

# PEACE SCIENCE DIGEST

A PROJECT BY THE WAR PREVENTION INITIATIVE



## IN THIS ISSUE

**Military Support and an Increased Vulnerability to Terrorist Attacks**

**International Influence on U.S. Public Support for Drone Strikes**

**Nonviolent Conflict Escalation**

**Police Militarization: Domestic Consequences of Foreign Policy**

**Political Violence in Post-9/11 Wars**

Photo Credit: <http://shutdowncreech.blogspot.com>

Anti-drone protesters executed waves of multiple non-violent peaceful actions at Creech Air Force Base throughout the morning last Friday, April 1, 2016 with the intent of interrupting the drone killing activities that take place there.

#### Disclaimer

Research featured in the *Peace Science Digest* is selected based on its contribution to the field of Peace Science, and authenticated by the scientific integrity derived from the peer-review process. Peer-reviewed journals evaluate the quality and validity of a scientific study, giving us the freedom to focus on the articles' relevance and potential contribution to the field and beyond. The editors of the *Peace Science Digest* do not claim their analysis is, or should be, the only way to approach any given issue. Our aim is to provide a responsible and ethical analysis of the research conducted by Peace and Conflict Studies academics through the operational lens of the War Prevention Initiative.

**Cover Photo Credit:** <http://shutdowncreech.blogspot.com>

**Anti-drone protesters executed waves of multiple non-violent peaceful actions at Creech Air Force Base throughout the morning last Friday, April 1, 2016 with the intent of interrupting the drone killing activities that take place there.**

Our vision is a world beyond war by 2030 and humanity united by a global system of peace with justice.

Our mission is to advance the Global Peace System by supporting, developing and collaborating with peacebuilding efforts in all sectors of society.

#### DIRECTORY

Patrick Hiller, Ph.D.

**DIRECTOR**

David Prater

**PROGRAM MANAGER**

Paloma Ayala

**GRAPHIC DESIGN**

221 NW Second Ave; Suite 204  
Portland, Oregon 97209  
United States

Phone: 503.505.5721  
[digest@warpreventioninitiative.org](mailto:digest@warpreventioninitiative.org)  
[www.warpreventioninitiative.org](http://www.warpreventioninitiative.org)

#### SOCIAL MEDIA



Facebook.com/  
PeaceScienceDigest



@PeaceSciDigest



youtube.com/user/  
WarPreventionTV



flickr.com/photos/  
warpreventioninitiative

WAR  
PREVENTION  
INITIATIVE

JUBITZ  
FAMILY  
FOUNDATION

## NEED AND ROLE OF THE DIGEST

Peace and Conflict Studies (henceforth: Peace Science) has emerged as an academic discipline with its own graduate programs, handbooks, research tools, theories, associations, journals and conferences. As with most scientific communities, the slow migration of academic knowledge into practical application becomes a limiting factor of a field's growth, impact and overall effectiveness of its practitioners.

The expanding academic field of Peace Science continues to produce high volumes of significant research that often goes unnoticed by practitioners, the media, activists, public policy-makers, and other possible beneficiaries. This is unfortunate, because Peace Science ultimately should inform the practice on how to bring about peace.

*The research and theory needed to guide peace workers to produce more enduring and positive peace, not only more peace studies, have come to stay. Bridging the gap between the peace movement moralism and foreign policy pragmatism is a major challenge facing everyone who seeks to achieve peace on Earth. (Johan Galtung and Charles Webel)*

To address this issue, the War Prevention Initiative has created the Peace Science Digest as a way to disseminate top selections of research and findings from the field's academic community to the many beneficiaries.

The Peace Science Digest is formulated to enhance awareness of literature addressing the key issues of our time by making available an organized, condensed and comprehensible summary of this important research as a resource for the practical application of the field's current academic knowledge.

WAR PREVENTION INITIATIVE  
MILITARIZING  
RESEARCH EARTH

FOOD-GAS

3/4 MILE

## A NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

It is our pleasure to introduce Volume 1, Issue 6 of the Peace Science Digest.

As we wrap up our first year of the Peace Science Digest, which could be called an exploratory year, we thank you for your support and encouragement. We hope we have provided you with a useful tool in your respective contexts – as researchers, educators, students, peacebuilders, public servants, the media, funders, and any other audiences – in that we made some of the most significant recent and thematic Peace Science accessible, understandable and useful.

Beyond the encouragement and strong endorsements, we have received valuable feedback which we integrate on a regular basis. As we conclude our first year of publishing, we look forward to further bridging the gap between the theories and practices that create a more just and peaceful world.

Inside this issue, we show how military support in foreign countries increases the vulnerability to terrorist attacks, how U.S. public support for drone warfare can be swayed by international influence, how conflicts can be constructively escalated nonviolently, how foreign policy impacts domestic police militarization and finally a broad assessment of political violence since the post 9/11 wars.

Now, imagine the Digest's expert analysis and thoughtfully formatted design mailed directly to your home or office. Starting in 2017, we are offering a print subscription that will include six regular issues and two special thematic issues. Please go to [www.Communication.WarPreventionInitiative.org](http://www.Communication.WarPreventionInitiative.org) to see the subscription options.

Moving into next year, you can expect the following:

Continued focus on the latest Peace Science analysis

Continued professional design and layout

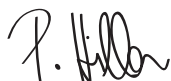
Continued clear structure for easy access

Enhancement of "Practical Implications" and "Contemporary Relevance" sections by connecting analysis to subject experts

New contributing writer and editor on our team

Continued free full online version

This issue's articles illustrate the necessity of highlighting the alternatives to war and violence, and proving that these alternatives are indeed available. However, we are not naïve—we are facing challenging political times. Given the uncertainties of U.S. foreign and domestic policy ahead of us, it becomes even more important to pro-actively challenge war and violence prone rhetoric and action by pointing to demonstrable more effective and less costly alternatives. Peace Science tells us that we certainly do not need a new (nuclear) arms race.



