BOOK OF ABSTRACTS, ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Conflict Research Society, Leeds, 2- 4 Sept., 2014: http://www.crsconference.net/index.php

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Note: & indicates the second author in a joint paper.
    [] indicates that the paper will not be presented at the conference
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Abbs, Abouharb, &Adam, Adewumi, Adhikari, [Akin], Atack, Avruch
Bakke, Bara, Birch, Breen, Brenner, Brunelli, Buhaug, Burt, Bury, Byrne
Cederman, Clayton & De Rouen, Clubb, Cochrane & Loizides, Cocodia, [Cunliffe]
Darling, Darweish, Davies & Johns, &De Rouen, [Dunn], [Durç]
Eriksson
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Garson, Gillespie*, Gizelis, Gledhill, Gleditsch
[Hadjigeorgiou], Harris, [Hashem], [Hidalgo], Hinkkainen
Isci
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Levy, Littler, Loizides*, Lynch
McKenzie, [Mahmood], [Mantzikos], [Maringira], Mboumba Nzamba, Miall, [Mielcarek], CMitchell, RMitchell,
Morales, Mutisi
Natil, Neale, [Nnabuihe], Nwankwo
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[Taha], Taka, [Tanabe], Thimm
Van den Dungen, Verbrugge & Adam,
[Weerawardhana], Wilkinson, [Williams], Woodhouse, Wright
Yellowthunder
Also:
Book prize: Avruch, Cederman, Gleditsch, Buhaug
Plenaries: Neale, Mitchell(C), Adhikari, Loizides, Kivimaki
Joint Papers: Adhikari, Hansen, NMitchell and Proctor; Clayton and De Rouen; Davies and Johns; Okolie-Osemene and Okoh, Verbrugge and Adams

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Book Prize: Kevin Avruch (George Mason U.); Lars-Erik Cederman (ETH Zurich), Kristian Gleditsch (Essex U.) and Halvard Buhaug (PRIO)

Bren Neale (Leeds U.):
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Chris Mitchell (George Mason U.):
Thirty Years After; Looking Back on Developments in the Field

Prakash Adhikari (Central Michigan University) et al.
Arming Villagers: Pro-Government Militias, Violence and Forced Migration – see below for abstract

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The Way Home: Protracted Displacement and Return Home [Plenary; no abstract]

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Presenters, titles and abstracts – alphabetical order

A

Luke Abbs, CARC, Kent U.
Food Prices, Economic Horizontal Inequality and Conflict in Africa
Politicians and policymakers paint a vivid picture of the link between climate change and civil unrest. However, academic research has yet to establish an empirical connection between the two. One of the causes of this failure may lie with the attempts to establish a direct causal link. Such attempts have led the literature to neglect the indirect consequences of climate change, namely food prices. This ignores the immediate and devastating impact that high food prices can have on human survival. Furthermore, price changes disproportionately affect richer and poorer segments of society, potentially exacerbating existing economic group inequalities. These fundamental challenges to wellbeing could precede episodes of unrest, yet this remains a significant gap in our knowledge. The aim of this paper is to systematically assess the relationship between food prices, inequality and various types of conflict. This study deploys a disaggregated analysis of locations across 41 African countries between 1990 and 2008. I expect to find that conflict is more likely in locations with high food prices and high economic inequality. In addition, conflict should be more probable in locations where high food prices and high economic inequality interact.

M. Rodwan Abouharb, UCL
Why Some Conflicts Remain More Lethal Than Others: How the International Humanitarian Regime Mitigates the Impact of Civil and Interstate War on Infant Mortality Rates, 1817-2005
We know little about whether the codification of the international humanitarian regime (IHR) after World War II mitigates the public health consequences of war. The state based nature of this regime may also generate unforeseen consequences complicating efforts to alleviate the public health consequences of civil wars in comparison to interstate wars. While all states have promised to mitigate the public health consequences of war; this has not been the case for rebel groups over much of the 20[th]Century. Civil wars are often fought under conditions in which only the government pledges to mitigate the consequences of war for non-combatants. These arguments suggests that while the IHR has reduced the overall public health impact of war post-World War II, civil wars may remain lethal to public health than interstate wars because only some of the combatants try to uphold international humanitarian law. This manuscript analyses these arguments, examining the impact of interstate and civil war on infant mortality rates (IMRs) for all independent states over the 1817-2005 period, which enables pre and post-World War II comparison. It uses a Heckman selection model to control for bias due to limited IMR data availability during conflicts. The results support my argument that the IHR reduces the public health consequences of both interstate and civil wars post World War II. The results also support my argument that the IHR has been less successful in mitigating the public health consequences of civil wars in comparison to interstate wars. While there is evidence that the state based human rights regime ameliorates some of the public health consequences of wars in general, the societal costs of civil wars remain pernicious.

Adeolu Adewumi, 4Solutions Multi Consult (4SM)
The Battle for the Minds: Insurgency and Counter Insurgency in Northern Nigeria
Contemporary discourse on Nigeria is almost inevitably replete with issues surrounding insecurity, militancy, insurgency, and terrorism due to the linkages with economic, social, political and governance activities with spiraling effects on regional and international relations. As countries came under tremendous internal security and conflict risks at the end of the cold war, Nigeria's internal security came under increased threat at the end of military rule.
Terrorism, which has systematically crept into the Nigerian lexicon has gained currency and drawn increasing attention. Some analysts including policymakers and security officials have often and defensively argued that 'it is Nigeria's share of the prevailing global phenomenon'. In line with the prevailing containment strategy, the rhetoric has also been, 'who does the government dialogue with since the perpetrators of terrorism remain largely faceless'. In other words, it is a challenge that must be agonizingly accepted and confronted. If terrorism in Nigeria is her fair share of a global challenge, it is therefore simplistic to assume that the counter measures must take the shape of a global strategy.
Perhaps, the unfeigned rhetoric should be why and how terrorism and other forms of militancy became attractive and what strategies are in place to stem the prevailing and preempt the likely future threats in Nigeria? Furthermore, in line with the ideological demands of the insurgents, is there also a psychological warfare at play? The paper seeks to examine the evolution and nuances of the sophistication of the guerrilla campaign and counter measures in winning the minds of the locals of affected communities and Nigerians in general. The paper also explores the dialogue option within the context of the internationalization of the insurgency.

Prakash Adhikari, Central MichiganU.
Arming Villagers: Pro-Government Militias, Violence and Forced Migration
The goal of this study is to explore factors associated with the degree and spread of violence at the micro level during civil wars. We know something about the political, economic, and geographic correlates of conflict. Less work has been done on understanding how conflict evolves and the actors involved, and notably those involved on

the government side. Drawing on the analysis of delegation, this study investigates the consequences for civilian welfare of a decision to delegate security tasks to non-state actors in the second phase of the civil war in Nepal. Using newly collected data at the village development committee (VDC) level in Nepal and data at the district level, we examine the micro-level dynamics of the variation in the intensity of violence across the country and the geographic spread of violence during the decade long civil war.

[Ferda Fahrioglu Akin]
Applying Human Needs Theory to Turkey's Kurdish Question in the Context of Security and Identity
This paper will explore one of Conflict Resolution perspective's theory which is called as Human Needs Theory in the context of Turkey's Kurdish question. For decades, Turkey's Kurds have had conflicts with the Republic of Turkish State for their identity needs, and Turkey has had same conflicts in the context of nation-building and security. Human Needs Theory (HNT) claims that unmet needs cause conflicts, and to solve conflicts needs must be satisfied. This paper will assert that resources of conflict between Kurds and Turkey are unmet needs of two side, in this respect HNT argues that needs are not zero-sum and instead of 'this or that' perspective with perspective of 'both of' conflicts can be solved. Moreover, HNT claims that there is no hierarchy between needs and needs of both side can be satisfied together. Turkey has seen Kurdish question as security problem, therefore has applied security-based policies. Accordingly, Turkey's Kurdish questions has not solved for decades. Especially, after the revolution of PKK(Kurdish Worker Party), conflict has been worst and Kurdish problem has seen as terrorism. There is need for alternative perspective for resolving that conflict and HNT is an alternative perspective for such conflicts. When applied HNT, it has seen that the conflict's resources are Kurdish side's identity need and Turkish side's security need. Furthermore, theory claims that both sides' needs can be satisfied together. This paper will discuss how Kurdish conflict can be solved in the context of Kurds' identity need and Turks' security need; after HNT will examine as an alternative conflict resolution theory.

Dr Iain Atack, Trinity College Dublin
Nonviolent Action and Political Power
The effectiveness of nonviolent action or civil resistance depends upon its capacity for collective mobilisation. Such mobilisation is used to resist human rights abuses and repressive governments and can achieve significant political reform, regime change or even more profound changes in the fundamental characteristics of forms of government (from dictatorship to democracy, for example). The effectiveness of such nonviolent political action is often explained in terms of the so-called consent or pluralistic theory of power, according to which the power of any ruling elite is ultimately derived from the consent of those they govern, and can be undermined or even removed by the collective withdrawal of such consent and cooperation. This paper will examine the consent theory of power in the context of a range of theories of power (Sharp, Boulding, Arendt, Lukes and Russell for example) to examine the extent to which they either support or challenge its explanation of the political effectiveness of nonviolent action. Furthermore, this exploration of the nature of power associated with nonviolent action may help determine how it can contribute to more profound processes of social change. Nonviolent action often occurs within the constraints of conventional political structures such as the state, which depend upon their own forms of institutionalised violence and hierarchies of power to maintain social order. An investigation of the forms of political power associated with nonviolent action can also identify its role in establishing both collective empowerment and nonviolence as more permanent features of social and political organisation.

B

Kristin Bakke, University College London
External Patrons, Violence, and Internal Legitimacy in de facto States
Post-war state-building is fraught with steep challenges, key among which is for former "war-makers" to demonstrate to their citizens that they are now legitimate "state-makers." This is particularly so for de facto (or unrecognized) states born out of violent struggles, as they need to show to multiple audiences that they deserve to become independent states. One influence on citizens' confidence in post-war states is their assessment of the provision of public goods, such as welfare and, importantly, physical security and safety. But with de facto states, such state-building is rarely sui generis. Russia, for example, provides significant financial and military assistance to most of the post-Soviet de facto states forged from separatist struggles in the early 1990s. Generating local legitimacy by reliance on external subventions and security, however, can complicate these entities' quest for legitimacy. To date, scholars have no systematic understanding of how vi...

Corinne Bara, ETH Zurich
Weak states and bad neighborhoods: How ethnic conflicts spread across borders
Ethnic conflicts have a propensity to spread across borders, especially if they involve transnational ethnic kin, i.e., ethnic groups that reside in more than one country. Previous scholarship on conflict diffusion has identified a number of risk factors that make such spill-over more likely, which can be clustered into three groups: Domestic risk factors in the "receiving" country (such as grievances and state weakness), negative externalities of the conflict at the border (transborder flows of refugees, rebels, and weapons), and the nature of the relationship among transborder ethnic groups and/or governments in the region (powerful ethnic kin, government rivalries). What we do not know, however, is how these risk factors interact, or in other words: Which constellations of the above variables are particularly conducive to the spill-over of violent conflict along ethnic lines? Given that the

majority of groups at risk from such neighborhood spill-over remains peaceful, this study argues that there is a limited number of recurring patterns that explain why conflict spread when it did, and under which conditions it was averted. It has been shown, for example, that spill-over is less likely to states with a high capacity to deal with unrest. At the same time, state strength can be circumvented by rebel groups if rival governments or powerful ethnic kin offer them sanctuary and tolerate rebel bases on their territory. Similary, refugee flows have been linked to spill-over, but this risk depends on whether the kin group in the receiving state has any grievances against its own government at all. In order to identify — and generalize about — such patterns, this study uses Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to analyze some 100 ethnic groups globally that were at a particularly high risk from conflict spill-over between 1990 and 2009 because their kin across the border rebelled.

Marion Birch, MEDACT
Health Impact Assessment & Conflict Prevention: predicting the unthinkable
Health information collected during conflict is vital to facilitate appropriate assistance and meet increased needs; it can also contribute to accountability and justice. In recent decades there has been extensive work to try and improve its accuracy.
Health information and data could also be used to anticipate the health consequences of potential conflicts, and contribute to conflict prevention by influencing decision makers and informing public opinion. Health Impact Assessment (HIA) methodology provides a framework to do this.
Medact is an organisation with extensive experience in documenting the health consequences of violent conflict. Their 2002 report 'Collateral Damage' outlined the anticipated health consequences of invading Iraq; tragically their predictions were mostly correct.
At the beginning of 2013, when military action against Iran was 'on the table' for the US and the UK, Medact carried out a case study HIA of the health consequences of such action. The aim was to make the likely health consequences clear to decision makers and contribute to conflict prevention; a secondary aim was to encourage further work on the use of HIA in situations where military action is under consideration.
Proposed panel discussion
• 	a short presentation on how Medact carried out the above case study HIA (approximately 10 mins)
• 	an open discussion to include the following and other points raised by participants:
¬ 	can the use of the HIA methodology make the health consequences of violent conflict more influential in preventing conflict
¬ 	does the use of the HIA methodology raise any ethical dilemmas
¬ 	how can sometimes complicated estimates of these consequences be best communicated to a) decision makers b) the public.

Claire Breen, Waikato U.
States' ICESCR Obligations In Peace Operations: The Added Value Of Human Rights Indicators
Systemic inequality, also comprising violations of economic, social and cultural rights, raises the risk of civil conflict. International law and policy recognizes this link and peace operations, as mechanisms to maintain international peace and security, must not perpetuate such inequality. Extraterritorial obligations stemming from the ICESCR inform States' efforts in this regard. The effect of such efforts can be examined through the use of human rights indicators, which also bring an added dimension to analyses of States' contributions to their own peace operations and ultimately perhaps to international peace and security.

