



Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security (ICCS)

Annual Report 2018–2019

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Welcome from the ICCS Director

Welcome to the 2018–19 Annual Report from the Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security (ICCS), a multidisciplinary research centre creating innovative research, education and training to address global security challenges.



Passing the baton

It is with some sadness, but no little pride that I hand over the baton of the ICCS in January 2020 after eight years as Director. When I was invited by Professor Mark Webber in 2012 to set up an interdisciplinary research centre bringing together cross-college expertise in the field of international security, I could not have imagined the personal, professional, and intellectual opportunities – and challenges – it would create. From the Birmingham Policy Commission on *The Security Impact of Drones: Challenges and Opportunities for the UK* that was chaired by Sir David Omand, and which is still an essential point of reference for research on armed drones, to the vital work we are undertaking with BASIC on nuclear responsibilities, and our path-breaking teaching and research in the area of the political psychology of International Relations, the ICCS provides a catalyst for collaboration, innovation, and research excellence.

Our annual training programme on Trust, Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation, now in its sixth year, is unique in its fusion of research expertise and practitioner experience. Over the last few years, we have brought together students, diplomats, military officers, civil society actors and peace-builders in a dedicated forum of dialogue and exchange. The programme continues to build its reputation and go from strength to strength.

The highlight for me has been to establish a critical mass of scholarship at the intersection between International Relations, Trust, and Political Psychology. The ICCS functions as a vibrant research hub: it produces high impact interdisciplinary research, hosts early-career and established visiting scholars, connects associate researchers around the world, offers professionalisation and placement opportunities to University of Birmingham students, organises a long list of interdisciplinary research activities and events, supports a strong PhD cohort, and boasts two ICCS-affiliated flagship MSc programmes that

are currently training the new generation of scholars and professionals in the field: our MSc in Global Cooperation and Security and the MSc in Political Psychology of International Relations. I believe this unique research output and training, and the practitioner engagement and impact that has accompanied it, has broadened and deepened our ability to study and understand the challenges of international cooperation and security in a globally interconnected world. The development of our research agenda over the last few years owes a huge amount to the contributions of my friend and colleague Dr Tereza Capelos, who joined our ICCS team as Senior Lecturer in 2015. I could not be more delighted that Tereza will now be taking over as Director of the ICCS in January 2020. Her expertise and enthusiasm has transformed our research and teaching environment into a vibrant centre for intellectual inquiry, innovation, and collegiality. I have no doubt that, under Tereza's leadership, the ICCS will continue to develop and flourish, cementing our research reputation internationally, maintaining our successes, and seeking new and exciting opportunities and global collaborations.

It has been an absolute privilege to inaugurate and lead a research centre that has provided an institutional and intellectual home for my longstanding research on the role of trust in international conflict and cooperation. As recent events have shown, it is a field of research that continues to have global resonance and import. I could not leave the ICCS in safer hands.

POLSIS partnership

As part of the forthcoming changes, I am also pleased to announce that the ICCS will be joining the Department of Political Science and International Studies (POLSIS) in the next academic year. This structural merger will facilitate greater integration and collaboration across the School, offer access to departmental resources and funding streams, while retaining the Institute's unique identity and research agenda. I look forward to working closely with our POLSIS colleagues to optimise our mutual research strengths.

Staff news

I would like to congratulate Dr Eszter Simon, who will be taking up a new post as Teaching Fellow at Nottingham Trent University in the Autumn. Eszter joined the ICCS in 2015 as Research Fellow in International Relations and Psychology. Her work on the Moscow–Washington Hotline and its influence on the institutionalisation of trust during the Cold War has formed a significant part of our research agenda over the last three years. You can read further details of her research on page 8.

Congratulations also to Dr Chris Wyatt, who joined the Impact Team at the University of Wolverhampton in April this year. Chris has been instrumental in driving forward our work on drones since the 2014 Birmingham Policy Commission. His research on the Gerda Henkel Stiftung-funded project on nefarious uses of small drones (led by Professor David H. Dunn) has made a substantial contribution to our impact work.

Congratulations too to ICCS Doctoral Researcher Scott Edwards, who has secured a position as Research Associate at SafeSeas, a network of academic institutions that studies maritime security governance. He joins their ESRC-funded project on Transnational Organised Crime At Sea (TOCAS) at the University of Bristol.

Finally, we bid farewell to Catherine Edwards, our Development and Communications Manager. Catherine has been with the ICCS since 2013, first as Institute Manager before moving on to the communications role in 2017. She has been a highly valued member of the team and is now pursuing her doctoral research in the Department of English and Related Literature at the University of York. We wish Eszter, Chris, Scott and Catherine all the best for their future endeavours.

Nicholas Wheeler
Director, ICCS

News in Brief

A selection of research news and activities from across the ICCS, showcasing the breadth and depth of our collaborative work in Birmingham and beyond.