Patrick Hiller



David Prater

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

Military Support and an Increased Vulnerability to Terrorist Attacks	6
International Influence on U.S. Public Support for Drone Strikes	10
Nonviolent Conflict Escalation	14
Police Militarization: Domestic Consequences of Foreign Policy	18
Political Violence in Post-9/11 Wars	22

# Military Support and an Increased Vulnerability to Terrorist Attacks

Source | Du Bois, C & Buts, C. (2016). *Military support and transnational terrorism*. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 27:5, 626-643. DOI: 10.1080/10242694.2014.972087

## Key words

terrorism  
military support  
arms dealing



Continued Reading:

**US military support increases terror attacks on American Citizens, Study Shows** by the London School of Economics and Political Science.

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/newsAndMedia/news/archives/2011/02/terrorism.aspx>

**Officials: Islamic State Arose from US Support for Al-Qaeda in Iraq**

by Nafeez Ahmed

<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2015/08/officials-islamic-state-arose-from-us-support-for-al-qaeda-in-iraq/>

**US Security Assistance and Terrorism: An Inconvenient Truth?** by Ed Coughlan

<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/08/19/us-security-assistance-and-terrorism-an-inconvenient-truth/>

The terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 introduced to the world the reality of large-scale transnational terrorism. The attacks in Madrid in 2004, London in 2005, and others globally, proved that the United States was not alone on the list of potential targets. Terrorism research continues to explore relationships that may increase a country's vulnerability to attacks based on the country's foreign policy and military involvement.

Past research has found a relationship between the level of democracy in a country and its susceptibility to terrorist attacks. Other research suggests that it is not the type of government, but rather the aggressive foreign policy that both democratic and non-democratic countries display. This study advances these theories by arguing that a country's likelihood of experiencing a transnational terrorist attack is a direct result of its military involvement and/or arms sales.

The authors build on the theory that terrorist attacks themselves are not the ultimate goal of a terrorist organization, but rather a method to achieve their goals. Kydd and Walter (2006) identified five principle categories of goals pursued by terrorist organizations: regime change, territorial change, policy change, social control, maintaining the status quo. Even before the 9/11 attacks, research found that 95% of all suicide terrorist attacks were conducted to induce foreign occupiers to leave the terrorists' home country.

This paper analyzes 262 terrorist attacks against the 28 NATO countries over the course of 10 years (1998-2007), seeking support for the following hypothesis:

*The greater the military support of a country to countries with terrorist organizations, the higher the probability of a terrorist attack against citizens of that supporting country.*

To measure 'military support', the authors included (1) the number of troops deployed, (2) the supply of military material, and (3) weapons exports.

The results of the study found foreign military support significantly raises the probability of a transnational terrorist attack. When a country deploys

troops to a foreign country it is more likely to be attacked by a terrorist group from that country. Sending troops increases the probability of not only battlefield casualties, but also fatalities among citizens from terrorist attacks during and following the military deployment.

Weapons exports have an even greater impact on the likelihood of an attack. A country is more than twice as likely to experience an attack from a terrorist organization from countries receiving weapons. However, supplying military material was not found to increase the probability of a terrorist attack. Additional review of the data showed that a country's GDP or proximity of a terrorist organization to the country providing military aid had little to no effect on a country's probability of a terrorist attack.

**The greater a country's military support to countries with terrorist organizations, the higher the probability of a terrorist attack against citizens of that supporting country.**



Photo Credit: The U.S. Army

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>

Officer in charge of the U.S. Army 205th Corps Training Team observes as an Afghan National Army trainer adjust the site on an M-16 rifle in Kandahar, Afghanistan, Jan. 23, 2008.

# CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

During the 10-year period analyzed in this study (1998-2007), almost 50% of the 262 terrorist attacks against NATO countries were conducted against United States targets. Based on the findings of this study, this statistic shows that U.S. policy on military intervention and arms dealing was a contributing factor in bringing about the high number of terrorist attacks. A past, present and future debate around terrorism always revolves around what the best responses are. The U.S. is stuck in a military response paradigm. Instead, by decreasing military involvement and arms dealing, the U.S. can expect a decrease of attacks from terrorist organizations.

# PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

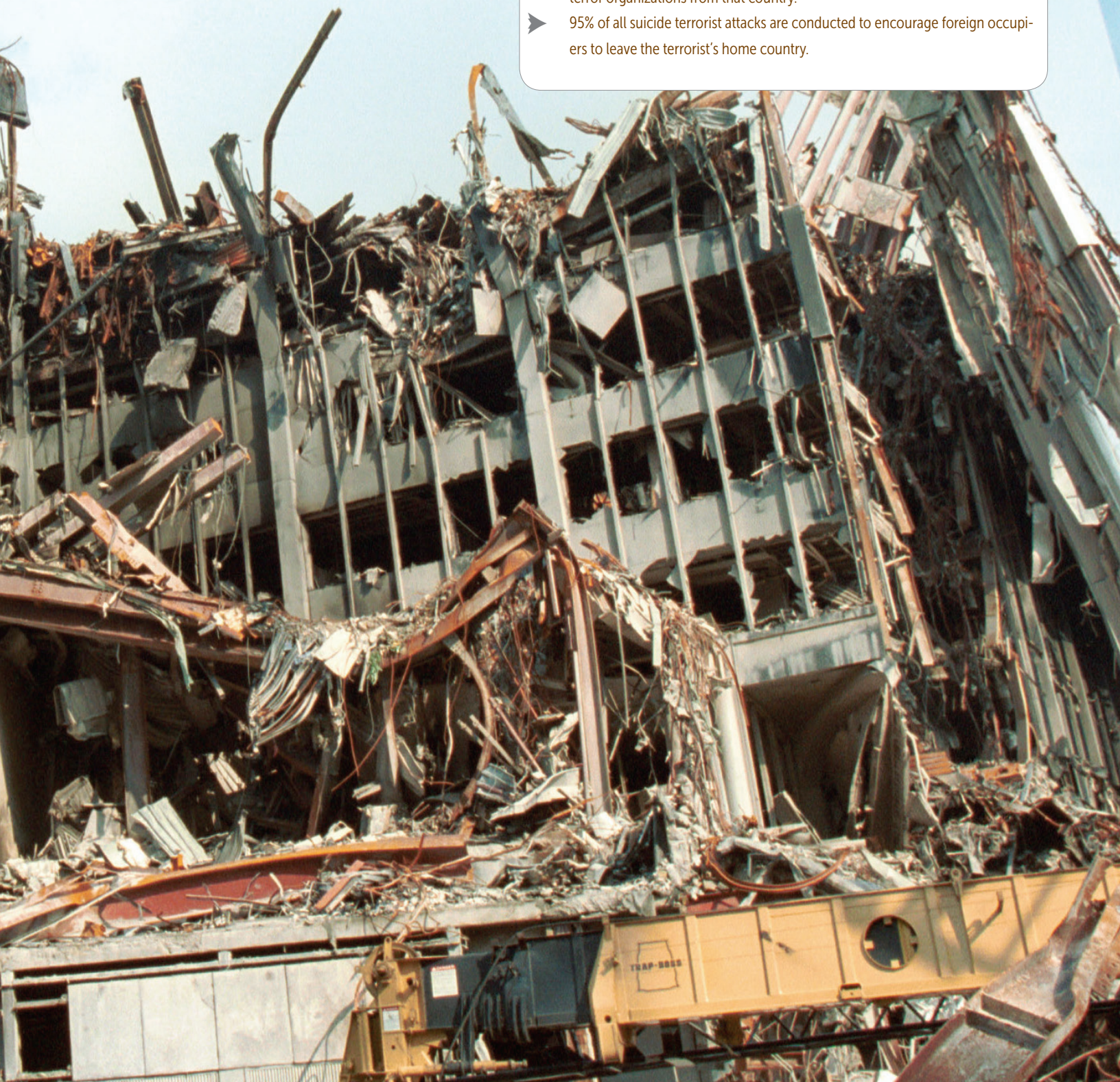
This research shows that providing military support or selling weapons increases the chance of a terrorist attack. Considering the increased vulnerability of both deployed troops and citizens at home, governments should take this research into account when deciding whether to provide military support. Moreover, this research has the potential to shift the narrative and actions away from a militaristic response to terrorism toward the now proven nonviolent alternatives of non-military intervention and stopping of arms sales. Both approaches will be met with resistance, nevertheless advocates for non-military responses to terrorism can and need to insist that viable alternatives exist.

Photo Credit: James Tourtellotte ; United States Government work  
[www.U.S.A.Gov](http://www.U.S.A.Gov)



## TALKING POINTS

- Deployment of troops to another country increases the chance of attacks from terror organizations from that country.
- Weapons exports to another country increases the chance of attacks from terror organizations from that country.
- 95% of all suicide terrorist attacks are conducted to encourage foreign occupiers to leave the terrorist's home country.



# International Influence on U.S. Public Support for Drone Strikes

Source | Kreps, S. E., & Wallace, G. P. (2016). International Law, Military Effectiveness, and Public Support for Drone Strikes. *Journal of Peace Research*.

## Key words

drones  
international law  
public opinion



Continued Reading:

**The Drone Papers** by The Intercept.

<https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/>

### **US Public Support for Drones: Separating fact from Fiction**

by Julia Macdonald & Jacquelyn Schneider.

<https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/10/18/us-public-support-for-drones-separating-fact-from-fiction/>

### **Drones: Whatever Became of U.S. Respect for International Norms Prohibiting Assassinations?**

by Russ Wellen. [http://fpif.org/drones\\_whatever\\_became\\_of\\_the\\_prohibition\\_against\\_assassinations/](http://fpif.org/drones_whatever_became_of_the_prohibition_against_assassinations/)

[http://fpif.org/drones\\_whatever\\_became\\_of\\_the\\_prohibition\\_against\\_assassinations/](http://fpif.org/drones_whatever_became_of_the_prohibition_against_assassinations/)

Many international government and nongovernment organizations say the U.S. drone program is against international law and creates more terrorists than it eliminates. The U.S. government claims drones are an effective way to disrupt terrorist networks and that the program is in accordance with international law. While public support is key to sustainable, legitimate policy in a democracy, research on international criticism of policy is limited and crucial to the longevity of government programs and positions.

This research examines whether the criticism by international organizations (IOs) or Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) impact public opinion in the United States for the country's drone program, or whether individuals are more persuaded by the U.S. government's arguments citing the program's effectiveness.

Since September 11th, 2001, the U.S. has conducted more than 500 non-battlefield drone strikes against suspected terrorists, affecting nearby civilians, killing over 4,000 people and wounding thousands more. The U.S. drone program is a staple in the country's counterterrorism policy and has been heavily scrutinized by both international and domestic actors. In 2013, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly deliberated on a report criticizing the U.S. drone program on the grounds that the program violates international law regarding the use of lethal force. Many NGOs have also voiced criticism, with Amnesty International stating they are "deeply concerned that targeted killings by US drones occurring outside the conditions of armed conflict violate the prohibition of arbitrary deprivation of life and may constitute extrajudicial executions".

