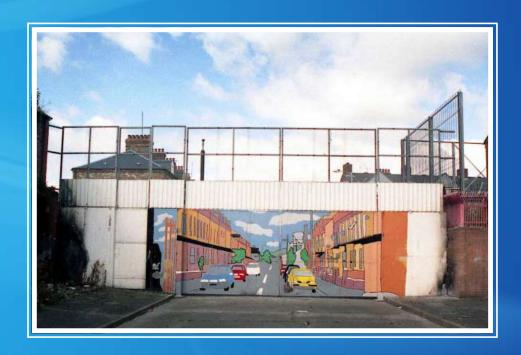# Political Violence and Collective Aggression:
Considering the Past, Imagining the Future

Editors:

Rachel Monaghan

J. Martín Ramírez

Tali K. Walters

2009 CICA-STR

Political Violence and Collective Aggression:

Considering the Past, Imagining the Future

2009 CICA-STR

International Conference on

Political Violence and Collective Aggression:

Considering the Past, Imagining the Future

Programme and Abstracts

Jordanstown, Northern Ireland

2 - 5 September 2009

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

This week, 80 members of the world social science community are gathered here in Northern Ireland, at the Jordanstown campus of the University of Ulster for the 2009 CICA-STR International Conference on Political Violence and Collective Aggression. The Coloquios Internacionales sobre Cerebro y Agresión (CICA) and the Society for Terrorism Research (STR), along with the Social and Policy Research Institute (SPRI) at the University of Ulster, are hosts to researchers, thought leaders, and practitioners from around the globe in this third annual gathering to learn, share ideas, and influence each other in the study of political violence and collective aggression.

This year, Rachel Monaghan, Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Ulster and SPRI member, is the onsite conference organiser. With her extensive professional contacts, Dr. Monaghan brought together many of her colleagues from the United Kingdom to present on such wide ranging topics as the definitions of aggression and terrorism, the use of words in terrorism and political violence, the impact of interface areas in Northern Ireland, and an examination of Northern Ireland in the post-peace process period. Global issues related to political violence and collective aggression will be addressed as well by participants from Estonia, Poland, Italy, Croatia, Iran, Ireland, Portugal, Japan, Spain, Australia, and the United States.

The Society for Terrorism Research is proud to host a celebration at the conference to launch its flagship journal *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*. There will be an opportunity to meet journal co-editors Samuel Justin Sinclair and Daniel Antonius.

In 2006, J. Martín Ramírez of CICA was a fellow at Harvard University in Boston, on leave from the Universidad Complutense in Madrid as a Professor of Psychobiology and Head of the Aggression Research Group. That year, Tali K. Walters also worked in Boston as a forensic psychologist and member of

the Governing Board of the newly emerging Society for Terrorism Research. Brought together by their common interests in aggressive behaviour, and with the goal of creating venues for interdisciplinary global collaboration, they organized their first CICA/STR International Conference. A broad array of professionals were brought together to meet for three days, in a relaxed venue, with a small enough number of people that everyone would have a name, and would, we hoped, start collaborations to better understand, and thus reduce, the violence associated with politics. We believe that it is through this interdisciplinary, global collaboration that such profound work will occur.

The first CICA/STR International Conference convened in Miraflores de la Sierra, Spain, in September 2007. Many participants from the first conference, eager to continue relationships started in Miraflores, returned to the second CICA/STR International Conference in Zakopane, Poland the following July 2008. This year, we welcome back many participants from past years. They know that, through well planned organisation, personal attention to attendants, and a sound scientific programme, they will have the opportunity to share their research and ideas, learn from international colleagues, influence others, and develop interdisciplinary relationships that lead to long term personal and professional collaboration.

In the past years, our invitation to participants has been to *learn* new information, *share* ideas developed from individual cultures and disciplines, and *influence* each others work for when they return to their home countries. This year, we would like to expand our invitation. We invite you to become *collaborators*.

<div align="center">

Learn ● Share ● Influence ● Collaborate

Jordanstown, 2nd September 2009

</div>

CONFERENCE ORGANISERS

SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

J. Martín Ramírez
CICA Chairman
President of the Spanish Pugwash Movement
and
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
(Madrid, Spain)

Tali K. Walters
Vice-President, Society for Terrorism Research
Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Tufts University School of Medicine
(Boston, USA)

Rachel Monaghan
Social and Policy Research Institute, University of Ulster
(Jordanstown, Northern Ireland)

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Rachel Monaghan
Social and Policy Research Institute, University of Ulster
(Jordanstown, Northern Ireland)

J. Martín Ramírez
CICA Chairman
President of the Spanish Pugwash Movement
and
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
(Madrid, Spain)

Tali K. Walters
Vice-President, Society for Terrorism Research
Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Tufts University School of Medicine
(Boston, USA)

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY GROUP

John Archer, Former President of the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA), University of Central Lancashire (England)

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Tali K. Walters, Vice-President, Society for Terrorism Research, Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Tufts University School of Medicine (USA)

Guillermo Velarde, President of the Institute of Nuclear Fusion, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (Spain)

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CICA The Coloquios Internacionales sobre Cerebro y Agresión has promoted and supported a multidisciplinary understanding of conflict and aggression through international, residential colloquia on the relationship between the brain and the social context of aggression. Since 1983, with the first CICA in Seville, 26 scientific meetings have been held in several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and also in the Americas.

STR The Society for Terrorism Research was launched in 2006 as an international, multi-disciplinary organisation of theoretical and empirical researchers in the behavioural sciences. STR's mission is to enhance knowledge and understanding of terrorism through the integration of findings from the fields of anthropology, biology, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, law and other behavioural sciences.

SPRI The Social and Policy Research Institute at the University of Ulster seeks to harness and develop the highest quality research undertaken in the Faculty of Social Sciences within the broad areas of social and public policy, social work, education, politics and international affairs. It provides an institutional framework for undertaking high quality research and for the development of a vibrant research culture through organising seminars, colloquia and lectures and a forum for engaging with policy makers and those involved with service delivery in the public and voluntary sectors.

Social Sponsors

- **SPRI, University of Ulster**
- **Taylor and Francis**

SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY   **2 September 2009**

13:00   **Registration and Coffee**

14:00 – 14:45   *Opening Ceremony*

Professor Alistair Adair,
Provost of Jordanstown campus,
University of Ulster
Rachel Monaghan, Local Organiser
J. Martín Ramírez, Conference Co-Organiser,
CICA Chair
Samuel Justin Sinclair, President,
Society for Terrorism Research

14:45 – 15:45   **Keynote Speech**

Chair: **Carmel Roulston** (University of Ulster,
Northern Ireland)

Speaker: **Dame Nuala O'Loan** (Ireland's Special Envoy
for Timor Leste and for UNSCR 1325, Women,
Peace and Security)
Policing in Northern Ireland:
Enabling the Future through the Past

15:45 – 16:15   **Tea and Coffee**

16:15 – 17:45	**Symposium**

Symposium I	**'Defining the Crime of Aggression': The Relationship between State Crime and Individual Responsibility**

Convenors:	**Chris Lamont and Gabriele Porretto** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)

Commentator:	**Jean Allain** (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland)

Participants:	**William Henderson** (Glasgow Caledonian University, Scotland) **Chris Lamont** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland) **Yassin A M'Boge** (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland) **Gabriele Porretto** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)

17:45 – 18:00	**Break**

18:00 – 19:30	**Parallel Panel Session 1:**

Panel A	**Words Matter When Talking About Terrorism**

Chair:	**Samuel Justin Sinclair** (STR and Massachusetts General Hospital, USA)

Participants:	**Dominic Bryan** (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland) Why There is No Such Thing as Terrorism: Problems of Definition

Harrison Weinstein, Darvis Frazer and Bruce Bongar (Palo Alto University, USA)
Using the Language of Terror to Identify Motivations: A Content Analysis of Islamic Terrorists and Irish Republican Army Messages

Dominik Güss (University of North Florida, USA)
Suicide Terrorism: Words Can Matter

Panel B	**Identifying Triggers for Terrorism and Political Violence**
Chair:	**Joshua Hill** (Sam Houston State University, USA)
Participants:	**Kathleen Smarick and Richard L. Legault** (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, USA) Ballot and Bombs? Terrorist Activity during National Electoral Campaigns
	Cornelia Beyer (University of Hull, England) Violent Globalism – Conflict in Response to Empire
	Lorenzo Gabutti (RAI Italian Radio and Television, Italy) Thomas Hobbes and the Containment of Aggression
20:00	**Dinner**

THURSDAY **3 September 2009**

8:30 – 9:30	**Breakfast** (for those staying on campus)

09:30 – 11:00	**Parallel Panel Session 2:**

Panel C	**Some Thoughts on the Islamic Terrorist Threat in Europe**

Chair:	**Roger MacGinty** (University of St. Andrews, Scotland)

Participants:	**Malgorzata Kossowska** (Jagiellonian University, Poland), **Agnieszka Golec de Zavala**, (Middlesex University, England) and **Thomasz Kubik** (Jagiellonian University, Poland) Impact of the Way People Perceived Terrorists on the Fear of Future Terrorist Attacks
	Felipe Duarte (Portuguese Catholic University, Portugal) Political Subversion or Religious Violence: The Threat of Al-Qaeda Ideology in Europe
	Emmanuel Karagiannis (University of Macedonia, Greece) European Converts to Islam: An Evolving Threat?

Panel D	**State Attempts to Counter Terrorism**

Chair:	**Jessie Blackbourn** (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland)

| Participants: | **Jo Doody** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland) |
| | Moral Panics and the Strategy of Exclusion 1974 |

Gavin Boyd (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
RUC GC – demons or altruistic mortals?

Onder Bakircioglu (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland)
The Future of Preventive Wars: The Case of Iraq

| **11:00 – 11:30** | **Tea and Coffee** |

| **11:30 – 13:00** | **Parallel Symposia:** |

| **Symposium II** | **The Future is Critical: The Critical Turn in 'Terrorism' Studies** |

| Chair: | **Saideh Lotfian** (University of Tehran, Iran) |

Participants:	**Marie Breen-Smyth** (Aberystwyth University, Wales)
	Ayla Göl (Aberystwyth University, Wales)
	Charlotte Heath-Kelly (Aberystwyth University, Wales)
	Richard Jackson (Aberystwyth University, Wales)

| **Symposium III** | **Social-psychological Predicators of Support for Political Violence: Social Identity, Group-based Threat, and Efficacy** |

| Convenors: | **Nicole Tausch and Rim Saab** (Cardiff University, Wales) |

Participants**:**	**Rim Saab** (Cardiff University, Wales)
	Russell Spears (Cardiff University, Wales)
	Nicole Tausch (Cardiff University, Wales)

13:00 – 14:00   **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:30   **Parallel Panel Session 3:**

Panel E   **Remembering the 'Troubles'**

Chair: **Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría**
(Polytechnic University of Madrid, Spain)

Participants: **Kris Brown** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
'Ancestry of Resistance': The Political Use of Commemoration by Ulster Loyalists and Irish Republicans in a Post Conflict Setting

Kirk Simpson
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
Untold Stories: Unionist Remembrance of Political Violence and Suffering in Northern Ireland

Martin Russell
(University College Dublin, Ireland)
Redefining Collective Aggression: Memory and the Role of Irish America in the Northern Ireland Peace Process

Panel F   **Peacemaking, Reconciliation and Coming to Terms with the Past**

Chair: **Malgorzata Kossowska**
(Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Participants:	**Joshua Hill and Daniel Mabrey** (Sam Houston State University, USA) Terrorist De-radicalization as Peacemaking: A Theoretical Evaluation of Terrorist De-radicalization in Southeast Asia
	Eugene McNamee (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland) The Politics of Reconciliation for Rwanda and the ICTR
	Aisling Swaine (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland) The Public and Private Experience of Violence and Women's Exclusion in Post-conflict Timor-Leste
15:30 – 16:00	**Tea and Coffee**
16:00 – 17:00	**Keynote Speech:**
Chair:	**J. Martín Ramírez** (CICA and Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain)
Speaker:	**Saideh Lotfian** (Chair of Pugwash Council and University of Tehran, Iran) Poppies and Terrorism: In Search of Effective Policies for Conflict De-escalation and Resolution in Afghanistan
17:00 – 17:15	**Break**

17:15 – 18:45   **Parallel Panel Session 4:**

Panel G   **Interface Areas in Northern Ireland**

Chair: **John Topping**
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)

Participants: **Jonny Byrne**
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
Should the Barriers Come Down?

