**Empowering Peace: The role of civil society in peacebuilding and conflict transformation**

**Abstracts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 June 2022</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15:30 to 17:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISARMAMENT AND PEACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs: Unto Vesa, Emeritus Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University and Maria Mekri, Executive Director, Safer Globe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Marzhan Nurzhan (University of Basel/Uppsala University) – The role of expertise in shaping politics of nuclear knowledge. A case study of think tanks**

  Weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear arms, pose a significant threat to global and human security. A human-centred approach towards outlawing these weapons was advocated by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) in cooperation with like-minded states and international organizations. This resulted in the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and its entry into force in January 2021, which constitutes an important milestone in nuclear disarmament. The existing research on nuclear disarmament extensively covers the TPNW and its transformative role regarding changing of norms, narratives and discourses, as well as the role of the ICAN and grassroots activism. However, less is known about the role of expertise by experts, think tanks, scholars. In particular, we know little about the relationship between these actors and states with respect to the production of such norms and regarding nuclear policy knowledge in general. Case studies on think tanks in Austria and Germany allow us to address the research gap on the role of expertise and impact of external along with internal factors on nuclear knowledge production. A qualitative inquiry employs in-depth semi-structured interviews with the leadership of experts from 6 think tanks in these two countries. Guided by the building blocks paradigm, this comparative study regards nuclear disarmament from the perspective of positive peace. The transformative research approach allows the construction of new thought patterns related to knowledge production, in this case in the field of nuclear disarmament. The findings of this empirical cross-nations research contribute to scholarship on nuclear weapons, European studies, the politics of knowledge and peace research.

- **Unto Vesa (TAPRI/EuPRA) – The present security situation in Europe**

  A discussion paper on the present security situation in Europe. How to reverse the present negative trends and to avoid the risk of war. The paper analyses the measures and policies that helped end the cold war, and discusses the reasons that have led to the prevailing confrontation, re-emergence of war risks and enemy images. What is the relevance of CSBMs now, what kind of new measures would be helpful, how to implement GRIT approach today? What is desirable, feasible and realistic?
- **Rony Matti Ojajärvi (Itä-Suomen yliopisto)** – The Social Struggle between Finnish Peace Movements and the Lutheran State Church in Finland 1919–1932

Articulations on interdependency of Lutheran faith, patriotism, and military defense against the threat from the east, can argued to have formed the Finnish “hegemonic Discourse of the nation-state” in the 1920’s. What this means is that as the society is socially constructed, the dominant nationalist ideology of the Finnish society was reproduced and maintained through discursive practices. Nevertheless, like shown for example by Claire Sutherland (2006), the hegemonic nation-state Discourse is constantly contested and questioned by other competing “conceptual configurations”. This antagonistic nature of discourses, the friction between different discourses, is what provides a fruitful basis for empirical research, such as this at hand. The hegemonical religious discourses in favor for the nationalist ideology were questioned by some Lutheran priests and by other Christians, who did not share the hegemonic nationalist ideology. So how these Christians used or questioned the hegemonical discourses in which the interdependence of Lutheranism, patriotism and national armed defense were in the center? And how the social struggle around hegemonical Lutheran-patriotic discourses affected these Christians relation to the Finnish Lutheran Church central to the reproducing of the dominant national identity? This paper seeks answers into these questions. I approach the subject by researching the Finnish Peace Movements relation to the Lutheran-patriotic discourses. By Finnish Peace Movements I am referring to movements that advocated non-violence and sought to reduce armaments. I will show that the actions of state-churches in the First World War and the role of Lutheran Church in Finnish Civil War were the historical contexts that made the members of peace movements to question, whether the traditional interpretation on biblical authority teaching “authorities do not bear the sword for nothing” (Romans 13:4) - and thus the Lutheran Church propagating its importance – was after all truly Christian. Hegemonical biblical discourses were questioned in the Finnish Peace Movements with new interpretations that took advantage for example clausula petri, “man must obey God rather than men” (Acts 5:29). In addition, especially the Sermon on the Mount provided a counter-hegemonical resource, which was used to question the biblical basis of the Lutheran Church. The teachings in the Sermon on the Mount also became a way to criticize the Lutheran white’s way of “retaliating” to the reds after the First World War.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15:30 to 17:00</th>
<th>Main Building A06</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>METHODS AND APPROACHES TO PEACE RESEARCH – Factors Influencing War and Peace</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairs: Bayan Arouri, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI and Bram J. De Smet, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Nenad Stekić (Institute of International Politics and Economics)** – Concealed Armed Conflicts Transformation: Excerpt From a Delphi Study

Over the last decade, a plethora of academic papers attempt to deconstruct a civil war onset. Popularization of artificial intelligence tools such as Machine Learning and Fuzzy Logic, fed by the large N data, has motivated scholarly community to “automate” the scientific process. There is no doubt that AI-based prediction of civil wars will further be improved, being that several existing initiatives such as the projects VIEWS+ and ICEWS, contribute to these endeavours. An alternative to the AI-based intrastate conflict prediction is an old-fashion Delphi method. It is a process of iterative “knowledge-sampling” by recognised experts until the consensus of group’s preferences is reached. This paper delivers results obtained through a Delphi study conducted with a group of 10 experts, aiming to rank the influence of indicators for intrastate conflict onset. After a thorough academic literature review, the group was offered a set of 55 indicators for civil wars onset (with an option to propose their own), clustered into several groups: Geography, Social & Demographic Characteristics, Internal Politics, International Status, Economy, and Other. During the first round, the experts expressed their preference on each individual indicator through the O-M-P matrix. The first cut eliminated 35, and left the top 20 ranked indicators, subject to iterated assessment in the second round. It saw significant dispersion in individual responses and has not achieved its statistical significance. Chi-square test demonstrated that (though very close), the round’s responses were not stable ($\chi^2 = 0.4703$) in terms of statistical stability, which is
why the third round was undertaken. Despite the inter-round variances in responses, consensus of the group’s members was achieved eventually, while experts agreed that all of the clusters more or less equally influence the outbreak of the civil wars.

- **Katariina Harjunpää (Tampere University/TAPRI)** – A linguistic and interactional approach to distributed agency in mediation

This paper presents an ongoing study that uses methods from linguistics and the study of social interaction to examine conflict transformation in the context of mediation in criminal and civil cases in Finland. Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sidnell & Stivers 2012) is a method rooted in sociology and ethnomethodology, widely used for investigating social action in fields including linguistics, anthropology, and social psychology. It examines the coordination of participation, turn-taking, sequential organization of interaction, ways of dealing with problems of understanding, display of stances, and so on, for which interactants make use of a variety of verbal and embodied resources.

In mediation, communication between the parties affected by a crime or dispute is facilitated by the mediator(s). Successful interaction is key to the process and outcome of mediation. Based on video and audio recordings of authentic mediation sessions, CA studies have demonstrated, e.g., that communication strategies offered in guidebooks may have interactional outcomes rather different from their intended purposes when viewed in authentic situations (Stokoe & Sikveland 2016). Studies have also discussed differences between mediation settings (small claims vs. divorce, Garcia 2019) and the subtle practices of shifting towards more constructive ways of talking (Garcia 2019). Studies of authentic mediation sessions have well established that it is very challenging, if not impossible, for mediators to maintain a neutral position, despite this being the ideal (Mayer 2004). With the help of interactional analysis, it is possible to unpack issues related to neutrality of the mediator and the autonomy of the main parties: turn by turn and gaze by gaze, we begin to see the processes shaping the delivery of every spoken utterance, and the way the utterances renew the context in which they are to be understood.

The analytic focus in this study is the speakership of the parties in mediation, more precisely, their discursive agency. It is proposed that a central mechanism of mediated interaction is the distribution of agency so that mediators act in certain areas of the main parties’ discursive agency, which serves to support and shape the unfolding social actions in ways that facilitate reconciliation of the conflict. The approach theoretically reframes findings in prior research on how mediators actively influence — not only enable — interaction, for instance, by reformulating (reframing) the parties’ prior talk (Glenn 2016, Stokoe & Sikveland 2016). Several of the identified practices can be viewed as instances of distribution concerning the production, composition and accountability of the parties’ talk (Enfield 2013). They are an example of the broader phenomenon of the speakership of individuals being constructed by the actions of various participants (Goodwin 2017) — in this case, potentially serving collective efforts of reconciliation.

15:30 to 17:00 Main Building A07 zoom

ONLINE SESSION 1 – Aspects of Overlooked Civil Societies

Chair: Marko Lehti, Senior Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- **Joyce Apsel (New York University)** – Bonds that Hold; Bonds that Break: Teaching Albert Camus’ The Plague during Covid-19 – Insights, New Vocabularies and Critiques

“Everybody knows that pestilences have a way of recurring in the world yet, somehow we find it hard to believe in ones that crash down on our heads from a blue sky. There have been as many plagues as wars in history; yet, always plagues and wars take people equally by surprise,” (Albert Camus, The Plague, 36–37).

This paper discusses how Camus’ post World War Two novel, The Plague provides an important vehicle for students and teachers to analyze and debate a range of ethical, emotional/psychological, physical and political aspects of living through the Covid-19 pandemic. From denial to images of Oran as a necropolis, the novel resonates with today’s public health crisis including changing responses to ongoing suffering and death. How and where do a
complicated ethics of care emerge from the “decency” discussed by Dr. Rieux to experimentation with serum on M. Thon’s son to organizing sanitation squads? At the same time, contextualizing Camus’ voice, silences and bias and exploring the politics and necropolitics of the impact of Covid-19 on different communities globally open up comparisons and contrasts between fictional Oran and the world today. Themes range from the violation of bodily integrity and suffering to forming bonds between individuals and the fluidity of unlearning as well as learning lessons from fiction and life.

• Eva Segura (Université Paris Descartes) – After totalitarian thinking: what thinking can do

This proposal brings a philosophical and political standpoint on the role of civil society in relation to peace and power structures, which would specifically relate to the interdisciplinary topics, in particular n°5 (democratic participation), n°8 (conflict transformation) and n°11 (peace education). Political science describes totalitarianism as a regime with a monopolistic concentration of powers through terror, violence, and massive ideological recruitment, oriented towards the advent of a new man, all thanks to technology. Public opinion and civil society are supposed to be absorbed until they disappear. Totalitarianism is conceived as proceeding from the absence of thinking and preventing all thought.

The expression “totalitarian thinking” would therefore be an oxymoron. If the mass criminal could commit the worst in the service of a totalitarian state, it is because he would have renounced the use of his autonomous reason. In this sense, he acted without motive. He could only be a liar or a thoughtless person, but not a hateful one. One either thinks and thinks well or doesn’t think at all. The idea that perpetrators could have thought, to the point of turning thinking against itself and against morality, is inadmissible to political philosophers. Though thinking finds itself at the core of the question : how to reintegrate into the human community people who have tried to annihilate humanity?

This presentation will focus on showing that there is in fact a totalitarian thinking. Indeed thinking against morality is still thinking. And if perpetrators do think, their thinking might have a moralizing effect on their morality. We will discuss what thought can do, especially when totalitarian thinking persists long after the collapse of the regimes that promoted it, even in contemporary democracies. Thinking might be the tool and hope for peace building.

• Tae-Kyung Kim and EJR Cho (National Assembly Futures Institute, Korea and Institute for National Security Strategy(INSS)) – Characteristics of Disaster Risk Reduction Governance Under the Kim Jong Un Regime and Implications for Policies toward North Korea

In the year of 2022, the Kim Jong Un regime will celebrate its 10th anniversary. What kind of future does Kim aspire for his regime? This question is of particular interest, as the regime is currently experiencing a triple distress: “comprehensive sanctions against North Korea”, “damage from chronic floods” and the “global coronavirus pandemic.” In this article, it is seen that the regime capitalizes on “disaster risk reduction” governance to address the triple distress. The regime appears to justify its rule by emphasizing its crisis management capabilities through disaster risk reduction governance. Kim Jong Un, who returned empty-handed after engaging in “a nuclear negotiation” with the U.S. from 2018 to 2019, is now launching a charm offensive to win back the public sentiment and expand communications with the international community through a battle against disasters. North Korea’s self-proclaimed “corona-free country” slogan is used as a governance tool to prove the “normality” or even “superiority” of the North Korean regime. Other authoritarian countries such as China and Venezuela have also used this strategy. Due to the collapse of U.S.- DPRK summit, North Korean military hardliners challenged Kim Jong Un, but the transition to the national emergency quarantine system due to COVID-19 last year paradoxically proved to be an opportunity for Kim to strengthen his regime. In this respect, it is understood that by actively advancing the global health security agenda to overcome disasters, Kim Jong Un was able to justify his reign internally and flaunt North Korea’s status as a “normal” state externally. Moreover, in this article it is argued that the Kim Jong Un regime considers discourse on international development such as the UN’s Sustainable
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15:30 to 17:00</th>
<th>Main Building A08</th>
<th>ONLINE SESSION 2 – Security and Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zoom</td>
<td>Chair: Annick Wibben, Professor, Swedish Defence University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• José-Manuel Moreno-Mercado, Óscar G. Luengo and Javier García-Marín (University of Granada) – Current challenges of Media and Conflict Studies: Securitization as a Media Frame in Spanish Press Portrayal of Syrian War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The main objective of this paper is to provide a consistent knowledge base on the possible media securitization process of the Spanish press when reporting on the Syrian conflict. To this end, an automated analysis has been carried out, through the SVM supervised algorithm, with the aim of measuring the use of human drama and security frames during the period 2011-2020. The starting assumptions are that the Spanish press mostly uses the security frame when reporting on the Syrian conflict and that there are no significant differences in the use of frames between the different media. The results show that both hypotheses have been validated as all media use similar language with a broad predominance of security frame. Similarly, text mining suggests that the Spanish press has focused its attention on the international aspect of the conflict having difficulty identifying other internal actors. In short, the research aims to analyze globally the news concerning one of the most serious humanitarian crisis in the present millennium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Natasha Singh Raghuvanshi &amp; Jenna Sapiano (Monash University) – Rethinking the role of the Security Council for feminist activism: The WPS agenda after 20 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Development Goals (SDGs) for its policy-making, and actively seeks ways to improve its domestic institutions and utilize multilateral organizations.

