

books of abstracts



RELATIONAL STUDIES ON GLOBAL CONFLICTS

Toward a New
Approach to
Contemporary
Crises

ИФН

INSTITUT
DRUŠTVENIH NAUKA
BEOGRAD
INSTITUTE
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
BELGRADE



RELATIONAL STUDIES ON GLOBAL CONFLICTS

TOWARD A NEW APPROACH

TO CONTEMPORARY CRISES

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PROGRAM & BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Relational Studies on Global Conflicts

*Toward a New Approach
to Contemporary Crises*

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

21/22 DECEMBER 2018



Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, Serbia

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Remarks from the leader of the *Relational Studies on Global Crises*

Keiko Sakai (Chiba University)

The world we live in is in turmoil.

Since the turn of the century, we have witnessed critical events and disasters such as September 11, War on Afghanistan, War on Iraq, brutal aftermath of Arab Uprisings, Civil Wars in Syria and Yemen, as well as the rise and fall of Islamic State. Wars and conflicts have caused an influx of refugees and migrants from the Middle East to Europe. Even the smallest event that we experience can be a trigger to calamitous results that shake the whole world. A 5 year old Syrian boy who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea moved global public opinion. Western countries have been split over this issue, and in some societies racism and xenophobia against migrants and refugees alike have been exacerbated.

How, then, can we grasp such complicated and intertwined web of relationships, from the local to global level? How can we analyze them, solve them and stop crises from recurring? This question is the starting point of "Relational Studies on Global Crises". Can we establish an innovative area of academism to gather all the human wisdom and knowledge in order to solve these vital and crucial problems that our dear planet faces? This is the purpose of "Relational Studies on Global Crises".

For that purpose, we will hold a conference to analyse the contemporary conflicts in Southeast Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The conference serves as a concourse with the aim of exchanging ideas and information on the conflicts as they are global phenomena affecting various countries and regions particularly at those at the crossroads between Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The organizers hope this conference will contribute to the further development of interdisciplinary approaches to conflict problems from a new perspective focusing on networks and relationship, upon the unique collaboration among the scholars and researchers from all over the world. The ultimate goal of the conference is that the outcome positively influences scholars on this subject as well as policy makers towards a more international approaches to the regional and global conflicts.

Timetable

20 DECEMBER (THURSDAY)

15:00-18:00	■	REGISTRATION OF SPEAKERS FROM OUTSIDE OF SERBIA
19:00	■	RECEPTION DINNER AT ORAŠAC

DAY 1, 21 DECEMBER (FRIDAY)

9:15 - 9:30	■	REGISTRATION
9:30 - 9:45	■	WELCOMING SPEECHES His excellency Ambassador of Japan to Serbia, Junichi Maruyama Dr. Goran Bašić , Director of the Institute of Social Sciences Professor Keiko Sakai , Chiba University, Project Leader of <i>Relational Studies on Global Crises</i>
9:45 - 11:15	■	PANEL 1
11:15 - 11:30	■	Coffee Break
11:30 - 13:00	■	PANEL 2
13:00 - 14:30	■	Lunch Break
14:30 - 16:15	■	PANEL 3
16:15 - 16:30	■	Coffee Break
16:30 - 18:15	■	PANEL 4
18:15 - 18:30	■	Closing remarks for day 1
19:30	■	Reception dinner at Madera

DAY 2, 22 DECEMBER (SATURDAY)

9:00 - 10:45	■	PANEL 5
10:45 - 11:00	■	Coffee Break
11:00 - 12:45	■	PANEL 6
13:00 - 14:30	■	Lunch Break
14:30 - 16:15	■	PANEL 7
16:15 - 16:30	■	Coffee Break
16:30 - 18:15	■	PANEL 8
18:15 - 18:30	■	Closing remarks
19:30	■	Reception dinner at Klub književnika

Conference Programme

DAY 1, 21 DECEMBER 2018

PANEL 1: SURVEY-DATA ANALYSES ON THE SOCIETIES IN/ AFTER THE CONFLICT

Chair: Kurt Bassuener (University of St. Andrews)

Speakers: Kota Suechika (Ritsumeikan University), *Is al-Assad's Victory Ending the War in Syria?: Re-examining the State-diffusion Thesis*
 Dai Yamao (Kyushu University), *Conflict and its Impact on Statehood in Iraq: Based on Poll Surveys*
 Keiichi Kubo (Waseda University), *Attitudes towards the statehood in a deeply-divided society: An analysis of the Bosnian 2017 survey data*

Discussant: Olivera Komar (University of Montenegro)

PANEL 2: INTER-STATE AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN SOUTH-EAST AND WEST ASIA

Chair: Čedomir Nestorović (ESSEC Business School)

Speakers: Hikari Ishido (Chiba University), *Political and Economic Integration in Crisis: A Theoretical Viewpoint*
 Ayame Suzuki (Doshisha University), *State sovereignty and transnational network among leaders: Case studies from Southeast Asia*
 Masaki Matsuo (Utsunomiya University), *Neo-Plural Society: a Model of Non-Inclusive Migration Society*

Discussant: Damir Kapidžić (University of Sarajevo)

PANEL 3: HISTORY AND CONFLICT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Yun Zhang (Niigata University)

Speakers: Ken Ishida (Chiba University), *The Aftermath of Authoritarian Regime: Comparative Analysis on the Formation of the Japanese Constitution*
 Hrvoje Klasić (University of Zagreb), *Historical revisionism and Croato-Serbian relations*
 Tvrtko Jakovina (University of Zagreb), *Why there is still no true peace between Serbia and Croatia?*
 Viktoriia Serhiienko (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), *A Battle from the Past, A Battle for the Past. The Poltava Battle 1709 and Current Russian-Ukrainian War*

Discussant: Andrii Portnov (European University Viadrina)

Conference Programme

■ **PANEL 4: COMPARATIVE SOLUTIONS OF CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD**

Chair: **Dai Yamao** (Kyushu University)

Speakers: **Aiko Nishikida** (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), *Prolonged Conflict and Multi-dimensional approach to the issue of Palestinian refugees*

Masamichi Iwasaka (Doshisha University), *Challenges and Breakdown of Conflict Resolution in Turkey*

Daniel Bochsler (Central European University) and **Miriam Hänni** (University of Konstanz), *Consociational Oligarchies. A Revisionist Reading of Lijphart*

Rok Zupančič (University of Ljubljana) and **Faris Kočan** (University of Ljubljana), *An unifying means of 'Dance Macabre' or another tool for deepening of inter-ethnic strife: arts and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Discussant: **Soeren Keil** (Canterbury Christ Church University)

DAY 2, 22 DECEMBER 2018

■ **PANEL 5: CITIZENSHIP AND HUMAN MOVEMENT IN AND AFTER THE CONFLICT**

Chair: **Hikari Ishido** (Chiba University)