General David Petraeus accepts Honorary Professorship

One of the most prominent modern-day US military figures has accepted an invitation of a 3-year Honorary Professorship with the ICCS, effective immediately. As part of the role, he will share insights from his career with students and researchers through a variety of interactions in Birmingham and virtually.

General Petraeus is one of the most recognised and accomplished US military figures of the post-9/11 era. He served over 37 years in uniform and culminated his career with six consecutive commands as a general officer, including Command of the Multinational Force-Iraq during the Surge, the United States Central Command, and the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. During his time in uniform, he also served in Cold War Europe, Central America, the United States, Haiti, Bosnia, Kuwait, and elsewhere in the greater Middle East and Central Asia. Additionally, as a Lieutenant General, he oversaw the drafting of the U.S. Army and Marine Corps counterinsurgency field manual and a comprehensive overhaul of how units, leaders, and soldiers were prepared for deployment to operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Following his military service, he served as Director of the CIA during a period of considerable achievements in the campaign against extremism and in investing in the most important element in the Agency, its human capital.

Civil Wars and Political Violence

In November 2018, Giuditta Fontana and Stefan Wolff organised an Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS) workshop on Methodological Advances in the Study of Civil War and Political Violence, gathering 20 international participants from Germany, Canada, Hungary and the UK. The aim of the workshop was to further cutting-edge research on civil war and political violence across different communities to advance the field as a whole.

The study of civil war, conflict, rebellion, insurgency and other forms of organised political violence has made many significant advances over the past two decades. Innovations in quantitative methods and experimental designs have been combined with the demands for more rigour and transparency. The field has clearly diversified, offering a home to many different approaches and techniques from various disciplinary and methodological backgrounds. The workshop follows over a year of engagement between ICCS and the Chair for Qualitative Empirical Methods in Political Science at Goethe University Frankfurt, culminating in a joint section at the Annual Convention of the European Consortium for Political Research (Hamburg, August 2018).

Workshop participants from the University of Birmingham included Natascha Neudorfer, Laurence Cooley and Christalla Yakinthou.



Special Issue: Journal of Political Psychology

In December 2018, Tereza Capelos co-edited a Special Issue of the journal *Political Psychology* (with Julie Hassing Nielsen), which focused on 'The Political Psychology of European Integration: Brexit and Beyond.' The publication included a diverse range of articles related to the EU, such as the immigration crisis, the rise of populism, Brexit, and European attitudes and identities.

FINT 2019

Researchers from the Trust working group represented the ICCS and the University of Birmingham at the 10th Annual FINT conference held in St Gallen, Switzerland in January. Ana Alecsandru (Doctoral Researcher), Eszter Simon (Teaching Fellow, POLSIS) and Nicholas Wheeler (Director, ICCS) were joined by Business School colleagues Mark Saunders (Professor of Business Research Methods), Neve Isaeva (Doctoral Researcher) and Polly Black (Doctoral Researcher) at an event attended by trust researchers from around the world on the theme 'Trust Within and Between Organisations.' Nicholas Wheeler gave one of the keynote speeches drawing on his research on interpersonal trust in International Relations. Eszter Simon presented a working paper (co-authored with Gabriela Pleschova) on the role of trusting relationships in developing new teaching methods in Higher Education. Ana Alecsandru presented a paper as part of a Doctoral and Early Career Colloquium, a day-long session which included panels on publishing, developing an academic career, and navigating scholarly life.

ISPP Summer Academy

Tereza Capelos was invited to deliver a course as guest instructor at the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) Summer Academy in July 2019. The Summer Academy is a high profile three-day workshop designed to promote training and spread interest in political psychology across the world. Tereza's course explored how emotionality shapes international conflict, in particular how key psychological insights can be applied to affective mediation and trust-building in diplomacy. Tereza was the founding director of the ISPP Summer Academy in 2011 and led the programme for five years.

Nuclear Responsibilities

All nuclear states have described themselves as 'responsible nuclear weapon states' or similar, but there is no consensus around what this entails.

For the last two years, Nicholas Wheeler has been working with the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) on a collaborative project designed to develop international understanding, dialogue, and norms on the responsibilities of states around nuclear weapons.

The Programme on Nuclear Responsibilities combines the ICCS's world-leading research on norms, trust, and ethics in International Relations and the London think tank BASIC's established reputation developed over 30 years for promoting dialogue on nuclear disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation.

The Programme supports officials, researchers, and journalists in understanding the deep conceptions of responsibility that shape the ways states behave around nuclear weapons. By hosting roundtables and strategic dialogues around the world, we are working with nuclear and non-nuclear states to come to a common understanding of what more responsible behaviours might look like.



One of the key outputs of this collaboration is an interactive web application, 'The Nuclear Responsibilities Hub', which will display the results of the joint research on how states understand their responsibilities around nuclear weapons. The Hub, supported by a grant to BASIC from HMG's Counter Proliferation and Arms Control Centre, will enable officials, academics and civil society to better understand state policies, behaviours, and cultures around nuclear weapons. It will contribute to the discussions of new norms in the global nuclear order.