• Ria Chae (Yale University) – Imagining the Future of Korea in the 1970s — The Genealogy of Korean Intellectual Discourse on Peaceful Reunification

It is better to have peaceful coexistence and competition rather than unification and war,” stated South Vietnamese scholar-politician Ton That Thien at a joint discussion session of an international conference held in South Korea in 1971. Despite his high profile and the presence of many journalists, his words were never reported in Korean press. Ton’s presentation containing similar ideas was edited out in full from the three-volume series of conference papers translated into Korean and published two years later for the use of domestic scholars. The conference was the first discussion of the issue of Korean unification that the authoritarian regime of Park Chung Hee (1961–1979) allowed to take place in public domain, and the notion of conditional unification was likely deemed too dangerous. Ton’s remarks, however, survived in the English proceedings of the conference, which miraculously avoided censorship. As the publication reveals, the South Korean attendees asserted that the reunification was imperative and achievable but were unable to come up with concrete suggestions to that end. Furthermore, Korean intellectuals struggled to explain the necessity of reunification—something that had been previously accepted as given—and could not find another resort but nationalism. While several other incentives have been added over the years, nationalism remains the cornerstone of public discussions on the reunification in South Korea today, even as the current situation at the Ukrainian-Russian border demonstrates the dangers that misled nationalism and desire to restore perceived historic unity pose to peace. In search for the origins of ideas on peaceful unification prevalent in 21st-century South Korea, this presentation explores the early 1970s’ intellectual discourse on the future of the Korean Peninsula.
Discord between permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is now more evident than any time since the end of the Cold War. In the past five years, there has also been a marked rise in the backlash against women’s rights and gender equality at the global and national levels. In reflecting on these two trends, the article analyses the impact of the discord in the UNSC on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda by applying a critical and postcolonial feminist approach. It argues that the Security Council is no longer, if it ever was, the best suited international institution to have control over the international feminist agenda.

In the year leading up to the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the first WPS agenda UNSC Resolution 1325, the Security Council adopted two WPS resolutions - 2467 and 2493. The first resolution was adopted during the annual UNSC open debate on conflict related sexual violence with two abstentions, a break from the tradition of unanimous adoption of all previous WPS agenda resolutions. The second resolution, tabled during the annual WPS open debate, required concessions in the proposed language on women human rights defenders in order to reach a unanimous adoption. Power dynamics between permanent member states have transformed the agenda from a global normative framework into a site of contestations. Therefore, the article asks if the Security Council can remain a space of feminist activism as the early advocates of the WPS agenda had hoped.

- **Jussi Heikkilä (Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics)**
  – Patrimony of Brothers in Arms: Comment on “Introducing the Historical Gender Equality Index”

While the education gap between women and men is closing in several developed countries, the gender gap in compulsory military service (CMS) and education still remains in some countries. The Historical Gender Equality Index introduced by Dilli et al. (2019) does not take into account male-specific CMS neither directly as a separate indicator nor indirectly in the indicator for educational attainment. Male-specific CMS systems have been abolished in several countries, but such institutions may have long-lasting effects including intergenerational transmission of male-specific human capital, role models, trauma and attitudes - in particular from fathers to sons as “patrimony”. Ignorance of such institutions may lead to an omitted variable bias when analyzing the historical development of gender equality across countries and the institutional roots of educational and occupational segregation by gender. Reliable and standardized datasets of the absolute number and share of women in CMS would promote such historical cross-country analyses.

**15:30 to 17:00**

**Main Building A31**

**ACTIVISM, RIGHTS AND PEACE**

Chair: Angel Iglesias Ortiz, Post-Doctoral Researcher, SPARG/TAPRI, Tampere University

- **Anitta Kynsilehto and Camilla Marucco (TAPRI and University of Turku & DIAK)**
  – Access to rights regardless of one’s status: Steps towards enhancing social justice

The proposed presentation focuses on undocumented migrants’ access to social rights. People on the move without a valid residence status are a concern for policymakers in different countries, often approached through a prism that addresses their presence as a security concern. Meanwhile routes towards ‘undocumentedness’ are manifold: lack of access to a valid residence status in a given country may and often does result from changes in migration policymaking, and it has been observed as potentially intergenerational. Most problematic lack of a valid residence status is for the person concerned, as it contributes to difficulties in accessing one’s basic rights, such as decent accommodation, health care and education.

The presentation departs from insights collected in an ongoing, multidisciplinary project that examines such issues in the context of Finland and team members research on similar themes in other locations. Drawing on these insights, we engage in a discussion on possibilities of enhancing social justice that brings to the forefront rights of people deprived of a valid residence status and interfaces between public and third sector service provision in doing so.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15:30 to 17:00</td>
<td>Main Building A32</td>
<td>Elisabeth Olivius (Umeå university)</td>
<td>“On the Border, I Learned How to Advocate”: Borderlands as Enabling Political Spaces for Myanmar Women’s Activism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This article explores the political space of the border through the experiences of Myanmar women activists, for whom the borderlands in Thailand have provided refuge as well as a conducive environment for political mobilization. Before the initiation of democratic reforms in 2011, the Thai borderlands constituted a key site for oppositional politics, including women’s activism, as well as armed resistance against the Myanmar military regime. Increased political freedom in Myanmar after 2011 led many exile activists to return and continue their work in Myanmar. However, since the military took power again in 2021, the border is re-emerging as an indispensable political space for resistance and rights claims yet again. Drawing on life history interviews, this article explores the role of the border as a space for Myanmar women’s activism over time, and shows how its salience has fluctuated along with repeated waves of political upheaval and change in Myanmar. Thereby the analysis expands conceptualizations of the border as a dynamic political space, rather than static geopolitical marker, and examines when and how the border can facilitate the activism and claims making of marginalized groups, both in relation to dominant power relations in their communities, and in relation to homeland politics.

15:30 to 17:00 | Main Building A32 | Bénédicte Santoire (University of Ottawa) | Between War, Militarization, and Nationalism: The Necessity of Feminist Peace Research for/in post-Soviet Europe |

Despite twenty years of theorization about the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, a critical review of the WPS literature points to a large, curious, and ignored gap regarding the agenda in post-Soviet Europe. In this paper, I want to problematize and challenge this absence. If this gap may be partly due to Anglo-Saxon hegemony in this literature, I direct our attention toward an alternative explanation: metageography and the “in-betweenness” of the post-Soviet region as a politically and geographically ambiguous space neither corresponding to the global North nor the global South. Drawing upon insights from the literature on gender and postsocialism and using the concept of the “Second-World,” I argue that the post-Soviet space has been completely erased from the WPS literature because – as elsewhere in the social sciences – the end of the Cold war has rearranged the old East/West geopolitical imaginaries into a global North/South divide instead. Consequently, not only is the WPS literature mainly dominated by global North scholars and their interest in the global South, but this epistemic gap gives us an incomplete picture of the WPS agenda altogether. I argue that those persisting binaries hide regional dynamics and Eastern Europe’s unique historical relationships vis-à-vis Western feminism, militarization, nationalisms, imperialism, and colonialism.

I situate my reflection in the larger political context of Central & Eastern Europe and pave the path to a reflection on the necessity of feminist peace research in/for post-Soviet Europe. In a time of rising populism and illiberal drift in this region, I urge and challenge WPS scholars to pay more attention to this region because of two rising issues. First, in the context of democratization and Europeanization, there is a tendency of post-Soviet countries to adopt a National Action Plan (NAP) as a “performative” practice, to use it instrumentally to advance political ends and to “prove” their commitments to certain actors or regional/international organizations. Second, the recent antifeminist backlash in Eastern Europe warns of the growing challenges this will pose to the agenda (and feminist peace research more generally). I believe that the preliminary reflections brought in this paper hold promise to incite the WPS community to think of a more holistic agenda beyond global North/South binaries and look at a geographical area that has been seriously unexplored in the past two decades of feminist peace research.

Note: the reflections brought in this communication are part of an article already submitted in an academic journal. Please do not circulate this abstract and do not cite without the permission of the author.
• Nora O Stenius (University of Helsinki) – Counting Mothers, Monsters and Whores: Indicators Constructing the Ideal Wo(men), Peace and Security Actant

Rather than just measuring the world, indicators construct and govern it. The Women, Peace and Security agenda provides a fascinating ecosystem to the study of indicators. Embedded with plural logics of knowledge production the agenda has been associated with liberation and reform as well as neocolonial control. Until recently, relatively little attention has been given to the role of indicators in (re)producing and setting parameters for the agenda. This paper analyses a global dataset of 7,500 women, peace and security indicators harvested from all the National Action Plans adopted between 2005 and 2020, enabling both spatial and linear windows of inquiry. Using Quantitative Content Analysis and building on previous Feminist Peace Research and Sociology of Measurement this paper focuses on the production and construction of women, peace and security subjects through indicators. The paper answers the following questions: Who/What is the ideal women, peace and security subject? How has this changed over the past two decades and what variations occur? What is left uncounted and silenced? The use of indicators predetermines what becomes the ideal actant within the Women, Peace and Security universe. By and large, these indicators reinforce hierarchical roles for wo(men), rather than complex and fluid. The paper calls for acknowledging the governance functions of indicators but also draws attention to the emancipatory use of indicators.

• Laura Sulin (Coventry University) – The UN Women, Peace and Security Agenda – a conceptually challenged framework

The United Nations Women, Peace & Security (WPS) Agenda has often been celebrated as a major breakthrough for women’s rights, for directly addressing women and armed conflict. However, the transformative potential of the Agenda, which aims to protect and promote the role of women in conflict and post-conflict situations, has remained limited during these past 20 years. The WPS Agenda has often been criticised for conceptualising security too narrowly, and ignoring the multitude of gendered experiences of conflict by focusing largely on post-conflict contexts and situations of armed conflict. Based on findings from semi-structured interviews with civil society organisations and individual experts working on the WPS Agenda in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) and South Africa, this paper argues that in order for the WPS Agenda to be truly transformational for women globally, it needs to broaden how security is viewed within the Agenda. This question is particularly important to reflect on given the current global situation, in which the COVID-19 pandemic has brought new challenges - the pandemic is said to have set back gender equality by 25 years, according to a UN Women report (BBC News, November 2020). This is due not only to the number of lives lost but to the side effects of the pandemic, ranging from domestic violence to mental health effects and the burden of unpaid domestic labour which has had a disproportionate impact on women. The findings provide evidence how important it is to understand the insecurities women feel in terms of a continuum of violence, rather than defining security/insecurity as something that only happens within the context of armed conflict. The WPS Agenda is a useful framework for civil society organisations working broadly around gender, however the Agenda’s notion of security as it currently stands does not provide an adequate framework for dealing with the full range of gendered experiences of conflict and insecurities. This paper argues that the current focus of the WPS Agenda being mainly on internationally recognised conflicts restricts the implementation of the framework and hinders the transformational potential of the Agenda. The paper concludes that the Agenda’s approach should be shifted so that it reflects a feminist understanding of security.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00 to 12:30</td>
<td>Main Building A1</td>
<td><strong>HYBRID SESSION – ROUNDTABLE – REVISITING THE MOTHERHOOD MYTH</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chairs: Leena Vastapuu, Associate Senior Lecturer, Swedish Defence University and Annick Wibben, Professor, Swedish Defence University&lt;br&gt;• Priscyll Anctil Avoine (Lund University)&lt;br&gt;• Yael Gappel (TAU)&lt;br&gt;• Marie Migeon (University of Basel/swisspeace)&lt;br&gt;• Elina Penttinen (University of Helsinki)&lt;br&gt;• Elena Spasovska (University of South Australia)&lt;br&gt;The relationship between mothering and peace-war has long fascinated (feminist) scholars. Assumptions about the connection between maternal practices, womanhood, and peace often structure our understandings of political violence. We might conceptualize these assumptions as motherhood myth(s) and further argue that they have profound implications for peace research. On this roundtable we want to both return to some long-standing conversations as well as generate new insights. This roundtable aims to address these questions in the context of particular cases or experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 to 15:30</td>
<td>Linna Building 5014</td>
<td><strong>METHODS AND APPROACHES TO PEACE RESEARCH – The Role of Narrative</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Cæcile Jensen, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University&lt;br&gt;• Emma Fredriksson (Swedish Defence University) – The politics of imagination: analysing security expertise in the Swedish rearmament as fiction&lt;br&gt;This article suggests that fiction, as imagination, is an integral feature of security expertise necessary for justifying armament and war. By building on and locating fiction within narrative and feminist debates on knowledge production in global politics, it interrogates the fact/fiction divide in relation to questions of academic writing, data, objectivity and truth. In doing so, the paper shows how fiction is always already present in authoritative knowledge(s) in the form of security expertise and that imagination has effect on security policy-making. To further the argument the paper looks closer at security narratives told at the most important annual defence conference in Sweden, Rikskonferensen 2018-2020. Exploring the conference as a site of fiction, it reveals and analyse the presence and effects of imagination(s) in security expertise. It identifies three dominant fictions justifying Sweden’s ongoing national rearmament: (1) the fiction of international dis/order (2) the fiction of domestic order, and (3) the fiction of armament as security. The paper argues that fiction as a lens from which to analyse and challenge security expertise contributes to the demystification of war. In doing so, it advances a discussion on the politics of imagination and the role of fiction in the making of war.&lt;br&gt;• Ihntaek Hwang (TAPRI) – Imagining national security differently through the South Korean military refusers: the potential of our human bodies and aesthetics&lt;br&gt;What if changing how I describe my body can also change how we understand peace? For example, if we describe that our immune system is not necessarily defensive (Napier 2013), can we also respond to immigrants differently, notably during the crises like now? I noted that throughout history and across civilisations, the well-being of a state has been modelled after the well-being of the human body (Unschuld 2009; Fishel 2017). Describing our body is beyond stating facts (Wilcox 2014) and carries certain affective weights, hence productive of our politics. Hence, our fight against the increasing injustices and exclusions depends on how we describe our vulnerable-yet-resistant body (Väyrynen et al. 2016). For this fight, I ask, I explore how the people who refuse the being enlisted (military refusers) in South Korea are implicated in imagining national security. Given their alternative views on military and security, the conscientious objectors propose alternative bodies and aesthetics. I carry out conceptually and aesthetically informed interpretation of the textual and visual data produced by the conscientious objectors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Roy Tamashiro (Webster University) – Survivor-Witness Narratives for Empowering Peace in Troubling Times

Although witness narratives typically refer to the accounts told by survivor-witnesses of past disasters, violence, and traumas, they also refer to our present-day narratives, in this era of deep social and political divides, a threatened environment, an unending pandemic, and un-reconciled legacies of injustice. Multiple global issues dominate our everyday consciousness and attention. In this paper, I offer reflections and metacognitive observations of a peace pilgrimage for troubling times, a searching journeying that integrates two pilgrimage types: Actual traveling to historical sites or sacred spaces and journeying into the interior world of mind and consciousness. Opportunities for interior journeying increased when travel bans were imposed in early 2020. My global pilgrimage destinations included memorials, museums for peace, and other historic sites of profound loss which were sobering and sacred spaces for witnessing and truth-telling, for commemoration and memorialization, and for reflection and soul-searching. The sites functioned as safe spaces for audiences to engage with narratives of inhumaneness and injustices from the past, narratives which continue as dissonant cultural legacies alive in the present. The spaces enable visitors to contemplate mind-frames for reconciliation, redemption, and peace. Reflecting and meditating on the pilgrimage yields deeper insight into who we are and what is the nature of reality. They reveal options to consider in one’s self-concept, worldview, and view of humanity. They empower us to constructively address unreconciled historical pasts, as well as the present-day chaos and darkness.