Speakers: **Marijana Maksimović** (Institute of Social Sciences) and **Nada Novaković** (Institute of Social Sciences), *Globalization, Migrants and Social Conflicts: Consequences for Serbia*

Jelena Dzankic (European University Institute), *Understanding citizenship policies in unconsolidated states in the Western Balkans*

Herrad Heselhaus (Tsukuba University), *(Post-)Civil-War Literature in a Transnational Context: A Relational-Studies Approach to Lazkani and Albahari*

Discussant: **Aiko Nishikida** (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

■ **PANEL 6: CITIZENS' ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOR IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES**

Chair: **Masaki Matsuo** (Utsunomiya University)

Speakers: **Bojan Todosijević** (Institute of Social Sciences) and **Zoran Pavlović** (University of Belgrade), *Arrested future in post-conflict societies: Serbian citizens between Kosovo and the EU*

Olivera Komar (University of Montenegro) and **Nemanja Batrićević** (Central European University), *An Expensive Loyalty: The Role of Ethnicity in Vote Buying*

Amer Osmić (University of Sarajevo), *Youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina between the war, religion and nationality*

Damir Kapidžić (University of Sarajevo), *The rise of illiberal politics in Southeast Europe as an expression of authoritarian values and global changes*

Discussant: **Daniel Bochsler** (Central European University)

PANEL 7: ROLE OF LOCAL AGENCY AND STATE STRUCTURE IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES

Chair: **Ken Ishida** (Chiba University)

Speakers: **Kurt Bassuener** (University of St. Andrews), *Building Community through Common Adversity: Natural Disasters, Civic Assistance, and Municipal Empowerment*

Nemanja Džuverović (University of Belgrade), *To Romantize or not to Romantize the Local: Local Agency and Peacebuilding in the Balkans*

Soeren Keil (Canterbury Christ Church University), *Rethinking State-building after Conflict – Bosnia and Herzegovina in Comparative Perspective*

Kirsty Campbell (University of St. Andrews), *Pressure from above: the collusion of peacebuilding NGOs with elite-level interests in post-Agreement Northern Ireland*

Discussant: **Ayame Suzuki** (Doshisha University)

PANEL 8: CONFLICT AND THE GLOBAL ORDER

Chair: **Keiko Sakai** (Chiba University)

Speakers: **Andrii Portnov** (European University Viadrina), *The Ukrainian Maidan 2013–2014 as a Political and Cultural Phenomenon*

Yun Zhang (Niigata University), *The New Sources of Conflict and the Linkage between Internal and External Orders: Focusing on US-China Interaction on the North Korea Nuclear Conflict*

Čedomir Nestorović (ESSEC Business School), *Role of diaspora in post-conflict society – Empirical evidence from the Council of Diaspora of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001–2003*

Discussant: **Masamichi Iwasaka** (Doshisha University)

Panel 1: Survey-data Analyses on the societies in/after the conflict

Kota Suechika
(Ritsumeikan University)

Is al-Assad's Victory Ending the War in Syria?: Re-examining "the State-diffusion Thesis"

This paper aims to explore diversification and polarisation of Syrian people's perception of a state or political community under the conflict since 2011 by using poll survey data of 2017-8. The Syrian conflict that broke out in 2011 as a part of the so-called 'Arab Spring' shows devastating escalation as a proxy war of various international actors and also spillover effects on the neighboring states. This has revealed 'meltdown' of the existing Syrian state ruled by the Assad regime for decades in terms of its territorial borders and *raison d'être*; i.e. Syrian nationalists, Arab nationalists, Islamists, Kurds, and Jihadists, with their own transnational networks, all have appeared to have different perceptions of the state - statehood on Syrian soil and their rise under the conflicts is substantially challenging the existing statehood in both ontological and epistemological senses. This drive towards searching for the state can be traced back to the time of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the interwar period when the present nation states (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine/Israel) emerged as a result of the geographical division of Syria mainly by Britain and France. While most of the previous studies have tackled this issue, which can be called "the state diffusion thesis," with qualitative methods such as historical and ideological analyses, this paper will employ quantitative one - poll survey data analysis in order to re-examine the thesis.

Dai Yamao
(Kyushu University)

Conflict and its Impact on Statehood in Iraq: Based on Poll Surveys

This presentation aims to clarify how conflict affected people's attitudes towards statehood in Iraq by analysing survey data. In order

to analyse impact of the Islamic State, I will use combined data sets of the 4 surveys that I conducted inside Iraq before and after the raise of the IS.

As the IS occupied a number of Iraqi cities by cooperating with former Ba’thist regime’s professional soldiers and party’s senior members, it can be expected that the attitude towards reconciliation with the former regime’s supporter became negative after the raise of the IS. First of all, I will clarify whether this widely believed image of the IS’s impact is observed within opinion of Iraqis, and in addition to this, I will analyse furthermore impacts of the conflict related to the IS to statehood of Iraq.

Keiichi Kubo
(Waseda University)

***Attitudes towards the statehood
in a deeply-divided society:
An analysis of the Bosnian 2017 survey data***

In a deeply divided society, the issue of statehood is often contested: some groups within the society may seek the territorial autonomy within the state, calling for the re-definition of the statehood, or may seek even the outright secession of their territory. Who support such revisionist claims and who do not? In many deeply-divided societies, the different attitudes towards the statehood are often associated with ethnic groups, based on the assumption that each ethnic group has its own ideal on the statehood. This assumption, however, is rarely empirically tested, partly due to the lack of empirical data – in a deeply-divided society, especially in a post-conflict environment, a reliable empirical data on the people’s attitudes towards the statehood is often not available.

The present paper attempts to empirically examine the validity of such an assumption by analyzing the opinion poll data collected in Bosnia in 2017. It consists of three major sections. The first section presents the historical background of the case of Bosnia and the state of current political debate on the statehood among the politicians in Bosnia. The second section briefly explains the methodological details of the opinion poll and presents the descriptive statistics regarding the attitudes towards the statehood and their relationship with ethnic identity, emphasizing the fact that there is indeed a division

within the ethnic group regarding the attitudes towards the statehood in Bosnia. Then, the third section attempts to conduct a statistical analysis to explain the division within the ethnic group; in other words, it will try to answer who are more likely to reject the revisionist claims made by their co-ethnic politicians. In doing so, it will emphasize the importance of the communist ideology which historically played an important role in suppressing nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. This paper concludes with a brief recapitulation of main findings.

