitiuk, V. (1979). Toward an Analysis and Evaluation of the Evolution of Terrorism. *Sociological Research*, 18(3), pp.22-43.

Von Blum, P. (2017). Anxiety in Academia. *Tikkun*, 32(3), p.17.

Waldron, J. (2004). Terrorism and the Uses of Terror. *The Journal of Ethics*, 8(1), pp.5-35.

Walsh, J. (2017). *Post-Cyber Feminist International 2017*. [online] Frieze.com. Available at: https://frieze.com/article/post-cyber-feminist-international-2017 [Accessed 15 Apr. 2019].

Waltz, K. (2001). *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Waltz, K. (2008). *Realism and International Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Wang, A. (2016). *'Post-truth' named 2016 word of the year by Oxford Dictionaries*. [online] Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/11/16/post-truth-named-2016-word-of-the-year-by-oxford-dictionaries/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Wardlaw, G. (1989). *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics, and Counter-measures*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watchmen. (2009). [film] Canada: Zack Snyder.

Watchmen.wikia.com. (n.d.). *Who Watches the Watchmen? - Watchmen Wiki - Wikia*. [online] Available at: http://watchmen.wikia.com/wiki/Who_Watches_the_Watchmen%3F [Accessed 21 Aug. 2016].

Waters, H., Hyder, A., Rajkotia, Y., Basu, S., Rehwinkel, J. A. and Butchart, A. (2004). *The economic dimensions of interpersonal violence*. [report] Geneva: Department of Injuries and Violence Prevention, World Health Organization.

Watson, C. (2014). A Sociologist Walks into a Bar (and Other Academic Challenges): Towards a Methodology of Humour. *Sociology*, 49(3), pp.407-421.

Wearelegionthedocumentary.com. (2017). *We Are Legion | The Story of the Hacktivists Official Website*. [online] Available at: http://wearelegionthedocumentary.com/ [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Weaver, M. and Bengtsson, H. (2017). *Oxford University professor quits Blavatnik school in Donald Trump protest*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/aug/28/oxford-university-professor-bo-rothstein-resigns-donald-trump-protest?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Webel, C. and Galtung, J. (2007). *Handbook of peace and conflict studies*. London: Routledge.

Weber, C. (2017). The Trump Presidency, Episode 1: Simulating Sovereignty. *Theory & Event*, 20(1), pp.132-142.

Webster, D. and Dunn, E. (2005). Feminist Perspectives on Trauma. *Women & Therapy*, 28(3-4), pp.111-142.

Weinberg, L., Eubank, W. and Francis, E. (2008). The Cost of Terrorism: The Relationship

Between International Terrorism and Democratic Governance. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(2), pp.257-270.

Weiss, G. and Wodak, R. (2007). *Critical discourse analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Welch, D. (2013). *Propaganda: Power and Persuasion*. 1st ed. London: The British Library.

Wellcome Collection Blog. (2016). *A drop in the ocean: Internal reality*. [online] Available at: https://blog.wellcomecollection.org/2016/09/22/a-drop-in-the-ocean-internal-reality/ [Accessed 22 Sep. 2016].

West, C. (2018). *America is spiritually bankrupt. We must fight back together | Cornel West*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jan/14/america-is-spiritually-bankrupt-we-must-fight-back-together [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Westminster.ac.uk. (2016). *World-renowned feminist academic Professor Cynthia Enloe impresses Westminster students and staff*. [online] Available at: https://www.westminster.ac.uk/news/2016/world-renowned-feminist-academic-professor-cynthia-enloe-impresses-westminster-students-and-staff [Accessed 1 Jul. 2017].

Wibben, A. (2003). Whose meanings? A feminist perspective on the crisis of meaning in International Relations. In: P. Mandaville and A. Williams, ed., *Meaning and International Relations*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.86 - 105.

Wibben, A. (2004). Feminist International Relations: Old Debates and New Directions. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, X (2).

Wibben, A. (2011). *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*. New York: Routledge, p.16.

Wibben, A. (2013). Who Do We Think We Are? In: J. Edkins and M. Zehfuss, ed., *Global Politics: A New Introduction*, 2nd ed. Routledge, pp.85-107.

Wibben, A. (2014). On Narrative, Metaphor and the Politics of Security. In: M. Hanne, W. Crano and J. Mio, ed., *Warring with Words: Narrative and Metaphor in Politics*, 1st ed. Psychology Press, pp.118-136.