ONLINE SESSION 3 – Indigenous Resistance and decolonization

Chair: Camilla Marucco, Doctoral Researcher, University of Turku

• Stellan Vinthagen (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) - A territorial rebellion – the case of the Zapatista communities of autonomy

This chapter is showing how a revolutionary “constructive resistance” can create new societies within larger territorial areas in self-defense against and defiance of the nation state, yet still without trying to capture the power of the state. The chapter explores the territorial rebellion of the Zapatistas through their communities of autonomy, their achievements and challenges in creating this radical and different kind of “politics of autonomy”, dignity and non-state revolution. The Zapatistas are a revolutionary movement based among Maya Indigenous Tribes in the Southernmost state of Mexico: Chiapas. They became known to the world in January 1994 during a brief military uprising. Since then, they have focused on unarmed means of resistance, locally through constructing their own autonomous alternatives that can replace the state, nationally and internationally by building dialogues and alliances within and among civil societies. Based on Indigenous customs and a mix of radical religious and political ideologies they have developed a self-governance and self-organization of their own health care, education, agriculture, political governance, cultural life and economy, encompassing almost 400,000 persons. They have made amazing achievements (e.g., universal health care and community-based Indigenous oriented education) but are still struggling to survive and finding ways to develop their autonomy (especially in relation to capitalism), and to deal with the military repression and colonial incursions of the Mexican state, as well as their own internal issues (such as a machismo that limit the autonomy of Zapatista women despite their 1993 Revolutionary Women’s Law). They are not a clear-cut “success story”, since their autonomy is relative and dependent on compelling the Mexican state to not make a full-scale military invasion. However, they have clearly achieved two major things: (1) dignity and an improved life quality within their communities, and (2) an inspiring model of a different kind of revolutionary politics, one that is not aiming to take state power but to radically and step-by-step liberate territorial communities from the dominant power of the state, capitalism, patriarchy, colonialism and racism.

14:00 to 15:30 Linna Building 6042 zoom
This article is a literature review focused on developing an overview of existing theories and perspectives of strategies for Indigenous unarmed resistance to contemporary military occupation and colonization. We aim to summarize and categorize the existing literature and identify the gaps and necessary avenues for future research. The purpose is to contribute to the knowledge and strategies of how Indigenous peoples can liberate themselves from a combined burden of military occupation and colonization by foreign states.

We have made extensive literature searches on research relating to "occupation", "colonization" and "resistance"; particularly in relation to some of the more researched contemporary or recent cases, such as Kashmir, Palestine, Puerto Rico, Tibet, Western Sahara, West Papua, etc. but also some historic cases, such as East Timor and Haiti, etc. From these searches, we conclude that most research is focused on individual case studies and the role of nationality, often from a perspective in IR and specifically on how to best conduct an occupation in order to prevent uprisings/resistance. Discussions of preventing resistance tended to be born out of a post-9/11 concern of "terrorism" in the Middle East— with multiple articles being focused specifically on how to minimize resistance efforts in Iraq. In fact, it seems like most contemporary military occupations are not even viewed as "colonialism" at all, but as "counter-insurgency", "anti-terrorism", "humanitarian interventions", "democracy enforcement", "responsibility to protect", "security", or something similar.

One major problem with the existing literature is that it tends to take the perspective of the occupier, not the occupied Indigenous people. Other prominent gaps in the research were identified as a lack of comparison between different cases; a lack of investigations of a cohesive, overarching strategy for resistance to occupation; and very few discussions of resistance against not just individual occupiers but against the colonial systems they uphold. Where strategies were present within texts, they tend to be regionally and culturally specific, as opposed to focused on the synthesis of case studies in order to draw broader conclusions regarding the nature of nonviolent/unarmed resistance as a whole.

In a summary way, we conclude that there is no overview of a general strategy for resistance and its outcomes, particularly for unarmed resistance, or a comparative study of cases, and little of connections to contemporary colonialism, or a comparison of how resistance today is different to the historical experience of occupation/colonialism. Therefore, to us it seems there is a clear need for further research: Both a development of a general theoretical framework of how to understand unarmed resistance within the particular context of military occupation and colonialism today, and an empirically oriented comparative case study that analyses how different strategies and tactics work. To us, it seems obvious there is both a theoretical and empirical gap, particularly from the perspective of occupied people.

This paper will present the preliminary activities and results of a Resistance Studies Initiative investigation into activist-schools that are using bottom-up pedagogy. These schools are started by liberatory social movements to help vulnerable groups to empower themselves through education and struggle. We sought to find schools that are rooted in current movements that continue to produce more activists. We want to know what their pedagogy is, type of education, organizational form, pillars of support, how they protect against being co-opted, and the funding that makes it possible. Once we have identified this information, we want to identify academic knowledge that may be helpful to the activists.

Occupying Land, Occupying Schools, by Dr. Rebekah Tarlau, has been our primary source for familiarizing ourselves with the vocabulary for deeper searches on groups besides the MST, a liberatory social movement based in Brazil. This helped us to find Unibol Quechua Casimiro Huanca in Chimoré Bolivia with a focus on indigenous resistance. We have identified 10 other schools (with twenty other possibilities) that seem to fit the description of what we are looking for. Not all of them are indigenous groups, however understanding their inner workings will help us in our efforts to produce knowledge on indigenous resistance. The paper will present some key lessons.

Dorian Williams and Stellan Vinthagen (Resistance Studies Initiative and University of Massachusetts, Amherst) - Resistance to contemporary military occupation and colonization: An overview of the existing literature

Brandon Swann (RSI) - Bottom-up pedagogies of activist-schools as part of liberatory social movements
that we have learned so far, including from one such group, the MST, which are: UNESCO and UNICEF have funded activist-university programs; established universities have acted as pillars of support; “Contentious co-governance” is a strategy for preventing co-optation. There are important implications of this research for the theory and practice of the critical peace and resistance fields. Our purpose is to create a worldwide network of these schools to encourage mutual support between them and resistance scholars in university departments.

- Jess Notwell (University of Guelph in Guelph, Ontario, Canada) - Decolonising Peace: Lessons in Co-Resistance

Israeli settler colonialism has given rise to a “coloniality of peace” (Maldonado-Torres, 2020) that racializes Palestinians struggling for liberation as terrorists and defines Israeli state and extra-judicial violence as “security” (Abu-Laban & Bakan, 2019). In response, Palestinian women frontliners (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2009) enact decolonial peace. Cultivating and mobilizing decolonial love of Palestinian identity, family, community and land, these Palestinian women are reclaiming peace as liberation from Israeli settler colonialism and decolonization of relations within Palestinian communities. This decolonial peace is: “intolerant of protections of the order of race and death, including discourses of excellence and civility that continue to offer protection to the modern racial order” (Maldonado-Torres, 2020).

Research methodologies arising from coloniality misunderstand, distort and demonize liberation struggles. Conversely, this study employed the Indigenous Methodology of Decolonial Co-Resistance to understand the decolonial peace practiced by 31 Palestinian women across the West Bank, including Jerusalem. Decolonial Co-Resistance developed iteratively through place-based co-resistance aimed at “creating doorways out of settler colonialism” (Simpson, 2016: 27) during visits to families of prisoners and martyrs, the Freedom and Dignity Hunger Strike, defending Al-Aqsa Mosque in July 2017, and land defense actions. A practice of miyo-pimatisiwin (Cree; living responsibilities to All Our Relations), it mobilizes the Indigenous Storywork principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity and reverence (Archibald, 2019) to understand decolonial peace through Palestinian women’s enactment and storying of their own struggles for liberation. Through Decolonial Co-Resistance, this study simultaneously illuminates that decolonial and Indigenous Methodologies are critical ensuring that Peace Research is capable of learning from the knowledges created in embodied struggles for liberation (Walsh & Mignolo, 2018; de Sousa Santos, 2018) and of contributing to wider processes of decolonization at the local and global levels.

ONLINE SESSION 4 – Crisis, Peace and Conflicts
Chair: Unto Vesa, Emeritus Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- Itır Toksöz (Dogus University) – The Role of non-State Actors in Peaceful Use of Outer Space

Space used to be regarded as the realm of state activity since during the Cold War those who had access to space were exclusively states. While the United Nations also contributed to humanity’s quest for space especially in terms of codifying outer space law and became the widest platform for multilateral efforts for regulating space activities during that era and beyond, the post-Cold-War world brought to the fore the activities of other intergovernmental organizations active in this realm such as Asia Pacific Space Cooperation Organization (APSCO) and private entities such as Space-X, Blue Origin, Virgin Galactic (as well as their visionary entrepreneurs) which all seem to have their breakthrough successes during the past few years. Today, the followers of space news outlets are not strangers to news on activities of states, international organizations and private businesses concerning outer space.

It is not possible to make the same claim for national or international non-governmental organizations (NGOs and INGOs) in the space sector although their number and activities also increased during the 21st century. These organizations are in close contact with other state and non-state actors, engage in various activities and use space diplomacy to further their causes. They therefore are the latest additions to the list of actors in the space sector.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14:00 to 15:30</th>
<th>Linna Building 5026</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>METHODS AND APPROACHES TO PEACE RESEARCH</strong> – Challenging dominant discourses in peace research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair: Bram J. De Smet, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• Sofie Rose (Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark) – Continuums of Violence: How Stigmatization against Children Born of War affects Sustainable Peace</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Until recently, children born of wartime sexual violence have received very little attention in scholarly literature. In most conflicts and post-conflict zones, these children are a silent group of victims whose lives and needs has been largely ignored. Research suggests, that across countries, the stigmatization against children born of war can be so severe, that the end of conflict is actually not experienced as peace. Rather, some children understand their life to be “a state of war” and do not perceive their country to be at peace. Others are even longing for the war, because back then they were not stigmatized. Drawing on Feminist Peace Research the purpose of this study is to contribute to dismantle the binary between war and peace by pointing at how stigmatization against children born of war is not just a side-effect of physical/sexual violence but is a form of violence in itself. Based on qualitative analysis of a diverse material, this article demonstrates how stigmatization against children born of war in the Central African Republic, Uganda, and Bosnia can be located on a continuum of violence, rooted in unequal gender relations, and how this dynamic is negatively affecting the achievement of a sustainable peace.

- Selina Gallo-Cruz (College of the Holy Cross) - Feminism, Power, and Empowerment in Nonviolent Studies

In recent years, the field of scholarship on nonviolent resistance has grown significantly with a laser-like focus on what makes “people-power” work. The field has developed strategic and contextual explanations, with cultural theorists and moral philosophers adding insight on lesser-recognized social forces. In this article, I take a feminist theoretical standpoint to first demarcate the meta-theoretical trends in the paradigm of people-power research as distinct from feminist approaches in their foundational understandings of power. Secondly, I review a rich feminist literature on power and empowerment that emerged in a dialogue between nonviolence and feminist theorists and practitioners in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. I bring this praxis-informed knowledge of women’s empowerment in conversation with feminist theoretical interventions into international relations studies and the field of scholarship on women in war. I then discuss the implications of these contrasting approaches between “people-power” and feminist empowerment for making sense of nonviolent movements in fundamentally different ways. I conclude by postulating how scholars might bridge the insights on power and empowerment indigenous to feminism with empirical work on nonviolence and nonviolent movements.

- Maisa Borg (Tampere University) – Destination vaccination? Emotions, visuality, and securitization in social media videos for and against the COVID-19 vaccine

The global health crises of recent decades have elevated issues of health security to high-level national and international political agendas. At the same time, the growing digital circulation of images and texts and the digitalization of social life have made media content more accessible to the many and strengthened the role of individuals as content creators. The most recent example of this is the global COVID-19 pandemic and the various narratives constructed against the disease. On the one hand, the vaccine is widely supported and considered a major scientific breakthrough. On the other hand, more critical voices have emerged concerning for example the secureness of the vaccine itself or its global unequal access. This presentation showcases the research plan for my doctoral thesis in which I explore videos for and against the COVID-19 vaccine on social media platforms and ask, what role do emotions and visuality play in the securitization process of the vaccine. Emotions are especially prominent in times of crises, and thus the COVID-19 pandemic and its polarized vaccine debate are a particularly interesting subject of research. In addition, critically examining health security communications underlines that research on global health as well as actual health policies and practices are much more than mere technical or pharmaceutical endeavors and encompass deeply political and ethical dimensions.