Hikari Ishido (Chiba University)

***Political and Economic Integration in Crisis:
A Theoretical Viewpoint***

At the A02 study group (Political and Economic Regional Integration), we take a broad view on the concept of “regional integration” to mean diverse forms of political and economic relations among nations, and are pushing forward an interdisciplinary research on the hierarchical and complex nature of these relations. So far, we have been making efforts to build a theory based on the hierarchical structure of regional integrations and to conduct research activities to further develop it. Focusing on the hierarchical structure (macro momentum of regional integration, inter-state regional integration of meso-level, micro-level industrial/ethnic entities) of regional integrations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the European Union (EU), the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and their interdependent relationships, we are developing an analytical framework highlighting why these regional integration efforts are oftentimes put in crisis. There is some empirical evidence showing that if political and economic interdependence is high, relationships based on regional integration tend to be solidified; on the contrary, if it is recognized by participating stakeholders that the claims of their rights (e.g., market access through tariff reduction and other forms of preferential treatments) are excessive due to the diversity (heterogeneity) of the integration partners, the country will also sharpen its claims of rights over integration, and as a result, the relationship of regional integration will get rapidly divided.

**Ayame Suzuki
(Doshisha University)**

***State sovereignty and transnational network among
leaders: Case studies from Southeast Asia***

South China Sea has become an area of contention not only among the claimant states but more so between the two major states: US and China. Divided by these powerful states, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the oldest existing regional organization in Asia,

has not been able to agree on a viable solution nor a rule that binds the parties to the conflict, thus making the future of rule of law in the region uncertain. In addition, leaders of a few claimants such as the Philippines and Malaysia seemed to waver in protecting their territorial sovereignty in spite of the criticism from the public of the respective countries.

A number of existing studies explain the non-assertiveness of these countries as a rational behavior of the small or medium-sized countries that exercise equidistance diplomacy so that they can reap economic, trade and security benefits from all the major powers. As opposed to this prevailing view, this presentation tries to explain the behavior of the government of these countries by shedding light on the transnational (and transactional) network among leaders that makes sovereignty somewhat elusive. The flow of investments and aids from political and economic leaders of China provides resources for the leaders in the South-east Asian countries, who prioritize their own survival over the sovereignty of their country. Further, as leaders of Southeast Asia compromise with the Chinese on their claims vis-à-vis the SCS, ASEAN becomes an even weaker organization in establishing a rule-based governance of the region.

Masaki Matsuo
(Utsunomiya University)

***Neo-Plural Society:
a Model of Non-Inclusive Migration Society***

Asia became the largest migrant sending and receiving region in the world. Within Asia, the major migrant receiving countries are concentrated to the oil rich countries in the Arabian Peninsula. In spite of their non-inclusive immigration policies, a huge number of migrant workers have chosen the Arab Gulf States (hereafter AGS), namely Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, as a place where they would spend their lives. In spite of its importance as migrant receiving groups, AGS has always treated as an exception, furthermore, scholars have considered it as a target to criticize its non-inclusiveness. As a result, the migration society in Asia has hardly been explained its own context. A question, why non-inclusive migration society was constructed and maintained, was left behind.

In the AGS, a unique society was constructed where migrants and citizens hardly have social relations with each other except economic ones. Migrants usually construct their social relations with only migrants

of the same nationality and have no social relation with citizens, in addition to migrants coming from another countries. Even in a working place, citizens and migrants are divided through a hierarchical cultural division of labor. This paper conceptualize this society as Neo Plural Society (hereafter NPS), deriving from the concept of Plural Society of J. S. Furnivall who described multi-ethnic society in Asia. In addition, it will generalize this concept to describe global migration movement on the base of Asia and the AGS.

The qualitative analysis of migration societies in Asia, especially in the AGS will be made in this paper, with comparisons of demographical and occupational structure between migrant societies, referring to statistical data and migration policies.

Ken Ishida (Chiba University)

***The Aftermath of Authoritarian Regime:
Comparative Analysis on the Formation
of the Japanese Constitution***

The biggest difference between the formation of constitution in Japan and other Asian countries is that Japan had to overcome its aggressive past of the previous regime. Therefore, it is valuable to compare Japan with other Axis powers such as Italy and Germany rather than with Asian countries. All the three Constitutions in Italy, Germany and Japan after their defeat had their own ideals which made a clean break with the pre-war tyrannical regimes. I focus on the similarities and dissimilarities among the three Axis powers, and analyze how and why they faced the problems associated with the constitutional founding variously. The three Axis powers shared a common ideological background, racism, but each racism accelerated its cruel oppression and aggression in a different manner. For the purpose of surpassing their past experience, they also created unique ideals of their post-war Constitutions relating to their first articles. Discontinuity in politics manifested itself in each Constitution, but the intenser the resistance in wartime was the more drastic the change took place. Avoiding any reversion to their undemocratic and militaristic predecessors, the ideals of the three Constitutions should be embedded in the hearts of the people.

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Hrvoje Klasić
(University of Zagreb)

***Historical revisionism
and Croato-Serbian relations***

During the 20th century Croatia has participated in three wars – two World Wars and one “regional”. Except World War I the other two are still very present in Croatian historiography, politics, culture and everyday life. During World War II the anti-fascist resistance in Croatia (and Yugoslavia at all) was one of the biggest and most organized resistances in Europe. At the same time nationalistic Croatian

movement (Ustashe) became ally with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The result was the end of the war with Croats both on the winning and the losing side. Anti-fascism and anti-fascist struggle became the base of the new socialist federation. On the other side (fascist) collaborators and all other political enemies were excommunicated and in many cases brutally eliminated. After the war new official narrative was created, influencing every aspect of the society, from the official (the constitution, legislation, history teaching, etc.) to everyday life aspect (street names, monuments, "partisan movies"). Crimes against political enemies and collaborators were suppressed and denied.

The breakup of Yugoslavia and the formation of the independent states have affected the (changed) attitudes towards WWII, anti-fascism, communism and Yugoslavia. In Croatia, the new narrative has been affected by the war for the Croatian independence, but also by the fact that many anticommunists and descendants of defeated Ustasha soldiers returned to Croatia. Officially, anti-fascism remains a part of the Croatian Constitution, the Anti-Fascist Struggle Day is a public holiday, and the law prohibits the use of fascist symbols. Nevertheless, an unofficial narrative has been formed and it has a more dominant presence in the public domain. It comprises of ignoring or dismissing the fascist crimes, diminishing the anti-fascist (and later on, the communist) success and values, and overemphasising the crimes committed by the Partisan army (and later on, by the communists). The main drivers of this new narrative are the Catholic Church, the Croatian political emigration, and the political prisoners who were incarcerated in the socialist Yugoslavia (socialist Croatia). An important element utilized in the revisionist approach to anti-fascism (and communism) is the fact that, in the 1990s, Croatia was attacked by the Yugoslav People's Army, which was deemed a successor of the World War Two Partisan army. As a consequence of the aforementioned revisionism, numerous monuments dedicated to individuals and events related to the World War II were destroyed, street names relating to anti-fascist struggle were changed, and there is an increase in nationalism and the glorification of the World War II Croatian fascist movement (Ustasha), particularly among the younger population. The main consequence is deeply divided Croatian society with (unsolved) history as the leading factor of division.

This presentation should try to answer the question how and in what extent historical revisionism influences Croato-Serbian relations today.