The Programme held several roundtables in 2019 – in Tokyo, Kuala Lumpur and Geneva – aimed at introducing the project to policymakers, think tanks, academia, civil society and military representatives in key international communities. A report from the Geneva Roundtable can be found overleaf. Further events are planned over the next 12 months.

On the strength of this ongoing work, Nicholas Wheeler was invited by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in January 2019 to be a member of the UK delegation to the P5 Conference 'Strengthening P5 Coordination and Safeguarding NPT Regime' in Beijing.

As part of the Programme, the ICCS secured an ESRC Midlands DTP Collaborative Studentship Award for Doctoral Researcher Alice Spilman, who will commence her PhD on 'Conceptions of Responsibility Among Nuclear Weapons Possessors' at the University of Birmingham in September 2019. Her project specifically looks at how states have come to understand, formulate and articulate responsibilities associated with the possession of nuclear weapons.

Geneva Roundtable Report

As part of the Nuclear Responsibilities Programme, the ICCS has contributed to a number of high-level roundtables over the last 12 months.

Report by Alice Spilman.

In partnership with the British American Security Information Council (BASIC), the ICCS coordinated a roundtable on 'Nuclear Responsibilities' on 22 March 2019, kindly hosted by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) in Geneva, Switzerland. Held under the Chatham House Rule, participants included representatives from the permanent missions of Non-Nuclear Weapon States, representing a full spectrum of positions including some 'core' states supporting the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Civil society members and academics were also involved in the discussions which were facilitated by Sebastian Brixey-Williams (Programme Director of the Programme on Nuclear Responsibilities, BASIC) and Marc Finaud (Senior Advisor, GCSP). Professor Nicholas Wheeler and PhD candidate Alice Spilman represented the ICCS at this event.

The purpose was to introduce BASIC and ICCS's Programme on Nuclear Responsibilities to a broad spectrum of Non-Nuclear Weapons States and to understand what they see as the opportunities and challenges of the responsibilities framework. The Programme begins with the assumption that all actors that have the power, directly or indirectly, to impact nuclear weapons policy have nuclear responsibilities. The Programme specifically uses the language of responsibilities rather than the dichotomous labels of 'responsible' and 'irresponsible' state behaviour to avoid blame and unconstructive conversations. Responsibilities of course will differ between states depending upon whether they are nuclear possessors themselves, members of the UN Security Council, umbrella states, or members of the Non Proliferation Treaty.

Over the course of the one-day roundtable, representatives of Non-Nuclear Weapons States were invited to share professional and personal opinions on the Programme, as well as suggesting what these responsibilities might look like, for both sides.

Participants in Geneva generally welcomed the ideas behind the Programme on Nuclear Responsibilities, and it is fair to say that appreciation of the idea grew as the day progressed. It was agreed that the Non Proliferation Treaty remains the cornerstone of the non-proliferation regime and that a nuclear responsibilities framing was only beneficial if it contributed to the core purposes of the existing Treaty. Participants agreed that the responsibilities framework had promise as a way of bridging the differences between the Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Weapons States, and in promoting a new dialogue that could increase confidence, and perhaps even trust.

The roundtable concluded with these key understandings:

- Inclusion of nuclear weapon possessor states, both inside and outside the Non Proliferation Treaty, is vital for a constructive discussion of nuclear responsibilities and the possibilities for global nuclear risk-reduction.
- Highlighting awareness of nuclear responsibilities should not denigrate the importance of existing treaty commitments, especially the Non Proliferation Treaty, and the need for all state parties to live up to their promises.
- The nuclear responsibilities framework could make an important contribution by helping to give greater clarity to existing commitments, whilst providing an opportunity for states to find new and cooperative ways to meet these obligations.
- The need to cultivate increased empathy and understanding of the security concerns of others, and to develop policies that promote reassurance rather than conflict in situations where states share common interests.

Following the roundtable, Nicholas Wheeler and Alice Spilman co-authored a full report detailing the discussions and outcomes of the roundtable, which will be published in due course by BASIC. BASIC and the ICCS continue to organise similar events around the world to discuss the topic of 'Nuclear Responsibilities', with the next roundtable being held in the Netherlands in August 2019.



AUTHOR BIO

Alice Spilman is nearing the end of her first year of a 1+3 ESRC collaborative studentship at the University of Birmingham. In conjunction with her collaborative partner, BASIC, and under the supervision of Professor Nicholas Wheeler and Dr Jamie Gaskarth, Alice is researching conceptions of nuclear responsibility among nuclear weapon possessor states, specifically looking at the US, UK and China.



Learning from Failure

A new project funded by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) investigating how to address the recurrence of conflict in protracted peace processes.



Civil war is the most frequent and destructive form of armed conflict today. Nearly one third of societies that have experienced one civil war also experience a second or third conflict, a figure which rises to fifty percent in cases of ethnic civil wars. However, there is a lack of research that studies the causes and possible mitigation of conflict recurrence. This project will ask what factors lead to the collapse of peace agreements and how can these be addressed to achieve sustainable peace.