Brénainn Brunton
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
Interface Areas in Belfast: Community
Empowerment as a Method of Moving Away
from Violence and Disorder

Paul Reilly (University of Glasgow, Scotland)
Facebook: Facing Back or Facing Forward?
Northern Irish Interface Groups and Web 2.0

Panel H   **Representations of Political Violence and
Collective Aggression**

Chair: **Adam Brown** (STR and Weill Medical College/
Cornell University, USA)

Participants: **Steven John Thompson** (Clemson University,
USA)
Masking Visual Persistence in Media Warfare:
Digitality, Icon Value, and Iconic Storage

Brenda Liddy (Northern Regional College,
Northern Ireland)
The Gendered Nature of Collective Aggression
in Female-authored Drama of 'Troubles' Inspired
Drama

Stephen Hopkins (University of Leicester, England)
Political Memoir, Biography and the Memory of Loyalist Paramilitary Violence in Northern Ireland

19:00 – 20:00   **Wine Reception Sponsored by SPRI**

20:00   **Dinner**

FRIDAY   4 September 2009

8:30 – 9:30   **Breakfast** (for those staying on campus)

09:30 – 11:00   **Parallel Panel Session 5:**

Panel I   **Terrorist and Political Violence in Europe –
                         Old and New**

Chair: **Daniel Antonius** (STR and New York University
                         School of Medicine, USA)

Participants: **Anita Blagojević** (University of J.J. Strossmayer
                         in Osijek, Croatia)
                         The Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945)
                         and Terrorism: Croatian Ustaše

                         **Anna Maria Grabowska and Mateusz
                         Trawiński** (Nicolas Copernicus University,
                         Poland)
                         Shadows of Communism: Legal and Illegal,
                         Naked and Symbolic – Types of Violence used
                         by Military Intelligence Services in Poland

                         Asta Maskaliunaite (Baltic Defence College,
                         Estonia)
                         Role of Discourse in the Perpetuation of Political
                         Violence: A Case of Spanish Basque Country

                         Ali Hedayet (IMT Lucca, Italy)
                         Mobilizing Activism: A Comparative Analysis
                         of the Contemporary Right-Wing Extremists and
                         Islamists in Germany

Panel J   **Not Quite Peace in Northern Ireland**

Chair: **Kareena McAloney**
(Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland)

Participants: **Sara McDowell**
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
Waging War Through Non-violent Means:
Memorials and the Perpetuation of Division in
Ethnic-conflict

Lyndsey Harris
(Birmingham City University, England)
Strategic Terrorism and Signalling: Implications
of a Strategic Analysis of Loyalist Paramilitaries
in Northern Ireland

John Topping and Rachel Monaghan
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
They Still Haven't Gone Away You Know:
Paramilitaries, 'Policing' and the PSNI

Gordon Gillespie (Queen's University Belfast,
Northern Ireland)
Flagging Peace

11:00 – 11:30   **Tea and Coffee**

11:30 – 12:30   **Keynote Speech:**

Chair: **Tali K. Walters** (STR and Tuft University
Medical School, USA)

Speaker: **Rona M. Fields** (Consultant and Clinical
Psychologist, USA)
Terrorized into Terrorist: The Psychology,
Theology and Politics of Violence

12:30 – 13:00	**Poster Session:**

Javier Martín-Peña, Álvaro Rodríguez-Carballeira, Jordi Escartín and Clara Porrúa (University of Barcelona, Spain) Psychological Terrorism in the Basque Country: A Psychosocial Analysis of its Strategies and Effects

Kareena McAloney, Patrick McCrystal and Andrew Percy (Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland) Violent Youth: The Influence of Community Violence, Parental Supervision and Neighbourhood Disorganisation on Juvenile Violent Offending

13:00 – 14:00	**Lunch**
14:00 – 15:30	**Parallel Panel Session 6:**
Panel K	**Understanding the Causes of Terrorism: Does it Work?**
Chair:	**Julian Richards** (Buckinghamshire University, England)
Participants:	**Amanda M Sharp Parker** (University of South Florida, USA) An Integrated Criminological Strain Approach to the Causation of Terrorism

Charles Knight (Queensland University of Technology, Australia) What Works best for the Terrorist: Terror-ism, or Anger-ism?

Sarah Marsden (University of St. Andrews, Scotland)
'Successful Terrorism': What is it and how can it be defined

Panel L	**Some Considerations in Countering Terrorism and Political Violence**
Chair:	**Kim Bistis** (STR and Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, USA)
Participants:	**Maciej Sekerdej** (Lisbon University Institute, Portugal) and **Malgorzata Kossowska** (Jagiellonian University, Poland) Nationalism, Terrorist Threat and Counterterrorism Strategies
	Marcia Byrom Hartwell (US Army/University of Oxford, England) Leaving Iraq, Imagining the Future – Is there a Way for the US to make it Better?
	Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría (Polytechnic University of Madrid, Spain) Illicit Trade and its Relationship with International Security
15:30 – 16:00	**Tea and Coffee**
16:00 – 17:30	**Symposium**
Symposium IV	**Shaping the Future by Remembering the Past**
Convenor:	**Gavin J. Fairbairn** (Leeds Metropolitan University, England)

Participants**:**	**Seidu Alidu** (Leeds Metropolitan University, England)
	Ayeray Medina Bustos (Leeds Metropolitan University, England)
	Gavin J. Fairbairn (Leeds Metropolitan University, England)
	Dave Webb (Leeds Metropolitan University, England)

18:30   **Bus leaves campus for conference dinner in Belfast**

19:00 – 20:00   **Wine Reception celebrating launch of STR's journal *Behavioral Research in Terrorism and Political Aggression*. Sponsored by Taylor and Francis**

20:00   **Dinner**

SATURDAY   5 September 2009

8:30 – 9:30   **Breakfast** (for those staying on campus)

09:30 – 11:00   **Parallel Panel Session 7:**

Panel M   **Explaining Political Violence and Collective Aggression from a Psychological and Behavioural Sciences Perspective**

Chair: **Rona M. Fields** (Consultant and Clinical Psychologist, USA)

Participants**:**   **Sheila Pfafflin** (Consultant, USA) Women and War: Leadership and Outcomes

                            Kinga Williams (Mensana Intercultural Psychological Consultancy, England) Complex or Dangerous

Panel N   **Conflict, Violence and the Role of Government/other Actors**

Chair: **Rachel Monaghan** (University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)

Participants: **Tomohiro Kumagai** (Tohoku University, Japan) Does Fair Government Engender Inter-national Conflict? The Ironical Relationship between Intra-national Justice and Inter-national Justice

                            Roger MacGinty (University of St Andrews, Scotland) Lebanon: Post-war Reconstruction as Conflict by Other Means

11:00 – 11:30   **Tea and Coffee**

11:30 – 12:30   **Progress Report:**

Art Kendall (Capital Area Social Psychological
Association, USA)
Scientists and Human Rights: Joining Together
to Stop Political Violence, Injustice, and
Deprivation

12:30 – 13: 30   *Closing Ceremony*

Tali K. Walters (STR and Tuft University
Medical School, USA)
Rachel Monaghan
(University of Ulster, Northern Ireland)
J. Martín Ramírez (CICA and Universidad
Complutense de Madrid, Spain)

ABSTRACTS
(in chronological order)

• KEYNOTE SPEECH:

Policing in Northern Ireland: Enabling the Future through the Past

Dame Nuala O'Loan
Ireland's Special Envoy for Timor Leste and for UNSCR 1325, Women, Peace and Security

Years of political violence and collective aggression, at its most extreme involving widespread murder, bombings and shootings in Northern Ireland have demonstrated that the way in which policing is conducted in these circumstances is enormously important. Ordinary policing has to continue side by side with the policing of the extraordinary. In so doing, the contribution that the people can make to policing should never be ignored. Police officers may become collusive with the perpetrators of violence. They may become involved in that violence in all its forms. Perpetrators need community support. They need places to store things, eyes to watch what is going on, safe houses, and many other things (and people very often do these things for them because they know that if they do not help they will be attacked and even murdered.) There will be those within the community who can alert the constitutional forces to what is going on. It may be dangerous for them to do so. However they may wish to help. Where communities, for whatever reason, harbour those intent on violence of this nature, those communities will become dangerous places for the police. The challenge in Northern Ireland was to face the legacy left by The Troubles and to rebuild policing so that it became capable of functioning with the consent of [almost] all the people of Northern Ireland, with visible and effective accountability mechanisms. The process of doing that led to unexpected and fundamental challenges to all. This keynote address will explore some of that reality.

- **Symposium I:**   **'Defining the Crime Of Aggression':**
  The Relationship Between State Crime
  and Individual Responsibility

Convenors: *Chris Lamont* and *Gabriele Porretto* (Transitional
                        Justice Institute, University of Ulster)

Participants: *Jean Allain* (commentator)
                        William Henderson
                        Chris Lamont
                        Yassin A M'Boge
                        Gabriele Porretto

This symposium aims to explore some of the relevant legal and political issues raised by the definition and the prosecution of the crime of aggression, both as a state crime and as an individual crime under international law. The panel brings together scholars working in the field of international relations, international law and international criminal law.

Law, Power and Aggression in International Society: The United Nations Security Council and the International Criminal Court
Chris Lamont
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

This presentation is meant to set the scene for the discussion in this symposium. Attempts at establishing the relationship between the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) have provoked a growing debate as to the Security Council's legislative, and potential judicial, role in international society. This paper will focus on the specific question of the identification and punishment of aggression in international society. The UNSC has the authority to both identify and punish acts of aggression, among other serious breaches of the UN Charter. As the Rome Statute grants the ICC jurisdiction over the crime of aggression, the UNSC and the ICC will potentially share overlapping responsibilities once a consensus over definitional aspects of the crime of aggression have been achieved. This has raised important questions over proposals to limit the ICC's jurisdiction over the crime of

aggression in order to preserve the UNSC's autonomy to act in response to international crisis. This paper will examine these proposals and their theoretical implications in the context of the evolving judicial architecture of international security.

Rome to Kampala: The International Criminal Court and the Crime of Aggression

William Henderson
Glasgow Caledonian University (Scotland)

This paper primarily analyses the development of the definition of the crime of aggression within the framework of the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and also through the subject specific negotiations in the Special Working Group on the Crime of Aggression. In addition to these recent negotiations the paper aims to cover work on the crime of aggression leading up to the United Nations Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court and at the 1998 Rome Conference itself. The paper seeks to chart the progress made by the international community in advance of the ICC Review Conference, due to take place next year in Kampala, Uganda. The relationship of the crime of aggression to the act of state aggression is covered, particularly with regard to the place given to the wording of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX), 14 December 1974 (Definition of Aggression), in the proposed amendment to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal.

Operationalising the Crime of Aggression

Yassin A. M'Boge
Queen's University Belfast (Northern Ireland)

The process of institutionalising the crime of aggression demonstrates the interdependence between peace, security and justice. In 1998 the Rome Statute provides a future blueprint for an institutional response that could see the International Criminal Court investigating and prosecuting the crime of aggression. Yet the bigger question must be asked as to what the prospective role of the International Criminal Court can be in the prevention and the prosecution of acts of aggression. The complexities

surrounding the crime of aggression are not limited to the substantive issues of law but include practical and operational obstacles.

It is the aim of this paper to explore how the practical investigation and prosecution of the crime of aggression by an international institution such as the Court could address some of the obstacles that potentially lay ahead. In light of the fact that the crime of aggression has a particular political component some obstacles to investigations and prosecutions will be unique to this specific crime compared with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Thus for the judicial operations of the International Criminal Court to have any chance of success the practical and operational side of the crime of aggression cannot and must not be overlooked.

Aggression as a 'Leadership Crime'
Gabriele Porretto
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

This presentation aims to complement the elements discussed by other panellists and to concentrate, most notably, on the relationships between (a) individual acts leading to aggression and (b) state criminality, under the angle of the so-called elements of crime. In order to explore this relationship, I will first critically assess the idea according to which an act of aggression is necessarily a 'leadership crime', because it cannot be perpetrated by low-level political or military officials. I will more generally consider the question of the nature and degree of causation required by the crime of aggression, and most notably its ramifications in terms of complicity and collective responsibility in the planning and the execution of aggression.

- **Session A: Words Matter When Talking About Terrorism**

Why There is No Such Thing as Terrorism: Problems of Definition
Dominic Bryan
Queen's University Belfast (Northern Ireland)

In this paper I argue that the term 'terrorism' should not be used as an objective category in research and that potentially the use of this term makes conflict management and transformation more difficult. Attempts by numerous academics to define terrorism end in failure because of the diverse nature of the forms of violence they wish to place in the category. Definitions try to incorporate State and non-State actors whereas most of the research concentrates on the non-state actors. And academic work on the nature of 'terrorism' is further polluted by legal definitions constructed by State actors. The term is used in to many emotive contexts and is too politically loaded to be useful in any objective form. Academic research needs to concentrate, using labelling theory, on how the term is used, who labels who, and when. Only in this way can the academy offer assistance to political processes of conflict transformation.