- Jenny Hedström and Elisabeth Olivius (Swedish Defence University and Umeå university) – Tracing temporal conflicts in transitional Myanmar: life history diagrams as methodological tool
This article adds to the emerging temporal 'turn' in peace studies by addressing methodological questions about how temporality can be captured and explored in empirical studies. Developing our methodological tools for exploring time and temporality, we argue, is critical to move beyond the supposed linear temporality of peace processes, and make visible alternative temporal frameworks that shape everyday experiences and contestations around peace in conflict-affected contexts. Drawing on a study of two conflict-affected areas in Myanmar, we contribute towards this aim through a discussion of how life history diagrams helped us trace temporal conflicts between overarching narratives of political transition and everyday experiences of insecurity. This facilitated a deeper understanding of how relationships between war and peace, and between past, present and future, were manifested and made sense of in people's everyday lives. Our use of life history diagrams revealed temporal conflicts between the dominant, linear temporality of the Myanmar transition, and more complex and cyclical temporal frameworks people used to describe their realities. Life history diagrams also facilitated narratives that troubled an events-based temporality focused on macro-political shifts such as ceasefire agreements and elections, and instead foregrounded everyday experiences of continuous insecurity and struggle.

### PEACE EDUCATION – Contemporary Challenges for Peace Education

**Chair:** Marko Lehti, Senior Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- **Crispin Michael Cole Hemson** (International Centre of Nonviolence) – Educating teachers for peace and justice in a context of violence and oppression

  In a context of historical violence and oppression, how should understandings of context, of students and of ourselves inform a pedagogy for teacher education that aims to build peace and forge justice? The impetus for this question comes from a society that Adams (2012) refers to as one of ‘chronic violence’. Creating a more just and nonviolent society requires education – in formal, community, workplace and other settings. How then do we make it effective in societies with long histories of violence and injustice? The precarious nature of South African society was revealed in events of looting and arson in July 2021 that led also to racial violence on a scale that has not been witnessed for over 25 years. The response of ICON (the International Centre of Nonviolence) was to set up a short course to develop as facilitators/educators who can work in areas of social division. This has been a form of systematic action research that uses qualitative data to explore the nature of the challenges we face and the possibilities for positive change. While this work is not complete, some features are clear. First, people who have experienced violence in its many forms do yearn for peace but have experienced very few places and processes where they can develop that commitment. Secondly, effective peace building requires processes of intrapersonal healing as the trauma borne by people in such a society will otherwise undermine their effectiveness as peace educators. Thirdly, this process requires the development of a consistently supportive environment that can be sustained long enough for the unlearning of old patterns around teaching and the development of new ways of collaborative work.

- **Nils Vidar Vambheim** (UiT/The Arctic University of Norway/EuPRA) – Inter-group boundaries, prejudice, and conflict. Do Educational interventions work?

  A basic problem in peace education is how education works on inter-group relations, and whether educational interventions can have a positive effect on such relations, especially regarding groups in conflict. The problem has cognitive aspects (stereotypes), attitudinal aspects (prejudice) and emotional aspects, such as sympathy and empathy. The problems of prejudice and stereotypes have a specific role in this discussion, as both suspicion, negative attitudes and emotions, and sometimes outright hate, often derives from these two problems. There is not much, but gradually increasing research on how educational interventions can work to reduce antipathy and prejudice against “out-groups”, in peace as well as in conflict. My presentation will discuss some of the main findings from this research, based on psychological, sociological and education research on the topic of inter-group prejudice and conflict.
• Maarten van Alstein (Flemish Peace Institute) – Peace Education in Times of Polarization

In the last years European societies were confronted with escalating societal conflicts and increasing polarization. While problems related to violent extremism remain topical, issues such as migration, climate change, and decolonization lead to fierce debates and bitter tensions, both online and in the real world. Recently, Covid-policies and the issue of vaccination have upped the ante. What happens in society inevitably is also present in schools. Although the classroom, as a pedagogical space, once open for didactical experimentation, in a sense shielded off from the harsh realities of the outside world, it is always also a public space where society’s conflicts and tensions can pop up at any moment, sometimes in a brutal manner. This presents teachers with huge challenges. In the context of (super)diverse schools, many teachers are sincerely trying to create safe, inclusive, and equal classrooms. At the same time, many teachers also express uncertainties and anxieties. These are often related to an experience of a lack of skills and competences to deal with societal conflicts in the classroom. As an answer to these challenges and pressing needs, educational actors across Europe are producing an wide array of didactical instruments and trainings. Oftentimes these initiatives are valuable and innovative. To constructively engage with societal conflict and polarization in the classroom, however, educational practice is not only in need of practical and didactical guidelines, but also of coherent theoretical frameworks. In the last years, a growing number of studies have approached this question from the perspective of citizenship education and, more specifically, of teaching controversial topics. This paper argues, however, that the challenge for teachers is more complex and comprehensive. Educational practice is also in need of insights on the meaning of conflict and polarization. On the one hand, this implies that educational professionals are capable of distinguishing between various forms of polarization, between polarization and conflict, and between various scenarios in which conflicts can enter their classrooms. On the other hand, it also implies that they are empowered to see conflict and polarization not only as harmful and destructive, but also as an opportunity for growth and transformation. The paper therefore suggests that in order to enhance teachers’ skills and abilities, it makes sense to complement the literature on citizenship education and teaching controversial topics with insights from the theory and practice of conflict transformation. Drawing on these insights, the paper outlines a practice-oriented framework for teachers to constructively and peacefully engage with conflict and polarization in their classrooms.

HYBRID SESSION -ARTS AND PEACE – Transformative Power of Arts

14:00 to 15:30 Linna Building 6031 zoom

Chairs: Angel Iglesias Ortiz, Post-Doctoral Researcher, SPARG/TAPRI and Ilaria Tucci, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

• Nicole Fox (California University State Sacramento) – Memorializing A Global Pandemic: Honoring Loss and Collective Trauma

The death toll of those who have perished from COVID-19 has surpassed 5 million worldwide. In the aftermath of deadly natural disasters, wars, and mass violence, communities across the world often create memorials to honor those who lost their lives, providing a place for future generations to learn, grieve, debate, and remember. Some of the most familiar memorials in the U.S. are the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC and the 9/11 Memorial in Manhattan, and globally, the many Holocaust memorials that dot physical landscapes across the world. Scholars have noted this contemporary cultural shift toward memorialization as a mechanism of transitional justice and healing. Communities across the world have begun recording COVID-19 narratives for future memorialization efforts and commemorating those who have perished from the virus through online memorials. It is time to pair their efforts with international ones. Based on extensive research on memorialization in the cases of truth commissions, the Rwandan genocide, and sexual assault in North America, this presentation argues for the prospects of memorialization efforts in the time of a global pandemic and all that accompanies such loss: global hunger, mental health crisis, increases in domestic violence, and collective trauma/loss.

• Yelyzaveta Glybche (Tampere University) – Coloring Outside the Lines: Imaginary Reconstitution of Security in Yemen through Image Transformations
In the context of the 2020 power-sharing agreement in Yemen raising hopes for an end to the conflict, this essay explores the possibility of peace and security in the country through visual digital image-making. It analyzes the artistic transformation of a series of photographs submitted by a Yemeni citizen to the informal art-for-peace project Color Up Peace1 and turned into coloring pages for further engagement and transformation2. Employing the utopia-informed methodology of Imaginary Reconstitution of Security, the analysis explores coloring pages as fields of opportunity to participate in peace work. Three questions guide this exploration: 'what are visual images?', 'what do they do?' and 'what is the normative basis of employing them?' - in relation to security as part of sustaining quality peace. The essay seeks to emphasize the importance of inclusive peace processes and arrangements, informed by everyday experiences of (in)security of regular citizens and allowing for a wide range of actors to participate. The included virtual exhibition of photos, coloring pages and colored art further asks questions about participation, visuality and digitality of images and invites readers to make art and make peace within the project.

• Ilaria Tucci & Hanne Tjersland (TAPRI/EuPRA and University Jaume I) – The Body as Resource for Peace Facilitators – reflections

Reflections This arts-based workshop introduces the holistic methods of theatre and dance/movement for peace facilitators training. Through several games and exercises participants will be engaged in the embodiment of presence, active listening, and reciprocal trust. The goals of the workshop are:
- To introduce the connection between arts-based methods and peace research and practice.
- To confirm the existing knowledge of the body in the setting of peace research and practice.
- To highlight the body as a resource for peace facilitators.
- To promote collaboration between scholars from different institutions.

Chair: Vadim Romashov, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

• Jack Shepherd (Mittuniversitet) – Exploring a unifying approach to peace through tourism: The Case of Abraham in Israel-Palestine

Tourism is routinely praised by global institutions, such as the UN and its daughter institution, the UNWTO, as a force for peace. In Israel-Palestine, tourism is routinely used by NGOs and social entrepreneurs as a vehicle for challenging the intractable nature of the conflict. What is often not acknowledged, however, is the contested nature of peace itself within such use of tourism. In this presentation, I will explain work I have been conducting on a tourism project in Palestine that has been a site of contestation for competing visions of peace between tourists, funders, and Palestinians. The project in question started life in 2004 as the Abraham’s Path, a vision of a long-distance hiking path running from Turkey to Palestine in the footsteps of the biblical patriarch Abraham. The brainchild of Harvard professor and negotiator William Ury, its focus was unashamedly on promoting peace in the Middle East through tourism. Yet as other researchers have found, there was always discomfort with this framing, and eventually the Palestinian section of the trail branded itself as Masar Ibrahim al-Khalil (essentially, the Abraham’s Path but in Arabic). My recent fieldwork in Palestine showed that under this name, a balance was being struck between tourists’ desire for a unifying “happy narrative” and the desire of Palestinians to distance themselves from a peace-orientated framing that could be seen as acts of ‘normalisation’. In 2020, however, the trail changed name again, this time to the Palestinian Heritage Trail, a total break with the name Abraham that became somewhat sullied with the signing of the US-led Abraham Accords. This tourism project therefore makes an interesting case study as to how different interpretations of tourism’s role in peacebuilding are negotiated by stakeholders in the path, project funders, and tourists themselves, and how important it is to recognise the potential and pitfalls of framing tourism projects under a peace umbrella in contested spaces.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15:45 to 17:15</td>
<td>Linna Building 5026</td>
<td>• Stephanie Thiel (Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands e.V. (CJD)) – Countering Right-Wing Violence and Group-Related Enmity: A Civil Society Approach</td>
<td>Research on the topics of right-wing extremism and right-wing terrorism has been struggling for years to define its object of study. The reason for this lies in the approach to the field. Instead of conceptualising the topic in a social-scientific manner, central assumptions have been adopted by security agencies. This has contributed to a partial blindness to expressions of right-wing attitudes. Right-wing extremism is not a definable phenomenon, but rather a manifestation of group-based enmity. Group-based enmity, in turn, reaches far into civil society. This social spread creates the breeding ground for right-wing violence in the first place. For this reason, it is important to develop a sociological, civil society understanding of the phenomenon in order to rethink prevention and intervention based on this understanding. This presentation will introduce the concept of group-based enmity, explain connections with right-wing violence and present a prevention concept that makes use of these findings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Šárka Kolmašová (Metropolitan University Prague) – “If not now, then when?” – R2P advocates and the crisis in Myanmar</td>
<td>The ongoing crisis in Myanmar demonstrated great advancement of transnational advocacy networks, new campaigning techniques and platforms of communication. The concepts of responsibility to protect (R2P) and atrocity crime prevention brought together a wide range of individuals, who urged for an international response to the crisis. And yet, the key political stakeholders, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council or regional organizations, such as ASEAN, have been indifferent to the calls. The paper will focus on specific policies of the R2P advocates and their synergy, their high degree of professionalism, and their creativity with regards to response measures. At the same time, it will critically examine the limits of activist campaigns in the context of UN politics and pinpoint the inability of R2P proponents to mobilize political action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PEACE AND TECHNOLOGY
Chair: Bram J. De Smet, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15:45 to 17:15</td>
<td>Linna Building 5026</td>
<td>• Maria Mekri (SaferGlobe) – Digital Peacemaking and Innovation: AI, Data and Beyond</td>
<td>Increasing digitalisation creates opportunities and challenges for peacemaking. Opportunities revolve around increased possibilities for inclusion, analysis and adaptability and increasing understanding of potential for contextualisation and user-specificity. New challenges can be seen not only in use of the digital space to incite violence (e.g. hate speech on social media) but also in the creation of mechanisms that can create structural inequality, and in indirect strengthening of exclusion through lack of consideration for the digital divide. This paper explores the current state of play within peace technologies and digital peace-making, and explores the most interesting current opportunities as well as the largest obstacles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Yelyzaveta (Lisa) Glybchenko (Tampere University) – Virtual Peacetech: Designing VR Pieces as Tools for Grassroots Peacework</td>
<td>Given the recent increase in usage of virtual reality (VR) technologies in (digital) peace efforts, this essay explores VR tools for peace work by zooming in on their components - images, and the processes of image-making as critical play. The images are investigated as spaces and places of security and peace, which could not only be ‘immersive experiences’ for learning and briefing, but also themselves serve as tools to perform peace work. The essay adopts the critically playful approach of ART-lecture in considering VR tools as spaces and places through the lenses of Art, Research and Technology. Creating original pieces of toy photography, the essay argues that images can be designed to enhance security in/and peace, if the process of constructing them is thought through along the following three lines: a) people on the grassroots level co-design VR pieces, b) VR pieces target pro-peace transformation instead of communicating every experience on the ground, c) VR pieces allow virtual visitors to re-design</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vistas that investigates the said question through 14 interviews.