The research team comprises of Giuditta Fontana, Argyro Kartsonaki, Natascha Neudorfer, Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou, who combine a range of expertise on peace processes. The team has worked together since 2012 and has previously developed a new dataset of political agreements, which forms part of the empirical basis for this project. All project members have fieldwork experience in conflict and post-conflict zones and two have practical experience in mediation and mediation support.

The project will examine several cases of peace processes during which war recurred at least once but that ultimately ended the conflict successfully. Analysing both the content and implementation of these agreements, the aim

is to uncover (1) how shortcomings in failed treaties were identified, (2) how relevant parties addressed them in subsequent agreements and their implementation, and (3) how these changes led to peace.

The study will include the following cases: Angola, Burundi, Djibouti, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Rwanda, El Salvador, Papua New Guinea, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Russia.

The principal objective of the project is to enhance understanding of the factors leading to civil war recurrence and how they can be effectively mitigated to promote sustainable peace. A further goal is to improve the capacity of policy practitioners to shape peace agreements and manage peace processes in such a way that the risk of war recurrence can be minimized.

The project is funded by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), an independent institution established by the US Congress in 1984 dedicated to the nonviolent prevention and mitigation of deadly conflict abroad. The project started in April 2019 and will run for two years.

PROJECT TEAM

Dr Giuditta Fontana is a political scientist specialising in cultural institutions in post-conflict and fragile societies.

Dr Argyro Kartsonaki is a political scientist specialising in disputed territories with specific focus on ethnic conflict and secession.

Dr Natascha Neudorfer is a political scientist specialising in the causes of corruption and the determinants of civil conflicts using advanced statistical research methods.

Prof Stefan Wolff is a political scientist specialising in the prevention and settlement of ethnic conflicts and civil wars and in post-conflict state-building in deeply divided and war-torn societies.

Dr Christalla Yakinthou is a political scientist specialising in conflict transformation in deeply divided and post-war countries.

The Moscow-Washington Hotline

As part of her Research Fellowship with the ICCS, Eszter Simon has been researching the role of the Moscow-Washington Hotline as a mechanism for providing trust between political adversaries during the Cold War.

Background

The Moscow-Washington Hotline was set up in 1963 as a response to the communication difficulties between President John F Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. The goal was to provide better communication between the leaders in times of crises to reduce the risk of war. Contrary to popular understanding, the hotline is not a telephone, but an encrypted computer system.

All subsequent Cold War presidents used the hotline, with the exception of Gerald Ford. The hotline was first used in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, followed by the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war and the 1973 Yom Kippur War. President Carter made prolific use of the device during his term in office – six times in total. He caused some consternation when he took to using it when no superpower crisis was occurring, or indeed imminent. The Russians did not look favourably on this innovation. When Carter used the hotline as part of the SALT II treaty, the message was initially received with shock and he was politely requested – in vain – not to diverge from crisis use again.

Information on post-Cold War use is scarce, but President Obama reportedly used the hotline to warn Putin about election interference in 2016.



Current research

Eszter's research project addresses the significance of the hotline for crisis management. Traditional scholarly wisdom about the hotline claims that it was a simple communications device that only improved crisis stability by providing a channel for dialogue. Eszter's research challenges this claim and finds that the hotline was a trust-based device. It was most useful when leaders had trust issues between them. In these cases, the hotline acted as a medium of trust. She demonstrates how trust may be institutionalized by moving from the individuals towards the computerised device as the source of that trust.

Partnerships

The project has so far produced a co-authored article (with Dr Agnes Simon) on 'The Soviet use of the Moscow-Washington Hotline in the Six-Day War' and a long term collaboration with Prof Guido Moellering (University of Witten/Herdecke, Germany). Eszter presented a co-authored paper (with Moellering) on 'Institutionalizing Trust: Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Establishment of the Moscow-Washington Hotline' at the 60th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA) in Toronto in March 2019. She has contributed to several public engagement and knowledge-exchange events to highlight the significance of her research to the understanding of Cold War relations.

Future plans

For the next stage of this collaborative project, Eszter will be investigating President Carter's use of the hotline alongside its potential to serve as a *trust-building* – rather than *trust-providing* – tool.



Economic Connectivity and Diplomacy

A new report by Stefan Wolff, Professor of International Security at the University of Birmingham, assesses the unique role played by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in promoting and enhancing economic connectivity within and across its participating states.

The new report, produced following two expert workshops in Vienna and Birmingham, argues that connectivity is crucial to inclusive economic development in the OSCE area. Long-term and sustainable investment in transport networks and communication and energy infrastructures has the potential to contribute to reducing regional tensions and to participating States' future security and stability.

A successful track record

The OSCE has engaged with the Western Balkans for more than two decades, working in partnership with regional and international organisations on political stabilisation, the restoration of trade links, and closer integration with the EU.