Wibben, A. (2016). Opening security: recovering critical scholarship as political. *Critical Studies on Security*, 4(2), pp.137-153.

Wibben, A. (2016). *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics and Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Wibben, A. (2016). *The value of feminist scholarship on security - The Journal of Turkish Weekly*. [online] Turkishweekly.net. Available at: http://www.turkishweekly.net/2016/03/08/op-ed/the-value-of-feminist-scholarship-on-security/ [Accessed 22 Aug. 2016].

Wibben, A. (2016). *What is Feminist Peace Research and Activism? (with images, tweets) · ATRWibben. [online] Storify.* Available at: https://storify.com/ATRWibben/what-is-feminist-peace-research-and-activism [Accessed 3 Sep. 2017].

Wibben, A. (2016). *Whose Academy Is It Anyway? | Duck of Minerva*. [online] Duckofminerva.com. Available at: http://duckofminerva.com/2016/05/whose-academy.html [Accessed 22 Aug. 2016].

Wibben, A. (2018). Why we need to study (US) militarism: A critical feminist lens. *Security Dialogue*. [online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617742006 [Accessed 2 Jan. 2018].

Widdowson, H. (1998). Review Article: The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1), pp.136-151.

Wight, C. (2017). A Robert De Niro Theory of Post-Truth: 'Are you talking to me?'. [online] The Conversation. Available at: http://theconversation.com/a-robert-de-niro-theory-of-post-truth-are-you-talking-to-me-87606 [Accessed 16 Jan. 2018].

Wikimedia Commons (2012). *Athenian tetradrachm representing the goddess Athena*. [image] Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:T%C3%A9tradrachme_ath%C3%A9nien_repr%C3%A9sentant_Ath%C3%A9na.jpg [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Wikipedia: Wikimedia Commons; Flickr (2009). *A graffiti similar to those which appear in the comic book series Watchmen*. [image] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Who_Watches_the_Watchmen.jpg [Accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Wilkinson, C. (2015). The unsaid and unseen: on hearing silences and seeing invisibilities in strategic narratives. *Critical Studies on Security*, 3(3), pp.338-340.

Wilkinson, P. (1986). *Terrorism and the liberal state*. New York: Wiley, 2nd Edn.

Williams, Z. (2017). *Totalitarianism in the age of Trump: lessons from Hannah Arendt*. [online] The Guardian. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/01/totalitarianism-in-age-donald-trump-lessons-from-hannah-arendt-protests?CMP=fb_gu [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Wilson, A. (n.d.). *EDUCERI - OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)*. [online] Oecd.org. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/edu/ceri/dyscalculiaprimerandresourceguide.htm [Accessed 10 Jan. 2017].

Wilson, P. (2007). Defining Military Culture. *The Journal of Military History*, 72(1), pp.11-41.

Wöhl, S. (2017). *Security as a Concept: Issues for IR and Feminist IPE - Progress in Political Economy (PPE)*. [online] Progress in Political Economy (PPE). Available at: http://ppesydney.net/security-concept-issues-ir-feminist-ipe/ [Accessed 1 Jan. 2018].

Wolfe, L. (2017). *Why it suddenly might not be crazy to compare Trump to Hitler in 1933 - Women's Media Center*. [online] Womenundersiegeproject.org. Available at: http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/blog/entry/why-it-suddenly-might-not-be-crazy-to-compare-trump-to-hitler-in-1933 [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Wolffe, R. (2018). The evil genius of Cambridge Analytica was to exploit those we trust most. *The Guardian*. [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/mar/21/cambridge-analytica-facebook-exploited-trust [Accessed 25 Apr. 2019].

Wolynn, M. (2016). *It Didn't Start With You*. Penguin Group USA.

Woodruff, B. (2019). *Kremlin Blessed Russia's NRA Operation, U.S. Intel Report Says*. [online] The Daily Beast. Available at: https://www.thedailybeast.com/kremlin-blessed-russias-nra-operation-us-intel-report-says [Accessed 7 May 2019].

Woods, A. (2011). *Making Peace - Photo: Marc Riboud*. [online] Nobelmuseum.se.

Available at: http://www.nobelmuseum.se/en/making-peace [Accessed 11 Jul. 2017].