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Tvrtko Jakovina
(University of Zagreb)

***Why there is still no true peace
between Serbia and Croatia?***

In my presentation I will try to outline the points in which Croatian and Serbian politicians, as well as formal and informal groups in both societies, have been preventing any hope of quick reconciliation, normal communication and economical development between two societies. Even more, I will try to illustrate how any attempts to let the past become past, have been jeopardized, erased, how historical developments have always being taken as a reason why not to start with normal lives in spite of the similar language, traditions. Why there is such a strong feeling of fear and active unwillingness to live European values? What is that telling us about the future?

.....
Viktoriia Serhiienko
(National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

***A Battle from the Past, A Battle for the Past.
The Poltava Battle 1709
and Current Russian-Ukrainian War***

Often the Russian-Ukrainian war is explained very simplistic as a confrontation between different identities and visions of the past. I am not denying that such components are present in this conflict; however, it is not limited to them and could not be explained by these, so to speak, historical arguments. The combination of other factors enabled this war. I am joining Andrii Portnov's thoughts, who, among its reasons, highlighted, firstly, the search of Putin's Russia for a new model of domestic and foreign political legitimization; secondly, the conflict of business interests within Ukraine itself, and thirdly, the weakness of the Ukrainian state, which failed to preserve the monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. Therefore, if we intend to understand profoundly this conflict, it is more productive to have a talk not so much about how one or another identity could be a catalyst for the social activity of individuals, but mainly about what is behind the variety of discussions about identities. In this paper, I am going to contextualize this thesis on such a case as myths about the Battle of Poltava 1709, which was one of the main land

battles between Sweden and the Moscow kingdom during the Great Northern war for domination in the Baltic region and in Eastern Europe. The Battle of Poltava cannot be taken from Russia's history without causing significant damage to the existing historical narrative. Poltava 1709 is the "foundation myth" for Russian history. Actually, Poltava itself, which was greatly rebuilt on the beginning of the XIX century, was projected as one big monument commemorating that battle. For Ukraine, according to Guido Hausmann, this battle marks Russia as the political "other" and enemy of Ukraine, and opens up the possibility to promote the early modern Ukrainian ruler Ivan Mazepa as a national hero and symbolical figure of resistance against Russian imperialism. Therefore, it is important to find out whether these two myths about the battle of Poltava are functioning in modern Ukrainian and Russian societies or not? And if so, what is their place and role, taking into account the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war? A more important issue is to analyze how public debate about the Poltava battle 1709 can be a pretext for identifying those political, economic, and social realities whose existence is not limited to the present-day conflict but which are crucial in our understanding of the current state of Ukrainian society influenced by war.

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Aiko Nishikida
(Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Prolonged Conflict and Multi-dimensional approach to the issue of Palestinian refugees

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has a long history with its direct roots dates back in the end of the 19th century. Deriving from the problem of anti-Semitism in the European history, the conflict shifted its arena to the Middle East after the birth of Zionism. Because of this background, the independence of the state of Israel not only caused regional battle in Palestine, but also lead international involvement to the conflict. The conflict entails national, regional, and international aspect and the resolution requires multi-dimensional approach. This presentation focuses on this aspect of the conflict and deals with the issue of Palestinian refugees. Reflecting the conflict, the refugee issue is composed of multi-dimensional character. In the level of nation-states, Palestinians have never achieved independence and most of the refugees still suffer from the legal status of statelessness in most of their residential states. It results in the lack of assurance of their human rights and dignity. In regional level, right of return of the Palestinian refugees is counted as one of the most serious threats to Zionism. While Israel considers it to be their vital interest, it also affects the international conflict negotiation. The peace process since the Oslo Accords proceeded on the premise of no negotiation over the right of return of Palestinian refugees and proposed only symbolic number of their repatriation. The issue of the Palestinian refugees represents multi-dimensional aspect of the conflict. The conflict resolution inevitably assumes consideration of the interlinked relation of each aspect, which might be required more seriously in this case compared to the other conflicts.

.....
Masamichi Iwasaka
(Doshisha University)

Challenges and Breakdown of Conflict Resolution in Turkey

In Turkey, President Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) have had a strong political leadership since 2002. They excluded

the tutelary powers, such as the military, from the political main stream under the name of democratization and successfully established the civilianization of politics and the civilian supremacy in the civil-military relations in early 2000s. This situation affected the counter-terrorism policy against the illegal Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The AKP government, which has taken initiative in the counter-terrorism policy under the civilian supremacy, tried to take the political (or non-military) approach to solve the PKK problem. This approach including negotiation, direct dialogue, attempt to gain popular support and etc. changed the circumstances around the problem dramatically and the government and the Kurdish representatives reached the historical peace agreement in February 2015. However, President Erdogan strongly denied the peace process with the PKK and effectively abandoned the pro-Kurdish People's Democratic Party (HDP) which would become the third largest party after the general elections in November 2015. Why did Erdogan abandon the peace process with the PKK? What is the main factor of this change in conflict resolution?

In this presentation, I will explain the main factor of changing approaches by Erdogan and the AKP government by analyzing their policies and discourses from the viewpoint of civil-military relations.

Daniel Bochsler
(Central European University)
and Miriam Hänni (University of Konstanz)

Consociational Oligarchies. A Revisionist Reading of Lijphart

Countries with persistent identity-based divisions (e.g. ethnic divides) need political systems that provide for the inclusion of all groups. We are interested in inclusive regimes in non-democratic countries with identity-based divisions, termed Consociational Oligarchies. Consociational Democracies are political regimes that accommodate the elites of different groups. The claim that consociationalism leads to democratisation and resolves conflicts in divided places is widely accepted.

However, although the concept of consociationalism has been associated with democracy, conceptually, consociationalism builds on several illiberal, anti-democratic features, which make it very compatible with non-democratic rule. Empirically, political institutions inspired by the consociational model (also termed 'power-sharing model') have become the dominant paradigm of peacebuilding. As non-democratic regimes tend to

be ethnically more diverse than democracies, and engage more often in civil wars, the consociational model has spread to authoritarian regimes.

This paper challenges the widely assumed connection of consociationalism and democracy. It proposes the concept labelled 'Consociational Oligarchies' as a (semi-)authoritarian regime type, based on the accommodation amongst political elites of different identity-based groups. It argues that a lack of democracy and electoral competition facilitates elite cooperation in divided countries. Theoretically, it argues that democracy and consociations are two independent concepts, which are not linked to each other through necessary or sufficient conditions. And it shows how consociations can be built on authoritarian institutions.

Empirically, it maps Consociational Democracies and Consociational Oligarchies, building on a new global dataset on de-facto political institutions in multi-ethnic countries worldwide, over the period 1990-2014.