David Brenner, LSE
From Battlefield to Marketplace? Changing Border economies, Counterinsurgency, and the Internal Politics Ethnic of Armed Groups in Myanmar/Burma
Myanmar's restive borderlands have witnessed remarkable economic transformation in the last two decades. Chinese and Thai investors have surged into these conflict zones - many of which are under control of ethnic armed groups - to exploit natural resources and build strategic infrastructure. Border trade volumes have skyrocketed. This provided Myanmar's generals the opportunity to corrupt insurgents into ceasefires with benefits of economic development and business concessions. Various studies suggest that this counterinsurgency strategy has indeed weakened rebellion far more successfully than decades of warfare. In 2012 a historic ceasefire with the country's oldest and most uncompromising rebel group - the Karen National Union - has been reached. Business interests have reportedly played an important role. While this to support the above argument, concurrent conflict escalation with the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) - a group that has often been portrayed as the prototype of rebels-turned-into businessmen - defies this logic. In order to understand this upside down turnaround of conflict behaviour one has to move beyond the common conceptualisations of armed groups as unitary actors that base their decisions on external utility maximisation. Only by tracing the processes inside armed groups can their conflict behaviour become intelligible. These dynamics have only recently attracted scholarly attention. The paper builds on this young body of literature by analysing how economic opportunities and challenges have impacted on the internal political contestation within the KNU and the KIO. Findings from nine month of field research in their territories help to forward these theoretical propositions.

Donata-Katharina Brunelli, Trinity College Dublin
The Establishment of Peacekeeping Missions revisited: How International Influences Impact on the Intervention Decision of Third Parties

Although the field of third party intervention has undoubtedly triggered wide scholarly interest the question on which factors influence the decision of these actors to intervene has never been fully clarified. Especially the motivations of regional security organizations have not received the attention they possibly deserve. The suggested paper will be a methodological replication and extension of the article "Deciding to keep peace: An analysis of international influences on the establishment of third party peacekeeping missions" by Mark J. Mullenbach (2005), who explains variation in the establishment of third party peacekeeping missions, by analysing the effect of international- level factors on 213 conflict cases in the period between 1945- 2002. Relevant peacekeeping missions include operations organized by the UN, single states, and regional organizations in separate binary models. While this approach allows a comparison of the findings among the intervening agencies, the existing article restricts a third party to the polarised conflict response between either setting up a peacekeeping mission or non-intervention. However, the possible effects of one third party's peacekeeping action on the intervention decision by another party have been largely neglected. To test for the results' robustness, I will apply a multinomial logistic regression model, which combines all third parties into one categorical dependent variable. Moreover, the literature on foreign policy substitutability between actors and policy options will be included in the paper. It remains to be seen whether the original results on the relevance of international factors over state-and conflict related factors hold firm. In the light of current and past crises such as in Syria, this paper's and similar studies' results become all too relevant.

Gordon Burt, CRS
Steven Pinker: from inner demons to better angels ... today's speakers ... my 'Commentary'
Steven Pinker was joint winner of CRS Book of the Year, 2013. In charting the historic decline of violence his book discusses the transformation from inner demons to better angels, looking at all levels of society and using all the disciplines. Today's speakers Bren Neale, Jake Lynch, Ismene Gizelis, Peter Van den Dungen, Diana Francis, David Dunn and Chris Mitchell carry forward the excitement of Pinker's agenda and I too would like to relate my monthly 'Commentary' to that agenda.
.(1) From inner demons to better angels: nurturing flourishing
As a grandfather I have noticed that babies are not always about peace! What has really struck me about the mother-baby relationship is the nurturing of flourishing. Turning to the marital relationship, Gottman's 'Sound Marital House' involves: creating shared symbolic meaning, the marital friendship, creating positive sentiment override, regulating conflict ... what matters is marriage's effectiveness
at making personal life dreams and aspirations come true. The nurturing of flourishing, I think.
.(2) All levels of society
Attending funerals I observe celebrations of lives by family, friends and community. Reading obituaries I am fascinated by the 'rich tapestry' of people's lives. Fictional accounts of lives are given in novels. Novels according to Steven Pinker have made people more understanding of one another – see Pavel's 'The lives of the novel'.
Lives are set in society – the microdynamics of lives and the macrodynamics of society are the stuff of history.
.(3) All the disciplines
Embedded in all of this are values: psychology's semantic differential, positive reinforcement, id, ego and superego; utility in economics; culture and ideology in sociology; the criteria for social policy and design. How do we know about such things? As a mathematical physicist I am attracted to mathematics and science as approaches to knowledge. But there is a gap. Real life seems distant from mathematics. But I say: look at reality and see mathematics! To this end I have started producing a monthly 'Commentary' – it looks at the news and sees mathematics!

Dennis Bury, Syracuse University, London Campus
Is research on tyrants' personality any use?: How do Dictators turn cruel?
Demands of the environment may well come to dominate the political arena as an imposed necessity for change to ensure survival. This may, to some greater or lesser degree, result in rigorously imposed decision structures.
Many societies in history have tolerated decision-imposed structures and many still do. However, some demand-focused structures turn tyrannical and cruel, often under one titular dictator who seem to be capable of exerting colossally destructive influence and havoc. We may need to know more about the individual processes which allow the development of cruelty in leadership.
There are considerable problems in accessing the minds of dictators; they are reluctant to allow this exposure to occur! Some attempts have been made but have been, inevitably, limited in assumptions and methods – retrospective analysis being an example of one such limitation. Recent research on war criminals, bullies, genocide, multicide and serial killers throws less emphasis upon psychopathology and more upon ideological fixity and rigidity in order to explain cruel acts.
A model based upon Flocking may bridge the gap between the individual exhibiting cruel dominance and the readiness of other individuals to swing in the same direction of hate. Dictators don't turn cruel on their own and lay tools at understanding the process may potentially propagate insight. Models in communicating health risk communication may bring insight to effect this.
Modern weaponry and global connectedness make it clear that humanity's fragility cannot afford another comprehensive tyranny - it could be our last! Understanding tyrants may, counter-intuitively, aid our defence against this eternally arising phenomenon.

Richard Byrne, Harper Adams U.
Growing economies - Expeditionary Economics and Hearts and Minds in Afghanistan
This paper seeks to explore and evaluate the development of expeditionary economics as an alternative model for CIMIC (Civil Military Co-operation) activities to promote stabilisation in conflict areas. Based on British military experience in Malaya 'hearts and minds' activity has developed over time into a CIMIC doctrine which for many NATO forces utilises military personnel as a conduit to the civilian population. Whilst in the Balkan war it was used primarily in a humanitarian capacity, latterly it has been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan as part of a 'force multiplier' of the teeth arms.
What is clear from both Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts is that 'traditional' CIMIC approaches have had little impact on the civilian population, and therefore limited impact on the development of governance and capacity. Economic development offers an alternative to the insurgency and builds civilian capacity.
As part of the development process drawn from the 'Comprehensive Approach' of the Provisional Reconstruction Teams, agriculture figured highly in Afghanistan's development portfolio. While USAID focussed on delivery of large scale projects and provincial level, teams of Agri-Businesses Development Specialists (ADTs) drawn from the US National Guard were deployed on the ground to bring transferable agricultural skills, planning and leadership direct to farmers and extension workers. While some commentators saw this as the military stepping into an NGO role; in a non-permissive environment for NGOs the deployment of agricultural specialists in uniform bought training to areas both geographical and production related which hitherto had been ignored. The result was an injection of enthusiasm and economic gain for the agricultural sector and of greater importance the development of Afghan capacity and direct economic benefit from licit enterprise. Whilst recognising the legitimate role of NGOs the ADTs bought gain to communities in an open manner and demonstrated the value of expeditionary economics.

C

Govinda Clayton, Kent U. and Karl De Rouen, Arizona U.
Too Strong for Peace? Relative Rebel Strength and the Sustainability of Civil War Peace Agreements
To what extent is the sustainability of a civil war peace settlement influenced by the relative strength of the belligerents that sign the agreement? Previous research has shown that relatively strong rebels are more likely to overcome the strategic bargaining problems that can prevent civil war settlement. Strong rebel groups are better equipped to challenge core government interests and fundamentally threaten the survival of a regime. Yet existing research has only assessed the influence of relative belligerent strength on the likelihood of an agreement, and failed to explore the long-term influence on conflict termination. We extend previous studies by exploring the extent to which the relative strength of belligerents influences the implementation and sustainability of civil war peace agreements. We argue that relatively strong rebel forces have greater incentives to renege on agreements. For once the rebels implement a settlement, the government, as a result of the consolidation of its power over the course of the peace process, will regain its position of superiority. Groups whose capacity matches (or exceeds) the incumbent therefore have strong incentives to resist implementing the terms of a deal (e.g. Liberia). We assess our claims systematically on all peace settlements in civil conflict between 1991 and 2011. We combine the peace agreement data with dyadic data that captures the relative position of insurgents. The results offer strong support for our core theoretical claims.

Gordon Clubb, Leeds U.
Selling the End of Terrorism
The paper uses a frames analysis approach to explain how key figures in the Provisional IRA convinced the rest of the movement to accept the 1994 ceasefire and the end of armed conflict. It did this by building a frame that maintained narrative fidelity by legitimising past violence while highlighting the changing conditions in society. They utilised credible figures to engage in extensive debate and discussion and they utilised the structure of the prison system to act as a linkage to diffuse the frame. Contrary to much of the literature's argument, the paper contests that de-radicalisation has occurred among Provisional IRA members.

Feargal Cochrane & Neophytos Loizides, Kent U.
High Fences Do Not Always Make Good Neighbours: Getting Beyond Conflict Management in Consociationalism

Jude Cocodia, Nottingham U.
An Assessment of Factors that Make for Effective Peacekeeping
Overtime, with the increase in peacekeeping literature, the relevance of certain factors in the exercise of efficient peacekeeping has been taken for granted. Attention has largely been on what I term institutional and policy factors. The factors in these categories are funding, size of contingent, mandate, political will and local participation. Of course they all matter, but I argue that they do not necessarily matter more than other factors which I classify as ethical and structural to receive the degree of attention that they do at the expense of others. This paper therefore evaluates the importance of these factors and others to effective peacekeeping and argues that while some such as funding and size of contingent have been given overt attention, others such as field leadership, local women participation in post conflict peace process, the impartial – neutral nexus, and host state demographics which matter just as much have most often taken the back seat in these discussions. This paper concludes that for

scholarly research to contribute effectively to peacekeeping, endeavour should be made to eke out all relevant factors that impact on its effectiveness and pay adequate attention to each.

[Philip Cunliffe, Kent U.]
Peacekeepers to Praetorians? Assessing the Democratic Implications of Participation in Peacekeeping: The Cases of Fiji and Bangladesh
The purpose of this paper is to explore what are termed here the potential negative 'feedback effects' of countries' troop contributions to UN peacekeeping operations (UN PKO). That is, the (unintended) consequences of participating in UN PKO on the countries that provide the peacekeepers. This represents a significant pivot away from mainstream peacekeeping scholarship, which is overwhelmingly focused on the outcomes and modalities of PKO in the countries where peacekeepers deploy. The paper attempts this pivot in emphasis with specific reference to two countries – Bangladesh and Fiji. These countries represent theory-infirming critical cases, as in the case of both countries their recent periods of military rule have been directly attributed to their extensive participation in UN PKO. They thus represent important exceptions to the claims made in the literature that participation in PKO represents a means of strengthening liberal democratic governments in transitional states and helping to solidify liberal civil-military relations. By examining these two cases and their associated literatures, this paper will seek to establish whether there are any common patterns across the two cases, and what they might tell us about the potential negative feedback effects of participating in UN PKO that are short of military rule."

D

Candida Darling, Liverpool Hope U.
Numbers to narratives; a journey through the epistemological landscape.
Conflicts ignite due to complex and contested motives; statistics tell us of the breadth of casualties and scope of cleavages, but they don't tell us why peace agreements breakdown. Statistics tell us a "how many story", which leaves out hidden answers and elaborate agendas. Qualitative analysis is in its ascendancy but which method suits the topic? Can bias really be bracketed; are researchers able to bracket off their own feelings and opinions?
This presentation is an insight into the epistemological shift necessary to take when engaging in Interpretative phenomenological analysis, from now on described as IPA. It is also an acknowledgement of the flexible nature of statistics and how they can be used as a subjective tool in mixed method analysis.
The focus of this presentation is divided into two parts: The argument for more interpretative phenomenological analysis research in politics, peace studies and international relations and, secondly, details of the research being undertaken as a case study to further prove the need for and explain the methodological stance necessary for IPA. The research has three strands, which will be drawn together to create the main body of work: firstly what is reconciliation? There are varying academic accounts proposing what reconciliation is as a concept; this research will draw on the recognized and examined aspects of the concept and aims to build on this prior research using 'The Reconciliation Pyramid' (Auerbach, 2009). Secondly participant narratives; who tells the stories, which frame the continued animosity and violent flare ups in Northern Ireland? There are three intertwining, yet contested, narratives regarding Northern Ireland, told from three perspectives. What are these narratives, who identifies with them and is there any room for integration between these narratives? Finally can the participants be located on the Pyramid? The Pyramid will be used as a framework to investigate where the participants believe their respective communities can be placed. The Pyramid is a clear representation of the phases adversaries must pass on their way to reconciliation at its apex.

Marwan Darweish, Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry U.
Palestinian Popular Resistance Against the Construction of the Separation Wall and Settlements.
The concept of nonviolence can be referred to as worldview value system to resist injustice and oppression in nonviolent peaceful means. In the case of Palestine the term unarmed popular resistance will be used to describe the struggle against structural, direct violence and the culture and attitudes of the occupier that promote use of violence against the Palestinian population. Unarmed popular resistance played an important role in the history of the Palestinian struggle and took the form of polemic, offensive, defensive and constructive resistance.
Domination and oppression are dependent to some extend to the cooperation (willing or forced) of the oppressed, civil resistance focus on identifying the key pillars of support of a regime and ways to undermined it, explore activities that raise the costs of repressive policies by ways of ""muting the impact of the opponents' violent weapons". Identify the conditions necessary for collective resistance and the necessary "infrastructure" for successful nonviolent movement. The research examined the Palestinian popular resistance movement against the construction of the separation Wall and the Israeli settlements and the role of the Israeli and international solidarity movement with the Palestinians. It examined the different forms of unarmed resistance and the challenges facing the popular resistance movement against the Israeli occupation and ways to overcome them.

Graeme Davies, Leeds U., and Robert Johns, Essex U.
Comparing Public Sensitivity towards Civilian, Military Contractor and Soldier Casualties during Military Interventions: Evidence from a Dynamic Panel Experiment.
There is a considerable body of literature that recognises that war is both costly and risky affecting decision-makers' choices . This article speaks to that literature by examining the human costs of war and how they affect public tolerance for on-going military actions. Using a panel experiment we examine how different casualty types

and elite presentational strategies affect public attitudes towards military conflicts. The analysis presents the first dynamic analysis of British public attitudes towards wartime casualties and the first study to directly compare how the public react to Military, Private Military Security Company (PMSC) and civilian casualties, testing whether outsourcing combat operations can reduce opposition to on-going disputes and whether tactics that disregard civilian casualties increase the duration of disputes.