Using the Language of Terror to Identify Motivations: A Content Analysis of Islamic Terrorists and Irish Republican Army Messages
Harrison Weinstein, Darvis Frazer and Bruce Bongar
Palo Alto University (USA)

Terrorism has occurred throughout history and is carried out in numerous fashions. Two groups that have received considerable coverage are Al-Qaeda and other Islamic groups and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). These organizations have both been labelled as terrorist groups researchers have attempted to make claims that group their actions. Some common hypothesized characteristics between Islamic and IRA terrorists include political and religious motivation, the homicidal nature of their attacks, and lack of evident psychopathology. Content analysis was used to decode messages from these two groups. These pieces of evidence were examined by the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count program (Pennebaker et al., 2001). This analysis includes self references, social words, positive and

negative emotions, cognitive words, as well as a number of other dimensions. Breaking down the sources linguistically allows the statements to be compared and contrasted both within and between groups. Other studies have focused on behaviors and demographics to categorize these organizations, but this data provides unique insight into the motivations and final thoughts of various forms of terrorism. LIWC analysis revealed differences among several variables including emotions, religion, personal and social concern, and use of tense. Research evaluating the various manifestations of terrorism and the underlying mechanisms of these divergent acts serves to enhance our understanding of this occurrence. In turn, this information potentially assists in the prevention of future attacks, both Islamic and IRA based. In sum, research that aims to comprehend both commonalities and differences between various terrorist groups is a worthy goal that will serve to add to the knowledge base of this significant phenomenon.

Suicide Terrorism: Words Can Matter
Dominik Güss
University of North Florida (USA)

In scientific literature, the terms suicide bomber, suicide terrorist, Islamic martyr, martyr, or volunteer on a suicide mission are often used interchangeably, although definitions of these terms vary considerably (Güss, Tuason, and Teixeira, 2007). This is the first study to investigate the mental concepts related to these different terms when presented independently and when embedded in context. Participants were 129 undergraduate students who were asked to freely associate on six presented words, one of them being one of the five keywords mentioned above. Then, participants were presented two scenarios on suicide terrorism in a counterbalanced order. The same keyword from the association task was used in the two scenarios to describe the actor. The scenarios differed mainly in victims: in one scenario, innocent children and civilians died, in the other scenario, defense ministry workers and army officers died as a consequence of the suicide act. After each scenario, the participants were asked to answer Likert scale 5 questions regarding rationality and selfishness of the actor and the possible motivations of the actor, in one open ended question: Why do you think the person did this? and several

demographic questions. Results showed (1) significant differences in positive and negative valence of associations and kind of associations when terms were presented individually, (2) no significant effect of target words on rating question judgments when presented in context, (3) effects of scenario context on judgments regarding actor and action, and (4) the tendency of participants to more frequently mention scientifically supported causes of suicide attacks than media reported causes to the open question. Although context information seems to outweigh the connotations of the individual terms, results caution researchers and media on the need to reflect on the use of those terms and its possible consequences.

- **Session B:** **Identifying Triggers for Terrorism and Political Violence**

Ballots and Bombs? Terrorist Activity during National Electoral Campaigns
Kathleen Smarick and Richard L. Legault
National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) (USA)

High-profile incidents such as the 2004 Madrid commuter-train bombings, three days before national elections in Spain, have fuelled a conventional wisdom that the chances of terrorist activity increase as national elections approach in a given country. There exists a sound theoretical basis for this expectation: Terrorists are political actors, and campaign seasons are key times to try to impact politics and policy. While terrorists might be marginalized from the electoral process, they could choose to concentrate their activities during electoral seasons in an effort to impact the campaigns and the subsequent elections. This paper serves to provide an empirical assessment of this conventional wisdom by analyzing the relationship between legitimate political activity—namely, national elections—and illegitimate political activity—namely, terrorist activity. The analysis will employ data on elections in 134 countries around the world from 1998 to 2004, as collected by Election Guide, a program of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. Using these data in conjunction with data on terrorist incidents from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), the authors use Cox Proportional Hazard models to test the hypothesis that the

risk of terrorist activity increases in the build up to a national election. The models will control for such country-level factors as level of democracy, involvement in a violent conflict, and level of economic development, as well as specific elements of electoral processes (including whether a country employs a parliamentary or presidential system of governance), towards the goal of generating insights about the conditions under which increased levels of terrorist activity are most likely.

Violent Globalism – Conflict in Response to Empire
Cornelia Beyer
University of Hull (England)

Terrorism can be understood as a violent, politically-motivated action against a societal order, mounted from within it, to bring about change or to attack and even overthrow the ruling elite. So the term 'terrorism' itself refers to a presumed hierarchical structure with at its head a widely-acknowledged elite. This interpretation of 'new terrorism' in particular contains the notion of Western imperialism (according to Galtung), with conflict linked to the experience of structural and material violence. Western imperialism is expressed in at least some of Galtung's five dimensions to be found in the relations with the Middle East, the main breeding ground of the 'new terrorism'. The opposition to this imperialism, hence 'new' or international terrorism however, is not confined to a state or states, but must be described as a global, transnational phenomenon. Hence we can speak of globalisms of violence in the present-day world. United States foreign policies, and imperialism, and 'new terrorism' furthermore constitute each other, they react to each other, cause and effect are not easily discernable.

Thomas Hobbes and the Containment of Aggression
Lorenzo Gabutti
RAI Italian Radio and Television (Italy)

According to Hobbes, in the state of nature each person has a natural right to every other person's being and body. This means that aggression is rife, and no-one can be secure in their being, let alone their possessions. Hobbes's primary concern is to ensure the enjoyment of the former, *i.e.*

personal survival, at any cost. That is why natural law enjoins to seek the peace, in order to exit this feral state: but, as opposed to Locke, Hobbes, in his deep pessimism, is not primarily concerned with ensuring the enjoyment of personal property. There are two main problems which derive from Hobbes's view concerning the containment of aggression. The first is normative: in order to ensure survival, Hobbes is prepared to countenance that a subject may exercise violence on another subject if authority requires him to. Besides being morally objectionable, it is hard to see how this view may lead to Hobbes's main aim, the prevention of civil war – unless, of course, one has the good fortune of being ruled by an enlightened sovereign. The second is psychological: it is that, paradoxically for a pessimist, Hobbes places an inordinate amount of trust in the power to attain compliance on the part of the signatories of the compact. He does not put in place a mechanism to persuade people to comply, other than Leviathan, the overarching power of the State. And yet, when the power of the State is found to be wanting, he has no means, given his philosophical egoism, of justifying respect of the law, other than an irrational belief that one is bound by the promise of obedience. Ultimately, he cannot explain this obligation from a moral point of view, precisely because he has excluded to start with, that human beings may act from motivations other than self-interest.

- **Session C:**   **Some Thoughts on the Islamic Terrorist Threat In Europe**

Impact of the Way People Perceived Terrorists on the Fear of Future Terrorist Attacks
Malgorzata Kossowska
Jagiellonian University (Poland)
Agniexzka Golec de Zavala
Middlesex University (England)
Thomas Kubik
Jagiellonian University (Poland)

Three studies examine how Al Qaeda terrorists are perceived by Polish participants and how these perceptions are related to emotional reactions to terrorism and support for counter-terrorism policy: installation of the

American National Missile Defence (NMD) system in Poland. In study 1 we combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to test the terrorist perception and identify four images of Al Qaeda terrorists: psychopathic criminals, strategists, ideologues and victims of the system. The results of study 2 indicate that two images attributing irrationality to Al Qaeda terrorists and unpredictability to their actions (psychopathic criminals and ideologues) are related to high perceived risk of future terrorist attacks, fear of terrorism and a tendency to catastrophize terrorism. Results of study 3 show that these two images are related to opposition towards NMD in Poland. Fear of terrorism mediates this relationship. The image of terrorists as rational strategists is not related to fear of terrorism and is related to positive attitudes towards installation of the NMD in Poland.

Political Subversion or Religious Violence: The Threat of Al-Qaeda Ideology in Europe
Felipe Duarte
Portuguese Catholic University (Portugal)

Context: The end of the Cold War left us an ideological and geostrategic vacuum, conducive to the increasing of religious ideologies, which use violence in pursuit of their political demands. In retrospect, it is easy to find the motive of the most violent terrorist attacks, since the end of the Cold War, in an ideological matrix that has a theoretical structure based in a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

Argument: The fundamental issue of this paper is to conceptualize and analyse if there is a relationship between the rise of religious fundamentalism and political violence in contemporary international relations. Therefore, the main hypothesis will have as a mainstream religion, as a political weapon, and the use terror, by force and violence, to overthrow and subvert constituted governments and achieve ideological dominance. A secondary hypothesis lies in the link between the Sunni salafist and jihadist doctrine and the post Cold War "religious" terrorist networks. However, what kind of link: Political? Purely religious? We will try to identify Al-Qaeda ideology as a very dangerous threat (in the long term future).

All the research will have, as a background, the global resurgence of

religion as a political and strategic actor in International Relations, as a result of apparent failure of other ideologies. This paper aims to found an analytical framework about the influence of religious fundamentalism in political violence and terrorism, in a post-Cold War era.

European Converts to Islam: An Evolving Threat?

Emmanuel Karagiannis
University of Macedonia (Greece)

As a relatively new phenomenon, European conversion to Islam is challenging to assess. There is already evidence that Islamic terrorist networks are trying systematically to recruit Caucasian men and women to handle terrorist logistics, because they would be less likely to raise suspicion. Yet, most studies of this phenomenon fail to address its root causes of their radicalization. The security implications of conversions to Islam in Europe have helped ensure that the topic has quickly become a thriving area of research. Not surprisingly, European security services have grown especially concerned about this phenomenon. It is rare, however, that the insights of intelligence analysts are published. The result is that a considerable amount of knowledge has been confined partly or wholly to the realm of closed intelligence analysis, with negative consequences for the scholarly and policy work being done on Muslim converts and their radicalisation.

The paper will rely on primary sources; it aims at providing new research to understand the radicalization of Muslim converts in European countries such as Great Britain, France and Greece. It will seek to deal with the following research concerns and issues: What are the salient social and personal characteristics of Muslim converts, e.g. age, gender, educational profile, family attachment profile, etc. What are the mechanisms of their radicalization at individual and group levels? How do radical, but peaceful, converts differ from other converts who join terrorist groups? How do converts view jihad? European converts to Islam present a particularly difficult challenge to U.S. and European policymakers, since they may join radical Islamic groups and participate in terrorist plots. Western governments must carefully choose strategies and policies for dealing with European converts, if they are to avoid a security threat to regional stability.

• Session D: State Attempts To Counter-Terrorism

Moral Panics and the Strategy of Exclusion 1974
Jo Doody
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

This paper proposes that the political violence experienced in Great Britain in 1974 was defined primarily as a threat to the hegemonic status of the state. The threat posed to national security questioned the existing social arrangements in place. By defining the threat as a hegemonic crisis, the inevitable solution could only be an increase in social control and in this case was introduced through the strategy of exclusion. Faced with a lack of consent and legitimacy for its political-economic strategies in Northern Ireland, the Government in 1974 set about manufacturing the consent it needed through the politics of fear and repression and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

This paper will explain why, given the initial definition and identification of a hegemonic crisis, no other outcome was deemed possible. It will then piece together the process by which exclusion came about. It will complicate the notion of exclusion with concepts of legitimization and rationalization. Drawing on labelling theory and the concept of moral panic in particular, it will piece together how the panic was constructed and how the diminution of civil rights was legitimated. The 'othering' of the Irish population will be described before exploring the institutionalization of this process. The political, individual and long-term impact of the strategy will also be explored with a view to raising questions for the current approach to the war on terror.

RUC GC – Demons or Altruistic Mortals?
Gavin Boyd
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

To sustain politically motivated conflict groups that favour physical force as the means to bring about political change. The groups must maintain and develop a level of support amongst the community they claim to represent. Such support could include storing weapons, hiding activists, or refusing to provide information to the security forces. The physical

force groups may describe their activities as a struggle for liberation or a righting of an injustice to justify their actions. But what is the legacy of these justifications in a post conflict situation? If not properly managed the physical force group may be successful in creating a strong myth that can become an established 'fact'. There is a danger that others will unquestioningly accept this established 'fact' and take it as their starting point for future activity.

Since 1998 some myths have persisted and are being reused by dissident republicans to justify the continuance of violence in pursuit of a United Ireland. Furthermore, some reports from quasi-state agencies, such as the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland, can un-intentionally offer such support through ignoring the context of policing 'The Troubles'. Additionally, the dilemma of intelligence together with the mythmaker's continuance of clinging to their myth some 10 years on in order to maintain cohesiveness of their movement compounds this process. This paper examines the context of policing 'The Troubles' and the intelligence dilemma to explore the role and influence of RUCGC Special Branch in combating terrorism in Northern Ireland.

The Future of Preventive Wars: The Case of Iraq
Onder Bakircioglu
Queen's University Belfast (Northern Ireland)

Following the "terrorist" attacks of 11 September 2001, the 2002 US National Security Strategy made it clear that the United States would act, if necessary, unilaterally to protect its security against "emerging threats before they are fully formed." In so doing President Bush's administration has put forward a broader understanding of self-defence, one that diminishes the traditional role of the imminence requirement, making it relevant only to the establishment of necessity. The rationale underlying this new security strategy has been based on the assumption that modern warfare and recent innovations in weapons of mass destruction - which may readily be employed by "rogue States" and "terrorists" - have changed the whole calculus of self-defence. The reasoning would be that since warfare is now much more devastating and can occur with less warning, it is unrealistic to depend on the traditional imminence rule of self-defence;

namely to await the occurrence or the threat of an imminent "armed attack" before resorting to defensive force.