Rok Zupančič (University of Ljubljana)
and Faris Kočan (University of Ljubljana)

An unifying means of 'Dance Macabre' or another tool for deepening of inter-ethnic strife: arts and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In this paper, we aim to unravel the specifics of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) concerning the less obvious field of contestation in post-conflict societies: the field(s) of arts and culture. By exploring this field of observation, we aim to transcend disciplinary boundaries between the field(s) of art and culture on the one hand, and the more-often researched topics that usually prevent more reconciliatory steps among the conflicting parties on the other hand (e. g. official history and diverging narratives on 'what has really happened'; politics, media ...). To achieve this goal, we analyse those pieces of "ethnic arts" and "ethnic cultural events" (Bosniak arts/culture, Serbian arts/culture, Croatian arts/culture in BiH), which have constantly been evoking the scars of the troubled (unresolved) past of the particular country and have thus been negatively affecting the possibility of bridging divides among the three nations. The authors argue that these examples of arts and culture in BiH act as a tool for deepening an inter-ethnic strife among the three nations, rather than as a unifying means, in accordance with which arts and culture serve as agents for overcoming the local particularities and transcending (inter-ethnic) divisions.

**Marijana Maksimović (Institute of Social Sciences)
and Nada Novaković (Institute of Social Sciences)**

Globalization, Migrants and Social Conflicts: Consequences for Serbia

Globalization, whether viewed as a process or phenomenon, has changed its intensity and depth of influence over the last decades. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, a new globalization speed has begun, known as the “New World” of states. People are in big migrations, looking for a better way of life and work. Not rarely, these migrations are caused by social and state conflicts. The big question is whether migrants choose developed countries in Europe, because of the developed industry and quality jobs, or because of the welfare state. However, it must be said that the “golden age” of the welfare state has passed in the second half of the 20th century. In these countries, there were also changes that occurred due to changes in the demographic structure, for example, low birth rate and aging of the population. Investing in people aims to enable potential employees and those who work, to increase their education and skills in order to be able to find work and be active participants in the labor market. Many global processes did not bypass Serbia, which is on the road of major changes, political, economic and social.

Key words: Serbia, globalization, migrants, social conflict, people

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**Jelena Dzankic
(European University Institute)**

Understanding citizenship policies in unconsolidated states in the Western Balkans

The objective of this talk is to reinterpret the place of citizenship in the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the creation of new states in the Western Balkan region. The key argument is that in societies with manifest ethnic cleavages that are at the same time states challenged internally or externally, citizenship regimes are more likely to be restrictive as a result of the incoherent paths of state and nation building, while citizenship as the collective identification with the state is virtually

non-existent. In order to better understand the transformation of citizenship in the post-Yugoslav space, I propose an analytical framework that will help us to better understand and study the citizenship governance and practices in states that have emerged from multinational federations, that are in themselves pluriethnic, that are subject to constant domestic and external forces, which shape and transform them. These states are unconsolidated and challenged by nature of their establishment and composition. They are unconsolidated not because they are pluriethnic, i.e. because different ethnic communities live in them, but because these ethnic communities disprove of the way in which the state has been constituted. This means that within the constituents of these states feel closer to their ethnic kin than to the state itself. They are challenged, because they have emerged from one or more processes of disintegration, and because the confines of their territorial and symbolic boundaries are contested in the broader neighbourhood. The analytical framework identifies five factors, whose combination is essential to our understanding of the continuities and discontinuities in the citizenship regimes of unconsolidated and challenged states. These factors are classified as historical, domestic (politics, practices) and external (horizontal, vertical), and each of them explains why certain policies and practices are engrained in the citizenship regimes of the newly established polities.

Herrad Heselhaus
(Tsukuba University)

(Post-)Civil-War Literature in a Transnational Context: A Relational-Studies Approach to Lazkani and Albahari

The presentation will begin with a short theoretical introduction into the research field of “Relational Studies in Literature” and critically discuss the advantages and disadvantages of this new research field vis-à-vis traditional approaches in literary studies. It will then outline the current research project on “Transnational Encounter in the European Refugee Crisis”, focusing on the literary segment of the investigation, and retrace the development that led from transnational encounter between refugees and hosts on European and, in particular German, soil in 2015/16 to (post-) war and (post-) civil-war literature. From the start, it was clear, that this investigation on the clash of foreign refugees and indigenous hosts would need to confront the limits of understanding and the evasiveness

of otherness in a highly self-conscious gesture. However, many of the literary texts investigated in this research project turned out to be part of a very specific and complex intertextual network, and some even, in spite of their diversity, closely knit together in the spatial and temporal horizon of violence and mobility, reaching out to historical doubles and synchronic parallels. In the second part of the presentation, the focus will be on literary texts by the Syrian Fadia Lazkani and the Serb David Albahari, two authors who, though exiled, continue to write in their native tongue and are accessible to distant third parties only through translation. The relational-studies approach to these two will focus on exactly this condition: the difficulty for the literary author to express her/his own violent experience of horror and insight to the uninformed, or under-informed, bystander, while simultaneously attracting the curiosity and empathy of that distant reader.

**Bojan Todosijević (Institute of Social Sciences)
and Zoran Pavlović (University of Belgrade)**

***Arrested future in post-conflict societies:
Serbian citizens between Kosovo and the EU***

Protracted conflicts influence people's perceptions and attitudes. Especially attitudes related to agents more or less, directly or indirectly involved in those conflicts may be subject to long lasting negative effects. Thus, past conflicts often influence the future of involved parties.

For Serbian citizens, perhaps the best example of a protracted conflict concerns its southern province Kosovo and Metohija, and attempts of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian population to secede from Serbia. This separatist movement has been active, with varying intensity for several decades. The peak, in terms of violence and human victims, was the NATO aggression on Serbia in 1999. Although the intensity of the conflicts has been reduced in recent years, the 'Kosovo issue' is still open, and influences various citizens' attitudes in Serbia.

In this paper, we examine the ways that attitudes about Kosovo affect views on one important international actor that has been involved in the Kosovo conflict, including the 1999 aggression – European Union. Given the general human tendency to strive for consistency, we would expect that attitudes towards Kosovo and towards EU are connected. For instance, respondents who believe that Kosovo should remain within Serbia are expected to be more critical of the EU.

However, we theorize that these two orientations involve more complex relationships as well. While the EU has played an important role in the Kosovo conflict (in opposition to Serbian national interests, as often perceived in Serbia), the EU is also a strategic goal of Serbian international politics. Hence, the EU has an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the Serbian public. Given this ambivalence, we hypothesize that there is an interactive effect here: the association between the attitudes towards Kosovo issue and attitude towards EU should be influenced by one's opinion on when and whether Serbia will become a member of the EU. For those who do not believe that Serbia will be able to join EU, the Kosovo and EU attitudes should be more negatively interconnected. For those who believe that Serbia will eventually join the EU, the association should be weaker, or non-existent.

These hypotheses are examined using a recently completed on-line public opinion survey on a large national sample of adult Serbian citizens. The results provide support for the interaction hypothesis. The attitude that Kosovo should remain part of Serbia is stronger predictor of the (negative) evaluation of the EU among those respondents who do not believe that Serbia will become EU member in the future.