Woods, H. (2017). *Is Theresa May silencing the academy?* [online] The Dial. Available at: https://thedial.co/articles/is-theresa-may-silencing-the-academy [Accessed 2 Sep. 2017].

Worley, W. (2017). *What exactly is the 'Deep State' and why is Donald Trump so infuriated by it?* [online] The Independent. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/deep-state-what-donald-trump-influence-us-president-control-public-intelligence-military-a7614311.html [Accessed 7 Jul. 2017].

Wright, R. (2005). *A short history of progress*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Yared, L. (2017). *Professors Arrested at DACA Protest | News | The Harvard Crimson.* [online] Thecrimson.com. Available at: http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2017/9/8/profs-arrested-daca-protest/ [Accessed 9 Sep. 2017].

Yetiv, S. (2011). History, International Relations, and Integrated Approaches: Thinking about Greater Interdisciplinarity. *International Studies Perspectives*, 12(2), pp.94-118.

Young, J. and Findley, M. (2011). Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research. *International Studies Review*, 13(3), pp.411-431.

YouTube (2016). *Public Lecture: 'How Can you Tell If You're Becoming Militarized? Doing a Feminist Audit' By Professor Cynthia Enloe.* [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yTuSCKVwGlA [Accessed 1 Jul. 2017].

YouTube (2008). *Rage Against the Machine - 'Take the Power Back' Song.* [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=47&v=HH3nzKv4r9A [Accessed 20 Nov. 2017].

Zalewski, M. (2015). Feminism and 'madness': in/securing feminist knowledge and boundaries. *Critical Studies on Security*, 3(2), pp.226-229.

Zarakol, A. (2017). TRIPping Constructivism. PS: Political Science & Politics, 50(01), pp.75-78.

Zerilli, L. (2017). Feminist Critique and the Realistic Spirit. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 50(4), pp.589-611.

Ziv, S. (2017). *Right-wing terrorism in the U.S. has been a constant threat: ADL report (exclusive)*. [online] Newsweek. Available at: http://www.newsweek.com/right-wing-terrorism-us-has-been-constant-threat-adl-report-exclusive-612492 [Accessed 21 Aug. 2017].

Žižek, S. (2009). *Violence*. London: Profile.

Zuckerman, E. (2011). *John Kelly, Morningside Analytics on the fact checking ecosystem | ... My heart's in Accra*. [online] Ethanzuckerman.com. Available at: http://www.ethanzuckerman.com/blog/2011/12/14/john-kelly-morningside-analytics-on-the-fact-checking-ecosystem/ [Accessed 8 Jul. 2017].

Zugman, K. (2003). Political Consciousness and New Social Movement Theory: The Case of Fuerza Unida. *Social Justice*, 30(1), pp.153-176.

Zulaika, J. (2012). Drones, witches and other flying objects: the force of fantasy in US counterterrorism. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 5(1), pp.51-68.

Zulaika, J. and Douglass, W. (1996). *Terror and taboo*. New York: Routledge.

Glossary of Abbreviations

AI…………………………………………………………………...Artificial Intelligence

APSA……………………………………………………American Political Science Association

BISA…………………………………………………British International Studies Association

CDA…………………………………………………………..Critical Discourse Analysis

CKC……………………………………………………Cultural Knowledge Consortium

CMS…………………………………………………………...Critical Military Studies

COBRA………………………………………………….Cabinet Office briefing room A.

CRASE……………………………Centre for Research, Artistic, and Scholarly Excellence

CTS……………………………………………………………Critical Terrorism Studies

DNC…………………………………………………..Democratic National Committee

DOD…………………………………………………………Department of Defense

DSEI……………………………………Defence and Security Equipment International

FPE………………………………..Feminist Peace Economics/Feminist Political Economy

HBO………………..Home Box Office/A Premium cable and television network in the USA

HSP…………………………………………………………...Henoch-Schönlein Purpura

HUMINT…………………………………………………………...Human Intelligence

ISA…………………………………………………………...International Studies Association

MENA……………………………………………………...Middle East and North Africa

MIC………………………………………………………….Military-Industrial Complex

NRA…………………………………………………………...National Rifle Association

NSF………………………………………………………….National Science Foundation

NWO……………………………………………………………………New World Order

PTSD…………………………………………………………..Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