[David Dunn, Keele U.]
International Relations has nothing to do with the real world: Engaging Peace and Conflict Research: a pressing question of need.
In this presentation I juxtapose the fundamental problems that beset International Relations – once touted as the key approach to question of peace, order and justice -(IR) as an academic discipline (and the attendant policy processes) and the possibilities, actual and potential, presented by the literature and practices of peace and conflict research(PCR) for an improvement in our understanding of peace and conflict.In the last two decades and more International Relations has collapsed into a miasma of theoretical chaos, fragmentation and incoherence. Theory, as a term once associated with rigour in a social science discipline, has given way to 'theorising', where this is associated with relativism, incoherence and imprecision. I assess why IR has become what it now is and the several ways that the body of work associated with PCR can be decisive in reconstructing it, whilst also making it relevant. Much of IR is irrelevant, sterile and misguided. By contrast, much of PCR is relevant, rooted in human conditions and utilises appropriate levels of analysis. I take as my inspiration a comment uttered by John Burton, one of the founders of the Conflict Research Society, in 1974; 'International Relations has nothing to do with the real world; it is a game'. In light of events, within and beyond the discipline, that comments carries even more weight. Whilst playing the game, IR scholars have turned a blind eye to PCR, with grave consequences."

[Safiye Ateþ Durç]
The peace wall in Turkey: Roboski
There was an armed conflict perýod in Turkey which was experienced from 1984 to 2013. This conflict had been came true between Turkish militarist and paramilitarist forces and PKK's (The Kurdistan Worker's Party) armed forces and other Kurdish groups – they have demanded freedo from Turkey to create an independent country or to have autonomy and greater political and cultural rights for Kurds inside the Republic of Turkey. The state of emergency which was continued during the period of conflict in Kürdistan (The east region of Turkey) transformed a management technique and has been dominated during the peace process/or as Erdoðan says "solution process". By the way we can say that there is a struggle for peacebuilding in Turkey since Oslo negotiations at 2009. But according to Murat Karayýlan's (a leader of PKK) talking, there have been many peace negotiations before Oslo. Especially after the letter of Öcalan (jailed leader of PKK) which was read at 2013 Newroz, some developments about peacebuilding became incerasingly, for example "wise people committee, and the withdrawing all PKK's forces within Turkey to Southern Kurdistan. In addition to these improvement there are two important constrations in Turkish-Kurdish peace process; the lack of legal basis and confronting the past. Also during the peacebuilding, trasitional justice must be. If it is not applied, negative peace will not enough and there will be lots of peace wall (which impede the peace culture).
Roboski is a massacre which was occured in Uludere (Þýrnak) at 28 December 2013 by the Turkish security forces. 35 Kurdish people (lots of them are only child) was killed. The president of Turkey, Recep Tayip Erdoðan, interpreted this event as "operational accident". And from then to now, no one was jailed, no one and no institution apologized. The families of those killed continue mourning.
If so, can we accept Roboski as a peace wall and what are the effects of such events to peace buýlding in Turkey? I will argue this questýons with trasitional justice, political symbol and positive peace.

E

Jacob Eriksson, York U.
US mediation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: lessons from Annapolis, 2007-2008
The Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues to defy resolution, despite persistent international mediation. As Oren Barak argues, this is not an inter-state conflict but an identity-based inter-group conflict, and needs to be treated as such. This is especially true when acting as a mediator.
Although the USA is the most prominent third-party mediator in the conflict, they have achieved relatively little success. By contrast, non-coercive mediators from small states like Norway and Sweden have succeeded in important areas where the USA has failed. This is because coercion cannot produce the concessions required for peace in an identity-based conflict. These must come from within the parties themselves, built on mutual understanding and a move away from the zero-sum nature of such conflicts. Analysis of the historical record suggests that an overt US presence at the negotiating table diverts attention from the parties themselves and creates unrealistic expectations.
This paper will use the 2007 Annapolis Conference and the resulting Olmert-Abbas negotiations in 2008 as a case study to argue that American mediation should follow a similar model in the future. Like the Madrid Conference in 1991 and the ensuing Oslo process, Annapolis shows the strengths and limits of US mediation. The USA undoubtedly has a role to play in the resolution of the conflict, but it is a role best limited to organisation, mobilisation of political support, and enforcing implementation of agreements reached.

F

Simon Fisher
Facilitation in the midst of conflict: dealing creatively with chaos, complexity and change
This paper will explore the role of the external facilitator in working with local actors to build purposeful change in the midst of conflict. Examples will be drawn from recent work on Syria, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and the Philippines to identify major opportunities and challenges and suggest ways of addressing them in a way that is consistent with the principles of peacebuilding and conflict transformation, and of adult learning theory. In so doing the aim will be to elucidate and expand on a limited number of key themes.
A central theme will be the power dynamics of an external facilitator who is often at the outset given the privileged role of expert and teacher by participants, yet who knows that they will only meet their needs if they can develop the confidence, trust and self-awareness to take full responsibility for their learning and unlearning, and for their own agency in its many dimensions.

Susan Forde, Archbishop Desmond Tutu Centre for War and Peace
Rationalisation of post-conflict memory through socio-spatial re-scripting and reclamation
This paper will theoretically explore the cyclical re-scripting of social spaces through three examples of spatial reclamation and re-scripting in post-conflict environs. Space utilisation, situation, social inscription and legitimisation of 'sites of memory' (institutionally constructed or socially constructed) are critical in the post-conflict spatial transformation of Stari Most in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Neue Wache memorial in Berlin, Germany and the Auschwitz-Birkenau camps in Poland (Nora, 1989:12). Thematic analysis of the reclamation and re-scripting of social space in the post-war regeneration of Stari Most (Old Bridge) in Mostar denotes the importance of topophilic attachment the re-scripting and reclamation space. Similarly, the Neue Wache memorial in Berlin, highlights the symbiotic relationship of spatially anchored and re-scripted social memory through chronological re-scriptings since construction in 1816 (Till, 1999). The reclamation and transformation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the former Nazi concentration and extermination camp, as a site of education and remembrance illustrates the re-writability of meaning in formerly scripted place. Though these case studies can be regarded as distinctly different in historic social memory, they may all be regarded as distinct 'sites of memory' (Nora, 1989: 12). The perpetual re-scripting of place generates a rational and social need to spatially locate, anchor or transfer social knowledge. The compartmentalisation or anchoring of memory is central to the functionality and continuation of the active social self and also acts as a permeation of social knowledge (Till, 1999; Nora, 1989). Decoding the socio-cultural meaning imbued in socio-spatial movement can progressively develop an understanding of post-conflict, socio-spatial legitimisation, re-scripting and the rationally functional physicalised anchoring of social knowledge and memories in social places (Downs & Stea, 2011).

G

Melanie Garson, University College London
Realising Reconciliation: Introducing the Peace and Reconciliation Dataset (1945-2011)
Reconciliation is a term bandied about in preambles and introductions to peace settlements, most likely, to pay lip-service to ideals espoused by third parties associated with the peace process but with no real intention behind the word. Traditionally considered as a complement or final stage of the conflict resolution process to be implemented by well-meaning NGO's and other civil society actors, reconciliation activity has not been viewed as integral to increasing the durability of peace agreements in protracted identity conflicts. Increased attention in peace agreements to measures to increase their durability, such as creation of demilitarised zones and third party guarantees has yet to identify reconciliation as having significance in increasing the durability of agreements in protracted conflicts. Drawing on social-psychological theories I argue that negative stereotypes as well as structural and psychological commitment to the conflict are key drivers of conflict recurrence, and that formalising measures to address these contributes to the durability of the settlements.
The Peace and Reconciliation dataset (1945-2011) expands upon previous peace agreement datasets to provide data on reconciliation clauses and reconciliation activity in 213 peace agreements signed in 34 of the world's most intractable conflicts. The dataset includes original data on the composition of reconciliation clauses, extent of conflict reconciliation activity, actors initiating reconciliation activity and the strength of civil society, which allows for the analysis of the relationship between reconciliation activity and the breakdown of agreement. Initial tests reveal that incorporating clear commitments to reconciliation activity reduces the likelihood of conflict breakdown, particularly breakdown through non-violent measures.
Expanding the literature on post-conflict stability, with implications for both policy makers and practitioners, reconciliation becomes more than just a nod to politically correct terminology but joins security and state-building measures as a key element of post-conflict stability.

Ismene Gizelis, Essex U.
The Other Half: Women Organisations and Peacebuilding Operations
Recent studies suggest that UN peacekeeping operations (PKOs) can help build stable peace (Fortna 2004; Howard 2008). Still, UN missions are often not successful. A contributing factor to the failure of UN missions to establish peace is the limited engagement with local actors other than elites in peacebuilding (Barnes and Olonisakin 2011; Pouligny 1996). One type of grassroots groups often neglected in the peacebuilding process is women's organizations. The main argument presented in the manuscript is that integrating women's organizations in post-conflict reconstruction can regenerate local capacity and transform the structures that contributed to the conflict in the first place. It is often easier for local communities to cooperate with the UN in regions where women have relatively higher status, as these communities have better functioning social networks in general and hence provide better prospects for constructive engagement between the UN and local actors. This manuscript uses a mixed methods' research design, combining statistical analyses of country-level (macro) data on UN missions, district-level (meso) data from Sierra Leone and Liberia, and semi-structured interviews with individuals (micro) in 5 Liberian counties, selected to reflect variation in UN presence as well as relative female status and the expected implications for female organization and activism.

John Gledhill, Oxford U.
Extreme Societies: Explaining Variation in Violence Following State Failure
When states fail, we generally expect there to be a swift spiral of violence, as non-state actors take up arms and compete among one another for position -- as was the case in post-Saddam Iraq and post-Soviet Georgia. So it is puzzling that some cases of state failure give rise to little or no collective violence. This paper offers an explanation of those cases by focusing on the degree to which the state had previously penetrated society. Where society previously trumped the state, non-state governance structures exist, and those structures can mediate relations between militias after state failure -- as they have in Yemen since 2011. Alternatively, where the state had quashed autonomous social structures, collapse of the state will precipitate a collapse of all organizational structures upon which mobilization for violence could be hung. In post-communist Albania, this dynamic produced an increase in individual, but not collective, violence.

H

[Nasia Hadjigeorgiou, King's College London]
Assessing the contribution of human rights in ethnically divided, post-conflict societies
Part of the liberal peacebuilding recipe that is being tried out in different ethnically divided, post-conflict societies around the world is the idea that human rights can help manage divisions and disagreements between the previously warring parties. This expectation has been reiterated in a number of policy reports and has also been a guiding principle for peacebuilders on the ground. I argue while human rights can indeed contribute to peacebuilding in ethnically divided, post-conflict societies, the exact extent and nature of their contribution must be explored more fully. In particular, there are three reasons why human rights protections can make no, or even negative, contributions to peacebuilding in addition to the expected positive ones. First, human rights are not always implemented; second, their implementation does not necessarily result in legal and institutional changes that can contribute to peace; and third, the legal protection of human rights fails to induce socio-economic, political and psychological changes that are also necessary.
In order to deal with these limitations, human rights must be supplemented with other peacebuilding strategies. These strategies should encourage not only top-down changes, but also engage with the grassroots and promote peace from below. Governmental programmes alleviating socio-economic differences between the groups and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission are examples of top-down and bottom-up strategies respectively. Perhaps the biggest danger posed by human rights is that their popularity and overemphasis on their protection, leads peacebuilders to underestimate these supplementary non-legal peacebuilding tools, thus compromising more holistic changes in ethnically divided, post-conflict societies.

Yeshim Harris, Engi Conflict Management
Cyprus: Will New Hopes Survive Old Methods?
After a long break, a new round of talks has started again in Cyprus. This time, the stakes are the highest since the Annan Plan due to:
The geo-political repositioning, the economic crisis in the region and the international community's closer interest, due to the hydrocarbon resources discovered around the island in the past decade.
So far, peace talks in Cyprus have consisted largely of bringing political leaders, the UN and the guarantors to the negotiating table. This traditional, top-down approach has created a pattern in which elected leaders have first made decisions on behalf of their communities, and only then reached out for their support. The preparation of the communities before and during the process has always been minimal, unsystematic and without a comprehensive feedback mechanism.
Until there is a structural reform of the whole process and the harmonious collaboration of leaders and the wider public is achieved, peace will be elusive and the new hopes will not survive the old approaches.
In partnership with the UNDP, Engi is now working on an initiative which was born out of an unusual dialogue of Cypriot political, business and civic leaders which took place last September in Malta. The initiative aims to help

both Cypriot communities to create a civic forum and a shifted new vision; a vision in which a 'peace process' involves the whole of society and not just the political elite.

[Rumana Hashem, University of East London]
Gendered Embodiments of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord 1997: Analysing the Conflict Resolution at the Southeast Bangladesh
This paper demonstrates the ways that conflict resolution and peace treaty formation in aboriginal society in Bangladesh have become gendered. It looks into gendered embodiments of the conflict resolution and the resettlement processes thereafter with a special reference to the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), a location in the Southeast Bangladesh that faced with a 27-year armed conflict, involving the state with the Jumma/aboriginal peoples.I draw on my empirical research, which examined the gendered aspects of the armed conflict in the CHT from a deconstructive feminist perspective - considering both the material and symbolic aspects of power- and explores the multilayer and intersectional power relations between different groups of men and women in the conflict. In this paper I focus on how the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord 1997, which was signed between the Government of Bangladesh and the political leaders of the Jummos towards the end of the armed conflict nearly 17 years ago, became gendered. In order to advance the argument that the CHT Accord is gendered I examine how differently women and men have experienced violence and trajectories during the process of resettlement in the post- conflict situation. I also analyse the role of male and female members of the Jumma nationalist project during the conflict and peace talks, in which the underpinning power relations between men and women become obvious. I argue that women's exclusion from the peace talks in the name of national sovereignty and peace in their 'motherland' resulted in a lack of provision for women's rights in the peace accord, which subsequently resulted in widespread sexual violence against Jumma women in the post-accord CHT. The paper draws on smaller-scale and large narrative interviews of qualitative method, and considers the secondary data on post-conflict violence, failed policies and resettlement process in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

[Diego Checa Hidalgo, Coventry University]
Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: New approaches for conflict transformation in Africa
The peace movement has been developing new mechanisms to prevent violence and promote peace during the XX century. One of those mechanisms is Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping, a tool which take the form of nonviolent international interventions implemented by global civil society organizations to support local processes of conflict transformation. This kind of intervention has examples in America, Europe, Asia, and Oceania. However, cases in Africa are something new. There are just a few examples in this continent but there are important approaches to deal with violence and conflicts. The aim of this paper is analyzing the phenomenon of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping through two case studies, South Sudan and Kenya, in order to understand their particular dynamics and their emerging contributions to conflict transformation in Africa.