Key words: attitudes, attitude consistency, post-conflict society, Serbia, Kosovo, EU

**Olivera Komar (University of Montenegro)
and Nemanja Batrićević (Central European University)**

***An Expensive Loyalty:
The Role of Ethnicity in Vote Buying***

In spite of early expectations for many post-communist societies, development of programmatic linkage between parties and voters remains a distant goal. In some cases, democratic ideal of voting for competitive policy programs based on ideological proximity between voters and political parties has been substituted with an alternative citizen-elite linkage – clientelism. Early literature on party-voter linkage has identified clientelistic ties to be more prevalent in ethnically heterogeneous societies, due to their intrinsic inclination towards in-group favoritism. However, despite the initial focus on the role of ethnic diversity, especially with regards to democratic consolidation, the existing literature on this matter has been surprisingly underdeveloped. For one, theoretical claims have been rarely empirically tested, due to sensitive nature of the issue and inherent lack data that goes with it. Second, existing literature has been almost exclusively focused on ethnic heterogeneity at the macro level, failing to effectively study the role of ethnicity in clientelistic exchange at the individual level. We combine list experiment with hierarchical modeling, using original data collected after 2018 Montenegrin local elections, to problematize current, simplistic, understanding of the role ethnic composition plays in determining the nature of citizen-elite linkage. We find that the prevalence of vote buying is strongly affected by ethnic heterogeneity of the locality an individual inhabits, personal group membership and its interaction with the dominant ethnicity at the micro-locality.

Key words: clientelism, ethnicity, list experiment, vote buying

**Amer Osmić
(University of Sarajevo)**

***Youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina between the war,
religion and nationality***

The countries of the former Yugoslavia especially Bosnia and Herzegovina have a difficult war past. More than 20 years after the war, the consequences are still present throughout the whole country. Genocide, massacre, expulsion, rape, are just some of the war crimes that occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina during three years, but till after the weapons were silenced, the war was not ended. In many schools, students of the same class continue to

go to different classrooms when they learn the native language, and in some parts of the country there is still a system of two schools under one roof. Nationalist tensions, in accordance with the needs of politics, are heated and often distract attention from real problems. Youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina are crucified between heritage, games, religion, nation, and friends, often that they do not know where and how to go. According to the above youth in contemporary Bosnian and Herzegovinian society have experienced the consequences of conflict in terms of divided education programs, but also of life in ethnically cleaned environments where various mechanisms are maintained through a state of armed conflict. Many young people, among other things (high unemployment rate, corruption, nepotism), and because of the above-mentioned reasons, often choose to leave the country after they finish secondary schools. Population estimates show that since 1998. about 300,000 thousands citizens left Bosnia and Herzegovina most commonly aged between 18 and 35 years.

Damir Kapidžić
(University of Sarajevo)

***The rise of illiberal politics in Southeast Europe
as an expression of authoritarian values
and global changes***

Illiberal politics, understood as deliberate attempts by governing parties to change the rules of democratic competition, are on the rise throughout Europe. Much of the recent literature in this regard focuses on cases where this development is most evident, such as Russia, Turkey, Venezuela and, to an extent, Eastern European member states of the European Union, and has neglected countries of the Southeast European semi-periphery. But democracy has been backsliding in this region just as well. Throughout the past decade all countries in the region, politically termed the Western Balkans, have seen their share of political leaders and parties willing to bend the rules to their advantage. Prevalent authoritarian values and rising support for populist politicians have compounded this trend. This paper aims to give a comparative overview of the rise of illiberal politics in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia. In addition, it will attempt to provide a theoretical and analytical framework to understanding the concept of illiberal politics and its empirical manifestations with a focus on quality of democracy, electoral integrity and civic liberties, as well as issues related to EU accession.

Kurt Bassuener (University of St. Andrews)

***Building Community through Common Adversity:
Natural Disasters, Civic Assistance, and Municipal
Empowerment***

The May 2014 floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) not only exposed the absolute failure of governance structures throughout the country to prepare and function for public welfare. They also demonstrated that popular solidarity and assistance – often the first to transcend the ethnic boundaries created by wartime design. Furthermore, BiH's municipal-level governments were, though hardly uniformly, the only layer of governance (state, entity, canton) which proved responsive. The only other public sector element which performed creditably was the BiH Armed Forces. The fact that mayors in BiH are directly elected is not insignificant. Nor was the chastisement by Republika Srpska President Milorad Dodik of the Mayor of Dobojo for his acceptance and expression of gratitude toward a neighboring Bosniak-majority municipality for food and water assistance.

The BiH flood response experience built on popular demonstrations and plenums which began in February 2014, but had dissipated. The demonstration of cross-ethnic solidarity, the author posits, helped lay the ground for future transethnic civic resistance, including most recently the "Justice for David" protests. Despite the apparent fraud in the October 2018 general elections, one could argue that these efforts did have a discernible impact in some areas. But they have yet to drive systemic change.

The Bosnia experience drove the author to reflect on how other shocks to the system of the body politic from disasters, such as seen in Puerto Rico last year with two back-to-back hurricanes, exposed or highlighted failures in governance and allowed space for bottom-up organization and pressure from the local level on the state – and the wider public consciousness. This presentation will use the Bosnian example as the launchpad for explorations of this phenomenon in the US, Greece, and elsewhere. Waseda University's contingent can also contribute their reflections on how the Fukushima nuclear disaster initially affected Japanese politics – and what their follow-on impact is nearly eight years later.

Nemanja Džuverović
(University of Belgrade)

To Romantize or not to Romantize the Local: Local Agency and Peacebuilding in the Balkans

Last decade brought to peace and conflict studies strong impetus to so-called 'local turn' or 'vernacular turn' where the importance of local actors, their agency and relationship to international intervenors is strongly emphasized and discussed. Still, even with widespread academic optimism about the emancipatory potential of the local, strong caveats of 'not romanticizing the local' are constantly repeated (Mac Ginty 2011, 2015, 2017, Mac Ginty & Richmond 2013). By looking at the Balkan countries and its traditional forms of conflict resolution and peacebuilding the text tries to answer the question if the local really has the potential to be the empowering agent or if these expectations are too ambitious, both at the academic and the policy level. Resting on the results of the analysis the text poses once again the question of Roland Paris (2010) if the liberal peacebuilding needs to be saved, and if so where are the locals in this rescue attempt.