This research used a series of surveys to poll 2,394 U.S. voters, measuring the influence of international legal principles versus stated military effectiveness on public support for U.S. drone policy. The survey participants read through various arguments from representatives of IOs, NGOs and the U.S. government. IO community statements from the United Nations argued the drone program violates international law, the NGO Human Rights Watch provided arguments based on civilian casualties of drone program,

and the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. government defended the effectiveness of drones at eliminating terrorist threats.

The results of the survey showed public opinion was more influenced by the appeals made by NGOs and IOs about the legality and civilian casualties of drone strikes than they were with appeals for drone effectiveness. Survey participants were especially swayed by arguments regarding the high rate of civilian deaths and how drones often ignore national sovereignty laws. Historically, U.S. public opinion is evenly divided on the drone program. This research found the international community can influence public opinion by 7% on average, which is more than enough to shift a minority or split opinion to the majority.

The screenshot shows the Amnesty International website interface. At the top left is the Amnesty International logo. To the right are navigation links: NEWS, EVENTS, BLOG, RESEARCH. Below these are four main menu items: OUR WORK, GET INVOLVED, DONATE, and ABOUT US. The main content area features a large image of a drone with the word "Drones" overlaid. Below the image is a breadcrumb trail: Home > Our Work > Issues > Security and Human Rights > Drones. The article title is "Killing outside the bounds of law?". The text discusses the Obama administration's use of lethal force with drones, Amnesty International's concerns, and the need for international law to be followed. A "GET INVOLVED" button is visible below the article text. On the right side of the page, there is a "SIGN UP" section with the text "Stay informed about Amnesty's work." and a form field for "YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS". Below that is an "ACT NOW" section titled "The U.S. Bombing of a Doctors Without Borders Hospital Must Be Investigated" with a sub-headline and a paragraph of text.

# CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

U.S. President-Elect Donald Trump has been vocal about his plans to ramp up the War on Terror, including targeting family members of combatants.<sup>1</sup> Drone strikes would be a likely choice for such missions. This research proves that when the international community uses arguments based on the U.S drone program's violation of international law and high civilian casualties, U.S. public opinion for drones decreases. The international community can use these arguments to continue to spread awareness of violations, including the blatant violation of Article 51.2 of the Geneva Convention, pertaining to the deliberate targeting of civilians.

1. Business Insider: 'Here's what a Donald Trump drone program could look like'  
<http://www.businessinsider.com/donald-trump-drone-program-preview-2016-9>



## TALKING POINTS

- By highlighting civilian casualties and breaches of international law, international organizations can directly influence U.S. public opinion on drone policy.
- U.S. public opinion on the drone program is more influenced by international organizations citing legal principles, than by their own government claiming drones are legal and effective.

## PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This research can provide a useful basis for advocacy groups challenging the U.S. drone program. The framing – not only the facts- surrounding an issue can be significant with regard to the actual impact on public opinion. This study found that criticism focusing on the effectiveness of drone strikes had little impact on public opinion, but criticism highlighting departures from international law and civilian casualties led to a change of public opinion about the U.S. drone program. NGOs and IOs, such as Human Rights Watch and the United Nations, can gain substantial traction with campaigns bringing attention to the legality or ethical questions of state policy. Considering the average influence on public opinion was around a 7% change, that margin is more than enough to tip the majority opinion against the U.S. drone program.

Photo Credit: MSgt Eric Miller; The National Guard  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>  
A MQ-9 Reaper drone flies a routine training mission over Central New York in October 2016.

# Nonviolent Conflict Escalation

Source | Sprensen, M. J., & Johansen, J. (2016). Nonviolent Conflict Escalation. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 34(1), 83-108.

## Key words

nonviolence  
conflict escalation  
civil disobedience



Continued Reading:

### **History Didn't Bring Down the Berlin Wall—Activists Did**

by Mark Engler and Paul Engler

[\(http://fpif.org/history-didnt-bring-berlin-wall-activists/\)](http://fpif.org/history-didnt-bring-berlin-wall-activists/).

### **Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transition From Armed to Nonviolent Struggle**

by René Wadlow

<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2014/09/civil-resistance-and-conflict-transformation-transition-from-armed-to-nonviolent-struggle/>.

### **Resource Library by the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict**

[\(https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource-library/\)](https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource-library/)

Borrowing from the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights, the authors argue all conflicts are equal with the same right to recognition and resolution, although many remain unknown to the broader public and ultimately unresolved. In many cases, the process of escalating a conflict or grievance into public discourse is regarded as problematic or undesirable due to the negative connotation *conflict escalation* holds in the media, political and academic communities. This article seeks to alter the understanding of the term by suggesting conflict escalation is a positive shift towards a necessary form of human and social development—if the escalation remains nonviolent.

A major challenge in separating the negative association of conflict with violence is the lack of understanding of effective methods and procedures of nonviolent resistance. There is a long and successful history of nonviolent campaigns against injustice and oppression and the promotion of human rights and social values. These campaigns began at a local level and were escalated to the global stage by the power and social awareness that accompanies nonviolent tactics, especially when nonviolent campaigns are waged against violent opponents.

A common way to define escalation is when participants switch from one method of nonviolence to another—from a low risk method such as boycotting to a higher risk method like civil disobedience. To further this thinking, the authors in this study identified five aspects of nonviolent conflict escalation based on past research, their own experience and the analysis of case studies of nonviolent struggle and civil resistance. The first and most common aspect method of escalation is quantitative. Here, methods change from the number of participants, how long the participants are engaged, the number of different social groups participants come from, area/s of protest, and other steps measurable by numbers. Examining those makes it relatively easy to identify when and how escalation has taken place. The other four aspects of conflict escalation are more concerned with qualitative elements: *innovation* of a new method, *dilemma creation* for the opponent, *provocation*, and *persistence*.