SFSU………………………………………………………San Francisco State University

TWEED…………………………………………Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data

UCDP……………………………………………………Uppsala Conflict Data Program

UCLA………………………………………………University of California, Los Angeles

UMD………………………………………………………...University of Maryland

WILPF…………………………Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
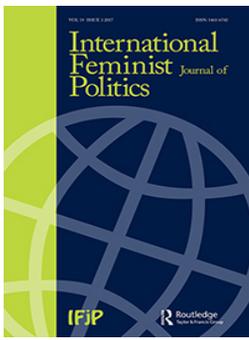
Being an early career feminist academic: global perspectives, experiences, and challenges, edited by Rachel Thwaites and Amy Pressland

Rosalie D. Clarke

Published online: 19 May 2017.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 117

View Crossmark data

Rafael de la Dehesa
City University of New York
✉ Rafael.delaDehesa@csi.cuny.edu

Ⓡ Check for updates

Being an early career feminist academic: global perspectives, experiences, and challenges, edited by Rachel Thwaites and Amy Pressland, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 321pp, $65.00 (hardback), ISBN 978-1-137-54324-0

"A feminist is any woman who tells the truth about her life" (Virginia Woolf cited in Harrison 2017). As Woolf once claimed truth – or rather the bravery required in honestly and critically (through self-reflexivity) divulging the truth of our lives, professionally and personally – is an essential element of the feminist account and method. Such bravery is exhibited in this volume.

I came to this book as one of the many aspiring academics seeking dispatches from the front which detail successes, experiences and challenges of those already performing vital critical scholarship. This interdisciplinary, global collection of somewhat autobiographical narrative accounts does a commendable job of bearing witness to the many, and often unspoken, experiences of an overlooked and vital part of the academy – feminist academics working within the modern neoliberal higher education institution. Overall, the book does an admirable job of representing a diverse array of feminist experiences in academia, across disciplines, and is a timely addition to a long-standing gap in the literature. One criticism could be made that it does not go far enough in sharing practical and creative suggestions for addressing the challenges it highlights. However, given the slow pace of progress in academia, this is not so much a criticism of the book, but rather an acknowledgment of further work to be done.

Part one introduces the reader to the early career experience, with contributions on gender and age-based insecurity in Australia, and navigating gender expectations in the field of criminology. Part two builds on these experiences to consider the tensions between affect and identities, invoking the very feminist notion of multiple identities embodied within the feminist researcher and academic. Agnes Bosanquet considers the very topical and long-standing concerns of women navigating academia, using the autoethnographic method and moving, honest and frank survey data from other women facing similar challenges and personal conflicts. This is still a very controversial topic when it comes to those of us who remain free of the challenges of motherhood and marriage, but still face considerable and other kinds of challenges, which can be overlooked.

In part three Anna Tarrant and Emily Cooper give their "auto/biographical" account as friends and colleagues, utilizing (often online) social networks and friendship encounters to address sexism in the academy and challenges faced in neoliberal British higher education institutions. They reference scholarly literature, but are particularly guided by their shared knowledge of social geography and their own similar scholarship on this topic. This is heartening to see, as often, as feminist academics working at the fringes – in

developing critical methods, we find it difficult to locate published (peer-reviewed) examples in support of our assertions regarding the current state of affairs for feminists in the academy.

Marjaana Jauhola and Saara Särmä's account of feminist scholars in IR in the Finnish context utilizes aspects of Särmä's "junk feminism" (2015) method of collage to elaborate on emotions through an artistic and crowd-sourcing method. This builds upon the use of social networks and friendship as a support for feminist work. As these authors assert:

> Most of the time, in academia, the emotionality of these experiences is either missed or sidelined as unimportant. Or--which is at times even worse--they are thrown back by those in power at whomever has been brave enough to be vocal about them – labelling such experiences as problems of personality, improper and misfit behaviour, or scholarly immaturity. (142)

This is quite an affirmation of my experience, but also of the experiences of many women trying to survive in this unforgiving, male-dominated landscape. Further addressing the vital importance of social gatherings and sub-communities for the survival of dissidents (those scholars embracing feminist work), the authors suggest that:

> Collectively shared feelings of neglect, dismissal and outright discrimination towards feminism and feminist ideas have simultaneously meant that, since the institutionalisation of gender/feminist strands within academic associations (such as the British International Studies Association and the International Studies Association), collegial networks, meetings, workshops, conferences, and even new journals and online publication avenues (Duck of Minerva, Disorder of Things, Feminist Academic Collective) have provided important spaces – to share not only academic approaches and debates, but also affective care (152).