Kaisa Hinkkainen, Lincoln U.
Children are the future? The effect of child soldiers in conflict termination and duration of peace
The use of child soldiers in conflicts has received increasing academic attention in recent years. Regardless of widespread condemnation of such unlawful and immoral practices, the use of child soldiers is still prominent in many conflicts around the world. Rebel groups recruit child soldiers under the assumption that they are effective in the battlefield. However, recent studies show that child soldiers are neither efficient nor effective in increasing the fighting capacity of the rebel groups (van der Haer & Böhmelt, 2014). Studies of civil wars with child soldiers suggest a negative impact on post-conflict reconstruction due to problems of reduction in social and human capital (Singer, 2006; Blattman & Annan, 2010), as well as issues of reintegration (Wessells, 2010; Annan et al. 2011). This study provides first systematic examination into outcomes of conflicts with child soldiers and subsequent duration of peace using data from Beber & Blattman (2013); Tynes (2011) & Cunningham et al. (2009). Whilst taking into account the ratio of children in the society, rebel group's relative strength, third party involvement and history of conflicts, the study finds that civil wars with child soldiers are less likely to end in a negotiated settlement and have durable peace.

I

Osman Isci, Hacettepe U., Turkey
Peace through poetry
Northern Ireland, dominated by "road blocs, army searches, petrol bombs, car bombs, warnings of car bombs, swaggering sectarian marches, punishment beatings of neighbors, sectarian and reprisal killings, 'peace walls', and increasing religious segregation" (Kearns 26)-experienced violence for three decades in the second half of the 20th century. The Troubles is a period of violence and the Troubles poetry treats violence to highlight its negative effects on Northern Ireland. Both the British Government and the Irish Republican Army have their own discourse on use of violence to justify their action. Thus, same events are represented in different and even opposite ways according to their perspectives.
There is a close and in a sense complicated relation between the Troubles and the poetry in the 1970s. The Troubles poetry, which is a poetry of violence resulting from the Northern Ireland Troubles, also responds to these events because it deals with violence resulting from the Troubles. The response of the poetry or the Troubles poetry is stated as: "In the mid-seventies, Northern Irish poets began most explicitly to respond to the events of the

province" (Hufstader 5). Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley are the two poets that deal with the violence of the Troubles. The two poets focus on violence of the Troubles in their poetry to underline its destructive aspects in Northern Ireland. Neither Heaney nor Longley praises the British Government and the IRA for their violent actions and repressive policies in their poems yet criticise physical, political and social violence in their works. They deal with political, social and cultural issues in their poems. Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley, challenge discourse on violence by the British Government and the IRA and constructs its own discourse of nonviolence.

This paper argues that the Troubles poetry responds to the Troubles from its perspective of nonviolence and challenges the grand narratives of the conflicting parties and contributes to the peace and conflict studies.

J

Jacob Udo-Udo Jacob, American University of Nigeria
Silencing Boko Haram: Mobile Phone Blackout and Counterinsurgency in Nigeria's Northeast region
In the summer of 2013, the government of Nigeria declared a state of emergency in the three northeast states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe. In a bid to disrupt communications among Boko Haram insurgents and prevent the use of mobile phones for detonating improvised explosive devices (IEDs), security agencies shut down GSM mobile phone and internet networks in the three states.   The current study explores how patterns of social living in Adamawa state were affected by the shutdown.   Furthermore the study explores local interpretations of the role of the mobile phone in daily living and organisations of social relationships during conflict. More critically, the paper explores the social semiotic functions of the mobile phone during complex emergencies and asks whether the mobile phone is a stronger tool in the hands of insurgents than in the hands of peacemakers? How did the blackout influence feelings of safety and security? Why was communication network shut down in the first place? Did it help counter insurgency operations? Particular attention is paid to the mobile phone because of its popularity in the region. Theoretically, the study draws on Michael Halliday's early works on functionalism within a context of variegated desires and expectations.   Methodologically, the work uses focus group discussions with local opinion leaders, in-depth personal interviews with relevant security agents and a corpus of local media reports of Boko Haram attacks before, during and after the mobile phone shutdown.

[Padma Jayaweera, External Consultant/Resource Person, Ministry of Management Reforms, Sri Lanka]
Multi-Lingual & Multi-Cultural Society: Language as a Tool of Reconciliation & Ethnic Harmony
Reconciliation, sustaining peace and ethnic harmony must be rooted in and respond to the subjective realities, shaping people's perspectives and needs in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. This calls for an approach which addresses the relational aspects of reconciliation as the central component of peace building. During the period of last two decades, many multi-ethnic states, not only in the developing world, but also in the developed world west, have been encountered with a worldwide trend of ethnic resurgence engulfed with ethnic conflicts in the political and social space. This situation has posed a challenge to the existing concepts, perspectives and approaches developed to study especially the inter-state ethnic conflicts involved with multi-ethnic diverse parties having different interests which demand new thinking enriched with contemporary insights.
In a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual setting language plays a pivotal role in safeguarding and representing group interests. In this context, language is a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system.
This paper considers Sri lanka as a case study, a developing country with a multi-ethnic , multi-cultural and multi-lingual society where language issue contributed to the evolution of the three decade long protracted ethnic conflict strongly influenced by ruthless terrorism which prevailed until it defeated militarily on May 18th 2009. Sri Lankan experience demonstrates the explosive character of the language issue which is one of the violent components and an extremely sensitive issue in the cultural identity of ethnic groups.
The case study analysis reveals that language as an effective social tool for ethnic reconciliation, harmony and good governance to sustain peace in a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society.

[Lesley Jeffries, Huddersfield U.]
Simulating conflict negotiation: a linguistic perspective
The 'Hawks and Doves Negotiation Exercise' is a simulation training game used in teaching conflict resolution. Based on the principles of the prisoner's dilemma (see Axelrod 1990, Last 2000 and Ridley 1996), the exercise is set in Kosovo and relates to negotiations between warring factions over the funding of the Mitrovica Hospital. It was developed at the University of Bradford by Professors Woodhouse and Ramsbotham.
In 2013, the Language in Conflict group at the University of Huddersfield filmed and recorded the exercise to produce the closest to 'real' language data that it is possible to acquire, given the sensitivities and confidentiality of genuine negotiations of this sort. The exercise itself is predicated on the assumption that once engaged in the situation, participants will commit to 'their' side of the conflict and behave (albeit at a lesser level of intensity) in some of the same ways as those genuinely involved in conflict. We make a similar assumption about the kinds of linguistic behaviour that take place in these simulations.
Our aim in this paper is to reflect on the everyday linguistic practices that are used in the exceptional interactions that take place during a simulation of this kind. Whilst the meta-structures of such negotiations have been developed over time specifically to address the dynamic of conflict, there has been little work on the micro-analysis of the interactions themselves. We will show that there is unconscious use of pragmatic behaviour such as

face-threats and impoliteness in the data as well as some revealing linguistic choices (Jeffries 2010) that indicate the ideological standpoint of the speaker.

[Rachel Julian, Leeds Metropolitan U.]
Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping as a contribution to grassroots conflict transformation
Full abstract to follow but broadly assessing the contribution of a peacekeeping method based on nonviolence to contribute to conflict transformation within the framework of strategic peacebuilding, bearing in mind current debates on the concept of 'local' in strategic peacebuilding.

K

Aytac Kadioglu, Nottingham U.
Conflict Resolution Efforts' Role towards the Resolution of Ethno-nationalist Terrorism
This paper examines peace agreement efforts between states and sub-state armed groups towards ethno-nationalist violence in Northern Ireland and Turkey. As ethno-nationalist groups generally hope to reach their political aims and kill people as a tactical tool rather than an ultimate goal, this paper focuses on political efforts for solving two destructive conflicts; the IRA and PKK. It states that armed struggle between states and terrorist groups is not an adequate method itself for bringing ethno-nationalist conflicts to an end. It investigates successful and unsuccessful peace attempts between the Turkish government and PKK, the UK government and IRA. Taking these initiatives together, conflict resolution procedures may not only be applied during the ceasefires, but also during the violence for eliminating terrorism and arranging an agreement. Therefore, successful attempts such as, Downing Street Declaration in 1993 and Good Friday Agreement in 1998 for the Northern Ireland conflict and unsuccessful clandestine talks between the representatives of Turkish government and the PKK in Oslo between 2009 and 2011 are some actions that need to be analysed. In this sense, this paper suggests a perspective which contains both official and unofficial representatives' efforts towards peace agreements. It analyses conflict resolution efforts as a method for agreement by using 'official' and 'unofficial' resolution attempts. In this context, negotiation attempts are essential for not only creating a suitable environment for conflicting parties to discuss their concerns under the leadership of an objective third party, but also making an agreement between disputing parties with the support of problem solving workshops among unofficial representatives of both sides. This study suggests an analysis of this argument and investigates assumptions in the existing literature by concentrating on the dynamics of ethno-nationalist violence, and official and unofficial conflict resolution efforts in terms of the agreement stage of resolution.

[Fatma Kalpakli, Selcuk U.]
A Comparative Study of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and Conflict-Solving in Sunshine and My Name is Khan
This study aims at exploring the issues of Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in Sunshine and My Name is Khan and to raise the question of to what extent multiculturalism is possible and which barriers do stand in front of achieving the ideal of multicultural communities or societies. How the othering process started towards the Jews around WWII and towards the Muslims around 9/11 (September) and what are the similarities and differences among the problems faced by Jews and Muslims and if this shared experience of being the other in the eye of the Eurocentric, Christian circles may bring Jews and Muslims closer in order to solve conflicts and bring peace despite the racial and religious discriminations all over the world will be discussed with regard to the films, entitled Sunshine and My Name is Khan.
Keywords: Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Sunshine, My Name is Khan, 9/11, multiculturalism, the other, the othering process, conflict-solving, racial discrimination, religious discrimination, peace-making.

Graham Kemp, Lentz Foundation
Interationship between Human Governance and Security and how that relates to Human Peace.
At end of 19th Century Bismarck declared that Governments main functions was two fold, first to maintain internal security and second to fight external wars. What this paper seeks to examine is relationship between human governance and human security. It agues that latter is not just important, but fundamental in creation of the former. It adds the success and failures of the latter is what can make or break human governments. This paper looks at the interrelationship between the two, and how far peace lies in that understanding. In so doing, it makes a number of related points
1) That there is a conflict within human society, about what is or is not human security. It can been mean the narrow concept of Bismarck's comment, or a broader one, to include, health care, environmental security, water security etc. It can be debate on issues of security against the threat of direct violence (fear of being killed) to structural violence (fear of loss potential of life). As societies become more complex controlling what a population sees as security, helps to legitimize governments. The debate of what is peace or conflict in a society can be seen as an issue as about the rights to govern as much as about right to life. Definitions of these key concepts can be seen as a tug or war between governed and governors.
2) To legitimize governance in a human society, the 'intelligence' of its members of how that governance is meeting it security needs is essential. So important that the governing classes, not only try to control paths of that intelligence, (e g the media) but through its mechanisms have found that creating the illusions of security to justify their right to govern, can be as good as real security – to create an illusion of peace. In the changing, development

of any society's government, or even to undermine it, one needs to attack how it is seen to meet its members security needs or perceived needs, which in turns looks to who controls means of 'intelligence' in a society. The paper finally argues on how far human peace can be seen as a dialectic process between human security needs (and how that is defined or perceived) and the true success or failure of human governance.

Kevin Kester, Cambridge U.
Peace Studies, the United Nations and Bourdieu: A Case Study of Habitus, Field and Capital with Lecturers from the University for Peace
I am conducting a case study with Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) lecturers in the United Nations (UN) system. For over thirty years, the UN has operated two graduate schools in San Jose, Costa Rica, and Tokyo, Japan – universities that offer higher education degrees in peace studies and have matriculated over 2,000 students. Yet the role of the UN university lecturer as an agent in framing and objectifying peace (as an object of study and as a discourse of practice) has rarely been examined. Furthermore, these educators' embodied and institutionalized forms of capital - and their beliefs and social positions in relation to this capital - have not been thoroughly investigated. My study, therefore, explores how UN university lecturers understand and define the boundaries of peace studies, their reasons for entering this field of work, and the forms of capital they possess that enable them to teach a particular conception of peace – either in continuity with or in disruption of UN norms. My research methodology is informed by Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field. Drawing upon questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, participant objectivation and informal conversations with UN university lecturers at the University for Peace (UPEACE) in Costa Rica and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies in Somaliland, my study seeks to shed light on taken-for-granted assumptions of peace studies, the spatial and intellectual parameters of the field, and the intricacies of how educators negotiate, compete and influence the field from within.

[Mona Aeysha Khalid]
The misperceptions and Conflicts with respect to negativity, morality, and backgrounds
There are as many mispercetions/conflicts in this universe as many perceptions. We, in one way or the other, become victim of such misperceptions/conflicts in our everyday life, in company and at international level at large. Mostly our conflicts arise due to the nature of unconscious backgrounds that we hold, at the time of perceiving a concept/event. It could be anything from a trivial word, to a long series of concepts, from a routine matter to a substantial issue, from a minor blink of an eye, to an accident or dilemma. Usually, concepts of morality differ from culture to culture with respect to their hidden meanings that cause distress, enmity and hatred among people and societies at large. Moreover, the use of negative terms, negative emotions and negative statements, are widely condemned to secure peace and harmony among people. There are wrong generalizations that also contribute in creating conflicts among nations of the world. Nevertheless, communication !
 errors, communication gaps, and non-empathetic attitudes all together pave the way towards misunderstanding between two people, two groups and two heads of states ultimately.
Thus the paper will explore the potential lawsuits and side effects of the misperceptions/conflicts with respect to morality (negativity, generalizations, and backgrounds) around us to relieve us and our generations from the present and coming disasters.