The authors' analysis of case studies of nonviolent conflict escalation found that conflicts often persist at a certain level without being recognized or reaching any form of resolution. When nonviolent campaigns succeeded in achieving their goals, escalation was often necessary to transform the underlying conflict to a level or methods that force one party's 'victory'. Whether the escalation or 'victory' is viewed as good/bad is open for interpretation. The authors use the example of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement: those in the white community who supported and practiced segregation found the escalation that the Civil Rights leaders and others used undesirable, but for those against segregation, the escalation was a necessary step for their success in achieving equal rights. This polarity of opinions is also true in the examples found in campaigns to overthrow dictators, slavery and the struggle for women's right to vote—these campaigns were unlikely to succeed without a prolonged nonviolent protest with clear levels of escalation.

### **Nonviolent Conflict Escalation:**

When previously unrecognized conflicts are intensified using nonviolent means to a point where the conflict can no longer be ignored.

Photo Credit: Dark Sevier

Attribution-NonCommercial 2.0 Generic (CC BY-NC 2.0)A

Standing Rock protestors against the Dakota Access Pipeline, December 2016.



## CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The various levels and aspects of nonviolent conflict escalation are exemplified in the Standing Rock protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). There are thousands of solidarity protests around the world that act through lower-risk methods such as information sharing and fundraising, supporting the high-risk methods of the water protectors, Native elders and others on the ground in North Dakota. This demonstrates the notion many experts on nonviolent struggle support: nonviolence is alive and well. In other words, nonviolence is a widespread pro-active form of conflict transformation, not a concept found only in some unique historical circumstances that allowed for Gandhi, Mandela or King to succeed.

## PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

With the growing use of nonviolent forms of protest and the attention these methods are getting in academia and the media, it is important to better understand the roles and effects of nonviolent escalations. This research adds to that understanding, and through the analysis of past campaigns, shows that escalation is an important and often necessary step for nonviolent movements to fulfill their goals. Organizations like the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict not only examine struggles going on worldwide, but also create training for activists and organizers based on insights from practice and research. Studies like these add to the toolbox of waging nonviolent conflict and ultimately contribute to the reduction of violence and war.

Photo Credit:By Steve Kaiser from Seattle  
US (WTO protests 10) [CC BY-SA 2.0  
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons  
Pepper spray applied to a group during WTO protests in Seattle, November 30, 1999.



## TALKING POINTS

- The great nonviolent success stories all displayed clear levels of nonviolent conflict escalation.
- Nonviolent conflict escalation is achieved quantitatively or through innovation, dilemma creation, provocation, and persistence.
- Nonviolent conflict escalation can contribute to social change.



# Police Militarization: Domestic Consequences of Foreign Policy

Source | Coyne, C. J., & Hall-Blanco, A. R. (2016). *Foreign Intervention, Police Militarization, and Minorities*. *Peace Review*, 28(2), 165-170.

## Key words

militarization  
racism  
policing



Continued Reading:

### **The Wars Have Come to U.S. Soil**

by Patrick Hiller.

[\(http://www.peacevoice.info/2016/07/08/the-wars-have-come-to-u-s-soil/\)](http://www.peacevoice.info/2016/07/08/the-wars-have-come-to-u-s-soil/)

### **Your Tax Dollars Enable Police Brutality Abroad**

by Chris Toensing

[\(http://otherwords.org/your-tax-dollars-enable-police-brutality-abroad/\)](http://otherwords.org/your-tax-dollars-enable-police-brutality-abroad/)

### **Ferguson Exposes the Creeping Militarization of Police Forces**

by Jim Hightower

[\(http://otherwords.org/ferguson-exposes-creeping-militarization-police-forces/\)](http://otherwords.org/ferguson-exposes-creeping-militarization-police-forces/)



Get expert opinion:

### **Militarism and Police Expert:**

John Lindsay-Poland

<https://www.afsc.org/media-kit/bios/john-lindsay-poland>

Foreign and domestic policies are most often thought of as separate functions. However, this study shows that aggressive foreign policy, such as military interventions, can generate severe domestic consequences including the adoption of methods, equipment and attitudes of militaristic social control. This adopted form of social control is most commonly identified in the militarization of police forces across the U.S., the effects of which disproportionately affect marginalized and minority populations.

The authors draw from the example found in the creation and growth of police Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams and their disproportional use in minority communities. SWAT teams originated in Los Angeles, California as a byproduct of U.S. foreign policy—designed by two combat veterans who made the transition into the Los Angeles Police Department. The architect of the first SWAT team used his experience from his elite special operations training to create a lethal police unit with specialized military equipment and training. The officer involved in designing the first SWAT team and the police chief who helped gain its approval relied on their collective military experience to create an administrative and cultural openness for the use of military tactics that is “aggressive, intimidating, and confrontational by design.”

The national campaigns focused on the ‘War on Drugs’ and ‘War on Terror’ acted as catalysts, spreading SWAT teams and police militarization as local and state agencies began receiving federal funds and equipment. In the mid-1980s, approximately 20% of police departments had SWAT teams, by the year 2000 nearly 90% of police departments serving populations over 50,000 had a SWAT team. Current estimates place the number of SWAT deployments around 80,000 a year, up from the 3,000 deployments in the 1980s. Likewise, in 2013 a Department of Defense program flooded \$500 million worth of military weapons and equipment to local law enforcement. This influx of federal money and military equipment, combined with the adoption of military tactics by SWAT teams, created an atmosphere that jeopardized the civil liberties and freedoms of the public. However, the effects of militarization were most pronounced in the areas least equipped to resist the pressures of an aggressive government—poor,

politically unrepresented and marginalized communities.

