

## *Peace between Conflict, Violence and Norms: Learning from the Field*

Kiel, 2.-3. März 2020

Tagungsort: KITZ, Kiel R 0.12

### Montag, 2. März 2019

12:00-13:00

*Anreise der Teilnehmer\*innen*

*Mittags-Imbiss*

13:00

*Begrüßung und Workshop-Eröffnung*

*Prof. Dr. Elke Krahnemann, Universität Kiel*

*Dr. Josie-Marie Perkuhn, Universität Kiel*

### *Panel session 1: Violence and Norms*

*Chair: Dr. Josie-Marie Perkuhn*

13:15

*Franziska Hohlstein (Universität Freiburg):* To end a never-ending story? The effect of the anti-coup norm in countries suffering from endemic political violence and instability

13:45

*Prof. Dr. Matthias Basedau (Universität Hamburg & GIGA):* Identity threats and ideas of superiority as drivers of religious violence? Evidence from a survey experiment in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

14:15

*Discussion*

14:45

*Kaffeepause*

### *Panel session 2: Peace across the World*

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Elke Krahnemann*

15:15

*Dr. Janina Pawelz (IFSH & GIGA):* Timor-Leste: Addressing violence-prone groups and setting a course towards peace

15:45

*Prof. Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach (Universität Marburg & GIGA):* Three pillars of peace – physical integrity, human rights and conflict transformation

16:15

*Dr. Josie-Marie Perkuhn (Universität Kiel):* Chinese dream for a world in peace

16:45

*Discussion*

19:00

*Abendessen: MEDEA Restaurant, Holtenauer Str. 139*

*Dienstag, 3. März 2020*

*Panel session 3: New Directions in Research*

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach*

**9:15**                    *Jannis Jost M.Litt .(ISPK):* Identity building, emotions and needs in radicalization processes

**9:45**                    *Prof. Dr. Elke Krahmman (Universität Kiel):* Norms and peace: A research programme

**10:15**                    *Discussion*

**10:45**

*Kaffeepause*

*Panel session 4: Connections and Ways Forward*

*Chair: Prof. Dr. Elke Krahmman*

**11:15-12:00**            *Discussion*

**12:00-13:00**

*Mittagsimbiss und Abreise*

## *Abstracts*

***Franziska Hohlstein (Universität Freiburg):*** To end a never-ending story? The effect of the anti-coup norm in countries suffering from endemic political violence and instability  
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Coups d'état persist as one of the most serious forms of political crisis. In addition to being an utterly undemocratic act, coups put the political and social stability of countries at risk. The forceful overthrow of state leaders is usually accompanied by insecurity, violence and fear, dead-locking affected countries in a fragile state of political limbo. In recent years, the emergence of a strong anti-coup norm has raised hopes for a decline of coups d'état. On the one hand, this norm condemns coups as reprehensible acts, on the other hand it obligates international actors to take action against coups. The present paper examines the question whether and how the anti-coup norm can contribute to stabilize conflict-torn and politically fragile countries. The first part of the analysis briefly illustrates trends in the prevalence of coups and the international reactions to them since the emergence of the anti-coup norm, using newly collected empirical data. In a second step, the paper makes use of three recent cases to illustrate the significance of the anti-coup norm. Based on a comparative case study of the coups in Burkina Faso (2014/2015), Zimbabwe (2017) and Sudan (2019) the paper shows that the establishment of the anti-coup norm has been an essential step towards decreasing violent military interference in politics. However, the anti-coup norm is no panacea to conflict, instability and state fragility: Only more comprehensive reforms can remove the root causes of violent take-overs and pave the way to a peaceful and democratic future

***Prof. Dr. Matthias Basedau (Universität Hamburg & GIGA):*** Identity threats and ideas of superiority as drivers of religious violence? Evidence from a survey experiment in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
[Matthias.Basedau@giga-hamburg.de](mailto:Matthias.Basedau@giga-hamburg.de)

Religion has become increasingly contentious in recent years. Faith-based intergroup discrimination, hostility and violence are on the increase worldwide. But how can faith lead to conflict? In this paper, we test the impact of two important social dimensions of religion that have been neglected in previous research: the belief in “one true religion” and perceptions of threats by other religious groups. Putting these two potential drivers to the test, we conducted a representative survey experiment with around 1,000 non-student respondents in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Results show that both tested dimensions increase the support to use violence to defend one's own group. Fears of domination and other harms by out-groups increase the support for violence in particular for those respondents who already feel threatened. We also find that the prime of “one true religion” increases the readiness to use violence. Our findings have important implications for policy: We conclude that appeals by leaders to the notions of threat and superiority of one's own belief can contribute to more conflict. Political and religious leaders should refrain from capitalizing on threat perceptions. Religious teachings should promote tolerance towards other faith instead of stressing the universal validity of one's own

beliefs

**Dr. Janina Pawelz (IFSH & GIGA):** Timor-Leste: Addressing violence-prone groups and setting a course towards peace

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Timor-Leste is home to a huge array of social organisations, including violence-prone groups known as “martial arts groups”. Violent clashes between rival martial arts groups became frequent in the independence era, causing numerous injuries and deaths. While the martial arts groups have gained prominence as instigators of violence and actors challenging peace and security, they do also provide structures of identity and social protection for thousands of Timorese youth. This situation creates a mix of conflict dynamics bearing serious risks for the country. The presentation will shed light on the social and political dynamics and open up perspectives for policy makers and international agencies of development cooperation to address the risks of a deteriorating security situation.