### MOBILITY, SECURITY AND BORDERS – Global Institutional Responses

Chair: Nils Vidar Vambheim, Associate Professor, University of Tromsø

- **Lena Merkle (Otto-von-Guericke University Magdeburg) – Cross-border Cosmopolitanism in Times of Conflict**

  In both secessionist and international conflicts, geographical borders become physical manifestations of conflict lines. Border regions, already localities of special conditions due to their close proximity with the border often feel immediate impact of changing political contexts, be it when towns who lived from border trade turn into ghost towns, when borders close, or when tensions surrounding nationality and/or ethnicities are heightened and it suddenly matters on which side of a border post one lives. The border itself is often part of the conflict and its demarcations are supposedly defended against the other.

  At the same time conflicts involving borders tend to also produce cross-border sentiments of solidarity, empathy and hope. While politics might define the person on the other side of the border as the enemy this is not necessarily true for those, living close to the border and interacting in everyday contexts. There, tensions are often met with communication and mind-sets of openness and appreciation of humans as such.

  In my paper I therefore look at local initiatives in urban border regions that contrast the ongoing conflict through a cosmopolitan mindset in which those on the other side are considered to be an equal in their shared humanity. Instead of antagonizing the other, they put forward cooperation and solidarity in the hopes of building a shared future. The concrete examples are the divided cities of Nicosia and Belfast where local initiatives find ways to deal with the very different levels of division in both cities.

  The paper is a mainly empirical paper following a methodology of remote ethnographic research in the tradition of global anthropology which situates individual cases in the context of global power struggles. It takes a decidedly postcolonial standpoint and analyses the empirical findings in the light of North-South-borders and neo-colonial hegemonies. The aim of the paper is to shed a light on vernacular cosmopolitanisms as practical perspectives on how to deal with borders in and beyond conflict. This understanding will then be interpreted in the broader context of cosmopolitan postcolonial theory and its implications for dealing with state borders and their inherent structural violence.

- **Ville Savoranta (CMC Finland) – Whose security does the Common Security and Defence Policy support?**

  At the onset of its shared foreign policy, the European Union as an institution and as a block of countries with supposedly common values claimed the mantle of a diffuser of democratic norms through conflict prevention and crisis management, echoed in Javier Solana’s’ call for the EU to become a “force for good”. The EU was to be a promoter of human rights, solidarity, justice and peace in the world. However, after over 20 years of CSDP missions and operations, particularly after the Lisbon treaty, the EU CSDP mindset has gained a more realist tone. The pursuit of security at home seems to have surpassed the goal of building democracy, peace and human rights abroad. The focus of EU CSDP operations and missions has shifted to stability-building, that aims to avoid instability spilling over to the EU. A more state-centric approach has overshadowed human security in CSDP missions and operations, while civil society coordination is not structured and mostly informal. As indicated by the June 2020 European Council Conclusions on Security and Defence and the ongoing process of creating the EU Strategic Compass, external security now stands as a means of achieving security inside the Union. At the same time, EU CSDP tools – designed primarily to add to external security – have increasingly overlapping functions with internal policy measures, such as those related to immigration, terrorism, border management and organized crime. Whose democracy, security or resilience is being built through the EU CSDP in the 2020s? This paper investigates the said question through 14 interviews conducted with EU and member state officials as well as NGO representatives.
The paper builds a picture of how the tangled decision-making of EU CSDP leads to uneven consideration for different security interests and local participation.

**FEMINIST PEACE RESEARCH – Intersectionality and Peace**  
Chair: Daniela Irrera, Associate Professor, University of Catania

- **Tiina Vaittinen (Tampere University) – The unspoken yet prevalent leakages in spaces of exception: Incontinence care in humanitarian emergencies**

  While 400 million people in the world live with urinary leakages, the common health problem of incontinence remains inadequately attended in all societies across the world. Among populations affected by humanitarian emergencies, the prevalence of incontinence is likely to be higher than average, due to poor nutrition, traumas, comorbidities, and lack of adequate sanitation. Yet, due to a whole range of taboos, this question of safe and adequate sanitation tends to be silenced in literatures of humanitarian emergencies. In this presentation, I review what is known about incontinence care in humanitarian contexts. Situated in the intersections of feminist peace research and global health, the presentation draws attention to margins and silences in discussions of humanitarian protection. The presentation is based on a desk study and key informant interviews conducted in the Pad Project (www.padproject.online), which seeks to develop holistically sustainable continence care globally and locally.

- **Berg Elin (Swedish Defence University) – From Silence to Pride: Re-imaginations of Gender and Sexuality in the Swedish Armed Forces**

  Feminist peace researchers have long critiqued the harmful stereotypes of women and LGBTQI individuals that underpin military organizations, traditionally manifested through misogyny and homophobia. In large parts of the world, women and LGBTQI persons face exclusion from military institutions but some militaries have shown a greater willingness to embrace this inclusion. The Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) stand out in this regard, regularly publishing media campaigns that suggest not only their protection of LGBTQI and women’s rights, but also their status as a “queer” and gender equal force. Presenting ethnographic observations from a training session on gender and discrimination organized by SAF, I investigate whether binaries of gender and sexuality can be hybridized in militaries. Informed by queer theory, I illustrate how the adoption of a “progressive gender agenda” and gender mainstreaming may reconfigure values attached to notions of femininity/masculinity in armed forces, and as such transform gender relations within and beyond the military. Yet, I argue that military institutions cannot structurally account for a fluidity of gender, as the gender binary is a primary source of authority. I therefore suggest that LGBTQI inclusion coupled with re-imaginings of gender contribute to new “softer” masculinities that sustain military authority, ultimately re-gendering and not de-gendering gender myths in SAF.

- **Carrie Reiling & Leena Vastapuu (Washington College and Swedish Defence University) – Intersectionality in Feminist Peace Research: One Discipline, Multiple Lifeworlds**

  Intersectionality, a concept developed by U.S. legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw about junctions of race and gender that interact to oppress Black women, has become a key concept in feminist and gender studies and has been taken up in many social science disciplines. While Feminist Peace Research (FPR) has embraced the concept, little explicit theorizing has been done to contend with the intersecting, confounding, contradictory ways that diverse voices unsettle the discipline of Peace Research. How is intersectionality understood in FPR? What kinds of intersectional understandings, if at all, can be located in some of the founding texts of the discipline? We maintain that often the attempts to include “diverse” voices do not actually disturb the colonial foundations of the discipline and do not see, for example, how postcolonial feminism is not homogenous, how social class shapes material experiences in the world, and how disability destabilizes the very idea of justice and peace. We conclude that in order to truly embrace intersectionality, FPR needs to constantly (re)evaluate its theoretical and empirical approaches, as well as the diverse ways of being
and knowing—ontology and epistemology—thus incorporating and presenting multiple lifeworlds.

HYBRID SESSION – PEACE PERSPECTIVES

Chairs: Angel Iglesias Ortiz, Post-Doctoral Researcher, SPARQ/TAPRI and Ebru Sevik, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- Victor Nascimento-Miyano (Tampere University) – Ranking on the wall, which university is the best of all? Global South universities’ domestication of higher education rankings

  Thesis title: Ranking on the wall, which university is the best of all? Global South universities' domestication of higher education rankings
  Research areas: higher education, globalization, governance, competition, mediatization
  Theoretical background: domestication, glocalization
  Methodology: rhetorical analysis, epistemic governance (social constructivism)
  Object of study: press office news (media)
  Current state: working on findings, discussion, and conclusion
  Interests: higher education, globalization, Latin America, competition, coloniality, homogenization

- Ana Maria Tarazona Galvis (Tampere University) – The co-existence of peace and violence as part of the everyday in Cauca, Colombia: Dynamics of peace promoted by local agents after the peace agreement of 2016

  In 2016 the National Government of Colombia and the FARC guerrillas signed a peace agreement to put end to the armed conflict and build a stable and lasting peace. More than four years of dialogue it took the parties in negotiation to agree on essential points to address the structural causes of the armed conflict. A significant part of Colombians including victims supported the peace agreement and looked at it with hope the dream of a Colombia finally in peace. However, there were not many changes in some remote areas where the dynamics of conflict are part of the everyday and where, unfortunately, civilians are assuming the consequences of a conflict that they never decided to fight. In the midst of this normalized violence in the territories, communities do not give up their wish of a more peaceful country with guarantees of living, and instead, they are still encouraging peace and post-conflict dynamics even though their agency could cost their lives in the context of a country like Colombia where mentioning the word "peace" is risky.

  In this scenario, the aim of this research project is to analyze the co-existence of dynamics of peace and violence in conflict-affected communities in Colombia as part of their everyday. For this purpose, I have seen in the Structural Violence and Everyday Peace approaches, suitable analytic tools to study this phenomenon in Colombia where the violence is perceived in these communities not just as the absence of peace but also as the lack of human rights and unattended basic needs that they have to deal with as part of their everyday. Through a series of interviews, the participants expressed their perspectives and experiences demonstrating that communities are still claiming peace with the bullets sounding in the background.


  Sexual violence against men in conflicts is a more common phenomenon than has earlier been acknowledged, yet it is a widely unspoken issue due to the victimization and social stigmatization of male survivors. Based on recent statistics, there are over 1 million male survivors in the Eastern region of DRC, some of them living as refugees in Uganda. Moreover, sexual violence against civilians, including men, was widespread in Northern Uganda during the war between the rebel group Lord Resistance Army and the Ugandan government that ended in 2006. In Uganda, there are a handful of organizations that support men who have experienced sexual violence in conflicts. One of these organizations is Refugee Law Project (RLP). Since 1999, the human rights organization has documented different forms of sexual violence male refugees, and displaced persons have experienced in war-affected situations. The

15:45 to 17:15
Linna Building 6031

#EuPRA2022 Tampere Conference - Abstracts

21
organization provides counseling sessions for survivors of sexual violence and facilitates training sessions for humanitarians, health workers, and police officers to recognize sexual violence against men. However, little attention has been paid to the staff members of RLP and other organizations regarding their role and educational training in ensuring the support for male survivors. Moreover, the homophobia, colonial legacy, and the ideas of masculinity are interconnected with the stigma around mental health that preclude male survivors from seeking help in the Ugandan society. In addition, these barriers hinder the possibilities for the staff to get access to psychosocial support and deal with the heaviness of the work.

- Anton Stalchenko (Tampere University) – The Use of Geopolitical tools to achieve geoeconomic means: Case study Russia-Ukraine Interactions in January 2022

Prior to the February 24 invasion of Ukraine, in January 2022, Russian Federation began to pool forces to Ukrainian borders claiming regular military training. This had created a sense of panic among the international investors and as a result exposed Ukraine’s economy to high rates of inflation. This raised an interest to investigate ways how states through non-violent geopolitical projection of military power affect geoeconomics of their neighbors. In my thesis, I aim to develop the typology of different schools of geoeconomics and geopolitics, whereas one school argues that these two phenomena are mutually exclusive while the other claims that these are complementary. In my paper, I intend to use complementary angle of the argument to explore this particular case. In my methodology, I conduct a literature review of geopolitics, geoeconomics, and hybrid warfare phenomena. Second, I explore the history of the 20th century’s offensive operation tactics and what preceded them, in order, to understand the mechanics in detail. Third, I develop a timeline between December 2021 and February 2022 by assessing media and government reports from Ukraine, Russia, and the US.

- Nina Kolarzik and Eva Holzinger (Tampere University) – People’s Experiences of Climate Change and Changing Climates throughout Europe

I would like to present a larger research project that I am part of: the Climate Walk, which is a combined research, education and media-art project by "the Wanderers of Changing Worlds", a group of students at different levels and from different academic backgrounds. Starting from the 5th of June 2022, we are walking across Europe to understand regional experiences of Climate Change. This is accompanied by a research project, which I would present at Peace Perspectives. The following question best summarises our research interest: “How do people experience Climate Change and Changing Climates throughout Europe?” We aim to understand how people experience Climate Change and all its biophysical and sociocultural repercussions. It is these locally-specific manifestations of Climate Change which we refer to as “Changing Climates”. For peace and conflict studies, this is particularly interesting due to the environmental conflicts we research as well as the perspectives of political ecology or environmental peacebuilding, which can be useful tools to make sense of the issues that we encounter during our journey. Through a unique and interdisciplinary approach of walking, listening and (re-)telling we aim to understand, explain and connect the experiences and practices of local actors from across Europe. This research process will be circular, challenge-led and integrative of both quantitative and qualitative data collection, analysis and theory building. The combination enables a deeper understanding of the complex realities of the biophysical processes of Climate Change and to fully comprehend the strategies of individuals, local communities and national and international organisations to overcome them. With that, our research project aims to generate impact by collecting novel data testifying to the urgency of Climate Change and Changing Climates. Not only will this data provide us with the answers critical to our thinking, but by making it public access we hope to encourage other researchers to do the same. (see also: https://www.climatewalk.eu/what-we-do)
• Saila Heinikoski (Finnish Institute of International Affairs) – Pandemic responses in the North: How did Nordic countries approach European rules and recommendations in the Covid-19 crisis?

The paper analyses political approaches in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark to European rules and recommendations during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020-2021. A particular focus is on free movement related measures, which were particularly unthinkable in the Norden, where borders have been open since the establishment of the Nordic Passport Union in the 1950s. For decades, Nordics have been used to cross borders on a daily basis, especially in the so-called twin cities in the border regions. The paper sheds light, inter alia, on how EU member states Finland and Denmark ignored EU rules and recommendations on lifting entry restrictions and internal border controls, to what extent EEA and Schengen member state Norway took into account EU rules in its border measures and how Sweden nominally complied with EU rules while it had the worst Covid-19 situation in Norden. The empirical material consists of official government decisions, legal acts, parliamentary debates and political statements on free movement and borders from January 2020 to July 2021. The analysis draws from Europeanisation literature, focusing on 1) how the countries comply with European rules and recommendations, 2) how the countries aim at impacting European-level approaches.