Marryam Khan, Government of Pakistan/ Additional Deputy Commissioner (General) Islamabad Capital Territory
Incentives for using terrorism in an unjust society
Stratification on economic basis generates mental divisions in the society resulting in multiplication of classes and deepening of contempt between them. Absence of access and hope to gain access to opportunity to change one's life in monetary terms, having a direct bearing on social standing, is one factor why people turn to violence. Now this violence in its most hideous form is terrorism. The Pakistani society may not offer ready access to education, economic opportunities, health, justice inter alia but the country has been infested with extremist outfits strongholds in all parts. Economically deprived segments not merely get monetary benefits in associating with these outfits without having to turn in to a "suicide bomber". This association grants them the opportunity to maximize their economic and social standing through nuisance, numbers and inculcation of fear. Being Additional District Magistrate, Islamabad I have personally observed how otherwise unimportant clerics will suddenly assume significance and weight by their linkages to these proscribed outfits. I have been seeing them getting works done without falling victim to red tapism and nepotism, which is the bane of people coming particularly from this strata. Thus, to put a highly complicated phenomenon in one line, an unjust society serves as a breeding ground for mindless use of violence as a means to get petty business done not meeting some exalted ends.

Line Kikkenborg, Aalborg U., (Denmark)
Remembering Despite Efforts to Forget
How do people have current experiences with a conflict from the past? How do young people relate to something that was neither personally experienced, nor is officially remembered? And how do we as researchers explore these experiences and relationships? This paper discusses lived experiences with conflicts which can be characterized as 'frozen' as they remain unresolved and ignored by governments and people – placing the conflict in the past, but consequences in the present. The paper focuses on the case of Bhutan, a country with a frozen conflict build into its young democracy; ethnic tensions relating to an expulsion of one sixth of the population in the early 1990s is a political and social taboo in the country. I have spent five months living in a collegium in East Bhutan doing fieldwork among young college students, exploring their experiences with a conflict from before

they were born. Despite the conflict being ignored by the government and rarely mentioned among the people in Bhutan, there are current consequences of the conflict in the society and most of my informants have 'bumped into it' one way or the other. My empirical findings suggest that 'remembering' always takes place despite efforts to forget. The paper will discuss my empirical findings with an emphasis on the methodological challenges in researching something that is forgotten, ignored or simply never heard about. The paper also explores how methods of narrative analysis can be applied to discuss current experiences of a past conflict. A "Narrative Assessment Tool" is outlined as a methodological suggestion for academic exploration of how people experience and relate to peace, conflict and situations in between.

Walt Kilroy, Dublin City U.
Social capital and reciprocation in post-war Sierra Leone
Processes for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) are a often a standard component in contemporary peacebuilding operations: their function of disarming ex-combatants and reinserting them into society as productive members of the community is intended to underpin the peace process and reduce the incentives for a return to violent conflict. Whilst disarmament can be relatively straightforward to achieve, the reintegration component is more complex and has varying degrees of success. Reintegration is multifaceted, but the economic aspects, such as providing training or livelihoods, tend to be given more attention than the social elements which are also fundamental to reintegration in its fullest sense.
This paper therefore considers the role which social capital plays in the process of reintegrating ex-combatants, in terms of social networks, trust and community relations. It considers the benefits of building on pre-existing social structures such as family connections and identity-based groupings, as well as factional affiliations and trading networks. Furthermore, when DDR initiatives fail, utilising these structures is often the only way an ex-combatant has of reintegrating. This paper will draw from two sets of related field research in both Sierra Leone and Liberia to examine the impact of social capital on DDR success.

Timo Kivimäki, Helsinki U.
Can peace research make peace?
Policy-oriented social science normally operates on the basis of very classical pragmatist, empiricist premises. Whatever has been learned in the philosophy of social science after Peirce, James and Dewey has not been considered useful in much of pragmatic peace research. Policy-oriented peace research that aims at building a linkage between peace research and peace practice often assumes a Humean concept of causality. From that premise it then tries to find exogenous, objective, material and measurable conditions that cause peace and war. Once such conditions have been identified the practitioners will then contribute to peace by creating conditions that cause peace and by removing conditions that cause war. This simplicity of such social engineering is challenged in by this paper, which basically concludes that ontologies that take the social construction of social structures of peace and war are not just intellectually intriguing, but also pragmatic for peace practitioners.
The presentation, and the book Can Peace Research Make Peace that the presentation is based on, is essentially a product of experience of capacity-building in conflict management in West Kalimantan. This activity aimed at contributing to peace but it also contributed to the "diagnosis of the conflict" in West Kalimantan. At the same time, the knowledge of the path to conflict of the peace practitioners in West Kalimantan was constantly tested by practice; whenever blocking some paths to conflicts failed to reduce violence, the diagnosis had to be revised. What the practice taught to research was not what was expected, i.e. generalizations on exogenous conditions of peace. Instead, it taught about the opportunities to denaturalize social constructs that were necessary for the legitimation of violence, challenge and deconstruct them and offer alternative constructs that constituted less violent realities. In short practice in West Kalimantan taught about the pragmatism of critical and constructivist peace research.

L

Sheldon G. Levy, Wayne State U.
From human aggression to group conflict: An axiomatic approach
This paper extends the analysis presented at the CRS conference last year at the University of Essex. It attempts to develop a set of axioms from which it is possible to deduce some conditions under which group conflict is likely to occur. The basic propositions derive from human motivation and behavior, generally based on empirical research. While a number of concepts and general principles about human aggression at the individual level may be developed from observations of dominance patterns and a distinction between drives and motives, a logical argument that provides integration of individual functions into group action requires additional considerations. Based on the current efforts, the concepts of symmetry, anxiety, in-group-out-group, power, problem-solving ability, and identification appear to provide a basis for an axiomatic set from which a large number of deductions may be derived. Although the analysis employs simple first order logic statements that are limited to the relationships of—and, or, not, and implies, Muncaster's Propcalc Workplace provides a computer generated set of results that include analysis of consistency and redundancy as well as a set of conclusions that are implied by the propositions. The research will be presented so that no technical background in formal logic is required on the part of the audience. A major goal of the research is to provide an additional approach to the development of an integrated theory of human behavior.

Mark Littler, Manchester U.

Rational, Religious and (Supporting the) Violent: Accommodating Religion in rational choice models of support for violence

The rational choice approach is frequently employed by political scientists seeking to explain support for political violence in general, and support for terrorism in particular. Positing a strategic and instrumental view of political violence, they argue that rational actors endorse normatively transgressive and violent actions only where their costs are low and potential benefits high relative to other non-violent alternatives.

Previous scholarship has affirmed this approach, showing a clear relationship between perceptions of non-violent democratic strategies and the propensity of individuals to support violence, with the latter endorsed most frequently when perceptions of the former are most unfavourable.

While clearly possessing merit, this approach has drawn criticism for its failure to offer an explanation for the growth and predominance of the religious in contemporary terrorism. Drawing on sociological work on the role of individual religiosity as a determinant of civic engagement, trust, and political efficacy, this paper shows how regular exposure to an extreme ideology can shape perceptions of alternate political strategies, altering the relative costs of political engagement and thereby affecting the likelihood of an individual supporting violence.

To this end this paper will use British Muslims as a test case, presenting the results of a quantitative analysis of data from the most recent wave of the Ethnic Minority British Election Study.

Jake Lynch, Sydney U.

Merging results from a four-country audience research study on responses to Peace Journalism

This presentation will show how results were merged from a study conducted in four countries – Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico – in which differently versioned television news stories about conflict were played to audiences, and their responses gathered through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. These versions were coded according to the Peace Journalism model, a set of distinctions in the representation of conflict that were used in the study as a set of headings, under which coding criteria were developed to fit the discursive context of each separate story. The study and the merging exercise showed that the strongest audience responses came when viewers were provided with the personal narrative of a carefully chosen individual protagonist, which engaged both their empathy and, through that, their cognitive engagement with counter-hegemonic arguments in favour of nonviolent conflict responses.

M

Caitlyn McKenzie, Edinburgh U.

Looking at Trust

The rise of globalised media has facilitated the expansion of alternative political participations beside the electoral model. This means that the impact of low confidence in government is more immediate, visible and tangible, and arrives in forms such as protest, migration and civil armed conflict. This paper seeks to demonstrate how the interaction of these has contributed to the formation of a globalised political heuristic within civil society. It will also ask if Anglo-American scholarship in this field can and should be generalisable. I first review the nexus of the theories of trust and heuristics, and then use quantitative analysis of primary survey data to provide that general visceral attitudes to government are in fact responses one government inter alia based on role or category-based trust. Finally I discuss how this suggestion can be applied to the body of discourse around political climates for a common benefit, and promotion of peace.

[Muhammad Khalid Mahmood, Glasgow Caledonia U.]

Pakistan: State, Society, and Violent Trajectories

This paper will explore two visions of the founding father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding the role of religion in the state affairs, and how have these been interpreted and contributed to the emergence of violent trajectories in Pakistan. The first of these visions was his speech of 1940 demanding separate homeland for the Muslims, and second was his address to Constituent Assembly in 1947 de-linking religion from state's affairs. The question that how did the Jinnah perceive future of Pakistan i.e. separate country for the Muslims or an Islamic state, has same significance and ambiguity today as did in 1948 soon after Jinnah's death. Many researchers of the history of Pakistan including Jalal, Malik, Alavi, Siddiqua, Haqqani, Shaikh, Kamran, Murphy, Cohen, Ziring, Mathew and Talbot hold the views that the Jinnah had a secular vision of Pakistan where all communities would be free to flourish. However, rise of religious extremism in the country points toward other direction. This particular trend has given new dimensions to the violent strategy and added more variations in violent trajectories that range from mere agitation to suicidal tactics and bloody war of terror against the state of Pakistan during the last 67 years in Pakistan.

[Ioannis Mantzikos, Free State South Africa]

The Links Between Foreign Aid and Terrorism in Nigeria

After months of emergency rule and military operations in Nigeria's north-east,o Boko Haram launched a comprehensive and audacious assault on Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state.The Nigerian government's currently rather tepid response shows that it is uncommitted to defending its people and quashing this significant threat. President Goodluck Jonathan is doing just enough to look like he takes the situation seriously but not enough to be effective The security forces are accused of arbitrarily rounding up young men on the streets and

shooting them. Amnesty International has long accused the security forces of burning homes and carrying out summary executions in response to attacks. Their most recent report claimed police are presiding over hundreds of deaths in detention. These tactics are entirely counter-productive.

For years,Islamist al-Shabaab fighters in Somalia only sought to impose their will on that country. They were primarily nationalists who showed no interest in the kind of worldwide jihad that characterizes al-Qaeda. Can Nigeria borrow something from this model? In fact how can Nigeria turn this around? There needs to be nothing short of a revolution in strategy and capabilities. Our assessment revises what has been done by the Nigerian state until now against Boko Haram and what perhaps should be done in order to win this war.

[Godfrey Maringira, University of the Western Cape]
When the war de-professionalizes soldiers: War-time stories in exile
While the current understanding on the deployment of the Zimbabwean National Army in the Democratic Republic of Congo war (1998-2002) and the Mozambican war (1989-1992) has largely been perceived as greedy wars by human rights and other civilian communities in and outside Zimbabwe, the voices of soldiers who participated in these wars has remained silenced. In this paper I focus on Zimbabwe former soldiers who joined the army in post-independence era (1980) and during their deployment in war they were disappointed by the army. What the soldiers did in war and what the war did to them has been neglected in scholarly writing. Even though my informants have killed in war; they felt the army particularly the commanders became de-professionalised in their conduct and practice. Even though commanders were capable of commanding and control soldiers, they neglected the needs of soldiers in war including clothing, food and many were buried in shallow graves. I argue that, the accounts of de-professionalization are largely shaped by these men's experiences of war and importantly by the exile context in which they are telling their stories. In doing this study, 44 stories were collected using a life history approach.

Carmen Mboumba Nzamba, University of Paris West
Fatimata Touré and the crisis in Northern Mali
Fatimata Touré was recently recognized at the 2014 International Women of Courage Award Ceremony for her exceptional efforts to promote women's health rights and fight against acts of gender-based violence. She was one of 10 women to receive the award from the U.S. Department of State and the first lady of the United States, Michelle Obama. […] During the terrorist occupation of northern Mali in 2012, Touré's work became even more critical to women in her region. When extremists attacked the hospital in Gao, she helped fistula patients relocate and find much needed safety and care. As the conflict ensued, Touré supported victims of rape and forced marriage and publicly denounced perpetrators of gender-based violence. Her actions drew threats from the extremists and, even as her own home was under assault, Touré hid beneath her bed and used her mobile phone to continue documenting acts of violence against women."The State Department wrote.
This paper is going to deal with the conditions in which Fatimata Touré worked during this crisis to help Malian women in the North. After presenting a portrait of Mrs Touré (her motivations, etc.), we will, thanks to an interview with her, collect data and show how gendering peace is crucial when talking about conflict resolution, particularly in Africa.

Hugh Miall, Kent U.
Modelling conflict formation and transformation: exploring the influence of polarisation on constructive and destructive processes
This paper presents a generic model of the evolution and transformation of conflict, drawing on the conceptual framework put forward in the author's Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change. The model draws on bargaining theories and aims to capture the changing preferences of political actors as social conditions evolve. The model explores the formation of conflicts of interest and their development into incompatible conflict. A key factor in emergent conflicts is the degree to which parties and their goals become polarised, and the model will be used to analyse the relationship between polarisation and the subsequent course of conflict.
In the absence of good data from large-n studies on the early phases of development of conflicts and the evolution of parties' goals, the empirical strategy here is to compare the model's results with case studies. The paper will explore paired case studies of conflicts which took violent and nonviolent trajectories. The planned case studies (which may change in the final version of the paper) are from 19thC conflicts over social status and uneven development (the American Civil War; social change and Chartism in 19thC England), land reform in India (Bihar and Kerala); and ethnic conflicts in the former Soviet Union (Georgia and Estonia). In each case the development of polarisation and its influence on the trajectory of conflict will be explored with reference to the modelled results.