In Central Asia, the OSCE has a well-established presence in all five countries in the region. Through a combination of support for the management of free economic zones, harmonisation of customs regulations, and training for entrepreneurs – both on a national and regional level – the OSCE has played an important role in enhancing economic development in individual countries in the region and promoting higher levels of connectivity between them.

In Moldova, the OSCE has facilitated discussions on a settlement of the conflict in the Transdniestrian region since 1993. While its mandate does not specifically cover economic activities, the OSCE Mission in Moldova has contributed significantly to projects that have enhanced economic connectivity between communities and businesses on both sides of the River Nistru/Dniester. This resulted in increased confidence between the sides, dramatically reducing the risk of renewed conflict.



Future potential

In a crowded international arena, the OSCE has the experience and standing to have a real and tangible impact on promoting better relations through economic diplomacy. The report proposes that the OSCE could lead the way in generating and sharing best practice, facilitating exchanges, and offering mediation and dialogue on issues of improving connectivity within the region. Such an endeavour should extend engagement to new partners from the private sector, civil society, and academia, providing a flexible and responsive mechanism to maximise emerging opportunities.

This would also lay the groundwork for involving China in the discussion on economic connectivity. A closer relationship would be a vital step to capitalise on important synergies, avoid misunderstandings, and promote confidence as China becomes a more important economic and political actor in the OSCE area.



Image: OSCE/Pamela Rovaris

Stefan Wolff has worked with the OSCE since 2016 on economic and environmental confidence-building measures in areas of protracted conflict.

Targeting Rogue Drones

Researchers in the ICCS, led by David H Dunn, are engaging with government, law enforcement, and private sector organisations to analyse the threats posed by the revolution in small drone technology. *Report by David H Dunn.*



The recent events at Gatwick Airport show how vulnerable airport infrastructure is from the fast-evolving and disruptive technology of unmanned drones. This vulnerability carries with it the risk of accident and injury or even loss of life.

Over the last five years, AIRPROX data, that is data showing near misses of civilian aircraft, has shown an alarming rise in incidents relating to drones. Many have put aircraft at risk from collisions and publicly available material on the internet by the Military Aviation Authority, the British Air-Line Pilots Association and the Department for Transport in the UK and by the Drone Team at Bard College in the US shows just how damaging this can be.

Aside from the risk of accident, there is also the risk of disruption of the type seen at Gatwick in December 2018. This has an economic dimension not often discussed because of the priority given to the potential for accidents by practitioners.

Research conducted by our team at the University of Birmingham has revealed findings of direct relevance to the situation at Gatwick. The findings relate to the need for increased regulation, registration and insurance and the need for a suite of detection and drone countermeasures to protect both the Critical National Infrastructure and Crowded Places.

This work gives rise to the following recommendations:

1. The first is that there should be immediate registration of drones of all size. Although nefarious users may not choose to do so, once the system is operational, the existence of drones without registration would make them stand out from the rest.
2. The second is that there needs to be compulsory insurance. Disruptive technology often comes at a cost, one which should be borne by the user.
3. Thirdly, in the debate between public safety and the growth of the drone sector, serious consideration needs to be given to limiting all drones over 250g, and under 250g with a camera, to the state and commercial sectors only.
4. Finally, there is a need for joined-up detection and anti-drone countermeasures to be deployed at all airports in the UK as a matter of urgency.

These recommendations all come from research and interviews with expert practitioners across the Government and Commercial sectors.

Given the situation at Gatwick and other UK airports, there are clear parallels with the recommendations above. Action along these lines would mitigate against the recurrence of such an event.

About the project

The research project – funded by Gerda Henkel Stiftung – investigates the potential criminal or terrorist uses of small drones in various civil and commercial contexts and provides policy recommendations to relevant bodies in the public and private sectors. The research has revealed the need for increased regulation, registration and insurance and the need for a suite of detection and drone countermeasures to protect both critical national infrastructure and crowded places. David Dunn and his team have shared their recommendations with Government Select Committees and key policy makers.

In May 2019, David was invited to address the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Drones on the future implications of drone technologies. Speaking to an audience of MPs, peers, researchers, journalists, lawyers, NGOs, campaigners, and civil servants, he joined other experts to discuss the legislative and technological steps necessary to prevent attacks and protect critical infrastructure, while respecting privacy and fundamental rights.

First Annual UK Political Psychology Conference Report

The ICCS was pleased to host this inaugural event at the University of Birmingham in December 2018.

Report by Tereza Capelos.

The First UK Political Psychology conference took place at the University of Birmingham on 18 December 2018. The event was co-organised by the ICCS Political Psychology Working group (T. Capelos, D. Bonansinga), the PSA Political Psychology Group (K. Dunn, J. Weinberg), the BPS Political Psychology Group (A. Weinberg) and the ECPR Political Psychology Standing Group (T. Capelos).

The conference aimed to promote research excellence in the field, facilitate the exchange of ideas across the three political psychology networks, build research and teaching collaborations, promote the visibility of the political psychology field, and support the professional development of junior scholars.