It has been more than five years since Saddam Hussein's regime was toppled on account of its alleged ties with Al Qaeda and possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (hereinafter WMD). Although these allegations were soon proved to be baseless, the occupation of Iraq continues within the context of "war on terror," which so far neither provided more security nor uprooted "global terrorism." In contrast, Bin Laden's terrorism network is strongly rebuilding in Afghanistan and in the Pakistani tribal areas. It seems increasingly clear that the Bush administration's seven years of anti-terror campaign will bequeath a legacy of two failed wars accompanied with numerous unresolved issues.

This paper will discuss whether or not the doctrine of preventive war, the so-called Bush Doctrine, has the potential to affect the United Nations' (hereinafter the UN) collective security scheme by creating a customary precedence for other States to follow. It will analyse the legal arguments propounded to justify warfare against Iraq and discuss whether preventive war policies against non-tangible threats have a future within the UN collective security system. The paper will attempt to underline that a durable international society cannot rest on exceptionalism exercised by hegemonic powers; rather the interests of the weak nations must be met to sustain international peace and security.

- **Symposium II: 'The Future is Critical: The Critical Turn in 'Terrorism' Studies'**

Convenors: *Marie Breen-Smyth* (University of Aberystwyth)

Participants: *Richard Jackson*
                    Charlotte Heath-Kelly
                    Marie Breen-Smyth
                    Ayla Göl

Recent scholarship on political violence and the use of terror' has posited developments since 2001 as 'new terrorism', sidelining lessons drawn from

earlier experience of political violence dating back to the 1960s and 1970s and beyond. This panel presents four papers which jointly argue the need for a revisiting of the field, drawing lessons from past policy and practice, and re-examining the theoretical underpinnings of contemporary studies, both orthodox and critical. The panel includes papers which re-examine the terminology and ontological and epistemological underpinnings of a critical approach, the normative agenda of terrorism studies, and papers which draw lessons from specific cases, namely the Irish, British Muslims, and the Kurds in Turkey.

Critical Terrorism Studies: An Explanation, a Defence and a Way Forward

Richard Jackson
Aberystwyth University (Wales)

The aims of this paper are to introduce and explain the core commitments and dimensions of the critical terrorism studies (CTS) approach, to defend the retention of the term 'terrorism', and to briefly outline a future research agenda. To this end, the paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, I contextualise the rise of CTS and outline its central ontological, epistemological, methodological, and praxiological commitments, arguing that it is more than simply a call for better research on terrorism; rather, CTS offers a new way of understanding and researching terrorism. The second section focuses on the particular problem posed by the term 'terrorism' and argues that there are reasons for, and ways of, retaining the term without compromising the broader intellectual and/or emancipatory project. In addition, it explores some of the common misperceptions about the definition of terrorism and proposes a solution to these issues. In the final section, I outline some of the key challenges and dangers facing CTS. I suggest some key ways of avoiding these dangers and outline a future research agenda.

Imagining Futures within Critical Terrorism Studies

Charlotte Heath-Kelly
Aberystwyth University (Wales)

This paper problematises the use of Coxian and Frankfurt School Critical

Theory within Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) to support an emancipatory project, while remaining positive about the renewed academic vigour that the CTS project has brought to the study of political violence within International Relations. Considering the explicitly normative emancipatory agenda of CTS, the paper addresses the origination of normativity within the Coxian and Horkheimerian critical projects, in which CTS is anchored, in relation to the naturalistic fallacy. Suggestions are then made concerning the possibility of rooting the CTS agenda in explicit moral and ideological territory, in order to generate enough normative force to sustain the emancipatory project - with Horkheimerian theory used to subsequently legitimate the endeavour within academia via his conception of minimal foundationalism and his sustained critique of instrumental reason. As such, the paper concludes that early Frankfurt School theorizing can validate normative academic projects, but cannot provide a source for such normativity.

Critical 'Terrorism' Studies and Counter-Terrorism: The Case of 'Suspect Communities'

Marie Breen-Smyth
Aberystwyth University (Wales)

This paper begins by briefly setting out the conceptual framework upon which the recent critical turn in 'terrorism' studies is based. The sub-field of critical terrorism studies (CTS) (see Jackson, Breen-Smyth and Gunning, 2009 in press) derives in part from the Welsh School's assertion of the individual, not the state, as the ultimate referent in accounts of 'security'. The threat posed by terrorism is thus redefined in terms of its impact on the security of citizens rather than primarily on the security of the state. Furthermore, 'terrorism' is seen as a tactic that may be employed by both state and non-state actors and CTS challenges the notion of counter-terrorism, which often contributes to the proliferation of that which it sets out to counter, and argues for more effort to be devoted to finding non-coercive measures. The paper then illustrates the critical approach by revisiting Hillyard's definition of a 'suspect community' as applied to the experience of the Irish community in the late twentieth century, by drawing parallels with the contemporary experience of Muslims in Britain. Using autoethnographical (and other) methods to chart the key feature of the

suspect community experience, the paper argues that suspect communities are existential communities, defined in and by the fearful public imagination. The paper explores the role of the suspect community as the embodiment of the imagined threat to the security of the state and its populace and a container for that threat, whilst it is the security of that 'suspect community' itself is eroded by its suspect status, through the securitising practices of the state. The paper concludes by pointing to the counter-productive nature of such state securitisation practices in terms of the 'battle for hearts and minds' and consequent exacerbation of security risks.

A Critical Re-Thinking of Political Violence and Ethnic Nationalism: The Case of the Kurds in Turkey

Ayla Göl
Aberystwyth University (Wales)

This paper explores the value of critical terrorism studies (CTS) in understanding the resurgence of political violence and ethno-nationalism in the Middle East, with a particular reference to the case of Kurds in Turkey. Based on the research agenda of the CST, the paper problematizes the shortcomings of orthodox 'terrorism' studies on three issues: first, an ahistorical approach to the understanding the Kurdish nationalism is necessarily incomplete, hence, the resurgence of the PKK 'terrorism' needs to be historicised and contextualised. The paper identifies the historical origins of the Kurdish issue in the regional context that constituted Kurds as a stateless nation of the Middle East. Second, it emphasises the importance of differentiating nationalist motivations from religious ones thus also challenging another misconception of understanding Islam and nationalism within an uncritical approach to 'terrorism'. Third, the paper engages with the local, national, regional and international levels of the Kurdish nationalism through the lens of social movement theory, considering socio-historical and political structures and the construction of identities. It examines why and how the rise of the PKK contributed to the resurgence of political violence that led to state repression of cultural rights and the counter-productive policies of the Turkish state security practices in the region. It concludes by questioning the significance of means other than the use of political violence in the search of a solution for the future of Kurds in the Middle East and Turkey.

- ## Symposium III: Social-Psychological Predicators of Support for Political Violence: Social Identity, Group-Based Threat, and Efficacy

Convenors: *Nicole Tausch* and *Rim Saab* (Cardiff University)

Participants: *Rim Saab*
Russell Spears
Nicole Tausch

Latent public support for political violence plays a vital role in the intractability of intergroup conflict (Hayes and McAllister, 2001). This symposium pulls together a panel of senior and junior scholars to examine psychological and structural processes that underlie support for political violence in a variety of contexts. First, using data from a representative sample of British Muslims, Tausch will examine the roles of religious and national identity as predictors of the extent to which the 7/7 London bombings were viewed as justified and discuss the importance of social context and intergroup contact as variables that determine the strength of identity. Second, Spears will explore how a sense of hopelessness and helplessness associated with the social position of one's group may promote support for and engagement in more radical and violent intergroup behaviour. Thirdly, Saab will examine the importance of the perceived efficacy of both violent and non-violent action strategies in predicting British respondents' support for the use of violent versus nonviolent means of resistance in the Israeli-Palestinian context. A discussion session led by the chairs will address the implications of the presented research and identify important directions for future research.

Religious and National Identity as Predicators of Support for Political Violence among British Muslims: An Analysis of UK Opinion Poll Data

Nicole Tausch and Russell Spears
Cardiff University (Wales)
Oliver Christ
University of Marburg (Germany)

Using data from a 2006 opinion survey of British Muslims ($N = 1000$), this study examined the role of importance of Muslim and British identity as proximal predictors of whether respondents viewed the 2005 London bombings as justified. We further explore the extent to which religious and national identity and support for terrorism are predicted by context (the concentration of Muslims in the area) and contact experiences with non-Muslims. The role of these variables is assessed over and above relevant demographic variables (gender, age, and SES). Structural equation modelling revealed that while there was no significant relationship between Muslim identity and support for the attacks, British identity was significantly negatively related to support. Having contact with non-Muslims was positively related to importance of British identity, negatively to importance of Muslim identity, and also directly predicted reduced support for the attacks. The concentration of Muslims in the area was positively related to the importance of Muslim identity and negatively to contact with non-Muslims. These findings are discussed in relation to recent efforts to integrate Muslims more into British society.

Socio-Structural Factors in Extremism and Terrorism

Russell Spears and Nicole Tausch
Cardiff University (Wales)

Much research and theorizing rightly focuses on the role of ideology and threats to identity as precursors and predictors of terrorism. However support for or engagement in such extreme behaviour is often also accompanied by a sense of hopelessness and helplessness associated with the social position of one's group, which contributes to the conviction that violence and terror is the only effective route. We examine the evidence, in lab as well as field, that conditions that promote a sense of helplessness, and

reduced voice, can increase support for more extreme and even violent courses of action. These include low power, low group efficacy, and low status for one's group, especially when these conditions are seen as stable and unchanging. These conditions promote support for and engagement in more radical, conflictual and violent behaviour, reflecting a strategy that we call "nothing to lose". This research challenges mainstream research on intergroup relations in social psychology, such as social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) which predicts that attempts to resist disadvantaged status become most likely when a disadvantaged group position seems to be unstable and therefore changeable. We propose that the social psychology of terrorism may therefore require different theory and principles to the mainstream intergroup literature to explain the emergence of such extreme and violent acts.

Third-party Support for Violent Resistance against Israel
Rim Saab, Russell Spears and Nicole Tausch
Cardiff University (Wales)

Resistance against occupation and oppression can be violent, nonviolent or a combination of both. Engaging in any one type of resistance, however, typically requires the support of the larger population from which militants are recruited, as well as support by some third-party/bystander groups. It is therefore important to examine the social-psychological determinants of popular support for different types of resistance strategies. The present research explores variations in support for violent as well as nonviolent strategies in response to their perceived efficacy. In particular, we look at the interaction between the perceived efficacy of violent resistance and that of nonviolent resistance in predicting support for each strategy. Using both survey and experimental data we examine British respondents' support for the use of violent versus nonviolent means of resistance in the Israeli-Palestinian context. We test the assumption that support for violence rises in response to the perceived effectiveness of violence and the lack of effective non-violent alternatives. We also test the assumption that approval of extreme forms of violent resistance (e.g. attacks on civilians) rise in response to situations perceived as illegitimate and hopeless, that is, where neither violence nor nonviolence seem to work. The emotional mediators linking injustice and effectiveness perceptions to support for violent and nonviolent resistance strategies are also explored.

• Panel E: Remembering the 'Troubles'

'Ancestry of Resistance': The Political Use of Commemoration by Ulster Loyalists and Irish Republicans in a Post Conflict Setting
Kris Brown
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

Tropes and themes of past political violence continue to circulate in Northern Ireland, and in doing so serve a contemporary political purpose. Both Loyalists and Republicans have engaged in the memorialisation of their dead in the course of the recent conflict. While memorialisation often represents personal mourning, the focus of this paper represents the use of remembrance in terms of Republicanism and Loyalism as political projects. This process of commemoration did not slow with the advent of the Northern Ireland peace process, but instead accelerated. Numerous wall plaques, commemorative murals, exhibitions and gardens of remembrance dedicated to Republicans and Loyalists, have mushroomed in the last decade, and the sheer number of memory sites is formidable. Commemoration is thus a most important public activity for Loyalist and Republican groups. these memory sites serve not simply as graphic reminders of Republican or Loyalist presence on the streets, but also act as focal points for ritual displays and parades. These ritual commemorative events are commonplace, and form a complex local calendar of socio-political activity, but remain relatively un-investigated, and receive only fitful attention in the mainstream local media.

The research paper will compare Ulster Loyalist and Irish Republican uses of commemoration, and examine how, in remembering their recent paramilitary dead and connecting these to past conflicts, they are engaging in a diligent demonstration of political continuity and historical legitimacy aimed at creating 'master narratives'. In a post conflict setting, this has been of particular importance in reassuring doubters and deflecting political attacks. The paper will examine how Irish Republicans and Ulster Loyalists use memory work to assist the maintenance of social cohesion with the host community, to facilitate the 'rededication' and 'reinvigoration' of their political project, and counter-intuitively, to *transform* it as well. The paper will demonstrate that memory work by perceived 'ultras' can act as a steadying ballast, and not as a hindrance, in conflict transformation.