• Stella Cheong (University College London, Institute of Education) – Reinventing Peacebuilding Citizenship Education in a post-COVID era

Since the outbreak of coronavirus, socio-economic inequalities, socio-political polarisation and identity-based conflicts have worsened globally. More and more, we are seeing exclusionary populist movements growing in strength and confidence all over the world, threatening democracies and fragile states, human rights, and the security of minority or vulnerable groups. In times of violence, the primary source of security and protection that people instinctively seek is national rather than global cooperation. The COVID-19 pandemic made citizens focus largely on survival efforts and national solidarity rather than compassion and global solidarity. Given some of the frequently appearing features of national identities, such as the exclusion and alienation of others, a citizenship education focused on national identities run the danger of exacerbating the division between the civic identities of different groups; such division habitus may thus lead to conflict-attuned civic identities rather than unity habitus. Thus, I see that the global health crisis is the crisis of compassion and solidarity—there is an urgent need to reinvent our theoretical and practical knowledge regarding peace education to tackle these matters. This paper explores how peace education might be reinvented in response to this context, with the vision of equipping young people with the peacebuilding capacity and confidence they need to be compassionate citizens who will be able to transform conflict into peace. Drawing on Cheong’s (forthcoming, 2022) conceptual framework of peacebuilding capacity that is based on seven North Korean migrants transnational migration experience and reflection on the development of new capacities for peacebuilding which includes realising, enabling, reflecting, reconciling, thriving, transforming and bridge-building. In addition, the paper inquires into how the concept of peacebuilding citizenship education (PCE) can be implemented in other European settings as well as the global contexts to rebuild compassion and solidarity in a post-COVID era.

• Faouzia Zeraoulia (Jijel University) – Civil Society Organizations, Peacebuilding Process, and Reconciliation in Algeria: Strategies, Mechanisms, and Constraints

Algeria experienced a ravaged civil war in the 1990s between the government and the Islamist insurgency. The official statements mentioned that the war caused up to 200,000 victims. In 1999, with the arrival of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the national authorities took expanded measures in order to achieve reconciliation and stop the cycle of violence. As a part of the peace initiative, civil society organizations, which showed remarkable efforts during the war to defend victims’ rights, mobilized all their structures to participate more effectively in this process of reconciliation and guarantee the victims’ rights. Despite the state censorship, it is argued that civil society organizations made more distinguishing efforts to facilitate the peace process, raise awareness, and enhance societal trust for more than twenty years. This paper addresses the following questions:
### How do civil society organizations contribute to the implementation of the reconciliation process in Algeria?

What are the main constraints that impede the activism of civil society organizations to enhance societal peace and soften intergroup antagonisms?

The paper is a part of a large project discussing reconciliation and bottom-up activism in post-conflict societies in the MENA region. The author conducted in-depth fieldwork for two years investigating the recollection of the past memory and bottom-up mechanisms for peacebuilding in the region. Thus the analysis will be based on a high range of data that was collected from the field: field observation, interviews, archives, documentaries, and testimonies.

**Mohammadamin Alboghobaysh (Allameh Tabataba'i University)** – Peaceful Immigration: The Role of Afghan Immigrants in Expanding Inter-Regional Cooperation

Following the crises in the Middle East, new waves of immigrants spilled into Europe. These immigrants, who are usually deprived of modern education and the minimum skills necessary to be absorbed in the labor market of European countries due to the crisis situation in their homeland, impose a heavy financial burden on the destination countries. In addition, their unfamiliarity with Western norms and values makes it difficult for them to be integrated into the societies of the host countries.

In this regard, countries such as Iran can play the role of bridge between the East and the West. Afghan immigrants in Iran, due to their cultural, linguistic and historical ties, can be easily integrated into the society, and at the same time, by benefiting from the educational facilities of this country, increase their skills in various fields. They can also get familiar with the international norms and values.

This paper aims to study the role of Iran as a bridge between Afghanistan and Europe for Afghan immigrants. Due to the geographical proximity and cultural and linguistic commonalities, Iran has always hosted a large number of Afghan refugees, and following the re-emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan in summer 2021, a new wave of Afghan immigrants has arrived in the country during the last months. Since some of these immigrants leave Iran for Europe, the duration and quality of their stay in Iran will have a direct impact on European societies.

The main question of this research is: “What role can Iran play in empowering Afghan immigrants to live in Europe and integrate into the European societies?”

The hypothesis is: “Due to the cultural, linguistic and historical ties between Iran and Afghanistan and appropriate educational infrastructure in Iran, in the case of cooperation between Iran and the EU, this country can empower Afghan immigrants for the life in Europe or return to their homeland.” The authors try to examine the hypothesis in the framework of Neo-Regionalism theory and explain how immigrants can be defined as an opportunity for inter-regional cooperation between the EU and West Asian countries.

### CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION – Emerging concepts and approaches in conflict transformation and peacebuilding

**Chair:** Vadim Romashov, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- **Natalia Djandjgava (CMI)** – Promotion of Good Governance: Essential Prerequisite for Social Peace

The paper analyses the correlation of good governance and social peace, bringing empirical evidence that effective governance and inclusive, participatory, and accountable decision-making process contributes to conflict prevention and reduces tensions in the society by addressing social needs and providing mechanisms for resolving disputes. Even though social peace was not among the priorities of peacebuilding agenda over decades, there has been recently gradual shift to incorporate social aspects in order to ensure an efficient and durable peace settlements. Peacebuilding also goes hand in hand with the state building process to ensure efficient governance and sustainable peace, especially in post-conflict settings, as the quality of governance matters. Thus, social peace and good governance are strongly interrelated, and there are some tools that contribute to improved good governance practices while establishing tangible social peace in the society, such as social dialogue. It ensures two-way cooperation and constant bottom-up and top-down exchange between the state and the civil society guaranteeing representation of various social groups in the decision-making process contributing to social peace.
Key words: good governance, social peace, social dialogue, state building, peacebuilding

- **Tanja Tamminen (Diacoord Consulting) – Problem finding dialogue: the concept of “meaning” and the fusion of horizons**

Lacking impact of internationally facilitated peacebuilding in focus: Could regional communities of practice lead the way to Gadamerian fusion of horizons? Some of the bottlenecks of international peace building interventions are well known – lacking donor coordination, limited understanding of the complexities on the ground, tunnel vision when it comes to local inclusion (“the usual suspects”) and thus limited impact. Peace research has tackled these issues in the debates over hybrid and popular peace, practitioners have turned towards the grassroots. USIP report of 2017 “What Works in Facilitated Dialogue Projects” reminded that the “decision makers with the authority and ability to advance change” were however key to success. In some cases, cross-regional settings provide more neutral spaces for dialogue across the divides. This paper asks if regional ‘communities of practice’ between key actors and leaders in their specific field of expertise could lead the way to Gadamerian fusion of horizons – often solicited when using hermeneutics in peace research. And if jointly ‘exploring and giving meaning’ to the dialogue process could support such a fusion of horizons converging some findings of the hybrid peace debate with the hermeneutics of a problem finding dialogue.

- **Antonella Cariello and Gentiana Susaj (ESD Global) – Empowerment Self Defense as A Sustainable Peace-Building Approach: The Impact of Delivering ESD Trainings to Young People in Albania**

This paper presents the results of the project conducted in Albania by ESD Global1 in cooperation with UN Women in Albania to demonstrate the impact of Empowerment Self Defense (ESD) as a sustainable peace-building approach. ESD is an evidence-based intervention model that provides easy-to-use physical and verbal self-defense skills so individuals can defend themselves and others. ESD Global trains cohorts of ESD trainers to establish ESD as a key methodology to prevent, interrupt, respond to, and heal from interpersonal violence2. In the last 2 years, the Albanian population has been tremendously hit by the 2019 earthquake and the Covid-19 pandemic, which have resulted in an exacerbation of gender-based violence and a reinforcement of traditional gender roles. This project answers these challenges through two interventions: 1. Training 28 Albanian teachers to become ESD Instructors and teach ESD violence prevention methodology as part of their school curriculum; 2. Conducting an ESD tour in 12 cities in Albania to deliver ESD sessions to young girls, who have little opportunity to participate in empowering activities. This paper presents and discuss both components based on the qualitative data collected during the project through the pre and post-training survey and the in-person interviews. The article also previews the results of the research that ESD Global is conducting about the ESD piloting in schools, which will be presented to the Albanian Ministry of Education in July. This paper shows how ESD can answer the new global challenges with an approach based on community building, trauma healing, and intergenerational dialogue.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00 to 10:00</td>
<td>Linna Room K104</td>
<td>HYBRID – KEYNOTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Helga West: “The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Concerning the Sámi People - Structural Justice or Threat?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 to 10:30</td>
<td>Linna Building</td>
<td>COFFEE BREAK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 to 12:00</td>
<td>Linna Room K108</td>
<td>ARTS AND PEACE - Images, Bodies and Borders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chair: Tarja Väyrynen, Professor Director, TAPRI, Tampere University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Angel Iglesias Ortiz &amp; Ilaria Tucci (TAPRI/SPARG and TAPRI/EuPRA) - Humanizing the border through art expression: Everyday actions and everyday items as artistic threshold of peace at the border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Despite the triumphant claims about borderless world, certain border zones are the places wherein everyday struggles take place. Borders have been represented in their fluidity, especially in the (internal) European dimensions, however borders have increasingly become more violent and dangerous. This presentation focuses on the everyday entanglement of different forms of violence and the efforts to develop a certain sense of peace at the border. With this presentation we are aiming to encourage a collective discussion about how everyday peace happens in the violent context of border cities such as Tijuana (Mexico) and Lampedusa (Italy). For this scope, we will start from the ordinary expressions which are namely of separated families meeting through the border fence in Tijuana and the permanent exhibition of migrants' items in Porto M (Lampedusa). These two cases allow us to see the efforts to develop and establish a sense of peace from the most basic ordinary expression of everyday life. We will develop a dialogical approach to explore the possibility how these ordinary expressions can mitigate the violence at the border, while helping in understanding it more deeply. Methodologically, the discussion will be facilitated by images, videos, and original observations from both cities by the presenters. These images and videos rely on the idea that border art is used as means to humanize the border. The collective discussion aims to bring a multidisciplinary approach from different fields of study to engage with social contexts highly affected by different forms of violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Eleonora Marzani (University of Évora/Chaia) - Transforming reality through art: exploring the concept of monstrosity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|             |                        | As proved by the wide literature available on the topic, arts can contribute to conflict transformation and peace-building thanks to their inner transformational quality and ability of transposing and filtering the human experience in different forms. This modification is carried through the peculiar relationship that art builds with its audience on the level of creative thinking and imagination. As we experience art - not only as consumers but also as an active element in the art process-, we trigger the inner unique characteristic of human kind that is the ability of imagining what is not there, for it is simply represented, reenacted, or recalled by art - be it material or ephemeral. It is exactly this skill that stores the seeds of change: the possibility of transforming, transposing, or generating a new way of experiencing the human adventure; the possibilities of pushing the boundaries of the present effective agency. This contribution presents the case of my in-progress art project - with the temporary title of Mulier Monstra - that aims at unveiling tales of monstrous human acts carried on by women out of love for something or somebody. It engages the elderly women across some European countries to gather their personal tales of uncanny female acts, and then transform them into visual and performative art pieces. The research revolves around the concept of Monstrous...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10:30 to 12:00</th>
<th>Linna Room K109</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**HYBRID SESSION – DIASPORA AND PECE – Identities and Diaspora**

Chair: Élise Féron, Senior Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- **Zahra Edalati (TAPRI) – The Experience of being a Muslim woman in a so-called country of “gender equality”, Finland; “Am I a ‘good’ woman?”**

In this paper, I shed light on the experience of Muslim immigrant women in Finland, the country which has become famous through the so-called adjective, "equality." This paper aims at broadening our understanding of the strategies of the "slow violence" in the host society, especially by Finnish women, to exclude non-western women, especially Muslim women, from the society. This paper is based on in-depth interviews around everyday experience with 15 young and middle-aged immigrants with a Muslim background, with or without the veil. With the help of interpretative framework in narrative analysis, the theory of gendered gaze, and feminist peace, I have examined the sense of sadness and women’s strategies for resistance. This research is important because it explains the very personal feeling of non-seen violence and looks at the mechanisms by which these women of minority communities respond to the excluding strategies and in instances when depicted as "others". I will further argue that the perceived normal picture of Finnish society as a safe and equal space is contrary to the everyday experiences of Muslim women in Finland. The experience of "colonial gaze" at bus stations, swimming pools, gyms, streets, shopping malls, school meetings, and the experience of Muslim veiled mothers being discarded from the school’s WhatsApp groups, ignored at parents’ meetings, and ejected from swimming pools are concrete incidents which support the idea of this paper. This paper takes a critical look at the liberal migration policies of the EU, ethnic nationalism, and Islamophobia as legitimized tools for excluding Muslim women in Finland just of being women from the global South.

---

**Hanne Tjersland (University Jaume I) - Dance as an Embodied and Relational Means to Unfold Peace**

Peace is an embodied and relational fabric, and thus, it requires embodied and relational approaches to flourish. This statement lies as the basic premise for this paper, in which I discuss dance as a way of experiencing, exploring and creating peace within and between human beings. It is grounded in the understanding that peace is, firstly, a relational process that is simultaneously influenced by the ‘inside’ (relations with oneself) and the ‘outside’ (relations with the surroundings), and, secondly, engage and touch humans far beyond only intellect alone. In this context, I examine how dance can be a way to unfold and engage peace as a holistic process through including humans as both individuals and as relations, and in their multiple and diverse human faculties.

Working myself as a peace researcher and peace educator mostly in Europe (in particular Norway, Austria and Germany), I discuss especially how I in this context apply the conscious dance and movement practice Open Floor to work with peace in an embodied and relational manner. In this respect, I engage peace as a dynamic, imperfect and ever-transforming web in which context dance can be a way to unfold the experiences, explorations and manifestations of this procedural peace fabric through holistically engaging the dancing body in movement. It furthermore rests upon the notion that in order to unfold new dynamics of peace within current realities colored by uncertainty (amongst others through civil unrest, climate change and a global pandemic), it is necessary to move beyond only thinking peace in static forms but to dynamically also feel, sense, intuit, imagine, and co-create peace. In this context, I explore dance as one way to holistically tap into and explore this multifaceted peace fabric.