The event started with a pre-conference panel on Methodological Developments in Political Psychology, followed by a keynote address by Prof. Helen Haste (University of Bath). The programme also involved four thematic panels which hosted 17 scholars giving presentations on: (1) the Political Psychology of Group Identities; (2) the Political Psychology of Voting and Elections; (3) the Political Psychology of Conflict and Cooperation; and (4) the Political Psychology of Communications. The panels were designed to attract colleagues conducting research in political psychology across Politics and Psychology, strengthen ties and encourage research collaborations in research areas such as conflict, cooperation, terrorism, radicalisation, multiculturalism, crises and tensions, populism, security, while engaging with quantitative and qualitative methodologies and data. The four

panels were followed by an editorial and grant writing roundtable featuring Matt Flinders (ESRC) Dan Stevens (Political Behavior), Helen Haste (Political Psychology), and Tereza Capelos (Palgrave Series of Political Psychology).

The event included a group lunch to registered participants, and a closing reception. Participation was free and over 80 delegates were in attendance. The event was supported by four volunteers (all students of the MSc Political Psychology of IR).

The organisers are currently developing the programme for the Second UK Political Psychology Conference, to be hosted again at the University of Birmingham, in December 2019.



Training

The ICCS's flagship training programme focuses on the role of mediation in managing and transforming political conflicts.

The ICCS held its sixth annual training programme on Trust, Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation at the University of Birmingham in April 2019, with a total of 38 participants.

The programme, aimed at practitioners, researchers and postgraduate students, ran for five days and included specialist lectures, small group role plays and simulation games. The course gave participants theoretical and practical insights into the complexities of mediation in the context of civil wars and international conflicts. This year, we were joined by representatives from the Cameroon High Commission and the Religious Society of Friends as well as mediation professionals in private practice. Participants included cultural counsellors, peace-workers, project coordinators, psychotherapists, police liaisons, education advisers and graduate students.

Convened by leading International Relations scholar Nicholas Wheeler and Political Psychology expert Tereza Capelos, the course included contributions from gender and counter-radicalization specialist Katherine E. Brown, nuclear non-proliferation expert Paul Schulte, and Leverhulme Research Fellow Naomi Head (University of Glasgow). Conflict transformation practitioner Joan McGregor led a two-day workshop on 'Practical Skills for Transformative Mediation,' which for many was the highlight of the course.

Our keynote speaker this year was Gabrielle Rifkind, Director of Oxford Process, an independent preventive diplomacy initiative pioneered through her dialogue work with Oxford Research Group (ORG). Gabrielle is a group analyst, psychotherapist and specialist in Middle East conflict resolution. She has

facilitated a number of Track II roundtables in the Middle East on the Israel-Palestine conflict, as well as on the Iran conflict. Gabrielle is the author of 'The Psychology of Political Extremism: What Sigmund Freud would have thought about Islamic State,' and writes for various newspapers and online publications, including The Guardian, Times, Prospect, Open Democracy, and The Independent.

The programme culminated in a Harvard Role Play on 'The Future of Hebron', in which participants assumed the identity of competing Israeli-Palestinian groups to negotiate a complex set of agreements involving land rights and border controls. The course as a whole provided a unique learning environment for both students and practitioners to benefit from a balance of academic theory and practical training.



Postgraduate Teaching

Our two masters programmes offer research-led teaching at the cutting edge of International Relations, Security Studies and Political Psychology.

Global Cooperation and Security MSc

Now in its sixth year, in 2018/19 our MSc in Global Cooperation and Security recruited a total of 25 students, making it one of the most popular masters programmes in the Department of Political Science and International Relations. The programme combines academic and practical training on how to mitigate conflict and violence on the global stage. A core component of the degree is the professional training programme **Trust, Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation**, which offers practitioner-led training in conflict mediation.

Political Psychology of International Relations MSc

We were delighted with the popularity of our new MSc programme, which recruited a total of 17 students in its inaugural year. This is a fantastic achievement and testament to the efforts of Programme Director Tereza Capelos, whose work in putting together the academic programme and raising the profile of Political Psychology at Birmingham has paid dividends. In addition, Tereza's MSc module, *Political Psychology of Conflict and Cooperation*, was recommended to the University Quality Assurance Committee as an example of good practice in assessment design and collaborative research approaches.



Work Placements

Postgraduate students have the opportunity to work alongside ICCS research experts on short-term placements designed to provide practical insights into selected research projects. The aim is for students to gain experience of research design and methodological practices in preparation for an academic career. Students this year have been involved in the following projects:

- Risk and Regulation: Assessing the Security Threat presented by Small Drones (David H Dunn)
- The Legality and Legitimacy of Armed Drone Strikes in a European and Transatlantic Context (Nicholas Wheeler)
- How Do Primary School Educators Deal with the Prevent Statutory Duty? A Case Study of Five Birmingham Schools (Raquel da Silva and Giuditta Fontana)
- Gender Mainstreaming in Countering and Preventing Violent Extremism (Katherine Brown)
- Emotions in the Media and Reasoning about Rights of Asylum Seekers (Tereza Capelos)
- The Role of Efficacy and Trust Perceptions in Business Supply Chains (Tereza Capelos)
- Peace Agreements in International Conflict: Mapping Contents (Raquel da Silva and Giuditta Fontana)
- The Cyber Security Dilemma: Challenges to the Liberal Order (Nicholas Wheeler)
- Trust-Building among the P5 and the Concept of Responsible Nuclear Sovereignty (Nicholas Wheeler)
- Emotional Mediation: Understanding the Role of Affect in Mediation Practices (Tereza Capelos)



Postgraduate Research

The ICCS has a dynamic and vibrant doctoral research community, with our PhD students playing an active role in the life and work of the centre.