The historical inequality found in minority police arrests began to mirror the actions of police SWAT teams. Blacks are about five times more likely to be killed by police than whites, and both races (60% of whites and 88% of blacks) believe that some racial groups are specifically targeted by police. Likewise, between 2011 and 2012, over 50% of SWAT raids were conducted against Hispanic or black suspects, compared to the 20% involving white suspects. 68% of drug raids were conducted against minority suspects compared to a much lower rate for whites, even though drug use and selling is similar across racial groups. The racial divide is more specific in some areas: in Allentown, PA Latinos are 29 times more likely and blacks are 23 times more likely to be affected by a SWAT raid than whites. In Huntington, WV blacks are 37 times more likely to be affected by a SWAT raid. In Ogden, UT blacks are 39 times more affected by SWAT raids. In Burlington, NC blacks are 47 times more likely to be affected by a SWAT raid than whites. The disproportionate police violence towards minority groups is getting worse and there are few systems in place to combat the inequality.

Past research has shown that individuals have two options when facing problems within organizations they belong to: either to “exit” the relationship, or ‘voice’ their grievances in an attempt to fix the problem.<sup>1</sup> However, for the minority communities most likely to be adversely affected by a militarized police force, both of these options are either weak or nonexistent. For many, ‘exiting’ a community with a large police presence may be financially impossible. Hispanics are twice as likely, blacks are three times as likely, than whites to live in poverty. Similarly, the option to ‘voice’ their concern is limited as well. Research has shown increased racial segregation leads to a decrease in black civic efficacy—leaving communities with even majority black populations without political representation. Ferguson, MO, for example, has a 67% black population but hardly any black political leaders. The lack of political ‘voice’ and opportunities to ‘exit’ mean that minority groups are often the least able to avoid the costs and consequences of militarized police.

### **Militarism:**

The belief or desire of a government to maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests. Militarism also implies the glorification of the military and the supremacy of the armed forces in the administration or policy of the state.

### **Social Control:**

*Informal* social control is enforced by the norms and values learned by a person living with and obeying the rules of their community.

*Formal* social control is enforced by government regulations, created to prevent chaos or isolation.

1. Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

# CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

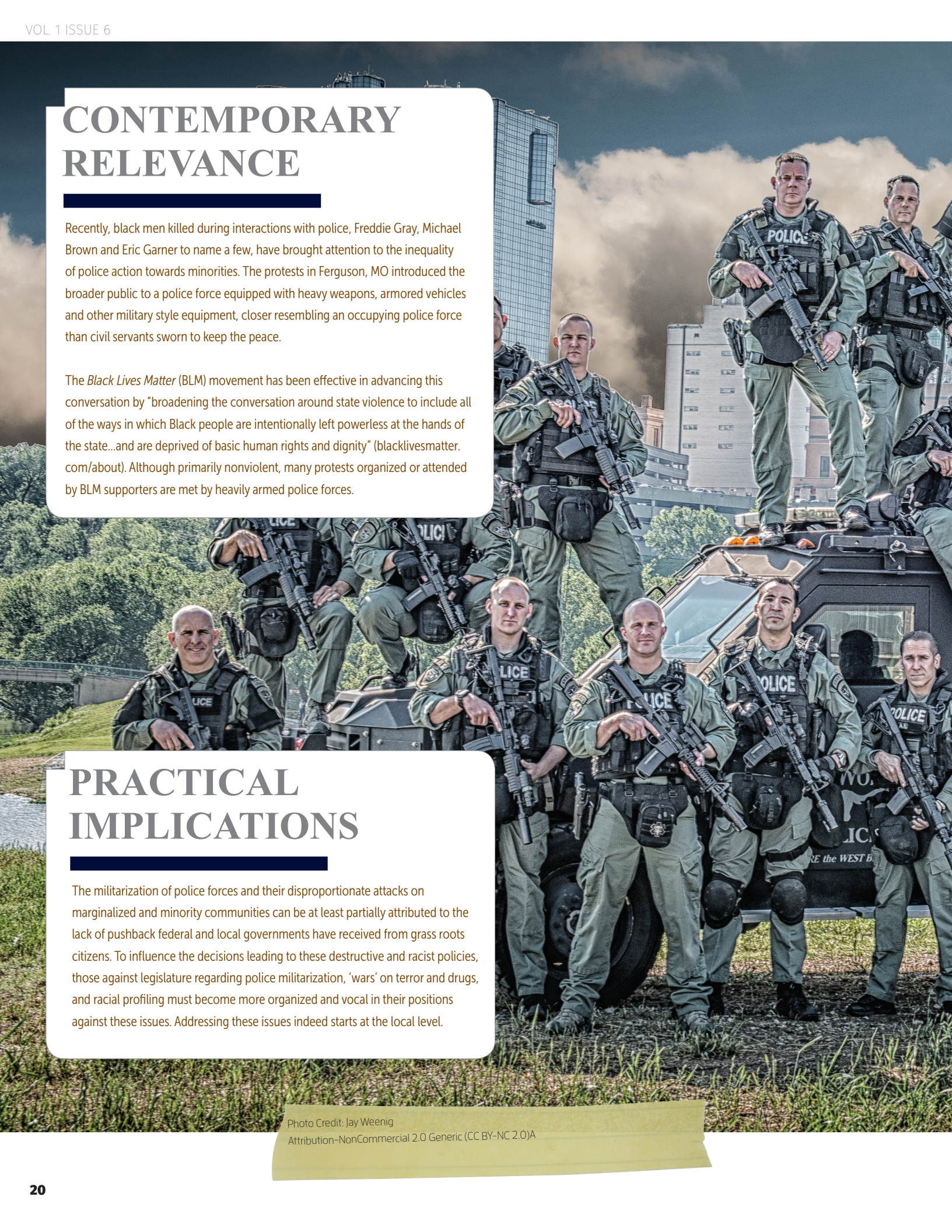
Recently, black men killed during interactions with police, Freddie Gray, Michael Brown and Eric Garner to name a few, have brought attention to the inequality of police action towards minorities. The protests in Ferguson, MO introduced the broader public to a police force equipped with heavy weapons, armored vehicles and other military style equipment, closer resembling an occupying police force than civil servants sworn to keep the peace.