This research is based on extensive participant observation of Republican and Loyalist commemorative activity, studies of their memorial material culture, including museums and selected interviews with Republicans and Loyalists engaged in commemorative activity. The paper will be accompanied by power point slides showing the ritual activity and visual culture associated with these forms of memory work.

Untold Stories: Unionist Remembrance of Political Violence and Suffering in Northern Ireland

Kirk Simpson
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

One of the core socio-political and cultural aspects of unionist discourse in Northern Ireland is the need to foster and protect a sense of legitimate grievance in respect of the killings and injuries of innocent Protestant civilians by the Provisional Irish Republican Army during the conflict of 1969–1998. This paper uses illustrative examples to analyse the ways in which unionists narrate, remember, and attempt to politicise suffering in contemporary post-conflict Northern Ireland. Based on extensive and original ethnographic research, it illuminates the ways in which many unionists feel that the stories of those in their community who were assassinated or attacked by Irish republican paramilitaries have remained untold, silenced by their political opponents, and ignored by both their fellow British citizens and successive British administrations. Unless the issue of unionist victimhood is handled sensitively, this will present a significant impediment to the prospects for effectively dealing with the past in Northern Ireland.

Redefining Collective Aggression: Memory and the Role of Irish America in the Northern Ireland Peace Process

Martin Russell
University College Dublin (Ireland)

The interplay of political violence and collective aggression is dependent on a wide range of cultural processes. These vary from the symbolic act of violence to the reception of such acts in the public domain. This paper will argue that the mediation of political violence in Irish-America during the

Northern Ireland peace process represents a paradigm which illustrates a cultural transformation of the relationship between political violence and collective aggression. It will focus on the politics of memory as the foundational process in this transformation. The paper will be focused on defining and assessing the cultural processes within memory which facilitated such transformations. This will include an assessment of how the past is interpreted in order to facilitate future change. Such analysis will be based on key theoretical concerns such as rhetoric. It will examine how the evolution of strategic approaches to political violence in Northern Ireland enabled Irish America to redefine collective aggression into a diplomatic model. It is in this context that the paper will examine the shifting relationship between the individual and collective. It will underpin earlier analysis in a detailed assessment of how Irish-America became a collective entity, and subsequently operated in the Northern Ireland peace process. Given recent events in Northern Ireland and the rise of paramilitary activity, the presentation will offer a comparative context to the role of memory in the Northern Ireland peace process and the role of memory in the current climate. The paper will conclude with a commentary focusing on the lessons which can be learned from the cultural transformation of political violence and collective aggression due to the role of memory and Irish-America in the Northern Ireland peace process, and how these lessons have ultimately redefined collective aggression.

- **Panel F:**   **Peacemaking, Reconciliation and Coming to Terms with the Past**

Terrorist De-Radicalization as Peacemaking: A Theoretical Evaluation of Terrorist De-Radicalization in Southeast Asia

Joshua Hill and Daniel Mabrey
Sam Houston State University (USA)

Approaches to stopping terrorism have ranged from direct military engagement to incorporating extremist groups into national politics. One of the more recent approaches however, has been the attempt to de-radicalize terrorists, specifically Islamic extremists, through discussion with respected clerics from their own tradition. While the approach has had qualified success, it still lacks a significant theoretical backing. This

paper examines terrorist de-radicalization through the lens of peacemaking criminology, arguing that de-radicalization can be enhanced through the explicit adoption of the peacemaking approach. It focuses on several terrorist de-radicalization programs currently underway in Southeast Asia. Application of the approach is considered in other contexts and ways forward are recommended.

The Politics of Reconciliation for Rwanda and the ICTR
Eugene McNamee
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

For most commentators on the Rwandan genocide, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) process merits little more than passing comment. For most legal commentators the processes of the ICTR are looked at in isolation from the specific context of the genocide in Rwanda, the events being seen as already 'captured' by law because of the existence of the 1948 Genocide Convention. Yet the idea of 'reconciliation' which lies at the heart of the justification for the legal process is specifically political, and has a contemporary resonance now which didn't exist in 1948. Had this notion of reconciliation following justice remained as simply an expression of hope, there would be little to argue with in prosecuting crimes with that sentiment. Reading many of the documents that relate to the Tribunal, however, it is striking how prominent is the notion of reconciliation, to the extent that the goal of reconciliation seems to be leading the process rather than (hopefully) following criminal justice.

This paper proceeds on the basis that to assess the value of the ICTR a certain degree of inter-disciplinarity between law, history and politics is necessary. One result of this is to allow for more specific attention to the particular features of the Rwandan genocide and for a critique of the processes of the ICTR on this basis. A second is to allow for critical attention to the development of international criminal law on the basis of the more general question of whether a 'one size fits all' approach is really the most productive approach for the future, or whether all such future legal processes will have to be tailored to the circumstances which give rise to them; in short that the future of international law lies in recognising its own political nature.

The Public and Private Experience of Violence and Women's Exclusion in Post-Conflict Timor-Leste

Aisling Swaine
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

Timor-Leste, a newly independent state, is grappling with the legacy of a complex and extended history of multiple episodes of political violence and occupation. Colonisation by the Portuguese took place in the 16th century, followed by a brief period of Japanese occupation during World War II. An unplanned and hasty withdrawal by the Portuguese in 1974 resulted in a period of intra-Timorese political conflict and a declaration of independence. Indonesia attacked and annexed the half-island in 1975 and that occupation was characterised by the torture and brutality of the Timorese population, and sparked a 25 year organised armed Timorese resistance. The withdrawal of Indonesian troops from Timor-Leste, following a referendum resulting in independence in 1999, involved a violent and protracted process. Indonesian tactics included a scorched earth campaign, the kidnapping of women for sexual abuse and slavery, mass killing and forced movement of communities and terrorisation of the displaced within camps in West Timor by Indonesia's proxy Timorese militia.

Throughout these phases of occupation and violence, Timorese women were targeted for specific abuses, particularly in 1999, while they also organised and played a central role in the success of the resistance movement. A deeply rooted patriarchal Timorese social-cultural system, combined with the imposition of international models of transition post-1999, resulted in the suppression of women's concerns within the agenda of the resistance movement, a lack of recognition of women's pivotal role during the occupations, and questionable attention to gender issues within the structures employed during transition to deal with the abuses of the past. More recently, the women's movement has focused on influencing and shaping a present and future that overcomes the legacies of the past. This paper will provide an overview of women's experience of both public and private forms of violence in the Timorese conflict and post-conflict context. It will then examine whether the transitional justice processes employed in Timor-Leste have adequately addressed women's

interests and supported women to play a role in constructing the future or whether the exclusion of women's concerns has continued and been perpetuated within the transition context.

• KEYNOTE SPEECH

Poppies and Terrorism: In Search of Effective Policies for Conflict De-escalation and Resolution in Afghanistan
Saideh Lotfian
University of Tehran (Iran)

The twin goals of the paper are to discuss the underlying causes of the protracted conflict in Afghanistan, and to recommend policies for its termination. The author raises four questions about this destabilizing conflict: What are the socio-economic factors influencing Afghan political violence? Could Taliban extremism be stopped? To what extent have the external actors contributed to the conflict in Afghanistan? How can we bring peace to this war-torn country? The main conclusion is that the failure to contain the spread of violence and terrorism in this region will have far-reaching security implications for the rest of the world. Sustainable peace in Afghanistan could be achieved by eliminating the economic causes of conflict and ensuring political justice.

• Panel G: Interface Areas in Northern Ireland

Should the Barriers Come Down?
Jonny Byrne
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

Physical barriers such as walls and fences have been employed by countries locally and internationally primarily as a response to communal violence and disorder, threats of terrorism, drug smuggling and immigration for thousands of years. Belfast will be the central focus of this paper, a city which has long been synonymous with walls and barricades as a direct consequence of the 'Troubles'. Originally, the barricades or Peacelines as they are more frequently referred to were first constructed in 1969 as a response to increased community and political violence. They have

multiplied in number over the years, with paradoxically a significant number being introduced after the paramilitary ceasefires and political agreements. The most recent was constructed in an integrated primary school in 2008. It seems the Peacelines have become part of the normal and accepted range of public policy and security interventions which can be considered as a response to communal violence and disorder in Northern Ireland

Although Northern Ireland has undergone significant social, economic and political changes in the last decade, the continued existence of the physical lines of demarcation illustrates the fact that segregation continues and relationships are defined by insecurity, threat and anxiety. Therefore, what if anything should become of the Peacelines? This paper will examine whether they serve to perpetuate and entrench cultural identities and traditions, and prevent the final resolution of the conflict, or whether they are an inevitable price of the conflict, mechanisms of security and safety that have become normalised within local environments and indirectly facilitate an acceptance of non-engagement and continued segregation. One must understand the context and role of the Peacelines now, so as to determine the processes required and techniques to employ if the conversation around their transformation, regeneration, and, dare I say it, 'possible removal,' is to begin.

Interface areas in Belfast: Community Empowerment as a Method of Moving Away from Violence and Disorder
Brénainn Brunton
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

The political boundaries that separate communities in Belfast appear in both physical and mental forms. These boundaries create interfaces where the edges of the two communities meet. The physical barriers are situated in the most violent areas for the protection of both sides (Catholic and Protestant) and are designed to quell ethno-sectarian attitudes and practices. However this is often not the case. Shirlow and Murtagh describe interfaces as, "…sites that become the most notable places of violence and resistance." (2006: 58) These so called 'peace lines' are anything but peaceful, and the wall itself often becomes the spatial

representation of the ethnic-other, a culturally opposed immediate community. Intolerance, fear and mistrust fan the flames of ethno-sectarianism and this, fused with the ethos of masculinity, frames the marking of political boundaries in interface areas. This politicising of space feeds the fears held by communities and can lead to more segregated living spaces and, as neither side wants to be seen to concede any ground, aggressive and violent behaviour may be tolerated and even justified as 'defending our area'.

This study examines the role territoriality plays in maintaining segregation in Belfast and the many different factors that enable and encourage a territorial mindset in divided communities. Recent intra-community and inter-community initiatives in interface areas are examined, to identify where possible progress could be made in breaking down both physical and mental barriers that maintain the division and enable the violence and disorder to occur. The interface area of Suffolk and Lenadoon, in South West Belfast, has been used as a case study, with the Suffolk and Lenadoon Interface Group's (SLIG) role in regenerating an interface area both socially and economically discussed. The groups are supported and advised by an organisation outside of government, called Atlantic Philanthropies, which makes them and their situation unique. The group's cross community work, encompassing shared space, shared facilities and shared activities, is examined. The research explores the effectiveness of community empowerment in an interface community, through working under this less restrictive setting, as a process for breaking-down mechanisms of territoriality, and moving away from violence and disorder.

Facebook: Facing Back or Facing Forward? Northern Irish Interface Groups and Web 2.0
Paul Reilly
University of Glasgow (Scotland)

Cyber enthusiasts as far back as Giddens (1995) have suggested that information and communication technologies (ICTs) might facilitate a positive spiral of communication between rival ethnic communities, thus ameliorating social conflict. Authors such as Dahlgren (2000) and Wellman (2004) assert that Internet forms of communication may create arenas for

public debate that are not present in the real world. However, a more sceptical view of the dialogic potential of the Internet is provided by Chadwick (2006), who asserts that the Internet is both 'increasing and decreasing social capital and opportunities for political participation' (p.112). Recent ICT developments, collectively dubbed Web 2.0, have aroused renewed interest in this suggestion in the light of their emphasis on user-generated content. O'Reilly (2005) characterises Web 2.0 as a Habermasian public sphere in which 'bottom-up' communication is facilitated by both blogs and social networking websites. Drezner and Farrell (2004) argue that the network structure of the blogosphere allows interesting ideas to 'bubble up' to focal point blogs. Conversely, authors such as Froomkin (2003) and Sunstein (2007) suggest that blogs may accelerate existing trends of cyberbalkanisation, with bloggers likely to read the opinions of like-minded activists and little else. The paper presents an analysis of both the framing and functionality of Web 2.0 pages dedicated to interface communities in Northern Ireland. It will analyse whether young people, who live in close proximity to sectarian interfaces, are using Web 2.0 to inform both their political decision-making and their opinions of the 'other' community. The study will also determine whether the 'competition of victimhood' visible on the websites of residents' groups is replicated on Web 2.0 (See Reilly 2008). The study will analyse how interface conflict is represented on the social networking profiles of people who live in close proximity to sectarian interfaces, and those of their supporters. In doing so, this paper represents the first empirical research into how Web 2.0 shapes politics during a period of conflict transformation.