Welcome

In October 2018, we were very pleased to welcome Alice Spilman, who was awarded a 1+3 studentship through the Midlands Graduate School, an accredited Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Doctoral Training Partnership (DTP). Alice began her studentship with a 1-year Masters in Social Research before progressing to her PhD on Nuclear Responsibilities in October 2019.

Congratulations

Congratulations to the postgraduate researchers who passed their vivas this year:

- **Scott Edwards:** Institutionalising Trust: ASEAN and the culture of Southeast Asian Diplomacy
- **Sumedh Rao:** Identity, Threat and Trust in Northern Ireland

Congratulations also to **Lindsay Clark**, a PhD alumna, whose first book *Gender and Drone Warfare: A Hauntological Perspective* (based on her doctorate) was published as part of the series **Routledge Studies in Gender and Security** in 2019. Lindsay joined the University of Southampton's ERC-funded project 'DRONETHICS' as a Research Fellow in November 2018.

Finally, congratulations go to PhD alumnus Rhys Crilley, who has been awarded a 3-year Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the University of Glasgow (starting March 2020) to research 'Narratives of Nuclear Weapons: How Emotions Shape Deterrence & Disarmament.'

Selected activities

Chiara Cervasio (and Nicholas Wheeler) presented a joint article at BISA 2019 on 'Affective Maps of Trust: Investigating the Psychology of Anxiety, Risk, and Security in International Diplomatic Conflicts' as part of a panel on **Emotions in the Politics of Security and Diplomacy**.

Donatella Bonansinga was invited to represent the PSA Political Psychology specialist group at the Psychology of Democracy conference, held at the University of Salford. Her presentation focused on the relationship between populism and citizens' insecurities.

Donatella also presented her new work on 'How British Tabloids Construct (In)Security' at a conference on Post-Truth and Populism at the University of Warwick in October. In April 2019, she directed a workshop in Belgium under the framework of the ECPR Joint Sessions (sponsored by the ECPR Political Psychology Standing Group) on the topic of **Emotions and Populism**.

Most recently, Donatella has published a chapter on emotions and securitisation in the forthcoming KCL volume *Tidal Waves? The Political Economy of Populism and Migration in Europe*. The book was launched in July 2019 at the Institute for International Affairs in Rome.

Scott Edwards worked on a project with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to publish a document to be used as a basis for their discussions on trust in humanitarian action at the 33rd International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in 2019. They have identified trust as both a core need and strategic risk for the work of the organisation, and are looking to develop their understanding of the concept and its dynamics.

Scott has also written a chapter on indigenous political engagement during the 2018 Malaysian general election in volume 3 of *Malaysian Politics and People*. The book was launched at an event in Kuala Lumpur in May 2019.

Finally, as Chair of the Political Studies Association's Early Career Network, Sumedh Rao co-organised their annual Welcome Event at Portcullis House in October 2018 and their annual conference: **Making Sense of Contemporary Politics**, at the University of Exeter in June 2019.



Events

A selection of the topics presented and speakers hosted as part of our workshop and seminar series this year.

19 September 2018	Seminar: Dealing with Difficult Topics: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges in the Study of Post-War Sexual Violence <i>Dr Ulrike Theuerkauf (University of East Anglia)</i>
28 September 2018	Seminar: Change and Resistance: How Authoritarianism Structures Partisan Conflict in the US <i>Professor Stanley Feldman (Stony Brook University)</i>
1 November 2018	Seminar: The Responsibility to Protect: From Promise to Practice <i>Professor Alex Bellamy (University of Queensland)</i>
12 November 2018	Seminar: Conflict Transformation through Dialogue: Analysing the Role of International Organisations in Ukraine <i>Dr Vera Axyonova (Justus Liebig University Giessen)</i>
12 December 2018	Seminar: Theorising the System of States in the Mirror of Theology <i>Dr William Bain (National University of Singapore)</i>
18 December 2019	Conference: First Annual UK Political Psychology Conference
28 January 2019	Seminar: Humanitarian Muhajireen and the Medical Experience in the Islamic State <i>Dr Sophie Roborgh (University of Manchester)</i>
25 February 2019	Seminar: Disordered Violence <i>Dr Caron E Gentry (University of St Andrews)</i>
18 March 2019	Seminar: Rebel Governance in De Facto States: An Empirical Test <i>Dr Adrian Florea (University of Glasgow)</i>
8–12 April 2019	Training: Trust, Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation
20 May 2019	Workshop: ICCS Research Afternoon
20 May 2019	Seminar: Why is Democracy so Difficult? A Psychosocial Inquiry <i>Professor Barry Richards (Bournemouth University)</i>
20 May 2019	Seminar: Oops I did it again – Understanding Moral Disengagement and its Role in Sexual Abuse <i>Professor Rosalind Searle (University of Glasgow)</i>
28 May 2019	Workshop: 2nd Annual English School Workshop
28 May 2019	Keynote Lecture: Regimes of Difference: Culture and Order in World Politics <i>Prof Christian Reus-Smit (University of Queensland)</i>