[Romain Mielcarek, Strasbourg U.]
French psyops radios in Afghanistan war: could a "convincing without manipulating" strategy be the lead to a victory in the battle of perceptions?
Information operations, in a modern war context, are supposed to impose a narrative. This narrative is nothing different than an argument intended for a battle of perceptions between two players: the narrator and the targeted audience (friendly population, local population, opponent, allies…) (S. TCHAKHOTINE, 1940).
In Afghanistan, France had to reforge its influence strategy in 2008, following the death of ten soldiers trapped in an ambush which had major political consequences and a significant impact on the media. Since this dramatic event, France spread out two psyops radios within its responsibility area:

- Omid (hope) FM is a classical psyops radio. Military specialists write messages which are being translated and then broadcasted.
- Radio Surobi is built on a community radio model. A journalist, who serves as a reserve officer, trains local operators and help them to develop their own way of reporting and doing journalism.

This second approach had interesting strategic results on stabilisation: the radio becomes a tool for social dialogue, with relatively neutral information. Both sides respect its status as a non-combattant player: journalists are not targeted by attacks.

Such model interrogates French military men about the future of information operations: developing a strategy of autonomous networks (broker/closer – R. BURT, 2006) seems to be more efficient in a conflict where development of free press is desired. Here, the positive effect of "argumentation without manipulation" (P. BRETON, 2008) seems to be more efficient than any offensive psychologic operations or any deception strategies.

Paper proposal:
- Briefing on Omid and Surobi experiences.
- Introduction to French military influence doctrine (COL. F. CHAUVANCY, 2012): how to define influence? How to use it? Who are the French thinkers in this area?
- Independent local news outlets as a development accelerator: argumentation, without manipulation, a lead to win the battle of perceptions?"

Roger Haydon Mitchell, Richardson Institute for Peace Studies
Progressing love for one's enemy as a primary motive for the politics of peace
This paper will challenge the prevailing tendency to assume that we are shut up to a violent future with war and diplomacy as the only way to peace and call for a more hopeful counter-politics of love. Taking as its starting point Christopher Coker's recent Can War Be Eliminated (Cambridge: Polity, 2014) and John Dear's The Nonviolent Life (Long Beach, California: Pace e Bene Press, 2013), the paper will juxtapose evolutionary determinism and practical theopolitical re-imagination as explored by William Cavanaugh in Theopolitical Imagination (London and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2002). Resisting both the reduction of imagination to ideas and the acquiescence of politics to cultural evolution, the paper will draw on the work of Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012) to argue from contemporary grassroots nonviolent experience and its recent historical genealogy.

Oscar Julan Palma Morales, Universidad del Rosario
Discovering networks in hierarchical insurgencies: How FARC can be explained as a complex-networked organization.
The debate on insurgency and terrorism has taken a specific path during the last decades, and especially after the events of September 11. Al Qaeda and its affiliated organizations have become the most important, if not the only, case studies for the formulation of new conceptions and theories on non-state political violent organizations. These formulations include 'complex insurgencies', 'networked insurgencies', and 'new terrorism'. The literature has created a dichotomy between old traditional hierarchical guerrillas, styled like those of the Cold War, and new organizational networked models, with more autonomous cells, emergent processes of action, and decentralized command.
This article demonstrates that the dichotomy is overstated. An observation of processes within a hierarchical organization proves that elements from the complex-networked paradigm of insurgency have considerable explanatory power to understand specific dynamics. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia is taken as a case study. An analysis of processes within the militias, the Partido Comunista Colombiano Clandestino, the Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia, and the Movimiento Continental Bolivariano proves the point.

Martha Mutisi, Africa U.
When the centre cannot hold: Violence and Fragmentation in political parties: The case of the Movement for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe
This paper analyzes the phenomenon of political party coalitions, focusing on Zimbabwe. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was established in 1999 as a coalition of labour, commercial farmers, civil society, the constitution movement and the student movement of Zimbabwe. Fifteen years after the establishment of the MDC, the evidence of fragmentation of the MDC has become more apparent, especially with the April splitting of the political party into the 'leadership renewal' and non-renewal' groups. These debates have been characterized by high levels of political polarization and to some extent violence. This paper argues that the current fragmentation of the MDC owes its origin to the attempt to reconcile different ideologies during the formation of this party. While the elements which comprised of the MDC coalition were united by the common goal of ousting the ruling ZANU PF party, their foundation was ephemeral. The MDC was thus characterized by different and irreconcilable differences among its various members. To this end, this paper makes the case that coalition building by political parties is an expression of political elites' interest and a strategy for securing electoral wins, rather than an epitome of democratization. The splitting of these parties and subsequent political violence is therefore a reflection of the quest for power, ideological differences, convenience, political exclusion and opportunism that characterizes coalition politics. Ultimately, a fragmented opposition does not do the electorate any favour and poses immense challenges for democracy, peace and security in Zimbabwe.

N

Ibrahim Natil,
NGOs' Peace and Development Intervention Policy – Palestine (1967-2013)
The purpose of this paper is to examine the Palestinian non-governmental organisations' peace and development intervention policies in Palestine. The paper will consider the case of organisations working in Gaza Strip. The paper considers a number of social, economic and political factors, circumstances and changes that have influenced the NGOs in responding to the different circumstances in the Gaza Strip. They are considered crucial stakeholders in mobilising and empowering the society by driving the politics and change process. NGOs deliver actions in the field of human rights, community development, conflict resolution, sport, women empowerment etc. The briefing examines the established interests, reactions and responses of NGOs and society's needs due to subsequent crisis in the region. It includes how NGOs shape and contribute to social power structure.
The researcher has conducted a secondary resource review. He also relied on his own observation and professional experiences of working for NGOs to present this briefing. This briefing discusses NGOs' historical overview; the emergence of Gaza NGOs, NGOs new political environments between peace and the failure process and NGOs self-accommodation policy after Gaza's breakaway from the West Bank, 2007-2013.

[Ernest Nnabuihe, University of Ibadan, Nigeria]
Institutional Violence and Insecurity in Plateau State, Nigeria
This paper examines the overwhelming effects of structural violence in northern Nigeria. Of particular interest is the citizenship crisis in Plateau State which reflects in the manner the State issue indigene certificates and creating a gulf between the citizens. These divisions have deepened inter-group hostilities and fostered the emergence of segregated neighbourhoods. Thus, Nigeria's aspiration to nationhood has been punctuated regularly by issues arising from institutionalized forms of violence which has resulted in deep-seated insecurity in the country. Extant studies on inter-group conflicts in Nigeria and indeed northern Nigeria have contended that factional mobilization along ethno-religious lines is a direct by-product of perpetual hold to power and monopolization of resources by the ruling elite eager to stay away from open and fair competition. They claim that popular discontent of the citizenry who are unable to obtain a fair share of the country's oil wealth has led to their identification with radical groups like ethnic, religious and other factional identities as an alternative to meeting their needs and registering their grievance. In as much as the above positions are true, existing studies on inter-group conflicts have failed to capture the interplay between institutional violence, residential segregation and insecurity in northern Nigeria. There is a scanty literature on the role of government policies in eliciting collective violence. Indeed, most conflicts in Africa and especially the existing insurgent activities and violent inter-group relations in Nigeria peters from gross structural violations. Hence, the absence of social security in Nigeria calls for scholarly interrogation. Most times, people react violently to their sense of injustice and the consequence of such political action is usually destructive. This paper provides empirical evidence on the interface between structural violence, residential segregation and insecurity in northern Nigeria.

Beloveth Odochi Nwankwo, Derby U.
The history and resurgence of conflict in Niger Delta
The Niger Delta people have a long history of conflict. The ongoing restiveness in Niger Delta is traceable to the Akasa Raid of 1895, when the people of the resource rich ethnic nationality fought against British merchant's dominance in the region. Consequently, the region was involuntary colonised. The regions quest for separatism prior to the Nigerian independence indicates the restive state of Niger Delta in colonial time. Although autonomy was not granted, the colonial administration through Willink commission recommended the region as an area for special development. However, upon the discovery of oil in Niger Delta and the successive influx of oil multinational companies, the conflict in the region took another dimension.
Oil revenue and its mining activities is alleged an issue of conflict. The oil mining companies are alleged corporately irresponsible in Niger Delta. A possible reason why oil exploration and exploitation in the region has resulted in ecological disaster and environmental degradation: that oil exploration led to environmental problems like soil erosion, flooding, land degradation, destruction of natural ecosystem, fisheries depletion caused by dredging. Undeniably, the multinational oil companies have contributed significantly to the environmental destruction of the Niger Delta through oil spillage, gas flaring and oil pipe explosions. Collectively, these have resulted in frustration and the subsequent aggression and conflict between the government, host communities and the oil companies.
This paper will examine the key reasons for the regions conflict and why the Niger Delta region has remained impoverished despite the regions huge contribution to the Nigerian economy for many decades. It further explores the Nigerian state's weakness in carrying out environmental regulatory laws in a bid to check the oil company's activities against the global memorandum of understanding regarding oil mining best practice. Finally, it will suggest possible ways of resolving this conflict.

O

Hirotaka Ohmura, Ohmura Shiga U.
Civil War, Economic Growth, and Oil Curse
This paper attempts to uncover the complex relationship among civil wars, economic growth, and oil curse. Whereas existing empirical studies have found that a country with abundant oil is more likely to experience civil war onset and slow economic growth than a country without abundant resources, they do not consider the endogenous relationship between civil war and economic growthstage probit least square method to reveal the exact effect of natural resource on civil war and economic growthdepth analysis removing the endogeneity bias, the civil war has the negative impact on the economic growth and vice versa, (2) whereas oil production causes the civil war as the direct curse, it deteriorates the economic growth as the indirect curse via the onset of civil wars, (3) although the dependence on oil export directly causes the economic growth, it promotes the probability of the civil war onset through the economic downturn.

James Okolie-Osemene and Rosemary Okoh, Ibadan U.
Engendering Security Consciousness: The Role of the Church in Managing Terrorism in Nigeria
Terrorism assumed a debilitating proportion in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and influenced the dynamics of intergroup relations in the country. Boko Haram terrorism is a modern form of terrorism which has scathed interreligious harmony especially between the major religions in the country. The recent proliferation of terrorist activities especially in the northern parts of the country made the church one of the targeted areas for terrorist activities. Nigerian Churches belong to the umbrella body called the Christian Association of Nigeria that is headed by an elected president. Using the vulnerability assessment framework to examine the churches at risk of Boko Haram terrorism, this paper espouses the crime control model and human needs theory to explore the role of Nigerian churches in containing terrorism in the country. It examines the strategies adopted to prevent various attacks in places of worship and the effectiveness of such innovations. It concludes that considering their spiritual impact and that the spiritual controls the physical, the church under the auspices of Christian Association of Nigeria cannot afford to shy away from human security leaving the task of enhancing security to the security sector alone, given the risk terrorism poses to members.

Kouame Remi Oussou, Alassane Ouattara University of Bouake
The reconciliation process in the Cote d'Ivoire: strengths and weaknesses
Since April 11, 2011, the Côte d'Ivoire has embarked on a broad reconciliation aimed at picking up pieces through a number of political measures. For instance, the CVDR was established with the aim of reconciling the torn Ivoirian society. On the other hand, the Government initiated a series of political initiatives reflected by dialogues with the opposition parties, setting free major figures of the Front populaire ivoirien (FPI), the major opposition party, the party of the former president Laurent Gbagbo removed from power following the post-electoral crisis. However, for the sake of peaceful and credible elections in 2015, there is more to be done. Indeed, these efforts seem thin in the eyes of the opposition, who criticizes the current configuration of the CEI, which seems biased and in favor the current president. In addition, legal frameworks around the eligibility of President Alassane, the update of the electoral list, the mapping of electoral districts, which need to be dealt with before the stated deadline. All of which undermining the confidence building between the political actors and the reconciliation process at large.
The aim of this article serves two purposes. Firstly, it will draw up an assessment of all the initiatives and endeavors from the Government, their strengths and weaknesses; and secondly recommend practical and relevant steps to prepare for fair and transparent elections in 2015, which will be accepted by all parties, and thereby avoid going through another major crisis like the last one which claimed more than 3,000 deaths.

PQ

Isabel Phillips, Bradford U.
Heuristics in mediation:
Loss aversion has been identified as one of the key factors in behaviour in the economic arena. Kahneman writes: Most graduate students in economics have heard about prospect Theory and Loss Aversion, but you are unlikely to find these terms in an introductory text in economics…but it is quite reasonable, because of the central role of rationality in basic economic theory. It is less easy to assume that even most graduate students of Peace and conflict studies are familiar with these concepts. However, it seems plausible that given the work of Burton and others, which not only assumes a high level of rationality but even the universality of human needs which cannot ultimately be suppressed, it is maybe unsurprising. However, given practical mediation experience, this paper advances the hypothesis that in conflict exactly such mechanisms could be at play. The paper examines loss aversion in the context of mediation and investigates the impact of intervention on the operation of system one/system two thinking and decision making. It then uses practical mediation experience to raise questions about

the connections between different types of third-party role and the ability to enable decision-makers to identify, reflect on and amend system one errors.

R

Oliver Ramsbotham, Bradford U.
Hans-Georg Gadamer, hermeneutic dialogue and conflict resolution
This paper offers an account of Gadamer's 'philosophical hermeneutics' and its influence on conflict resolution. It begins with a biographical introduction that places Gadamer's ideas within the context of his intellectual and personal background, moves on to a section on the central role that the concept of 'dialogue' plays in his philosophy. describes how this has in turn influenced the impact of 'hermeneutic dialogue' on conflict resolution, and ends by giving examples of conflict resolution practice based on these ideas. In a supplementary coda some of the main critiques of Gadamer's thinking are noted, together with related questions that may be asked from a conflict resolution perspective. This will indicate where I think the limits to the application of hermeneutic dialogue lie, but how even here - as it were at the point where it proves 'premature' - perhaps it casts an even deeper light into the nature of discursive human struggles at their most intransigent.

Tahmina Rashid, Qatar U.
Women Peace and Conflict - A Case Study of Swat Valley (Pakistan)
Protection of women in conflict zones is increasingly becoming a concern for NGOs and Civil Society organizations, as States are increasingly failing to protect women in conflict and post conflict situation. This paper highlights the situation looking at Swat valley in Pakistan that made headlines when a video circulated showing a young girl being flagged in public, and later after the barbaric shooting of young girls, both incidents highlighted the question of women's protection and rights at a global level. These concerns are further pronounced as currently the negotiations between the government of Pakistan and Pakistani Taliban are in its initial stages. It has been argued by a section of society that inequality in the region has led to the rise of Taliban. Others argue that it is not the local political upheaval but regional dynamics of conflict and security that are primary reason behind such criminality. There seems to be a common perception in Pakistan that there is a "global conspiracy" that hinders sustainable development and maligns Pakistan. This paper argues that in all these diverse opinions, the arguments posed largely ignore the local voices (with the exception of the voice of Malala Yousafzai who has highlighted the criminality of Taliban and the right to education). The proposed paper is based on fieldwork conducted in the region during 2011-13 exploring the issue of girls' education from local communities perspective. It will examine the perceptions of local women regarding security and how these correspond with the national rhetoric about peace and security in this region.