The *Black Lives Matter* (BLM) movement has been effective in advancing this conversation by "broadening the conversation around state violence to include all of the ways in which Black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state...and are deprived of basic human rights and dignity" ([blacklivesmatter.com/about](http://blacklivesmatter.com/about)). Although primarily nonviolent, many protests organized or attended by BLM supporters are met by heavily armed police forces.

# PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The militarization of police forces and their disproportionate attacks on marginalized and minority communities can be at least partially attributed to the lack of pushback federal and local governments have received from grass roots citizens. To influence the decisions leading to these destructive and racist policies, those against legislature regarding police militarization, 'wars' on terror and drugs, and racial profiling must become more organized and vocal in their positions against these issues. Addressing these issues indeed starts at the local level.

Photo Credit: Jay Weenig  
Attribution-NonCommercial 2.0 Generic (CC BY-NC 2.0)A





## TALKING POINTS

- U.S. militarism led to the creation of police SWAT teams that disproportionately affect minority communities.
- In 2013, half a billion worth of military weapons and equipment was given to U.S. police departments.
- SWAT team usage has risen from 3,000 deployments in the 1980s, to presently 80,000
- Nearly 70% of drug raids are conducted against minorities even though drug use and sales are similar across racial groups.

# Political Violence in Post-9/11 Wars

Source | Mikulaschek, C., & Shapiro, J. N. (2016). Lessons on political violence from America's post-9/11 Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

## Key words

conflict onset  
conflict escalation  
Iraq  
Afghanistan  
9/11  
war



Continued Reading:

### **New Wars, Old Strategies**

by David Cortright

[\(https://peacepolicy.nd.edu/2012/12/10/new-wars-old-strategies/\)](https://peacepolicy.nd.edu/2012/12/10/new-wars-old-strategies/)

### **10 Years Of 9/11 Wars is Enough. Media Caution and Skepticism Are in Short Supply**

by Peter Hart

[\(http://otherwords.org/10\\_years\\_of\\_911\\_wars\\_is\\_enough/\)](http://otherwords.org/10_years_of_911_wars_is_enough/)

A byproduct of the United States' post-9/11 wars in Afghanistan and Iraq is the vast amount of attention these conflicts have gained from the world's academic communities. The authors count over 275 published articles and 80 books on the subject since 2002. To help put this new information into perspective, the authors review and summarize what was learned about political violence from the Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts, and then discuss how these conflicts are unique and what they mean for future conflict research.

The authors separate 15 years' worth of Afghanistan and Iraq conflict research into two categories: 1) what have we learned about the factors that influence state and non-state actors to enter conflicts? 2) What have we learned about factors influencing the intensity of a conflict once it has started? These two categories are important choices because they best capture most research conducted on the post-9/11 wars and they provide future researchers with an extensive summary of the two most investigated topics.

The author's review of research studying conflict onset determined the political leaders of all parties to the conflict held beliefs, and made decisions, that went against the information available to them at the time. Research also found that the leaders behaved in ways that showed a large disconnect between the costs of going to war for their nation, and the personal costs to the leaders making the decision to bring their countries into war. Regarding research on the factors influencing conflict intensity, the authors determined that the flow of information between civilians was the key factor in measuring local conflict intensity—once a force with superior capabilities (like Afghan or Iraqi governments working with the U.S.) faces off with an insurgency, the civilian population's willingness to share information with the government forces determines the effectiveness of the insurgency. This was particularly true when cell phone use was available, giving civilians an easier way to pass information to the military which in turn decreased violence in the area.

There are several reasons the post-9/11 conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are unique. Most obvious was the inequality of combat power between the

combatants. The U.S. backed government forces could target any area controlled by the insurgency at any time with multiple options of attack. More than any conflict in recent memory, the fighting capabilities, technology, and financial resources heavily favored the counterinsurgency forces. This asymmetry proved that the insurgents of this conflict were especially tied to their control over information. If civilians informed government troops of insurgent positions, the government could use their superior fighting capability to immediately respond to civilian tip-offs using drones, artillery, special forces and airpower. Another unique quality of these conflicts was the presence of tens of thousands of foreign troops which dramatically altered the bargaining power of local parties. In both countries, bargaining chips were taken off the table due to the veto power of foreign governments who, with their occupying troops, heavily influenced any possible negotiations.

Research on the Afghanistan and Iraq wars give us new information on both why conflicts start and what determines the intensity at a particular place and time. More important though is the potential of post 9/11 research that has yet to be analyzed. Much of the research conducted in the 15 years since 9/11 have been long-term surveys and experiments that are just now coming to fruition. In the upcoming decades, even if these conflicts are resolved, we can expect to learn even more about the causes of conflict and reasons for escalation.