Publications

A selection of peer-reviewed publications by ICCS members in 2018–19.

Books

Fregonese, S. (In press). *War and the City: Urban Geopolitics in Lebanon*. London: IB Tauris.

Malyarenko, T. & Wolff, S. (2019). *The Dynamics of Emerging De-Facto States: Eastern Ukraine in the Post-Soviet Space*. London: Routledge.

Wolff, S. (2018). *Ethnic Conflict: Critical Concepts in Political Science*. London: Routledge.

Book chapters

Brown, K. E. (2018). Violence and Gender Politics in Forming the Proto-State "Islamic State." In S. Parashar, J.A. Tickner, and J. True (Eds). *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Edwards, S. (2019). The Orang Asli in GE14: Towards Meaningful Political Engagement? In S. Lemiere, (Ed). *Minorities Matter: Malaysian Politics and People Vol. 3*. Kuala Lumpur: ISEAS/SIRD.

Fregonese, S. (2019). 'A demarcation in the hearts': frontier urbanism and Beirut's May 2008 clashes, in Yacobi, H. and Nsarra, M. (Eds). *Routledge Handbook on Middle East Cities*.

Jackson, P. (2019). Peacebuilding Initiatives in Africa, in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Kartsonaki A. (2019). Remedial Secession: Theory, Law and International Recognition, in R. Griffiths, D. Muro, (Eds). *Strategies of Secession and Counter-Secession*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield International (in press).

Schulte, P. (2019). The Discreet Indispensability of Unpiloted Assistance? Remote Aerial Capabilities in Upstream Preventative Stabilisation Interventions, in T. Clack, and R. Johnson, (Eds). *Before Military Intervention: Upstream Stabilisation in Theory and Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 27–52.

Journal articles

Capelos, T. and Katsanidou, A. (2018). Reactionary Politics: Uncovering the Psychological Roots of 'Anti' Preferences in European Integration and Immigration Debates, *Political Psychology*, 36(9) 1271–1288.

Capelos, T. and Hassing Nielsen, J. (2018). Editors' Preface to the Special Issue The Political Psychology of European Integration: Brexit and Beyond, *Political Psychology*, 36(9).

Capelos, T. and Chrona, S. (2018). The Map to the Heart: An Analysis of Political Affectivity in Turkey, *Politics and Governance*, 6(4) 144–158.

Capelos, T. and Demertzis, N. (2018). Political Action and Resentful Affectivity in Critical Times, *Humanity and Society*, 42(4) 410–433.

Dunne, T. and Wheeler, N.J. (2019). Great Illusions or Great Transformations? Human Rights and International Relations a Hundred Years On, *International Relations* 33(2).

Fontana, G. (2019). Does Education Help the Transition out of Power-Sharing in Plural Societies? A Comparative Study, *Ethnopolitics*.

Holmes, M. and Wheeler, N.J. (2019). Social Bonding in Diplomacy, *International Theory* (forthcoming).

Jackson, P. (2019). Intelligence in a Modern Insurgency: The Case of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal, *Intelligence and National Security*, 1–15.

Kartsonaki, A. (2019). Playing with Fire: An Assessment of the EU's Approach of Constructive Ambiguity on Kosovo's Blended Conflict, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*.

Kyris, G. (2018). The European Union in Northern Cyprus: Conceptualising the Avoidance of Contested States. *Geopolitics*, 1–16.

Quinn, A. and Banka, A. (2018). Killing Norms Softly: US Targeted Killing, Quasi-secrecy and the Assassination Ban. *Security Studies* 27(4), 665–703.

Quinn, A. and Kitchen, N. (2019). Understanding American Power: Conceptual Clarity, Strategic Priorities and the Decline Debate, *Global Policy*.

Reus-Smit, C., Welch Larson, D., Kydd A., Freedman, L., Wheeler, N. J. (2018). Review Forum: Trusting Enemies: Interpersonal Relationships in International Conflict, *International Affairs*, 94(6) 1431–1446.

Sperling, J. and Webber, M. (2019). The European Union: Security Governance and Collective Securitisation, *West European Politics*, 42(2).

Sperling, J. and Webber, M. (2019). Trump's Foreign Policy and NATO: Exit and Voice, *Review of International Studies*, 45(3).