Soeren Keil
(Canterbury Christ Church University)

Rethinking State-building after Conflict – Bosnia and Herzegovina in Comparative Perspective

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has been the prime example of international state-building in the post-Cold War era. Yet, more than 20 years since the Dayton Peace Agreement brought an end to the violent conflict in the country, Bosnia is far from a consolidated democratic state. The aim of this paper is to assess what "went wrong" in Bosnia, and more importantly, which lessons have – and can – be learnt. In doing so, the paper will take the state-building exercise in Bosnia as a starting point and assess its successes and failures. It will then look at other cases in the region (Macedonia and Kosovo) as well as beyond (Iraq) to assess how state-building and with it democratization in post-conflict societies have evolved since the experiences in Bosnia. The evolution and shifting discourse on state-building will then be re-applied to the current situation in Bosnia to assess, if a new international focus and stronger international engagement in the state-building exercise might be the solution to

some of the ills of the Bosnian dilemma. It will be argued that international presence and involvement matters – but it alone cannot fix weak and failing states, for this it needs the development of local institutions, civil society, a democratic political culture and local political actors who are committed to making the system work. In the absence of both, local conditions and international engagement, Bosnia has moved in recent years towards a failing state.

Kirsty Campbell
(University of St. Andrews)

Pressure from above: the collusion of peacebuilding NGOs with elite-level interests in post-Agreement Northern Ireland

This presentation examines a case study of a Northern Irish NGO to evidence that the changing landscape of the third sector in the post-Agreement period has resulted in NGOs contradicting the original aims of their founders, and colluding with the state and international funding bodies' interests through their peacebuilding practice.

Throughout the Northern Irish conflict, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) played a significant role in supporting the political peace process and transforming conflict relationships at the grassroots. Many organisations formed as social movements in response to the sociopolitical symptoms of the conflict and acted as a counter balance to governmental action and discourse. NGOs were afforded an increased degree of independence in their programme approach, which allowed for programme design consistent with organisational ethos and the use of creative and experimental peacebuilding practices. Philanthropic no-strings-attached grants further allowed organisations to dedicate resources to their infrastructure and governance, allowing for institutional learning.

In the wake of the Good Friday Agreement, a reduction in conflict casualties and an external perception of peace have resulted in reduced funding. NGOs are forced to be increasingly resourceful to secure the necessary finances. Organisational independence has been restricted as grants have set prescriptive programme outcomes. NGOs are further constrained by statutory obligations to professionalise their practice. Organisational values have been diluted or abandoned to ensure compliance, resulting in reduced effectiveness. The new funding environment has thus compromised the role of NGOs as an active and independent counter balance to the state.

Panel 8: Conflict and the Global Order

Andrii Portnov (European University Viadrina)

***The Ukrainian Maidan 2013–2014
as a Political and Cultural Phenomenon***

The Ukrainian Maidan started in November 2013 in reaction to President Yanukovich's decision not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU – a document on economic policy which avoided the EU integration perspective for Ukraine. Gradually the Maidan moved far beyond the issue of the Association Agreement. Partly against the will of the politicians who tried to speak on its behalf, the Maidan turned itself into an attempt to imagine a new Ukraine. In this process, the positive myth of 'Europe' as a space of rule of law, human rights, free speech, freedom of movement and economic prosperity played an enormous role. How, then, can we define the Maidan? How to understand its – at least partial – success in compensating for an inefficient state by mobilizing civil society? How to deal with the phenomenon of people's self-organization? Ilya Gerasimov described Maidan as a postcolonial revolution that focused on formulating and promoting new common values – 'a quintessentially creative act of positive self-determination that largely relativized the importance of external political influences (whether threatening or encouraging)'. No less important is that Maidan promoted an inclusive interpretation of Ukrainian identity and political loyalty, one not limited to ethnicity or language. And not least: the Maidan gave and continues to give citizens of the EU a double opportunity: on the one hand, to recall and reinvigorate the almost forgotten values upon which the European Union was built. On the other hand, to learn from the civic engagement that emerged where the state failed. What does the EU crisis mean for Ukraine? Does this mean that Ukraine will remain in an intermediary state between the EU and Russia (whether we call it a 'grey zone' or a 'bridge')? Will Ukrainian national mythology be forced to re-imagine itself without a 'return to Europe'? Ukraine can be described as too big, too complex, too close to Russia both geographically and historically. Ukraine has often been (and still is) denied the right to exist. And yet it has survived – despite 'the Russian spring' and profound economic problems, despite energy dependence and a weak state. The miracle of Ukraine's survival in 2014 still needs to be studied seriously. To do so, one would need to look closely at the structures and institutions (often informal) that keep Ukrainian society together, and which seem to be stronger even than the Maidan revolutions. Such an analysis could hopefully lead the discussion out of the pointless dichotomy between apocalypse and self-satisfaction.

Yun Zhang
(Niigata University)

***The New Sources of Conflict and the Linkage
between Internal and External Orders:
Focusing on US-China Interaction on the North
Korea Nuclear Conflict***

With the intensifying Sino-US competition on various dimensions ranging from the trade war to the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative, the potential conflict between the two great powers has been fiercely debated in both policy and academic circles. The existing literature echoes variations of a theme about “power transition theory” and its ensuing conflict, namely the prominent rising power China will seek to maximize its power to dislodge the incumbent US power and threaten the US-led international liberal order. This presentation challenges this conventional power-based analysis and the so-called the “Thucydides trap argument” despite not fully rejecting the explanatory power of the power transition theory. The author argues that the fundamental roots of US-China rivalry and the turbulences of the international order are not only derived from the dramatic change of power distribution but equally from the increasingly salient perception gap toward international order. The US has been emphasizing its contribution for the post-war liberal international order, which has been underpinned by US power primacy, hegemonic leadership and democracy promotion in domestic governance. However, China starts to be more vocal of promoting its perception toward international order based on the idea of the “Democratization of International Relations”. In short, the US would like to sustain and expand its liberal international order based on US preponderance and democracy promotion. But China calls for democratization of international relations and autonomy of internal order. Empirically, this presentation would use the North Korea nuclear conflict as a case study to highlight the intellectual causes of US-China rivalries by shedding light on the interactions between two different perceptions toward internal and external orders in the past three decades.

Čedomir Nestorović
(ESSEC Business School)

Role of diaspora in post-conflict society – Empirical evidence from the Council of Diaspora of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2001-2003

The Federal Government of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) initiated in 2001 the Council of Diaspora that sought to represent more than 3 million people originating from Serbia and Montenegro living abroad. It concentrated on how diaspora can help the economic growth of the country after the wars in the 1990s and NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999.

Diaspora from Serbia has traditionally been feted and feared because it has been identified as supporter of nationalist parties or communist regime in Serbia, depending on the interlocutor. Thus, the establishment of the Council of Diaspora in 2001 brought its usual series of criticism pertaining to the legitimacy of the body and the aims it wants to achieve.

In a post-conflict society, diaspora can help through three ways. The first one is to participate actively in the political life of the country by bringing new people who do not hold the burden of the past and do not practice violence as a political habitus. The second is to bring Foreign Direct Investments to Serbia (either from diaspora businessmen or asking companies where diaspora members work in to invest in Serbia). Finally, diaspora sends money back home in the form of remittances and the amount fluctuates according to the crisis. The more severe the crisis is, the higher amount of money comes from abroad as a help to relatives who live in the homeland.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the three roles diaspora can have in helping economic and political recovery of a country after a conflict with the emphasis on the activities of the Council of Diaspora, FRY, from 2001 to 2003.