S

[Dennis Sandole, George Mason U.]
Making the Case for the Private Sector in Peacebuilding in Fragile, Violent Conflict-Affected States in Africa

As practiced since the end of the Cold War, peacebuilding has generally been a failure! A major reason is that most Peacebuilding efforts have been "minimalist" in nature, where third party interveners have aimed to achieve and maintain "negative peace" – the absence of hostilities. These efforts have been at the expense of the more ambitious and, within a Realpolitik perspective, "unrealistic" objective of achieving and developing "positive peace" – the objective of "maximalist" Peacebuilding – where third party interveners identify and address the deep-rooted causes and conditions of conflict. Because most Peacebuilding efforts have treated violent conflicts only as symptoms, ignoring their underlying causes and conditions, there has been, in the past 15 or so years, a significant spike in conflict recurrence! Depending upon the source and the exact time period considered, roughly between 40 and 80 percent of the "new wars" that have been dealt with by the international community have re-ignited into full-blown wars again, reinforcing in their wake the status of "failed states". The Failed States Index 2013, which ranks 178 countries on 12 indicators of state stress, lists 60 countries worldwide -- nearly a third of the members of the UN – that qualify as "failed states." Failed states tend to encompass the "bottom billion" of impoverished peoples worldwide who live on less than a dollar a day. Over half of the failed states are in Africa where most of the "new wars" worldwide occur. Apropos deep-rooted causes, the World Bank reminds us that,"countries affected by conflict face a two-way relationship between conflict and poverty – pervasive poverty makes societies more vulnerable to violent conflict, while conflict itself creates more poverty." If the deep-rooted, underlying causes of recurring conflicts include poverty, economic underdevelopment, unemployment, especially among young males (i.e., the "youth bulge"); and inadequate or incompetent and corrupt state institutions, then who is better positioned than the private sector to address and deal with these factors? This paper does not call for something entirely new -- as International Alert, The Portland Trust, and the Business for Peace Foundation, among others, have been at it for some time -- but it does reflect emerging trends: The private sector is beginning to invest in fragile, violent conflict-affected states in Africa and elsewhere. The paper reinforces the case for the private sector to continue in this regard. It also proffers a conceptual framework to enhance prospects for elements of the private sector and other agents of peacebuilding -- the public sector (governments) and civil society -- to

make conflict-sensitive rather than conflict-exacerbating investments in the postconflict rebuilding of Africa's fragile states.

Annelie Schlaug, Lund & Malmo Universities
Reading back, moving forward: Conflict transformation engendered
This paper evolves around experiences from a military checkpoint in a protracted conflict area. The experiences are told in interviews with twenty peace activists, all women from different sides of a conflict yet part of a common, broader civil society peacebuilding network. The context is roughly twenty years of violence as well as peacebuilding attempts concerning the (relatively under-researched) protracted conflicts in Caucasus, involving actors like Abkhazia, Georgia, Russia and South Ossetia as well as the EU, OSCE and UN.
The paper illustrates how conflict transformation may manifest in transformation of space. At the core of the paper is a story of soldiers and peace activists by the military checkpoint, representing authorities versus civil society actors. The latter also represent different sides of the violent conflict in question. The relations involved draw different conflict lines and have different domestic and global attachments. Together they form a nexus of relations that is part of and that constantly recreates the space of the checkpoint.
The actors in this space embody military and peacebuilding practices. This embodiment manifests power relations as not least social categorizations of gender and ethnicity intersect. In the process, conflict transformation practices show to be intertwined with both space and power, an observation curiously missing in conflict transformation theory notwithstanding that it is a peacebuilding theory stressing societal hierarchies. The paper´s empirical example opens up for this to be further investigated in order to more fully understand opportunities and barriers both in domestic everydays and external perspectives, like those of donors´.

[Mareike Schomerus, LSE]
Fluidity and complexity: The challenge of researching complex peace processes
Scholarship on modern peacemaking has much to learn. For years, investigations of peace processes tended to look for the "spoilers"—readily identifiable actors that pursued a counterproductive interest which could then be tackled to bring a conflict to a resolution. What the Juba Talks in their complexity, fluidity and their vast range of individual and group actors have shown is that no single spoiler exist. Instead the realisation that peace talks are a multi-layered part of a conflict trajectory also means that individual experiences matter, possibly more so than the more technical matters that are being discussed at the table.
Adequately capturing that individual understanding is a daunting task. To understand the rich human tapestry requires thorough and time-consuming investigation of a nonlinear coalescence of ever-changing events, experiences and context through detailed multi-disciplinary observation. This would ideally need to include engagement with all actors, a process after which in an ideal scenario the researcher would emerge as an omniscient narrator able to produce a sequential analysis of unsystematic human experiences while appreciating that success and failure need new measurements if the whole process and all the dynamics it sets into motion is taken into account.
Yet a holistic scholarly approach that provides reliable and unskewed information on years of multifaceted and ever-changing motivations in a developing process and then draws constructive conclusions that help make the peace talks a success is realistically outside the remit of individual researchers. Scholarship has yet to learn how to investigate complex processes with incomplete and manipulated information and draw nuanced, yet operationally informative conclusions. Yet what to do with this realisation that throws open more questions than it answers?

[Katie Sizemore, American U.]
The Possibilities and Challenges of Transformative Peacemaking with 'Criminal' Actors: El Salvador's Gang Truce
Scholarship on peace agreements between armed actors is significant within the conflict resolution field. However, there is still much to understand when it comes to applying the tools of peacemaking and peacebuilding in contexts of violence where socially and politically capable groups deemed as 'criminal' are concerned. Providing such an opportunity for studying this practice, in March 2012, the two dominant and rival gangs in El Salvador, the Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Calle Dieciocho (18th Street Gang) reached an unprecedented truce agreement that resulted in a sharp reduction of reported homicides. Since 2003, the Salvadoran government pursued a repressive mano dura, or heavy hand, campaign of anti-gang crackdowns and detentions in an attempt to decrease gang activity and violence. Within this context, a nonviolent engagement with gang leaders, using facilitated negotiation and dialogue, emerged as a significant break with previous interventions. This research project draws from mediation, sociology, and peacemaking criminology literature to explore questions relating to how 'criminal' actors are included and engaged in a peace process. Through interviews with gang intervention specialists, Salvadoran experts, and scholar/practitioners involved in the truce process, the paper focuses on understanding the challenges of legitimacy, legality, and longevity surrounding the truce.

Steinar Skaar, Norwegian Defence University College
The Utility of Coercion Theory in the Afghan Conflict
In this paper I will explore the utility of Coercion Theory in the Afghan conflict by reference to the case of Norway in the province of Faryab. I aim to show that ISAF followed a strategy of coercion even though this was not explicitly stated in plans or policy papers. A strategy of coercion should be contrasted to the notion of the

decisive military victory that would render the opponent irrelevant. Instead, ISAF intended to persuade insurgent formations to change behaviour by raising costs through various types of military operations. I argue that these operations were only partially successful, and that the potential for an intervening force to influence behaviour in conflicts like the Afghan is limited.

Coercion Theory suggests that states behave rationally in the face of conflict in that they will make cost – benefit calculations that will inform their decisions and actions. As such, Coercion Theory is closely related to theories of decision making, and is intrinsically connected to Rational Actor and Rational Choice Theory. Assuming that the notion of rational choice by definition presupposes utility optimisation, Coercion Theory suggests that actor behaviour is predictable; actors will generally not act in a way contrary to their interests. Henceforth, military operations designed to raise costs by either threats of or the adapted use of force have the potential to influence the opponent to follow suit without a decisive military victory. In particular George, through his seven case studies, and Pape, through his examination of the use of air power and coercive success, argue that there are certain political and military conditions and types of operations that favour coercive success.

However, even though the presumption of economically-based rationality is questionable in interstate conflict, it is even more questionable in the complex and fragmented conflicts that dominate the contemporary world. The complexity and fragmentation of such conflicts relates to the causes of the conflict, the actors, the socio-political environment in which the conflict occurs and the way in which it is fought. Assuming instrumentally rational decision making based on the idea of economically founded utility optimisation in the Afghan conflict may not be instructive.

Still, neither the Taliban nor other insurgent groups operate without calculating the possibility of winning against the potential costs of staying in the conflict. Even actors with strong religiously-based motivations are not alien to materialistic values, let alone the potential of being subject to a possible sudden death. But, as Clark and Giustozzy convincingly have showed, the effects of ISAF coercive operations, e.g. the so-called kill or capture operations, are highly questionable.

In this paper, I will examine the effects of the ISAF coercive strategy by exploring the case of Norway in the province of Faryab. Norway assumed the responsibility for Faryab on behalf of ISAF in 2005, and the province became increasingly more violent until the Norwegian withdrawal in 2012. This provides an instructive case that includes Norwegian, but also German and US forces.

Hannah Smidt, UCL
From a perpetrator's perspective: International election observers and post-electoral violence

This article argues that international election observers have different effects on post-electoral violence done by governments and post-electoral violence done by opposition groups. Observers reduce government violence after elections, but they have no discernible observer effects on opposition violence in the full sample of post-electoral periods. Governments face a greater risk of exposure when sponsoring violence. They control the security forces and cannot deny responsibility, when police and military personnel use disproportionate repression in the election aftermath. Governments are also more vulnerable to international costs. Aid cuts, trade restrictions and other sanctions target governments not opposition groups. Only when faced with repression, observers induce opposition groups to adopt a peaceful protest strategy because peaceful behaviour exposes governments' use of force as unjustified and illegitimate. Using data on 230 state-wide elections in Africa from 1990 to 2009, the results of the negative binomial regression analysis on event-days of post-electoral violence confirm these expectations. Observers reduce government-sponsored post-electoral violence, but not opposition violence. However, in those 44 elections, in which the government used forceful repression, the presence of international election observers reduces post-electoral violence done by the opposition.

Bethsabee Souris, UCL
Transnational ethnic kin groups and rebel's behaviour in a civil conflict The case of the Karen National Union insurgency in Myanmar

While the transnational aspect of civil conflict has been recognised as a key component of insurgencies among both policy makers and researchers, few studies have systematically analysed how transnational ethnic kin groups affect the behaviour of domestic ethnic groups in an insurgency, in particular how they have an effect on the types of activities they conduct and their targets. In this paper I aim to explore how transnational communities can influence the domestic challengers to the state through the case study of the Karen struggle in Myanmar.

The research questions of this study are: What are the mechanisms through which transnational ethnic kin groups influence the domestic rebel ethnic group's behaviour? How do transnational ethnic kin groups influence the rebel group's choice of non-violent/violent activities? How do they influence the rebel group's target choices?

I will analyse the influence of transnational communities on domestic challengers to the state as a two-step process.

First, I will investigate under which conditions transnational ethnic kin groups provide political and economic support to the rebel ethnic group. I identify two alternative causal pathways which explain why transnational ethnic kin groups mobilise in the homeland politics. Second, I will examine how the support transnational ethnic groups provide can influence rebel group's choice of activities and targets.

These causal mechanisms will be traced in the case of the Karen insurgency in Myanmar. Regarding the impact of transnational ethnic kin groups on the domestic rebel ethnic group's behaviour, the case of the Karen insurgency holds intrinsic importance: it is the longest running conflict in South East Asia and it has generated a large migration flux creating transnational Karen communities in South East Asia and in Western countries.

Akisato Suzuki, Dublin City U.
You Must Change: When Nationalism Causes Revisionist Behavior in Interstate Politics
Nationalism can be violent, dangerous, and revisionist, but this is not always the case in interstate politics. Nationalism can be status-quo seeking to preserve national identity or defend national security. Nonetheless, as seen in the recent crises in Crimea and the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, nationalism sometimes provokes states' revisionist behavior against others for nationalist reasons. The paper examines in what context nationalism causes such behavior. The existing literature suggests that nationalist domestic political competition or the incongruence of ethnonational groups with state boundaries is such a context. The paper points out that these theories have limited explanatory power and develops a more comprehensive theory. It hypothesizes that when states engage in rivalry over securing nationhood ("nationalism rivalry"), they are more prone to revisionist behavior, because this rivalry provokes elite-led and/or mass-led nationalist mobilizations to resolve the incompatibility by not peaceful but military means. Quantitative analysis of a new dataset of nationalism-rivalry dyads from 1946-2001supports the hypothesis. The findings have significant implications for policy making and general IR and conflict literature.

T

Hagar Taha, School of Oriental and African Studies
The Local Element of Peace: Community-based Conflict Resolution Practices in Darfur (Sudan)
One of the main themes explored through doctoral fieldwork research was the meaning of civil society in Sudan in general and in Darfur in particular – looking specifically at the case of South Darfur. The purpose was to problematize the understanding and practice of 'civil society' and compare it with its origins in western literature and societies. Although traditional local formations in Darfur take shapes other than those recognized in the West as being 'civil society' recent interactions between these local formations and the 'international community' have produced something entirely new to both. That is why in this paper 'civil society' in Darfur is referred to as local formations because in spite of existing similarities between these formations and what is understood to be civil society, profound differences still exist. Nevertheless, it was most feasible to examine local formations in light of the meaning of 'civil society' in comparison and how this is understood and practised in the western context. The purpose of this paper is to look at efforts of intervention and conflict resolution made by local formations of civil society in Darfur. Two main themes are explored here and those are: the forms of intervention and conflict resolution offered on a local level and significance of incorporating the local. Though traditional local formations in Darfur take other shapes than what is recognized in western literature and societies to be 'civil society', recent interaction between these local formations and the 'international community' have produced something entirely new to both. Nevertheless, it has been most feasible to examine local formations in light of the meaning of 'civil society' and how it's understood and practiced in its western context. Efforts made by local formations that exist in Darfur in relation to resolving conflicts are introduced. The purpose is to clearly distinguish traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution in Darfur as well as what communities have to offer after their reformulation by interaction with modern state and international community. And finally the last part of this paper analyses the importance of integrating these local formations and initiatives into intervention and conflict resolution is looked at.