---

**Tampere Conference – Abstracts**

The Experience of being a Muslim woman in Finland, the country which has become famous through the so-called adjective, “equality.” This paper aims at broadening our understanding of the strategies of the “slow violence” in the host society, especially by Finnish women, to exclude non-western women, especially Muslim women, from the society. This paper is based on in-depth interviews around everyday experience with 15 young and middle-aged immigrants with a Muslim background, with or without the veil. With the help of interpretative framework in narrative analysis, the theory of gendered gaze, and feminist peace, I have examined the sense of sadness and women’s strategies for resistance. This research is important because it explains the very personal feeling of non-seen violence and looks at the mechanisms by which these women of minority communities respond to the excluding strategies and in instances when depicted as “others”. I will further argue that the perceived normal picture of Finnish society as a safe and equal space is contrary to the everyday experiences of Muslim women in Finland. The experience of “colonial gaze” at bus stations, swimming pools, gyms, streets, shopping malls, school meetings, and the experience of Muslim veiled mothers being discarded from the school’s WhatsApp groups, ignored at parents’ meetings, and ejected from swimming pools are concrete incidents which support the idea of this paper. This paper takes a critical look at the liberal migration policies of the EU, ethnic nationalism, and Islamophobia as legitimized tools for excluding Muslim women in Finland just of being women from the global South.
## ONLINE SESSION 6 – Historical perspectives in peace and conflict studies

Chair: Daniela Irrera, Associate Professor, University of Catania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:30 to 12:00</td>
<td>Linna Room K110</td>
<td><strong>Bruno Lefort (TAPRI) – Conflicted identities: negotiating alterity and belonging among young people from the Lebanese diasporas in Montreal</strong>&lt;br&gt;Among young people of the Lebanese diaspora in Montreal, identification emerges as a conflicted site. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this contribution examines how individuals navigate the tensions shaping their experience of belonging. They find themselves in-between the memory of the Lebanese civil war, often revisited in terms of religious struggles, and the encounter with Canadian multiculturalism and Québécois diversity that predominantly associate them with other Arab and Muslim populations. Confronted with this double stigma, they oscillate between shades of identification with, and disavowal of their assigned alterity. Drawing on their family and personal trajectories, they alternatively perform their Lebaneseanness or Arabness, and express a sense of locality by either emphasizing religious bonds with the majority population, stressing their autochthony, or, compatibility with the Canadian society, hence adopting identities of distance to evade the stereotypes stemming from their racialized position. While paradoxically bearing the risk of reproducing existing social hierarchies, their ambivalent identification practices also cultivate a self-reflective, agentive way of navigating the complexity of diasporic experiences. Ultimately, this underlines how people actively shift between multiple (and often interconnected) possible identifications to construct their sense of self in their daily lives and thus stands against essentialized narratives of belonging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zoom</td>
<td><strong>EJR Cho (Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS)) – The politics of red: challenging Cold War taboos during the 2002 Football World Cup in South Korea</strong>&lt;br&gt;This article examines how the perception of the colour red, which was taboo in South Korea during the Cold War, has been normalised since the 2002 Football World Cup in South Korea and Japan. I argue that the World Cup engendered a socio-political transitions by breaking the Cold War stigma imposed on the colour red, bbalgaengi. During the 2002 World Cup, the colour red became perceived as socially favourable, interpreted as powerful and attractive, rather than radical and negative. These symbolic changes became more obvious when people began to wear red t-shirts in support of the Korean football team; moreover, during the World Cup, streets and squares throughout South Korea were filled with people wearing red clothes. Since then, red has been freed from its association with communism. Through this, South Korean citizens began to open the political use of specific colours, public ownership spread to other parts of civil society. By examining the key issues of this change, this article provides a critical discussion of the politics of colour by focusing, in particular, on the relationship between colour politics and social change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zoom</td>
<td><strong>Bahar Baser and Shivan Fazil (Durham University and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) – “They Hear Us but They Do not Listen to Us”: Youth Narratives on Hope and Despair in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq</strong>&lt;br&gt;Most of the recent academic literature has focused on the macro politics of Kurdish conundrum within Iraq and there is little scholarship about the younger generation of Kurds coming of age during the autonomous Kurdish rule. They are a generation, that unlike their forebears, have no direct memory of the decades-long repression campaigns under the Saddam Regime. For them, the history starts with the inception of a semi-autonomous Kurdish enclave and the de facto self-rule after the Gulf War. Studying and examining the rise of this generation of Kurdish young millennials ‘Generation 2000’ who came of age in the aftermath of the United States invasion of Iraq offers a unique approach to our understanding of the dynamics in a region that underwent a great deal of socio-political transformation after 2003. In this article, we give a brief background about the current situation with its political, social, and economic dimensions and examine the perceptions of youth about their future in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). The last decade saw a rapid emergence of scholarly work on the role of youth in building sustainable peace, focusing on a wide range of topics from deradicalisation to youth employment as a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
peacebuilding strategy. These studies warn policymakers and practitioners that youth should be an indispensable component of post-conflict nation-building and development strategies. (Berents and Mollica 2020; Berents and McEvoy-Levy 2015; Borer, Darby and McEvoy 2006; Hayes-Conroy and Montoya 2017; Natil 2021). In line with these debates, we strive to bring young peoples’ voices forward to present a snapshot of youth politics in Kurdistan. We ask the following questions: What role do they play in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts in Kurdistan and beyond? What youth movements exist in contemporary Kurdistan? How linked are they to civil society organisations? Can they be agents of positive change? Our findings will shed light on simmering tensions but also on the recent events such as the violent protests that took place in late 2020. Our arguments are based on two strands of fieldwork: the first was conducted in Kurdistan in July 2018 based on semi-structured interviews with 12 university students and graduates from Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and Duhok. The second strand of fieldwork was conducted online in May 2021 and it includes focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with 24 university students across the KRI.

- **Ane Marie Ørbe Kirkegaard (Malmö University) – In search of Peace beyond the Enlightenment, the Spanish Golden Age and the consequences of the Reconquista**

Over the past years, I have been focusing in rather heavily on the concept of peace, particularly outside of the Euro-Christian sphere, guided by my background in peace and development research, influenced mainly by Prof. Björn Hettne and Johan Galtung, and by the decolonial turn among researchers in the Global South. The focus in this presentation is on the interlacing of violence with our (European) understanding and theorisation of peace, testing a hypothesis thrown forward by Quijano, Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres and in particular Grosfoguel, that we need to have a much closer look at the pre-enlightenment period, possibly moving even far beyond the crusades to be able to understand this interconnection. My methodological inspiration is archaeology and genealogy, which means that I leave it open exactly what I am looking for and where to find it, being sure only of the points of departure (the inherent violence of the peace concept and the trickiness of defining peace as such, and decolonial theory) and a few anchoring places, i.e. historical events such as the colonisation of the Western hemisphere, the Reconquista, the crusades and the christening of the Roman empire).

- **Hendrik Bullens (L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University) – Paradise Lost: how (non)-violent were our ancient forebears? And what it means for Peace Research**

This contribution aims at clarifying an ongoing scientific-political turmoil around the extent of (non-)violence in human nature from prehistory to modern times. The present paper, resulting from another study on forced migration, evolution, and culture focuses on a specific controversy among archeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, primatologists and conflict & peace researchers, among them Keeley, Kelly, Pinker, Ferguson, Fry et al., de Waal or van der Dennen (Bullens 2022). In a multi-disciplinary and multi-method approach the study particularly investigates the evolutionary-revolutionary transition from the Stone Age hunters-foragers towards the Neolithic settling down of farmers and thereafter – and its impact on political complexity, (in-)egalitarianism, gender-, wealth- and power(in-)equality, intergroup violence, war and peace. This will be substantiated with a host of empirical-archeological examples, mainly from Eurasia. In order to clarify the dispute mentioned this study also introduces and applies a novel theoretical concept developed by the author, the Dialectics of Co-evolution (DICE). In conclusion a theoretical-methodological research proposal suggests how this dispute might be solved empirically.
growing body of literature suggests that bringing women to the peace negotiations table increases the efficiency of peace mediation processes, we still do not fully comprehend what women’s inclusion entails in these settings. In the so-called Arab Spring in Syria, women were at the forefront of protests and mobilizations, however, this has not translated into the ongoing, male-dominated political negotiations. By examining how women are being included in the ongoing UN-led mediation processes for Syria, this communication aims to contribute to our understanding of the conditions for the substantive representation of women in peace processes. What women’s inclusion modalities have been envisaged? What factors prevent stronger participation? What outcomes have they generated? How are these outcomes affecting the ongoing UN-led negotiations? This paper addresses these questions drawing on in-depth interviews conducted with women participants in the frameworks of these inclusion modalities and members of the UN mediation teams in the Syria peace process.

- Annick Wibben (Swedish Defence University) – Women’s Participation in War; Feminist Frames

While feminist scholars have clearly been part of the effort to document the participation of women in war – they have often been ambivalent about their stance on whether to support women’s participation in militaries and/or combat. More often than not, women (and feminists) have been associated with peace and peacemaking. While certainly powerful, it is not the only frame through which women’s participation in war, particularly in militaries and in combat is made sense of. This paper aims to identify elements of several existing feminist frames and explore how they are changing as more feminist are study militaries and as women’s roles within these are changing also.

- Marjaana Jauhola & Minna Lyytikäinen (University of Helsinki) – At the new feminist dawn? Revisiting the Decade for Women (1975-1985) and alternative visions for peace in the work of Hilkka Pietilä

This paper explores the work of Finnish feminist activist and theorist Hilkka Pietilä (1931-2016). Through her contributions to UN feminism, eco-feminism, and feminist economics, Pietilä’s work makes important contributions to present day feminist peace research and has been left untapped. We explore Pietilä’s engagement with the development of the ‘Women in Development’ (WID) strategy during the UN Decade for Women (1975-85). The emergence of the WID approach is read against Pietilä’s later feminist theorising on the economy and ecology, where she focused on two blind spots of conventional economics: home economics and environmental economics, drawing from both the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the Limits of Growth report. We trace intertextual connections to emerging theorising and activism by feminist economists across the globe, and the critique of the industrialisation-based WID ideology by decolonial feminists at the third UN World Conference on Women in Nairobi, such as the newly formed DAWN network.
rise of racism, rejection, violence of all kinds? By bringing all the aspects of climate change crisis in the heart of the society, we can inform more and more in a constructive way about solutions and options. This would bring citizens more confidence in their own ability to address the challenges and make choices that are reinforcing durable peace.

- Tae-Kyung Kim & Haein Cho (National Assembly Futures Institute, Korea and Green Technology Center) – Exploring Common Ground for SDGs Implementation Toward Peacebuilding: Text Mining Analysis of VNRs and Implications for Sustainable Peace on the Korean Peninsula

This study explores how UN member states show variations in their undertaking of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) based on the text mining analysis of 67 nations' Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs). With the backdrop of the global analysis of VNRs, the study compares North and South Korea's SDGs implementation strategies, probing the way their collaborative SDGs execution leads to a better environment for future peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula. Among 206 VNRs published between 2016 and early 2021, we analyze the latest VNRs from 67 countries written in English. The text mining method transforms unstructured texts in VNRs into structured data, allowing us 1) to outline how countries define their dominant issues in SDGs implementation and set specific targets according to their context; 2) to group countries according to thematic areas of the main problems and coping strategies they set in their VNRs; 3) to analyze and compare North Korea's first VNR with other nations. The strength of our study is that it investigates North Korea's place in the global context of the SDGs implementation and further analysis by comparing its record with a few countries, which, in the representation result of the text mining analysis, show similarity with North Korea. Moreover, the study expands the comparison to include the analysis of South Korea's VNR, exploring how two Koreas share SDG norms while diverging in the specific targets and practices. By comparing both Korea's VNRs, the study provides the prospect of and policy suggestions for their cooperation in SDGs implementation, which holds significant implications for building sustainable peace on the Korean Peninsula. Specifically, the study focuses on the themes of climate change and disaster risk reduction as a key to facilitating the partnership of both Korea's SDGs implementation that contributes to future peacebuilding on the Korean Peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific.

- Ariadna Romans i Torrent (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) – The Advocacy Trap – What struggles will the green youth activism face in the 21st century?

The new wave of green movements, led mainly by young people, has very different characteristics from those of previous generations. With a strong commitment to the collective, defending diversity and the desire for greater solidarity, this wave will also face their own problems. One of its biggest will be the Advocacy Trap, which will put a brake on the ability of activists to move their demands and make the necessary changes. The Green Movement, despite having some famous faces such as Greta Thunberg, is not a movement created around the figure of a single person or “hero”, but rather it is conceived as a path that we all need to join and promote as individuals. For this reason, empowering the individuals generates a new wave of solidarity, comprehending that the impact I can make locally will have effects or contribute to the impact other members of the movement will have worldwide. This new sense of solidarity among different locations, areas and themes is the key definitory aspect of such a movement. Despite the constant efforts of advocating the system for a radical change of paradigm, it is not until the powerful elites consider the warnings as a real threat that they promote a push for a change, and sometimes not even so, only using the demands of young activists to use it in favour of their own interests. However, the capacity of the youth to raise awareness and advocate for improvements is key for these warnings to have any effect at all. This situation refers to what I call “The Advocacy Trap”. The trap, thus, consists of a constant feeling of losing hope in the short term, considering the claims as useless or even contradictory, as they might not be taken seriously or they can be used for other purposes. The rupture with the individualistic dynamics of the political, economic and social system that governs
the world today represents another factor of rupture with the consolidated dynamics of capitalism. The rejection of such dynamics is not only a denial of the consolidation of such structure but also a hack to its continuity. The recognition of a diversified and solidary strategy brings the collective relations a new dynamic itself, focused on what the individual can contribute to the common well being and not how the individual can make profit from the collectivity, as it occurs in capitalism. These changes have two possible outcomes: a greener capitalism or a change of system. Both options will bring more prosperity and wellbeing. This rupture with the systemic dynamics generates a new form of activism that offers a solution to the Advocacy Trap. If it is the purpose and not the personification of a movement that is promoted by institutions and other stakeholders, it will be more difficult to use the demands on a self-interested intention, and the requirements of the movements will be advocated into a more plural, inclusive and oriented towards collective prosperity action.