- **Panel H: Representations of Political Violence and Collective Aggression**

Masking Visual Persistence in Media Warfare: Digitality, Icon Value and Iconic Storage
Steven John Thompson
Clemson University (USA)

While subliminal messaging is most consciously eschewed in the advertising industry as an unethical manipulation, the process has always been an integral covert operation of warfare. Through the speed

of instantaneity and exponential strength, digital media messages are an ideal communication medium for masking during times of war. Ethical considerations regarding appropriateness of masking global media messages are daring, yet it is reality that every terrorist message is designed to impact the cognitive receiver, as a weapon raises the bar for calculated alternative response, deliberately designing a method for abatement of audience impact.

Inherent rhetorical ambiguities of mediated singular terrorist constructs are multi-faceted: there is the message for sympathizers, the message for the terrified, and the overall global message of the event as terrorism. Since these are destructive devices which render a terrorist message a media event -- and the moment is ubiquitously carried across digital channels at the speed of light, mechanically reproduced without exhaustion, and ultimately stored in collective memory -- iconic memory may have a more advanced role in this process than expected.

While Sperling's initial experiment variables are problematic partly because of their unnatural laboratory environment (Haber, 1985), they lack an additional critical variable today: that of importance for icon value. Iconic memory moments or visual persistence -- especially when content is immediately perceived as having deep, revered meaning or may border on personally absorbed offense or injustice -- may somehow evolve iconic storage or trigger sensory mechanisms that allow for rapid identification and immediate transfer to permanent storage.

This research suggests a new value for the icon (Loftus, 1985) as digital, considers strategies for masks possibly terminating the icon (Smithson and Mollon, 2006), and discusses iconic storage phenomena. It proposes practical ethical logistics that global media may use to leverage psychosocial impact of terrorist messaging for intended audiences.

The Gendered Nature of Collective Aggression in Female-Authored Drama of "Troubles" Inspired Drama
Brenda Liddy
Northern Regional College (Northern Ireland)

Few modern wars have lasted as long as the tit for tat Troubles that plagued

Northern Ireland for over 30 years. This mayhem became immediate material for poetry: Frank Ormsby decried "door-step murders" as a "a way of life"; Ciaran Carson rejected the horror of being spread-eagled against a wall and cross questioned in the place he called "home". The besieged population even welcomed the translation of their experiences into poetry. The Wearing of the Black, a volume about the Troubles by Padraic Fiacc, became a best seller in the early 1970s, a rare fate for poetry anywhere. The poets, however, did not find their gift, were not galvanised into writing, as a result of the violence. Mostly they had been writing before a shot was fired.

Rather it was drama that ushered in new voices that would probably otherwise have remained mute, that enticed untried and untested laity to have a go at re-enacting before an audience the weird world that had closed in all around them. Christina Reid, Marie Jones, Anne Devlin hit on bombings, bereavements, revenge, midnight house searches, as the stuff of theatre. They set about portraying on stage the endemic domestic and community repercussions that were the underside of the debacle. They highlighted the unsung role women played in bringing a semblance of normality to a highly abnormal situation.

The curious thing was that, while terrorist incidents took place in pockets all over the province, with epicenters in Derry, at first, and continuously in South Armagh, it was Belfast that attracted the imaginations of these new authors, who found prolific subject matter in its strife-torn loyalist and republican areas. Equally curious was the pre-eminence of women among the playwrights. It has been said that if all the volumes written about the Northern Ireland situation were placed side by side, they could reach right round the world. But most of these, even when written by journalists, were produced by men, just as the poets too tended to be male. Marie Jones, Anne Devlin and Christina Reid breached this male stranglehold, energetically honing into an area that the spotlight had ignored: the domestic angst, the ruined relationships resulting from the public fracas. Now they report, wryly and ironically, from the home front. They advocate peace. The big departure is that their agenda is emphatically feminist.

Political Memoir, Biography and the Memory of Loyalist Paramilitary Violence in Northern Ireland

Stephen Hopkins
University of Leicester (England)

This paper will analyse the political memoirs and auto/biographical reflections of erstwhile loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland during the Troubles (1960s-1990s), in order to investigate their contemporary interpretations of the violent conflict, and to interrogate their motivations both for the use of violence, and the publication of their memories of such violence. The argument of this paper is predicated on the belief that Northern Ireland's perceived movement towards a 'post-conflict' phase has given fresh impetus to the long-established tradition of political auto/biography associated with the historical development of Anglo-Irish relations. Many protagonists or ex-protagonists of the 'Troubles' now feel the time is ripe to tell their 'stories' to a wider public, to explain their motivations, and to try and shape the debate over the rights and wrongs of the conflict.

There are a number of political and methodological issues involved in this recent spate of publication, and this paper seeks to link the specific study of Loyalist/Protestant auto/biographical writing, with broader themes concerning the debate over how to remember or commemorate various aspects of the conflict. The paper analyses Protestant Paramilitary reconstructions and representations of the conflict, as evinced through recent auto/biographical writings. The authors/subjects that would be examined include Roy Garland's biography of Gusty Spence (Blackstaff Press, 2001), Henry Sinnerton's biography of David Ervine (Brandon, 2002), Michael Stone's autobiography (John Blake, 2003), David Lister and Hugh Jordan's biography of Johnny Adair (Mainstream, 2003) and Adair's own autobiography (2007).

It is possible that (ex-) protagonists have used these publications to engage in self-critical reappraisal of previous commitments and actions, but perhaps it is more likely that writing in this genre and at this juncture is likely to involve a large measure of self-justification. The auto/biographical design may well, in this event, represent a proxy weapon in an ongoing ideological struggle. In interpreting political auto/biography in the Northern Irish

context, therefore, we need to be mindful of what Roy Foster has described as 'the deliberate gap in the narrative: the momentous elision, the leap in the story.' Auto/biographical writing may have a significant role to play in contemporary political discourse in Northern Ireland, by providing an opportunity for individual narratives to be told in their entirety, retaining their integrity. They may also provide a symbolic, collective and communal element to this process of 'truth-telling'. However, as these examples of Loyalist/Protestant auto/biography demonstrate, the lacunae or gaps that often characterise these stories make this process complex and uncertain, especially where there is still no public consensus about the essential causes of conflict.

- **Panel I: Terrorism and Political Violence in Europe – Old and New**

The Independent State of Croatia (1947-1945) and Terrorism: Croatian Ustaše
Anita Blagojević
University of J.J. Strossmayer in Osijek (Croatia)

The way the Ustaše (often spelled Ustashe in English; singular: Ustaša), Croatian right-wing organisation based on secrecy and rigorous discipline, imagined the Croatian nation and the Croatian state has received litlle attention from research, perhaps because they centred just on the Ustaša's attemp to establish, for the first time in modern history, an independent state, which is represented as the main Ustaša aim. The other principal Ustaša aim, howewer, was to simultaneously remove the ethnic, racial and religious minorities that the Ustaše concidered a threat to the organic unity of the Croatian nation, including some Communist Croats. At the time of their founding in 1929, the Ustaše were a nationalist political organisation that committed terrorist acts. When they come to power in World War II, they had military formations (Ustaška vojnica/Ustaša Army) and they founded several concentration camps, the most notorious of which was the Jasenovac complex. The basis for the system of political terror, which included mass arrests, deportations and physical extermination of the Serbian, Jewish and Roma minorities, was the Legal provision for the defence of nation and state from 17 April 1941.

Shadows of Communism: Legal and Illegal, Naked and Symbolic – Types of Violence Used by Military Intelligence Services in Poland
Anna Maria Grabowska and Mateusz Trawiński
Nicolas Copernicus University (Poland)

In 2006 the Polish army intelligence - Military Information Services (hereafter WSI) -was liquidated. On February 17th, 2007 president Lech Kaczyński, by revealing the verification report, informed public opinion about actions taken by the WSI during its existence between 1991 and 2006. The classical Weberian definition of state says that it has a monopoly to use legal violence. Police, army and the secret service are institutions present in every modern state, both democratic or non-democratic, that has the right to perform it. WSI was not an exception here. The aim of our presentation will be to show the influence of illegal violence used by the WSI on polish economy, politics and society. Based on the revealed report, interviews with the members of the Verification Commission, and WSI soldiers, we will mange to show that fact.

The WSI case is important because of at least three reasons: First, there are cases of using naked violence by the WSI agents that had a crucial impact on several spheres of social life. Cases such as infiltrating political opposition that took place in the 90s, illegal weapons selling, and connections of some officers with the Polish mafia, are those that should be investigated. Second, there are cases where WSI tried to make use of symbolic violence by placing their agents in media as journalists and other employees. The concept of symbolic violence is an important factor, as the media were very critical about the liquidation of WSI. This resulted in public opinion that had a sceptical view on the liquidation process. Third, the case of WSI shows not only the problems of the Polish secret service. Many cases show that the process of institutionalization or functionalization of pathologies in the field of secret service that took place in Poland is quite universal for all post-communist countries in Eastern Europe.

Role of Discourse in the Perpetuation of Political Violence: A Case of Spanish Basque Country

Asta Maskaliunaite
Baltic Defence College (Estonia)

Envisioning a violent conflict one tends to think about the "physical" aspects of the issue, focusing on the powerful images of destruction, lost lives, chaos and mayhem. However, what is often overlooked is that the language used to interpret such situations can play as important a role in perpetuation or ending the conflict, as these images themselves. The Spanish Basque Country is a good example here. Sides involved have completely different perceptions of what is at stake and a different language to express them. For the Basque political forces, for example, there is a political conflict resulting in violence. For the Spanish side, there is no conflict, but a problem, which is violence.

These different understandings have roots in the fundamental disagreements over the nature of the nation and the state. Rigid frames created around these concepts on both sides make a communication between them very difficult and position the discourse itself as one of the fundamental elements of a conflict. It is through discourse that the "cultural violence", as described by Galtung, takes place. It is thus by analyzing the discourse and the frames that are used to justify the killing, by analyzing the resonance of these frames in some parts of the population, that the violent conflict and its future can well be assessed.

Mobilizing Activism: A Comparative Analysis of the Contemporary Right-Wing Extremists and Islamists in Germany

Ali Hedayet
IMT Lucca (Italy)

My paper will look at the meso-level and focus on two extremist groups, the Islamist movement and the Right Extremist movement in Germany. Separately, both have been extensively investigated, but a comparative work is hard to find. My paper will investigate which dynamics, mechanisms and mobilizing resources both movements possess when recruiting and radicalizing young members.

Their common enemy perceptions find their roots in the fascist ideologies of the Twentieth Century. In particular, these movements share hatred against a corrupt, pluralized, globalized and cosmopolitan society. They share a utopian future with the acceptance of or even enthusiasm for the caliphate or the dictatorship. Finally, a very important common feature is a strong anti-Semitism.

Some of the young militant activists are well-educated and come from a prosperous background. Many others come from an isolated socio-cultural environment. Especially among the latter, violence is regarded as a key to solidarity. During the recruitment process, religious or national identities are instruments which are used to shape a pattern of violence. This process usually takes place in Islamic Student centers or religious schools - "Madrasas" - for the Islamist movements and in Kameradschaften for the right extremist ones.

Disintegrative theories are helpful to explain the social interactions of German right extremists, but they describe less about dynamics, mechanisms and mobilizing resources characterizing both movements. One approach to the understanding of both movements is the resource mobilizing theory, "RMT". Its functional approach includes militant dynamics, mobilizing processes and the internal organization.

Methodologically, my analysis is based on a qualitative comparative research, involving documentary and discursive analyses to illustrate radicalization processes. When possible, I will rely on qualitative interviews. I will also employ secondary sources, existing literature and official documents from political and institutional authorities.

• Panel J: Not Quite Peace in Northern Ireland

Waging War through Non-Violent Means: Memorials and the Perpetuation of Division in Ethnic-Conflict
Sara McDowell
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

This paper considers the role that physical memorialisation plays in

perpetuating or exacerbating ethnic conflict. It explores the ways in which paramilitary groups or guerrilla organisations acting on (or professing to act on) behalf of minorities use non-violent spatial practices such as memorialisation to contest the territorial boundaries of the 'other' and renegotiate their own. Within ethnic conflict where territory is fiercely contested, memorialisation has the specific capacity to extend the parameters of conflict and division constituting a form of symbolic ideological warfare. As an expression of territoriality, memory-work orchestrated by such organisations is employed to foster internal cohesion and demarcate boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. While in itself memorialisation is a non-violent practice, it can clearly celebrate violence and underscore claims to its legitimacy in the pursuit of political goals. Drawing on examples from Northern Ireland which has recently emerged from three decades of conflict; Sri Lanka which has, of late, returned to violence following six years of a very volatile and tentative peace, and Israel-Palestine which has entered yet another round of peace negotiations, this paper works towards a more thorough understanding of the materiality of conflict and the centrality of memory to ethnic violence.

Strategic Terrorism and Signalling: Implications of a Strategic Analysis of Loyalist Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland

Lyndsey Harris
Birmingham City University (England)

Approaches to the understanding of Loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland habitually originate from the sociological or psychological disciplines. Whilst these methodologies have made significant steps in addressing the limited material available on the military dimension of the Northern Ireland conflict, there is a need for a re-interpretation of Loyalist activity – one that employs a synthetic method. This paper will draw from empirical data gathered from the author's completed doctoral thesis entitled, 'A Strategic Analysis of Loyalist Paramilitaries in Northern Ireland,' and offer an assessment of the campaign of strategic terrorism by Loyalist Terrorist Organisations. Specifically, this paper will outline the importance of understanding the value systems of any terrorist organisation highlighting the implications for successful post-conflict strategies.