Miho Taka, Coventry U.
Working on conflict?: Closed-pipe supply chain of conflict-free minerals from the Democratic Republic of Congo
This paper sets to examine an emerging effort to source conflict free minerals from closed-pipe supply chain in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as a novel conflict resolution approach by some companies, governments and NGOs. It contributes to the debates on conflict sensitive business and peace through commerce as a proactive business engagement in armed conflict.
Conflict minerals including tantalite, cassiterite, tungsten and gold originated from the DRC and surrounding area have been blamed for fuelling and sustaining the horrific armed conflict in the eastern DRC over the past decade. Advocacy groups and NGOs have been campaigning to raise awareness on the conflict minerals and to sustain consumer politics. Consequently, new governance frameworks such as the Conflict Mineral Provision in the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act and the OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Supply Chains of Minerals from Conflict-Affected and High-Risk Areas have been developed since 2010.
These new regulations are considered to have resulted in a de fact ban on the minerals from the region as unintended and undesirable impacts on the local community as a result of the human rights due diligence and conflict sensitive approach through commodity traceability. The emerging closed-pipe supply chain may aspire for more proactive conflict resolution rather than the • gdo no harm• h approach. Whilst this innovative approach has potential to contribute to conflict transformation, it needs to be evaluated critically to assess whether it only serves to enhance participants• f competitive advantage by creating positive brand image and adding values to products, or it is able to produce transformative effects in the war-torn communities in the eastern DRC.

[Juichiro Tanabe, The Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies]

Buddhism and Peace Theory: Exploring a Buddhist Inner Peace and seeking an interdisciplinary holistic model of peace

This research examines a Buddhist contribution to peace theory. One of the problems with contemporary peace theory is, despite its diversity and progress, it is mainly socially, structurally-oriented, which is represented by liberal peace theory. Though we have witnessed the contributions social psychology has made to peace and conflict studies, the study of human mind for peace theory needs further development. Buddhism since its beginning has deepened the analysis of psychologically-oriented conflict and violence by means of eradication of its cause and achievement of internal serenity and this research explores how this analysis of mind elaborates inner peace.

On a Buddhist view, our mind conditioned by frame of reference ...; certain pattern of cultural values, political orientations and ideologies, religious doctrine ...; turns into a root cause of conflict when it is clung to as absolute since that causes dichotomous thinking and drives us to propagate discrimination, violence of any kind. To address absolutized state, mindfulness and dialectical contemplation are examined, which is characterized as a self-conscious spiritual analysis to penetrate into the interdependent and interpenetrating nature of conceptual/linguistic knowledge of any kind that makes us think dualistically or dichotomously. By overcoming the potential danger of socially conditioned mind, the analysis characterizes inner peace as an exploratory, ongoing and ever-lasting process that explicates or unfolds new values and meanings to achieve and sustain interdependent, mutually liberating and transformative relational dynamics between/among those in conflict.

However, the analysis also advocates the establishment of holistic inner-outer peace model for sustainable peace. As conflict and peace are a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon, different approaches and meanings of peace need to build a complementary relationship. So this research concludes with need for an interdisciplinary approach to peace by interconnecting Buddhist inner peace and social/structural dimensions of peace.

Marie-Kristin Thimm

Rhetoric in Conflict: The Iran-Israel Word Warfare

Scholars of international relations debate whether rhetoric influences state interactions, foreign and security policy and international conflicts. Indeed, the role of rhetoric, language and communication is a relatively understudied area. The theoretical framework developed and tested here indicates that in conflicts, rhetoric is key in the process of constructing security discourses. Accordingly, rhetoric influences the understanding and meaning attached to the conflicted circumstances. The conflict between Israel and Iran is used as an empirical case study here. We demonstrate how rhetoric has played a crucial role in this conflict in recent years by analyzing speeches in the United Nations General Assembly. We juxtapose Realist and Constructivist motivations reflected in the speeches given by the Iranian and Israeli chief executives between 2009-12 at the UN. Content analyses of an original dataset that examines strategic deliberations and perceived threats to identity in the word-warfare between the two countries lead us to a broader discussion of the role of rhetoric in IR.

U

V

Peter Van den Dungen, Bradford U.

Peace Research on the Eve of the Great War

The centenary of the start of World War I presents an opportunity to look back at the modern origins of peace research and conflict resolution and reflect on the impact of pioneers of early peace research on the international politics of the day. In the UK, the First World War stimulated new approaches to the study and practice of international diplomacy as evidenced in the research undertaken by Lewis F. Richardson during (and following) the war; the establishment of the world's first university chair in international politics at the University College in Aberystwyth; and Britain's role in the creation of the League of Nations. These great developments should not obscure the fact that in the decades preceding 1914, important peace research was taking place which, moreover, impacted on the political world (at least to some extent). The latter can best be summed up by reference to the First (1899) and Second (1907) Hague Peace Conferences which resulted in the adoption of several conventions. For our purposes, the most important one resulted in the creation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration - the first instrument for peaceful conflict resolution by states (and which continues its work from its home in the Peace Palace in The Hague). The towering achievement of peace research around the turn of the century is the massive and prophetic analysis of future war by the Polish-Russian entrepreneur, Jan Bloch (1836-1902) whose work contributed to the calling of the First Hague Peace Conference. Through his pioneering efforts as researcher, educator, and lobbyist he did more than anyone else to prevent a great war. In its 100th anniversary year, he deserves to be remembered.

Boris Verbrugge & Jeroen Adam (joint presentation), Ghent U.
Armed actors and the fallacy of the state – non-state dichotomy: State-mediated networks of coercive power in Mindanao
On the basis of an ethnographic analysis of conflict dynamics in Mindanao (southern Philippines), this paper critically interrogates the tendency to define armed actors either as state or as non-state. Instead, our field research evidence indicates that at local administrative levels, boundaries between state, (para)military and rebel structures have grown increasingly indistinct. While this blurring of boundaries has to some extent been a constant feature of local politics in the Philippines, it has become particularly evident in the wake of the Marcos martial law regime, when democratization and decentralization immensely raised the significance of local state institutions in strategies of economic accumulation and political-territorial control. In some cases rebel groups will merely take advantage of local state resources by collecting 'permit to campaign fees'. In other cases rebel commanders become involved in electoral politics either directly, by running for!
  electoral office, or indirectly, as vote brokers. Most commonly, armed actors –including both the state security sector, paramilitary and (former) rebels– are (temporarily) drawn into 'peculiar coercive formations' that operate at the behest of local strongmen-politicians. In this sense, intricate ties between armed groups and local politicians need to be understood as embedded in broader, state-mediated networks of coercive power that are knit together by kinship ties and rest on the resources and legitimizing capacities of the state. This argument is further substantiated with empirical evidence from the field of local dispute settlement and -enforcement.

W

[Chaminda Weerawardhana, Queen's U., Belfast]
From LTTE to HAMAS via P-IRA: on the strange case of militant self-determination struggles in a neo-liberal world order
Israel's outright anti-Hamas offensive and the international community's reactions are suggestive of an intriguing global approach towards dealing with armed militant groups fighting sovereign states. Despite the space for justification of Hamas's raison d'être, its operational dynamics command next to no international credence. *Pace* statements of alarm over violent excesses, the 'world powers' are unmistakably with Israel. Using comparative examples of identical manifestations of the same approach to ethno-national conflict, this paper would strive to discuss how an emphasis on national sovereignty, an aversion to militant resistance and a dubious-cum-shallow perception of human rights characterise contemporary Western policy approaches to violent conflict.

Hen Wilkinson, Community Resolve / Bristol U.
Dealing with the complexity of community: embedding conflict management skills in local UK communities
Founded in Bristol, SW England in 2001, Community Resolve worked to strengthen community relationships and build connections across city networks and hierarchies. A skilled and locally-rooted workforce delivered in diverse teams across the city to unpick local conflicts, skill up workers and residents of all ages, and to challenge fear and apathy. By the time the organization closed its Bristol operations in 2013, it had worked with thousands of adults and young people via training, workshops, whole-street conflict interventions, 1-1 mentoring, street-based teams, intergenerational pilots and much much more.
This presentation will explore the findings from a qualitative study into the impact of our work over a 10 year period, from 2003-2013. This research - commissioned at the point of closure of the CR's Bristol office, and the dispersal of 28 paid workers and more volunteers - collected the stories and experiences of CR workers, stakeholders and participants who were engaged with over a 10-year period. In particular, we wanted to collect the wisdom and insights of those that knew the organization from a range of perspectives – local people we worked with, workers, volunteers, commissioners, funders and others - to identify key themes of approach and impact which might be useful for others across the UK.
As well as presenting these themes, the presentation will make clear the links between international conflict transformation theory and practice and our work on the ground in Bristol. Key ideas picked up and developed at a citywide level included insider partials (Lederach); cultural fluency (Michele LeBaron); peacebuilding v peacekeeping (Diana Francis); and systemic approaches to conflict transformation (Veronique Dudouet/Berghof Foundation).
The interactive session will encourage critiques, debate and pooled thinking...

[Timothy Williams, Marburg U./ Free University Berlin]
Defining genocide - the role of intent and the state in delineating the concept of genocide from other forms of violence
This paper discusses academic definitions of genocide and tries to identify not only what constitutes genocide, but also focuses on the role played by the state in this, as well as how this interacts with the often-cited stipulation that intent is central to any definition of genocide. The paper thus offers two main contributions to the academic debate on how genocide should be defined: the first is a reflection on the role of intent and what this means for genocide as a 'policy'; the second is an examination of the importance of the state as an actor in committing genocide and the definitional consequences with respect to labelling this violence as political. This would suggest that the state's part in genocide makes it a political act, and that genocide cannot be committed outside this sphere of politics. The discussion includes a phenomenological differentiation of genocide from other forms of violence, trying to show how genocide differs specifically along the lines of state action, the role of victims and the nature of

intent. Furthermore, it becomes necessary in the definition of genocide to differentiate between micro-level actions which altogether constitute genocide, and the intent behind these actions, both at the micro and macro levels. While the nature of genocide at the macro level through its intent is political, the individual acts that make up a genocide altogether, do not need be political in their nature, leading to a disjuncture between the macro level concept and its meaning at the micro level.

Tom Woodhouse, Bradford U.
More than a game? Some observations on the role of the Sport Development and Peace (SDP) sector in the promotion of peacebuilding, conflict resolution and social cohesion

This paper presents a survey and analysis of the ways in which sport can act as a powerful platform for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Sport is a global language – it has convening power and brings people together on common ground. The London and Beijing Olympics attracted audiences of nearly 5 billion - 70% of global population. Sport is recognised as a universal human right – the right to participate in sport in enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989.
At the same time sport y has its negative press, its negative images: in football, the world game, we are aware of problems of what many see as obscenely overpaid players, tribal clashes between fans, hooliganism, and even on one occasion the so called Soccer War which broke out after a game between Honduras and El Salvador, when after a World Cup qualifier, El Salvador invaded Honduras in July 1969. Here in English football, we also recently commemorated the tragedy at Hillsborough.
In this paper I argue, using football as a case study, that while accepting the reality of much of the negative image and reality of commercialised and competitive sport in general and football in particular, there is another face that is much more positive where football can and does mobilise people and communities in promoting peace and peace values. To illustrate this the paper provides examples from three case studies: i) football in the community initiatives in the UK; developments in Colombia where, following the murder of the footballer Andres Escobar in Medellin in 1994, football is used widely to educate young people in the values and methods of peace; and iii) the 'Football Remembers' project developed by the British Council to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War.

Steve Wright, Leeds Metropolitan U.
Towards Universal Surveillance and the Structural Violence Upgrade
The revelations of Edward Snowden regarding NSA activities have cause a world- wide media stir over the last year in terms of privacy and data protection. But few have asked what is happening to all that stored data? The peace research community have been made aware of the technics of NSA mass spying from the late seventies because of the work of Duncan Campbell, Niles Peter Gleditsch and Owen Wilkes at PRIO, and the raid on a new researcher, Steve Wright, at Lancaster university's programme of Peace & Conflict at Lancaster University. First indications of the political and economic utility of these mass spying capacities came via Duncan Campbell's work at New Statesman exposing Echelon, the book by New Zealand's Nicky Hager, "Secret power" and then Steve Wrights report on "An Appraisal of the technology of Political Control's STOA Report for the European Parliament. These reports indicated that the spying capacities were being used for economic espionage with an estimated €120 billion being extracted from the European economy – equivalent to a million euro heist a week, every week for 2000 years.
These reports also indicated that the system was being used to infiltrate and influence trade talks such as GAAT – there was no level playing field between North and South. Snowden's reports confirmed this theory by naming the programmes and identifying the architecture of surveillance supporting the inequalities in the existing status quo. Emails, telephones, social media including face book and twitter were intercepted at a rate equivalent to nearly two hundred times the contents of the British lending Library, each and every day. Compromising material, personal proclivities and economic priorities were harvested to ensure that existing economic advantages of the Anglo-Saxon West are maintained. This presentation seeks to understand some of the implications and outline what will happen next

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Lois Yellowthunder, Visiting Scholar, Minnesota U.
Sustainable Solutions to Complex Community Problems
Multiple and conflicting interests arise around increasingly scarce resources. Certainties are challenged especially what constitutes the common good. Guideposts for action are not always clear, and many more options for action are evident, each with unknown consequences. When people do not have a problem-solving process that can handle differences constructively, conflict erupts. Concepts, methods, and tools informed by complexity science provide a practical approach to complex, confusing situations riddled with conflict.
When conflict re-emerges after a lengthy process of problem-solving and conflict resolution, everyone is affected either emotionally, financially, or both. John Paul Lederach's platform concept described in The Moral Imagination which addresses sustainability responds to this multi-faceted problem. Viewed through a complexity lens sustainability is not an endpoint, but a continuous process of adapting to an ever-changing environment. The platform represents flexible structures and processes continuously building on previous problem-solving efforts to positively influence patterns of conflict and navigate differences.
The case study of conflict and problem-solving around Pentagon Lake a large body of water in a Midwestern US

metropolitan illustrates an application of these concepts. Initially the case study appears to involve a single community on a lake and a local conflict over access to the lake. As it unfolds, the multi-layered symptoms of the conflict become apparent. The local conflict repeatedly erupted and subsided over a period of 60 years. Now a lake level issue is emerging involving communities close to and at a distance from the lake.

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