Part four builds further on these experiences regarding the necessity for social networks within the context of the neoliberal higher education institution. Focusing on social capital and labor issues for the early career academic, contributions cover some country specific experiences – including experiences of the "market" in Russia and Sweden. This may be particularly useful for some, as Russian experiences are rarely shared or explored, in comparison to other European or US perspectives. Part five looks to the future of feminist academic work. In "Teaching to Transgress in Neoliberal Education," Katherine Natanel suggests that

> by drawing attention to power, structure, agency and resistance in our classrooms, yet remaining entangled within their tensions, we effectively undertake a mode of bargaining that positions us both inside and outside the system – in this, we are poised to disrupt. (248)

She argues, with the support of critical pedagogy scholarship, this resistance to (and within) this system, is not an endpoint but rather an ongoing and unfinished process.

This book is for early career feminist scholars seeking evidence that other such feminists in different parts of the world share their struggles in the contemporary academy and affirmation for their concerns and aspirations. In addition, it provides ample scholarly evidence for all those non-feminist academics who often dismiss as anecdotal the barriers feminist academics experience as they challenge the status quo of an academy that was never built to accommodate "us" (Wibben 2016).

Notes on contributor

Rosalie D. Clarke is a PhD candidate at Nottingham Trent University in the field of International Relations, with a focus on Critical (feminist) Security Studies, Critical Terrorism Studies and Critical Military Studies.

References

Harrison, Olivia. 2017. "30 Virginia Woolf Photos And Quotes In Celebration Of Her Birthday." *Bust.Com*. Accessed January 7. http://bust.com/books/15466-virginia-woolf.html.

Särmä, Saara. 2015. *Junk Feminism and Nuclear Wannabes*. Tampere: Tampereen Yliopisto.

Wibben, Annick. 2016. "Whose Academy Is It Anyway? Duck Of Minerva." *Duckofminerva.Com*. http://duckofminerva.com/2016/05/whose-academy.html.

Rosalie D. Clarke
Nottingham Trent University, UK
✉ N0202823@ntu.ac.uk ⓘ http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0798-0358

Check for updates

Undoing monogamy: the politics of science and the possibilities of biology, by Angela Willey, Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2016, 216 pp., $23.95 (paperback), ISBN 978-0-8223-6159-6

In *Undoing monogamy* Angela Willey takes the reader through a devastating critique of scientific explanations of sexual behavior, fidelity and family form. Her fundamental claim is that biology and science neither dictate nor reject monogamy. Monogamy is neither natural nor unnatural; neither biological imperative nor mere social constraint. But this claim is a mere starting point.

Undoing Monogamy is steadfastly critical of the notion of compulsory monogamy. While framed largely from a western perspective, Wiley's work has implications across humans, making it relevant to feminist scholars working on international politics from an array of angles. Rather than rehashing existing critiques of monogamy, though, it demands that we reconceptualize what it is to be monogamous as well as to understand, study or critique monogamy. Willey exhorts us to look critically at the way we frame the naturalness of monogamy. Her question is not whether or not monogamy or nonmonogamy is natural but what it means to pose that question. In her words, "what is the relationship between how we imagine social belonging and how we understand human nature?" (3)

To answer that meta-question Willey engages with a wide variety of sources, including sexological texts, philosophical work, journalism, work from within and outside academia, feminist and queer theory, polyamory literature, scientific publishing and time spent with a scientific laboratory investigating monogamy in voles. As the subtitle of the book indicates, her conclusion is that science is always political and that biology leaves various possibilities open.

One issue is that the very term "monogamy" is vague or used inconsistently. In her time spent with the vole scientists Willey uncovers a serious problem: their work, and its media reception, equivocates between monogamy understood as sexual fidelity and monogamy understood as social pair-bonding, cohabitation or intimacy. The lab was investigating the phenomenon of preference for another specific individual vole, a phenomenon that tended to be reported as evidence of the natural basis for monogamy in voles and therefore, we might hypothesize, in humans. Willey questions why the notion of pair-bonding or social preference was studied through the lens of