HYBRID SESSION – DIASPORA AND PEACE – Everyday Peace, Resilience and Diasporas

Chair: Élise Féron, Senior Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University

- Cæcilie Svop Jensen (TAPRI) – Second and 1.5 generation Somalis in Finland: Exploring perceptions of ‘homeland’ conflict

The Somali diasporas are highly active in civil society in their countries of residence. Research has highlighted how Somali organizations abroad contribute to development projects in Somalia, send remittances and have contributed to peacebuilding as well as conflict intensification in the country. Less research has so far looked at how conflict in Somalia affects the relationships between the Somali diaspora organizations in the countries of residence. Research on the links between diasporas and conflict suggests that conflicts in the ‘homeland’ can indeed be transported and relocated in countries of residence but that this ‘new’ conflict setting holds the capacity to deeply change and restructure conflict dynamics. In the case of Somali diasporas, research often centers on the importance of clan identity and divisions, which puts the stress on only one aspect of (potential) conflict dynamics. Going beyond this, the study attempts to increase understandings of intra-diaspora dynamics in times of conflict in the ‘homeland’, by investigating how second and third generation Somali diasporas in Finland perceive and engage with the conflict in Somalia. To fully understand the role of the Somali conflict among Somali diasporas, it is interesting to look at how the conflict is viewed across generations. Specifically, the study uses in-depth interviews with second and third generation members of diasporic organizations and looks at the activities and foci of second and third generation diasporas who mobilize for ‘homeland’ issues. The study thus gives insight into generational dynamics of conflict transportation in countries of residence.

- Anna Kreikemeyer and Vadim Romashov (University of Hamburg and TAPRI) – International organizations’ misinterpretation of local peace processes: The case of everyday cooperation of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in a borderland of Georgia

The post-liberal debate on peacebuilding has acknowledged that in their everyday lives people often manage to cope with and curtail various situated tensions, even under circumstances of precarity. Building upon Ethnographic Peace Research and Critical Peace Studies this paper examines why and how international organisations misinterpret local processes of everyday peace and ordering. It promotes ethnographic exploration and understanding of everyday practices of coexistence and cooperation. Learning from ethnographic studies the authors emphasize the relevance of informality, relationality, translation, mutual learning, collaboration and decentralisation and warn of neglecting local agency and issues of inter/national power. Based on secondary ethnographic material and published reports of international organizations, it demonstrates the deficiencies of their liberal peace approach that was applied in the case of everyday interactions of Armenians and Azerbaijanis at the Sadakhlo transborder bazaar in the south of Georgia during and after the first Karabakh war. The paper draws attention to the organisation of everyday bazaar relationships and identifies how and why international peacebuilding neglected the agency of Armenian and Azerbaijani petty traders in their precarious
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transborder cooperation that took place against the logic of conflict-inducing ethnonationalist narratives.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Elise Féron and Bahar Başer (TAPRI and Durham University) – Nagorno-Karabakh and Diasporic Discursive Wars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over the past decades the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh has given birth to multiple and conflicting narratives, in the region itself, in Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also in the concerned diaspora groups. These narratives present various and contradicting explanations for the conflict, its origins, its stakes, its actors, and its outcome not only among the parties involved but also within each group. The recent Nagorno-Karabakh war in 2020 surfaced dormant tensions and fragmentations as the conflict has been transported to the transnational space through high levels of hostility between the Armenian, Turkish, and Azerbaijani diasporas. Overt violence among these groups lasted during the escalation of the conflict and stopped right after the ceasefire, however the discursive wars among them continue with lobbying activities, mobilization strategies, alliance-building and recruitment capacities. In this paper, we aim to shed light on these discursive competition among diaspora groups in conflict and zero in on the autonomization of homeland conflicts in the transnational space. We investigate how conflict dynamics take different shapes and forms in different host countries depending on a variety of factors including diaspora groups’ positionalities and interests as well as home and host states’ foreign and domestic policy agendas. The findings are based on extensive fieldwork and interviews with diaspora activists, politicians, bureaucrats as well as the analysis of secondary resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arsalan Bilal (Centre for Peace Studies/UiT The Arctic University of Norway) – Post-2001 Afghanistan War and the Role of Civilians: A Study of How Civilians Function as Active Agents in Shaping and Reshaping Conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While there has been ample research on the role of state and non-state (militant) actors in perpetuating and intensifying conflicts in fragile countries, this paper argues that policymakers and researchers have not focused adequately and sufficiently on a pivotal determinant: the (ordinary) civilians who constitute the public sphere. Civilians play an instrumental role in population-centric warfare, but they have become significantly more crucial in all settings with conflicts increasingly becoming hybrid in nature. As a corollary, kinetic operations cannot be fully comprehended unless seen in relation to non-kinetic conflict dynamics that entail “active” participation of civilians. The idea is not to eulogise or demonise the civilians but to rather take a critical, meticulous, and realistic approach for grasping the conflict-civilian nexus. In this context, the paper accentuates the role of civilians—who are not necessarily innocent bystanders—in making Afghanistan’s conflict landscape murkier. Afghanistan has been ravaged by multiple protracted wars for over four decades. Since 2001, when the US-led international forces invaded the country and toppled the Taliban regime, the ground situation has been exacerbating owing to numerous intractable factors. Despite the withdrawal of international forces, the situation remains extremely fragile amid Taliban’s rise to power. Moreover, the paper delves into civilian agency vis-à-vis conflicts on theoretical and empirical levels—in doing so, some key questions are addressed: How have the Afghan civilians been making sense of the conflict around them since 2001? What motivated them to act in certain manners? How did they respond to and, more importantly, shape the conflict dynamics? The answers to these questions will be pivotal in understanding the paramount and complex role of civilians in conflicts beyond Afghanistan as well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CIVIL SOCIETY AND PEACE – The Multi-Faceted Role of Civil Society in Peace and Conflict  
Chairs: Nils Vidar Vambheim, Associate Professor, University of Tromso and Ihntaek Hwang, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University  

13:30 to 15:00 Linna Building K110  

3. Ole Martin Gaasholt (Centre for Peace Studies (CPS), UiT The Arctic University of Norway) – The many faces of civil society in Northern Mali
Within the context of the ongoing conflict in Northern Mali, suggestions are put forward promoting the role of civil society or popular involvement. Previous conflict in the 1990s was characterised by such involvement, and promoters argued that it contributed to solution of the conflict. Beyond the supposed efficacy of civil society, such participation is characteristic of numerous processes in the area, not least where development aid and NGOs are concerned. Some prominent members of local communities have the greatest ability to communicate with such institutions. Spoken of as community or civil society ‘leaders’, or ‘resource persons’, they frequently, if not always, combine positions as activists or NGO associates with elected positions in local politics, membership in political parties or as ‘traditional’ chiefs. Power relations and political activity thus influence supposedly more organic popular involvement. In fact, outside attempts at mobilising civil society may reinforce the activities of the people with the best developed connections. Whilst less politicised popular involvement may also exist, many civil society initiatives overlap with political positions and activity. Civil society’s contribution to peaceful solutions must be considered in light of this political dimension to be truly effective.

Tonny Kirabira (University of Portsmouth) – Peace vs Justice? Civil Society influence on Post-Conflict reconciliation and transitional justice in Uganda

This paper examines the role of Civil Society in the Post-Conflict reconciliation and Transitional Justice processes in Uganda. This case study presents an interesting but yet underexplored nexus between peacebuilding vis a vis justice initiatives during violent conflict. Civil Society have emerged as crucial actors in the design and implementation of such initiatives. While previous research has examined the role of civil society in peacebuilding efforts in northern Uganda, less attention has been given to their engagement with Transitional Justice. The paper thus maps out a network of various NGOs within the framework of Transitional Justice, to show how they navigated the Peace vs Justice in northern Uganda, following the two-decade war. This socio-legal study draws substantially from the review of empirical literature and reports. This information is complemented with primary data from qualitative interviews with Civil Society representatives and local leaders. It also draws upon information from the author’s experiences within the context. Drawing on the theory of legitimacy, this analysis reveals two main aspects of the role of Civil Society: identifying and promoting the traditional reconciliation norms for conflict affected communities; and (de)legitimising international criminal justice initiatives. It concludes that there are potential avenues for Transitional Justice proponents to adjust their engagement with Civil Society so as to better resonate with the realities of the particular contexts.

Md Aslam Hossain (University of Tromsø (UIT)) – Civil Society Movement for Rohingya Integration in Bangladesh

Rohingya people in Bangladesh who have migrated from the military clampdown in Myanmar, especially after 2017, have placed an unbalanced pressure on the scarce resources of Bangladesh. The massive influx has produced dilemmas, conflicts, and insecurities among the Bangladeshi people. On the other hand, Rohingya people are now in a situation of humanitarian repatriation with dignity in Myanmar seems an unrealistic dream leaving them no choice behind other than integration in Bangladesh. But, Both the Government and general people in Bangladesh are now holding a strong position against Rohingya integration in Bangladesh. The deprivation of integration facilities has made the lives of Rohingya more miserable, resulting in increased illegal activities of the Rohingya, which poses a security threat for Bangladesh. This condition can only be subsidized by providing them education, legal job opportunities, health facilities, and better living conditions which are again very difficult for Bangladesh with its scarce resources and very limited international help. The integration of Rohingya people in Bangladesh can only reduce this pressure and ensure them a better life. Some of the Rohingyas have already escaped from the refugee camp and have been well integrated into Bangladesh by various illegal means. This research will find if the civil society movement has helped for Rohingya integration in the cox’s Bazar region, Bangladesh; scopes and barriers of Rohingya integration as a means for their long-term prospect and better life opportunities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Session Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:30 to 15:00</td>
<td>Linna Building 6042</td>
<td>ONLINE SESSION 7 – Interdisciplinary approach to coexistence, nonviolence and conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zoom</td>
<td>Chairs: Craig Brown, Affiliate Researcher, University of Massachusetts, Amherst and Anna Sofia Suoranta, Doctoral Researcher, TAPRI, Tampere University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Esin Düzel (Sabanci University) – Theoretical Remarks about Everyday Peace and Challenges of Intersectionality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Samia Chabouni (University of Jijel) – The role of Rwandan women in peace building and the state-reconstruction after genocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rwanda experienced in 1994 one of the worst genocides – against Tutsis - of the 20th century, characterized by nearly a million deaths and an extraordinary flow of refugees, with hundreds of women among them. Today, the country is rising from its ashes and we can observe considerable progress. These social and economic advances were carried out by the RPF regime, in power since 1994, as part of post-conflict reconstruction. This process was also carried out by women, who took charge of themselves and of the future of their country. This proposition paper highlights the role played by Rwandan women after the genocide, focusing on their commitment and activities. It is intended to be a contribution to understanding the issue of gender in violence and post-conflict situations, in particular the remarkable fight led by women who survived the worst of violence. The objective of this proposition is to demonstrate how women rebuilt Rwanda and how they serve reconstruction and reconciliation processes, especially in the context of civil society. In pre-genocide-Rwanda, women lived under a strict patriarchal society, but since the end of this period their situation has changed, now the country has the highest percentage of parliamentary female representation in the world. So, the aim of this paper is to propose a reflection about the action of the Rwandan women and its role since 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Fatemeh Shayan (University of Isfahan, <a href="mailto:f.shayan@ase.ui.ac.ir">f.shayan@ase.ui.ac.ir</a>) – Migration from Yemen to Europe and the Related Threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This paper investigates the way in which the Yemeni public were threatened by Saudi Arabia and the terrorist group Daesh, and how large number of them emigrated to European countries. This will be examined in relation to Middle Eastern countries, such as Yemen, who were at war with Saudi Arabia and the terrorist group. The war in Yemen has been examined through multiple lenses including: the role of the US and Saudi Arabia, Daesh terrorist acts in Yemen, proxy wars and the role of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Yet, the threat Saudi Arabia and Daesh pose to the Yemeni public and their emigration to Europe, alongside problems faced by emigrants when entering the European countries, remain insufficiently explored. These issues are explored within this chapter and the discussions utilize Barry Buzan’s and Ole Weaver’s securitization theoretical framework. This chapter focuses on narrations of Europe’s leaders on the threat Saudi Arabia and Daesh posed to the oppressed people of Yemen. It further details the dangers of emigrating to European countries and the way in which several European countries banned these emigrants. The findings on Saudi Arabia and Daesh, their threat to the public and on emigration to European countries reveal that after the 2003 Iraq War in 2003, emigration to European countries increased. This resulted in stricter rules on emigration in European countries. Many emigrant children and elderly people’s health was jeopardized. The United Nations and Amnesty International made serious efforts to allow them entry to European countries, despite the resistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00 to 16:30</td>
<td>Linna Building</td>
<td>OPEN SPACE TECHNOLOGY SESSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00 onward</td>
<td>All around Tampere</td>
<td>LEISURE WITH LOCALS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

TIPSY

Ω JOURNAL OF RESISTANCE STUDIES

Tamperen yliopisto

Tampere University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Session Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 09:00 to 13:00 | Linna Room K104               | HYBRID – CLOSING SESSIONS
Helga West: “The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Concerning the Sámi People - Structural Justice or Threat?”

Follow the conference on Twitter at [@euprapeace](#)
The conference uses the hashtag [#EuPRA2022](#)

All information about the conference and the latest programme can be retrieved here: [https://www.euprapeace.org/conferences/tampere2022](https://www.euprapeace.org/conferences/tampere2022)

All online and hybrid Zoom links will be communicated ahead of time by email to all registered people. Please refer to your email for the links.