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Kurt Bassuener is in his third and final year as a PhD candidate at the University of St. Andrews, where is studying on a US-UK Fulbright Commission award. He completed his MA in European Studies at the Central European University in Prague in 1994 and his BA in International Studies from the American University in Washington, DC in 1991. He also received a certificate from the Faculty of Islamic Studies, part of the University of Sarajevo, in 2007. His doctoral dissertation will argue that internationally brokered power-sharing agreements, such as Dayton in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Ohrid in Macedonia, entrench pseudo-democratic oligarchic politics that are extremely difficult to dislodge.

He is also a co-founder (in 2005) and Senior Associate of the Democratization Policy Council, a Berlin-based (and German and US-registered) think-tank. He has written and co-written numerous policy studies, analyses, and articles – including in publications such as the International Herald Tribune, Washington Post, Irish Times, The New European, and Just Security. In addition, he was Research Director for the Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support, a project of the Community of Democracies.

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Nemanja Batrlćević is a PhD candidate in Comparative Politics at the Central European University, where he previously obtained his MA degree in Political Science and specialized in quantitative research methodology in social sciences. He currently works as a teaching assistant at the University of Montenegro, Department of Political Science. His main research focuses on political psychology, in particular psychological underpinnings of ethnic politics, inter-group relations, and political decision making. In addition, he works on the application of behavioral genetics models to study of political attitudes.

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Daniel Bochsler (PhD 2008, University of Geneva) is an Assistant Professor in Nationalism Studies and Political Science at Central European University (CEU) in Budapest. He has been an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, and an Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics (Democratisation) at the University of Zurich and at the Centre for Democracy Studies Aarhus. His research deals with political institutions, especially in culturally diverse countries and in the context of democratisation. He has conducted research in and on a range of countries of

Central and Eastern Europe and Switzerland. His work have been published in journals such as Electoral Studies, the European Journal of Political Research, Public Choice, Nationalities Papers, and West European Politics, see www.bochsler.eu.

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Kirsty Campbell is a 3rd year PhD candidate at the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews. Kirsty was awarded her MLitt in Peace and Conflict Studies at St Andrews in 2009 following her MA Politics from the University of Edinburgh in 2008. Her doctoral thesis explores mainstream sectarian discourses in Northern Ireland and the experience of peace and reconciliation organisations in the post-Agreement period. Kirsty's academic interests are in Northern Irish politics, conflict transformation, sectarianism, civil society, gender violence and domestic abuse.

Kirsty has been involved as a peacebuilding practitioner at the Corrymeela Community since 2009. She worked as a police officer with Police Scotland for five years and continues to work as a researcher and trainer in the field of criminal justice in Scotland.

Kirsty has been project lead on a number of policy papers, including Ending Residual Paramilitary Domination in Northern Ireland for the Northern Irish Executive and Integrated Domestic Abuse Courts: An Evaluation for the Scottish Government.

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Nemanja Džuverović is an associate professor in Peace Studies at the University of Belgrade and academic coordinator of the Regional Master's Program in Peace Studies. He received his PhD from the University of Belgrade. His research areas include inequality-conflict nexus, welfare in post-conflict environments, political economy of liberal peacebuilding and international statebuilding in the Balkans. He has been visiting researcher at the University of Manchester (Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute), the University of Uppsala (Department of Peace and Conflict Research) and the University of Granada (Institute for Peace and Conflicts). Nemanja has been a visiting professor at several universities, including University of Bologna, Masaryk University, University of Zagreb, and University of Warsaw. He is co-editor of the Journal of Regional Security and one of the co-founders of the Center for Peace Studies (at the University of Belgrade).

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Herrad Heselhaus has a Ph.D. in Literary Studies from Munich University. She held positions in German and Comparative Literature at Munich University and Tuebingen University, Germany, before coming to Tsukuba University in Japan, where she is now establishing a new academic program in "One-Planet Relational Studies in Literature and Culture". Her research interest in the last 10 years is how global and local crises are represented and tackled in literature and philosophy. After a research grant on literary and philosophical reactions to Fukushima, she is currently investigating the transnational encounter in the European refugee crisis and concepts of hospitality within the framework of "Relational Studies in Global Crises". Publications among others on Kafka, Morgenstern, Jelinek, Sloterdijk, refugee literature, and political terminologies.

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Hikari Ishido, Ph.D. in Economics, is Professor of International Economics and Director of the APEC Study Center at the Faculty of Law and Economics, Chiba University. He was born in Niigata Prefecture, Japan, in 1969, and graduated from the Faculties of Engineering/Economics at the University of Tokyo and the Department of Economics, the University of London (with MSc and PhD). He formerly served as Programme Officer at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and as Research Fellow at the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) within Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO). He has given lectures at various international organizations including the United Nations, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). He has published various journal articles as well as book chapters centering on the theory and empirics of international trade and investment.

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He is tenured professor and former head of the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. He is the author of "Socialism on the American Grain" /*Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici*/ (2002), "The American Communist Ally. Croats, Tito's Yugoslavia and the United States 1945-1955" /*Američki komunistički saveznik; Hrvati, Titova Jugoslavija i Sjedinjene*

Američke Države 1945-1955/" (2003), "The Third Side of The Cold War" /Treća strana Hladnog rata/ (2011), "Croatian Spring – 40 years Later" /Hrvatsko proljeće, četrdeset godina poslije" (editor, 2012), "Moments of Catharsis. Breaking Events in XXth Century" / Trenuci katarze. Prijelomni događaji XX stoljeća/ (2013) and "25 Years of Croatian Independence – What is Next?" /25 godina hrvatske neovisnosti – kako dalje?/" (editor, 2017). Jakovina authored many articles dealing with the foreign policy of Tito's Yugoslavia and Croatian history in 20th century. Tvrtko Jakovina studied at several universities in the United States (University of Kansas, was Fulbright Visiting Researcher at the Georgetown University). He obtained MA in American Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium and Ph.D. from the University of Zagreb (in 2002). He was visiting fellow at the London School of Economics.

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notes

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Conference Statement

In the contemporary global world, many crises are interconnected, actors of various scale interact directly with each other, and local conflicts often have global repercussions and wider consequences. In order to analyze such contemporary crises, a new approach is needed to overcome division between various disciplines in social sciences and humanities based on the homogeneous unit of analysis and particular geographical limits. This conference gathers a group of scholars from various disciplines and geographical areas to analyze global conflicts and post-conflict societies in search of a new approach to analyze global conflicts and post-conflict societies with an emphasis on the relational dynamics between actors and within collective actors as well as between events - what may be called "Relational Studies on Global Conflicts."