They Still Haven't Gone Away You Know: Paramilitaries, 'Policing' and the PSNI

John Topping and Rachel Monaghan
University of Ulster (Northern Ireland)

As an enduring legacy of the conflict, paramilitary policing remains a fact of Northern Ireland's post-conflict landscape. While much attention has been devoted to the causes and consequences of paramilitarism, virtually no consideration has been given to the influence of such non-state policing upon the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). This paper will assess the impact of paramilitarism on the PSNI in terms of working with, and delivering a community-oriented service within Loyalist and Republican communities. Furthermore, the paper will explore some of the alternative modes of non-state security governance and the legitimating factors which perpetuate this parallel policing provision. Finally, it will be argued that as a unique feature of the conflict, the 'otherness' to security provision in the country, where legitimate and compliant with the rule of law, is an opportunity to be embraced in line with the Patten Report's vision of policing more broadly conceived.

Flagging Peace

Gordon Gillespie
Queen's University Belfast (Northern Ireland)

Northern Ireland has been subject to a peace process since the early 1990s culminating in the signing of the Multi-party Agreement in 1998. The agreement was an attempt, using a broadly consociational model, to manage the relationship between the Catholic/Nationalist Protestant/Unionist ethno-political communities. Throughout this process it has been recognized that the management of space, 'territory', is a key element of community relations. This paper explores the management of public space through symbols and rituals in a context where mutually exclusive claims previously predominated. The paper will concentrate specifically upon the use of flags too demarcate public space. It will utilize three years of survey research to explore how flags have been used to sustain elements of territorial control and the consequent responses by the state.

- **KEYNOTE SPEECH**

Terrorized into Terrorist:
The Psychology, Theology and Politics of Violence
Rona M. Fields
Consultant and Clinical Psychologist (USA)

Societies and the individuals that comprise them engage in violence--of which terrorism is one manifestation when segments of the population are marginalized and oppressed. Subsequently replacing extra-judiciary systems with the rule of law may put an end to or diminish terrorism per se. However, it does not treat and rehabilitate the individuals who are the political actors. There are many different paradigms and cultural manifestations of the unjust society that erupt into terrorism but in the end, without attending to the psychological and social inequities and treating the psychological, medical and social pathologies, sectarianism--the seedbed for terrorism-- spawns ever new variations of terrorism.

- **POSTER SESSION**

Psychological Terrorism in the Basque Country:
A Psychosocial Analysis of its Strategies and Effects
Javier Martin-Peña, Álvaro Rodríguez-Carballeira, Jordi Escartín and Clara Porrúa
University of Barcelona (Spain)

Keywords: Terrorism, political violence, harassment, psychological violence

The ETA network in Spain's Basque region is the last active terrorist insurgency group in Western Europe. From the strategy termed by ETA as *socialization of suffering,* approach to violence has changed over time in a variety of ways: group structure, types of violence, and target selection. This has resulted in violence grounded in the harassment of targets and lasting psychosocial consequences for them and for influence to the society. This kind of violence, reinforced with some murders can include threats, intimidation, insults, or extortion, among others. It does not always cause

injuries and death, but however it can inflict deep and lasting psychosocial consequences over the victims. This study delimits and analyzes both the strategies of harassment and psychological violence as the derived consequences perpetrated by ETA terrorist network in the Basque Country.

The obtained results, first, consist in two categorizations of the mentioned strategies and consequences of psychological violence, respectively. These categories include the psychosocial dimension on context, emotions, cognition and behavioural aspects. Secondly, a sample of testimonies was coded in the categorizations, using the content analysis technique. The psychological violence analyzed in this study reflects a form of psychological terrorism which persecutes a specific sector of the population. Resulting practical implications are focused on facilitation in order to make de-legitimizing the violence.

Violent Youth: The Influence of Community Violence, Parental Supervision and Neighbourhood Disorganisation on Juvenile Violent Offending

Kareena McAloney, Patrick McCrystal and Andrew Percy
Queen's University Belfast (Northern Ireland)

Violent crime is increasingly prevalent among young people, and has been linked to characteristics of both the physical and social environment. In this analysis of a the fifth year of the Belfast Youth Development Study (BYDS) the prevalence of violent offending is examined for a sample of 3828 young people (aged 15 – 16 years) and associations with exposure to community violence, parental supervision and neighbourhood on violent offending investigated. Over two fifths of all young people had committed at least one violent offence, and one fifth report violently offending three or more times. Violent offending was associated with exposure to community violence, neighbourhood deprivation and participation in unsupervised, unstructured leisure activities outside the family home. The findings suggest that both the physical and social environment experienced by young people may play a key role in the development of violent criminality.

- **Panel K: Understanding the Causes of Terrorism: Does it Work?**

An Integrated Criminological Strain Approach to the Causation of Terrorism

Amanda M. Sharp Parker
University of South Florida (USA)

Criminology has much to contribute to the study of terrorism, but few studies have applied criminological theory to examine the causation of terrorism. Furthermore, terrorism is an extremely complex problem that cannot be explained at simply one level of analysis. This paper will propose an integrated theory of terrorism examining terrorism at both the individual and societal levels. The suggested criminological theory will propose the integration of General Strain Theory (micro) with Institutional Anomie Theory (macro), to offer a more complete explanation of the terrorism phenomenon. Both strengths and weaknesses of the application of criminological theory and the integration of General Strain with Institutional Anomie will be examined.

What Works Best for the Terrorist: Terror-ism or Anger-ism?

Charles Knight
Queensland University of Technology (Australia)

How do terrorist actions translate to political results? What strategies appear to deliver intended effects, and in what circumstances? To what extent do societal responses inadvertently deliver benefits? What role does emotional reaction play? These are important questions if society is to respond appropriately to terrorism and similar attacks.

The term 'terrorism' infers a functional centrality of fear in such political violence. This is misleading. 'Terror' of violence may change the behaviour of a constituency who are themselves vulnerable as a physical target, as in the case of ethnic cleansing. However, fear has doubtful value in directly coercing a major decision from political leaders reasonably protected from attack. Without the power to militarily compel, inflicting 'grievous injury' is likely to generate *anger* and build resistance, as the

strategic bombing campaigns of WW2 show. The record suggests that 'terrorist success' in coercing political decisions is associated with pragmatic cost-benefit decisions in the longer term. 'Costs' in security resources and constraints on individual and community behaviour can lead to exhaustion that outweighs the need to punish the violent actors. It seems plausible that rather than 'terror' it is the induction of *anger* that is the politically productive emotion, as it leads to escalatory responses, increasing costs and growing resistance. Perhaps 'angerism' would better describe instrumental political terrorism that coerces political payoff.

This paper proposes several theoretical models to explore the payoff of coercive political violence. McCormicks counterinsurgency model of population support is adapted to highlight the value of reaction. The cost-effectiveness of such 'reverberative' violence is then located on a spectrum of payoff directness. A political influence model shows a mechanism linking this violence with political change. These models are then used to inform a review of 150 terrorist campaigns since ancient times which categorises context, mechanisms and consequences and offers preliminary findings.

'Successful Terrorism': What is it and how can it be defined
Sarah Marsden
University of St. Andrews (Scotland)

The profile of terrorism is growing along with its lethality. Therefore, identifying what constitutes success in the mind of the terrorist, and those countering them, is of crucial importance in analysing and informing engagement with the phenomena. This is highlighted by an increasing demand for metrics to assess the efficacy of approaches to political violence in the political realm. This paper will begin by discussing what 'success' means for terrorists, their constituencies and counter-terrorists. Consideration will then be given to ways of identifying and quantifying those factors, of encompassing objective and subjective approaches. This will hopefully provide a foothold in the spectrum of political violence, with a focus on terrorism, which facilitates a rigorous engagement with the concept and measurement of 'success'. The aim will be to highlight the importance of assessing engagement with terrorism and political violence;

to provide an outline of the current state of the knowledge; to propose measures for measuring success, and to promote discussion on the most appropriate and informed routes to academic investigation. Discussion of the implications of this approach will include the political, social and academic realms. This paper will draw on the speaker's background in Psychology and International Relations to provide a wide-ranging approach to the issue, informed by current debates in these fields and the wider political sphere.

- **Panel L:**   **Some Considerations in Countering Terrorism and Political Violence**

Nationalism, Terrorist Threat and Counter-Terrorism Strategies

Maciej Sekerdej
Lisbon University Institute (Portugal)
Malgorzata Kossowska
Jagiellonian University (Poland)

The paper addresses the role which national attitudes play in the perception of terrorist threat and in preference for specific counterterrorism strategies. Study 1 shows that participants higher on nationalism tend to perceive terrorism threat as more serious, particularly in its symbolic and personal dimensions, than participants lower on nationalism. Moreover, we found that nationalism mediates the relationship between perception of personal threat and the support for tough, domestic policy, even at the expense of some limitation of civil liberties. Study 2 confirms the link between perception of personal threat and support suspension of civil liberties. Nevertheless, it turned out that when terrorism is seen in terms of crime rather than in terms of war, the mediating role of nationalism disappears. The results contribute to a better understanding of the process whereby the perception of one's own national group and one's own nation/state may translate into reactions triggered by external threats.

Leaving Iraq, Imagining the Future – Is there a Way for the US to Make it Better?

Marcia Byrom Hartwell
University of Oxford (England)/US Army

That the United States invasion and occupation of Iraq has been a disaster for both is now old and mostly uncontested news. As the US Army prepares to withdraw, and global media attention shifts toward bloodier conflicts, new challenges arise for a military determined to fix what they did wrong. While this is an honorable approach, the question remains – can they rectify past mistakes? If so, how?

This paper proposes to examine the intent of an increasingly enlightened US military led by a new and enlightened President that many troops helped vote into power. The Army 1st Corps, based in Fort Lewis, Washington, has now replaced the 18th Airborne from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, as the de facto 'peacekeeping mission' MNC-I (Multi National Corps-Iraq) determined to lead the withdrawal from Iraq with diplomacy, support, and grace.

This paper will address whether or not a military force that was a primary catalyst for Iraq's sectarian destruction can now help it thrive in the aftermath. This and related questions are analyzed through the lens of a social scientist, working with the Army in Iraq to help address key issues related to political violence in a more sensitive and nuanced manner. This analysis, building upon earlier interdisciplinary research and fieldwork on perceptions of justice, identity, political processes of forgiveness and revenge in early post-conflict transitions in Northern Ireland, Serbia, and South Africa, will describe the earliest processes of the US military in leaving Iraq, and examine a preliminary prognosis for the country's future.

Illicit Trade and its Relationship with International Security

Natividad Carpintero-Santamaría
Polytechnic University of Madrid (Spain)

Illicit trade has developed in a big scope of areas, some of them representing an increasing important role in strategic terms for international security.

This paper will analyze some aspects of illicit trade on:

- Small arms and light weapons which has become a problem in several countries, thus contributing to violence, interethnic conflicts and social disintegration. This illegal practice is being faced by legitimate governments which are intensifying cooperation among their security forces, both in a regional and international context.

- Radioactive materials smuggling will also be considered. This traffic is presently a reason of concern for governments and international organizations, such as the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency, which contemplate the possibility that this nuclear material could fall in the hands of terrorist organizations.

With the end of the Cold War new challenges have emerged for international security. Some war conflicts have resulted in social deterioration and violence that are in turn a direct frame for the abovementioned illicit activities.

- **Symposium IV: Shaping the Future by Remembering the Past**

Convenor: *Gavin J. Fairbairn* (Leeds Metropolitan University)

Participants: *Seidu Alidu*
Ayeray Medina Bustos
Gavin J. Fairbairn
Dave Webb

The symposium includes three closely related papers. Each addresses ways in which, following periods of oppression and political violence, reflecting on the past can contribute to the building of a new future.

Can we have Reconciliation without Apology and Forgiveness?

Gavin J. Fairbairn and Dave Webb
Leeds Metropolitan University (England)

In this paper we look at the concept and practice of reconciliation, and in particular at the importance that is sometimes given to apology and forgiveness in the attempt to build a more positive future, following conflict. Both apology and forgiveness have the possibility of contributing to the healing of relationships, whether at a personal or a societal level. In this way they can contribute to the creation of a more positive future that takes account of the broken past. En route, we consider the importance, for apology, forgiveness and reconciliation following political violence, of the attempt to establish the truth, and what that might mean.