**Prof. Dr. Sabine Kurtenbach (Universität Marburg & GIGA):** Three pillars of peace – physical integrity, human rights and conflict transformation”

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Peace is widely recognized as a universal goal but there is no consensus on what exactly peace is, and how that goal can be achieved. While international politics and state actors at the national level tend to favor minimalist peace concepts (absence of war), local communities use broader approaches including qualities such as a minimum of justice, well-being or participation. Bridging the gap between these different concepts is key for sustainable peacebuilding. The proposed paper outlines an approach to peace based on three pillars: physical integrity, human rights and conflict transformation. This approach has the advantage of recognizing that peacebuilding is a contentious process and does not imply linearity or a fixed sequence of steps towards a specific form of peace (e.g. liberal peace). It takes into account the fact that there can be different pathways to peaceful societies and that the construction of peace is an ongoing process. At the same time the three pillars are related to globally shared norms and allow for a comparison across different historical and cultural contexts. The added value of this approach is illustrated using the example of Latin America.

**Dr. Josie-Marie Perkuhn (Universität Kiel):** Chinese dream for a world in peace

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The Chinese Dream is said to promote a Harmonious Society (hexie shehui) to the world. The concept of Harmonious World clearly envisions a normative concept with Chinese characteristics for peace. With it, China proposes an alternative understanding that is based on the Confucian ideal of a Harmonious Society and the concept of Tianxia. While Chinese thought already spread with Chinese money along revived silk roads, scholars widely discuss implications of Chinese alternative thinking (Acharya & Buzan 2010; Zhang & Chang 2016).

China's evolving foreign policy role towards being globally engaged as responsible power started under a different pretext. China presented itself as a responsible stakeholder (c.f. Johnston 2003; 2008). China's recent role performance is yet perceived as assertive in nature and conceptual changes to China's new role as responsible power in the "New Era" are about to be fleshed out. Hence, the IR research community is once again consumed by the puzzle of which supportive or contradicting role China will take in the near future, especially in terms of its national security agenda in the neighbouring region to pursue the Chinese Dream for a world in peace. So that this paper questions, how China as a responsible power is pursuing the Chinese Dream for a World in Peace and seeks to explore to what extent Chinese Peace norms will provoke conflict? In order to do so, this paper applies a role theoretical approach to understand China's foreign policy role alteration to evaluate the conflicting potential of China's yet renewed foreign policy role by analysing China's alternative peace understanding and its effect in the field.

**Prof. Dr. Elke Krahmenn (Universität Kiel):** Norms and peace: A research programme  
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What is peace? Galtung's distinction between 'negative peace' as the absence of physical violence and 'positive peace' as the elimination of structural violence within society, politics and economics, still dominates the conceptualization of peace in International Relations. However, Galtung's distinction has also many critics. The negative definition of peace has been accused of turning peace research into the study of violent conflicts. The positive definition has been critiqued because of insufficient distinction from other concepts, such as development, welfare, and human rights. This paper argues that a definition of peace as the expectation of nonviolence and nonviolent conflict resolution is able to overcome these limitations by placing peace at the intersection of conflict, violence and social norms. Whereas conflict and violence have been extensively investigated in Peace Studies, research on social norms has been confined primarily to the fields of peace education and law. The burgeoning International Relations literature on norms and norm evolution has remained largely untapped within peace research. This paper discusses how norms cannot only help to link insights from positive and negative peace research, but also provide a new theoretical and empirical research programme.

**Jannis Jost M.Litt. (ISPK):** Identity building, emotions and needs in radicalization processes  
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There is a vast amount of research on radicalization processes, their causes and progression. A common element across many different theories is the concept of identity. In rough (and early) terms, radicalization is characterized by the departure from a "normal" identity, the construction and completion of a radical identity (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). This shift in identity affects the self-image, group affiliations, beliefs, attitudes and expressions of an individual. The onset of this process has repeatedly and convincingly been linked to the search for belonging, significance or purpose in life, often following a crucial life event that constituted a "cognitive opening".

However, compared to the ‘why?’, the ‘how?’ of these processes has attracted less attention. Generally, the exploration of a new identity is considered the answer to a crisis – often happening organically during adolescence (Marcia, 1966) –, triggered either by one crucial event (Oerter & Dreher, 2008) or a prolonged conflict (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). This project assumes that this also applies for the identity shifts that happen during radicalization. But in this context, terms like ‘crisis’, ‘crucial event’ or ‘conflict’ are subjective – so what makes some occurrences result in a change of behavior, affiliation, beliefs and – thereby – identity, while others don’t? Emotions are absolutely crucial in understanding which events and processes hold which significance. Emotions are information about the significance of a situation, and they act as motivation to cease or continue a certain behavior. Emotions play a role in all areas of cognition (Brandstätter, 2013; Lammers, 2015), yet their role in identity building remains underresearched (Oerter & Dreher, 2008). This study assumes that valuable insights can be gained by looking at the causes and progression of radicalization processes with a particular focus on the emotional experiences of the individuals before, during and after the completion of the process.