Representations of Truth and Reconciliation

Seidu Alidu, Dave Webb and Gavin J. Fairbairn
Leeds Metropolitan University (England)

The attempt to re-image the past and uncover the truth surrounding human rights abuses after violent conflicts and political dictatorships is one of the central roles of Truth Commissions. This, of course, is the reason why the word 'truth' is included in the designation of many of the commissions created to investigate past human rights abuses. Examples include South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Chile's National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation; and the Commission on the Truth for El-Salvador. Every violent conflict involves participants, with their own experiences and a range of perspectives. Attempts to re-image or represent certain events inevitably result in memories, emotions and prejudices becoming mixed, as perpetrators, victims and observers recall specific cases and many versions of the truth are expressed. In this paper we discuss the role that truth plays in the attempt to achieve reconciliation after political violence, through such mechanisms.

How can the Future be Imagined, when the Past is Struggling to Find Some Light?
Ayeray Medina Bustos
Leeds Metropolitan University (England)

In this paper I analyse a story from the time of the last coup d'état in Argentina, between 1976 and 1983. It is a personal story, in which I'm directly involved as a daughter, as a niece, as the child I was at that time and as the adult I am now. It is my mother's story, my aunt's story and my own story. The process of remembering is not easy. Re-opening old wounds brings anguish, and can be distressing. But recounting the past can provide a new version of a person's story by reconstructing their memory of the experience of violence and survival, thus enabling the reconstitution of their identity. Though it begins with personal stories, the paper links these to a discussion of ways in which society at large can be enabled to create shared memory and a better understanding of the past, in order that it can have the chance to build a more positive future.

- **Panel M:** **Explaining Political Violence and Collective Aggression from a Psychological and Behavioural Studies Perspective**

Women and War: Leadership and Outcomes
Sheila Pfafflin
Consultant (USA)

Psychological and behavioral studies relevant to societal expectations regarding women, war, and peace, will be reviewed, and evidence supporting or refuting these expectations will be presented. Examples of women's leadership in activities designed to reduce conflict and improve inter-groups relations in post-conflict societies will be examined for factors relevant to the origins and impact of such efforts. The importance of recognizing the gendered nature of war, and women's active participation in war and the after-effects of war, will be discussed, and the implications for women's roles in political violence and the aftermath of political violence will be considered, including implications for building stable and peaceful post-conflict societies.

Complex or Dangerous
Kinga Williams
Mensana Intercultural Psychological (England)

The talk sets out to explore what provides the persuasive power to various cultural world-views. Various cultures create their world-views by construing reality in particular ways, while rendering alternative world-views threatening. At times of danger (e.g. war, terrorism), world-views with a clear vision of an orderly world-structure (e.g. fundamentalism, communism) become increasingly attractive (Salzman 2006). It is suggested that their appeal is due to their simplicity. The presentation proposes that individual cognitive simplifications and socio-cognitive simplifications are very similar. Individuals under acute stress are well-known to resort to simplifying cognitions as a temporary labour-saving device to free up capacity – a process that results in cognitive errors. On a socio-cultural level the same tendency of cognitive simplification occurs, when the acute stress of increased mortality salience (e.g. Rosenblatt et al 1989) further amplifies the chronic, ultimate stress of mortality awareness (e.g. Greenberg et al 1997). The resulting socio-cognitive simplifications are as powerful as they are dangerous. Given that in the present cultural-political climate their appeal is on the increase, mindfulness of their workings is imperative.

- **Panel N:** **Conflict, Violence and the Role of Government/Other Actors**

Does Fair Government Engender Inter-National Conflict?
The Ironical Relationship between Intra-National Justice and Inter-National Justice
Tomohiro Kumagai
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National policy and international conflict is deeply mediated through two kinds of social justice. The one is the social justice within the nation (intra-national justice) that is related to the policy on tax, education, or employment, and the other is the social justice between nations (inter-national justice) that is related to war or international conflict. The

paper argues that these two types of social justice do not go together, rather they are in a dilemma. According to group value model by Lind and Tyler (1988), individuals feel respected when they are fairly treated within the group. This produces satisfaction with being in the group, thereby enhancing their identification with the group (Jackson and Smith, 1999). Further, the group identification intensifies ingroup favoritism. Individuals who have high ingroup favoritism would want to be evaluated more positively, thus they may tend to perceive that they are unfairly evaluated, and it would engender perceived intergroup injustice and international conflict. In this study, we examined this "Group-Justice dilemma" in the real life, using social survey data about Japan and China. We hypothesized that intra-national justice would enhance Japanese identification that enhances two types of ingroup favoritism: patriotism and nationalism, in which only nationalism would engender a sense of the international injustice, therefore, aggressive attitude against China. The results support the Group-Justice dilemma model, and also suggest that intra-national justice intensifies international conflict between Japan and China. Focusing on the differences between patriotism and nationalism, the psychological mechanism of Group-Justice dilemma and the ways to overcome it are discussed. Further, additional factors are examined to improve the model.

Lebanon: Post-War Reconstruction as Conflict by Other Means
Roger MacGinty
University of St. Andrews (Scotland)

This paper uses fieldwork on post-war reconstruction in Lebanon following the 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah war to frame reconstruction as a continuation and extension of conflict. In the case of Lebanon, the reconstruction conflict operates on three 'fronts': 1. Reconstruction as a symbol of continued resistance against Israel; 2. Reconstruction as part of the wider regional contest between western-oriented Sunni political interests versus anti-western (mainly Shia) political interests; and 3. Reconstruction as an extension of the confessional conflict within Lebanon.

The main focus of this paper is on the activities of Jihad al Bina (the reconstruction arm of Hezbollah) and the Waad initiative, a reconstruction

initiative in Beirut's southern suburbs and organised by Hezbollah. The paper will seek to explain the ways in which reconstruction is mobilised, justified, targeted and executed as an extension of conflict. The paper will conclude by conceptualising the meanings of 'reconstruction' given the competitive (even conflictual) nature associated with some post-war recovery activities.

• PROGRESS REPORT

Scientists and Human Rights: Joining Together to Stop Political Violence, Injustice, and Deprivation
Art Kendall
Capital Area Social Psychological Association (USA)

The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Science and Human Rights (SHR) office had a series of activities in honour of the 60th Anniversary of the United Nation's (UN) Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR and later documents are the basis of international law with regard to human rights. One of these activities was to bring together a steering committee of representatives from scientific societies to form a coalition for dealing with issues of science and human rights. Dr. Kendall was the representative from CASPA, the Capital Area Social Psychological Association.

Why us? Dr. Kendall will discuss how much that behavioural scientists interested in aggression, terrorism, and political violence do can be expressed in human rights vocabulary. **The Coalition.** He will discuss the Launch of the Coalition on January 14 to 16 2009. The Launch included many speakers Including Mary Robinson, the former President of Ireland and currently the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. He will also discuss the foundational documents of the Coalition. He will outline its purpose, guidelines, membership. ***The* Scientists *on Call System*.** In October of 2008, CASPA and the Washington Statistical Society sponsored an event to introduce the Scientists on Call system. AAAS provides an online system for physical, health, behavioural, and social scientists to volunteer to help with human rights activities. It also provides an online system for human rights activists to request scientific volunteers.

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of *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, a new journal that disseminates theoretical ideas and empirical research within the field of terrorism and political violence. Daniel received his PhD in Clinical Psychology from the New School for Social Research, New York City, and he also holds a MA degree in forensic psychology from John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City.

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recently submitted her thesis entitled 'The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the Post-9/11 Terrorism Crisis' and is currently awaiting her Viva. Her research interests include terrorism and counter-terrorism legislation in Northern Ireland and the UK, comparative peace processes and the politics of the UK and Ireland. Her recent publications include 'International Terrorism and Counterterrorist Legislation: The Case Study of Post-9/11 Northern Ireland', published in *Terrorism and Political Violence* in 2009 and 'Counter Terrorism and Civil Liberties: The United Kingdom Experience, 1968-2008' published in the *Journal of the Institute of Justice and International Studies* in 2008.

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Short bio: Benny is in his final year of study for his Ph.D. His research is concerned with examining how communities living in interface areas in Northern Ireland may become empowered through the regeneration of their areas socially and economically. He has presented his initial findings at a number of conferences and has undertaken teaching with the School of Criminology, Politics and Social Policy.

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Short bio: Jonny is just completing his first year of Ph.D. study. His research is focussing on the issue of peace walls in Northern Ireland. Prior to his return to study Jonny worked for the Institute of Conflict Research based in North Belfast where he was involved in a number of research projects. He has also undertaken some teaching in the School of Criminology, Politics and Social Policy.

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are cross-cultural psychological studies on decision making, complex problem solving, disaster management, and suicide terrorism. He recently developed a theoretical model explaining suicide terrorism, published in the *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*. His research was supported by the National Science Foundation and by the Humboldt Foundation. He was invited to present at the symposium on Global Security at the Oxford Round table at Oxford University.

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Previously Chris was a Fulbright fellow at the University of Zagreb (2002-2003), where he undertook research on post-conflict party system development in the city of Sisak, Croatia. Chris' research interests include international criminal justice with a focus on understanding compliance on the part of states and international organizations with orders and requests from international judicial bodies.

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lover, fighting side by side to the death': The Representations of War in Female-authored Contemporary Irish Drama. She is interested in peace and reconciliation and is involved in cross-community projects in North Belfast. She is also interested in amateur drama and film and studies at the Crescent Arts Centre in South Belfast.

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Short bio: Aisling is a first year PhD student undertaking research on the phenomenon of violence against women in conflict and post-conflict societies. Previous to this, she worked for over seven years in conflict affected contexts in Africa and South East Asia with the UN and international NGOs, more recently consulting to the Irish government foreign policy and aid programme.

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Short bio: Nicole obtained her D.Phil at the University of Oxford in 2006. She is currently a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at Cardiff University where she is working on a project examining predictors of support for terrorism. Her research interests lie broadly in the areas of social identity, intergroup relations, prejudice, and collective action. She has published work on intergroup contact, group-based threat, and trait attribution in journals such as *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, and *Political Psychology*.

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Short bio: Sara is a PhD student in Anthropology at the Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast. She is interested in interdisciplinary approaches to understanding conflict and transition from violence, with an emphasis on ethnographic methods and the value of linking academic and policy-oriented research. Her current project explores the roles played by victims of political violence in contexts of political and social transition, examining the factors which influence how victims' voices contribute to national conversations around transitional justice processes. Over the last three years Sara has worked for Community Relations Council with a number of their core-funded victim and survivor support groups, as a research assistant at the Irish School of Ecumenics (Trinity College Dublin), and with the cross-community think tank Healing Through Remembering.

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Short bio: Steven is a media analyst who evaluates media iconics as the rhetorics behind the collusion and collision between the media and terrorism. He teaches communication courses at Clemson University, where he is a candidate in the Rhetorics, Communication, and Information Design PhD program. You can follow his research in media iconics at http://iconics.ws.

Mr John Topping
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Short bio: John has submitted his Ph.D. on community policing in the post-Patten period and has just started a lectureship in criminology at the University of Ulster. He has presented his research findings at both national and international conferences and published in the *British Journal of Criminology* and in *Policing and Society*.

Mr Mateusz Trawiński
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Short bio: Mateusz is a student of Sociology, Group Interests Department, at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (Polska) and a member of Sociology Students' Scientific Association. His current research interests are: political and economical transformation in Poland, contemporary sociological theory and social studies of science.

Dr Tali K. Walters
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Short bio: Tali is a senior forensic psychologist at the Tufts Medical School/Dr. Solomon Carter Fuller Mental Health Center in Boston, Massachusetts where she holds the title of Assistant Professor. She consults to the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health and to criminal defense attorneys in her private forensic mental health consulting practice. In 2006, she joined the Society for Terrorism Research where she has contributed her talent and skill as the conference organizer, associate editor to the society's journal *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, recruited board members, and coordinated volunteers.

Professor Dave Webb
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Brief bio: Dave is Professor of Engineering and Director of the Praxis Centre (for the 'Study of Information Technology for Peace, Conflict and Human Rights') at Leeds Metropolitan University. His current research interests focus on space security and issues in peace and conflict resolution. In September 2008 he chaired an international multidisciplinary conference on *Imaging War*, funded by the European Science Foundation. Recent publications include 'Space Weapons – Dream, Nightmare or Reality?' in *Securing Outer Space* (Jan 2009) in the Routledge Series on Critical Security Studies, and he is a guest editor for a forthcoming issue of the journal *Peace Review*.

Mr Harrison Weinstein
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Short bio: Harrison is a graduate student at Palo Alto University (previously known as the Pacific Graduate School of Psychology) in California. He was a recent contributor to the American Psychological Association (APA) Graduate Students programme at the APA's 117th Annual Convention in Toronto, where he was a participant in the session on the 'Role of Graduate Students in Psychological First Aid Training'.

Dr. Kinga Williams
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Short bio: Kinga (MA PhD BSc DipClinPsych UKCPreg) is a Clinical Psychologist, Cognitive-Behavioural Psychotherapist, and Lecturer in Abnormal Psychology, with a special interest in the psychopathology of immigration and culture shock in adults and the elderly. Trained both in her native Hungary and in Britain where she lives, Kinga is co-founder of Mensana International Psychological Consultancy (Est. 1999) specializing in the applied psychology of international transitions.

PARTICIPANTS' INDEX
(in alphabetical order)

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