**Political Violence** is used to describe violence by state or non-state actors to achieve political goals.



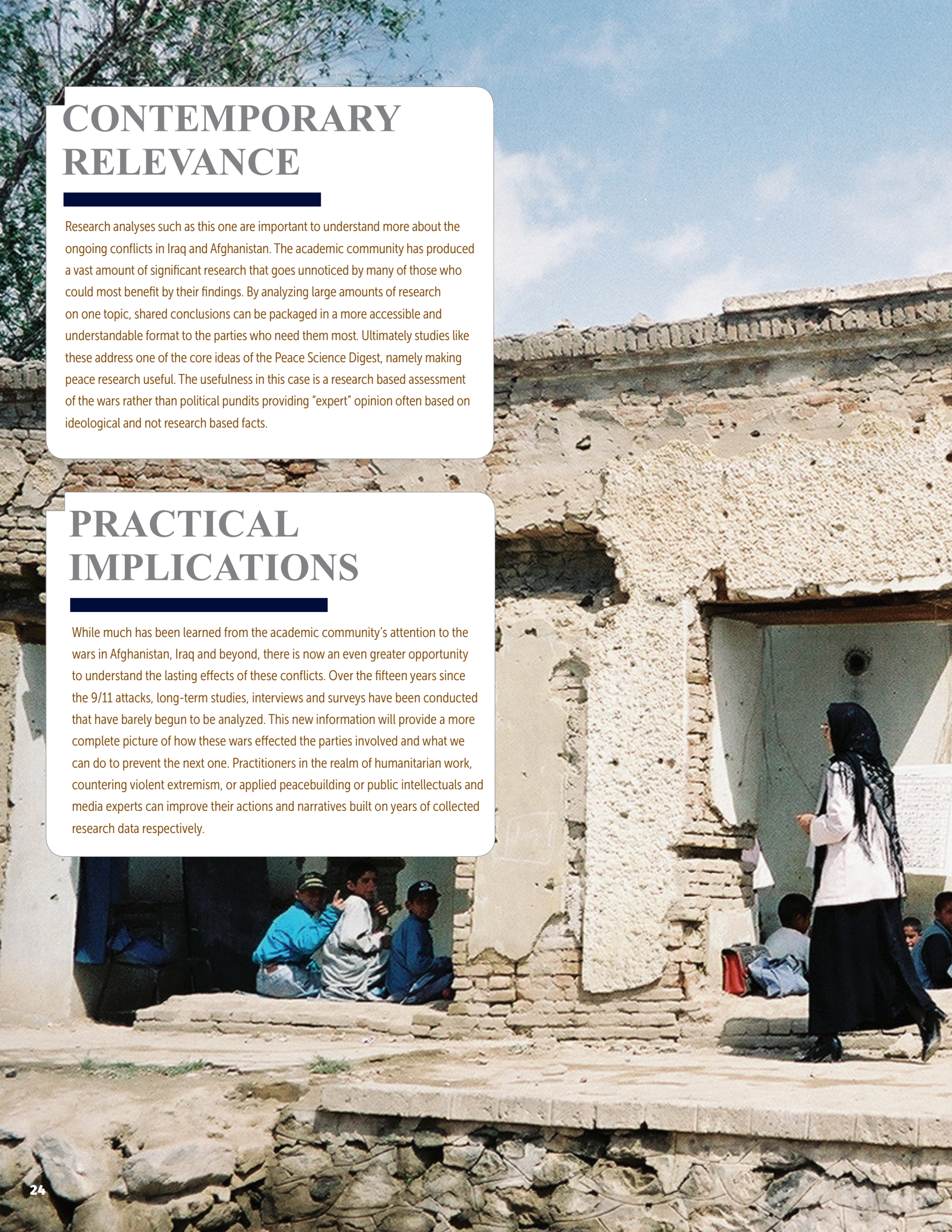
Photo Credit: Gustavo Montes de Oca  
Attribution 2.0 Generic (CC BY 2.0)

## CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

Research analyses such as this one are important to understand more about the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The academic community has produced a vast amount of significant research that goes unnoticed by many of those who could most benefit by their findings. By analyzing large amounts of research on one topic, shared conclusions can be packaged in a more accessible and understandable format to the parties who need them most. Ultimately studies like these address one of the core ideas of the Peace Science Digest, namely making peace research useful. The usefulness in this case is a research based assessment of the wars rather than political pundits providing “expert” opinion often based on ideological and not research based facts.

## PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

While much has been learned from the academic community’s attention to the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and beyond, there is now an even greater opportunity to understand the lasting effects of these conflicts. Over the fifteen years since the 9/11 attacks, long-term studies, interviews and surveys have been conducted that have barely begun to be analyzed. This new information will provide a more complete picture of how these wars effected the parties involved and what we can do to prevent the next one. Practitioners in the realm of humanitarian work, countering violent extremism, or applied peacebuilding or public intellectuals and media experts can improve their actions and narratives built on years of collected research data respectively.





## TALKING POINTS

- In the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, leaders held beliefs and made decisions that went against the information available
- In Iraq, areas with cell phone coverage were less violent because of the ease of pro-government informants to provide information on insurgents.
- In Iraq, access to anti-United States news coverage emboldened the insurgency by convincing uncommitted civilians the counterinsurgency was failing.



Photo Credit: [www.thechildrenofwar.org](http://www.thechildrenofwar.org)  
Attribution-NoDerivs 2.0 Generic (CC BY-ND 2.0)

# TESTIMONIALS



*This Magazine is where the academic field and the practitioners meet. It is the ideal source for the Talkers, the Writers and the Doers who need to inform and educate themselves about the fast growing field of Peace Science for War Prevention Initiatives!*

**John W. McDonald**  
U.S. Ambassador, ret.  
Chairman and CEO, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy



*As a longtime peace activist, I've grown weary of the mainstream perception that "peace is for dreamers." That's why the Peace Science Digest is such a useful tool; it gives me easy access to the data and the science to make the case for peacebuilding and war prevention as both practical and possible. This is a wonderful new resource for all who seek peaceful solutions in the real world.*

**Kelly Campbell**  
Executive Director, Oregon Physicians for Social Responsibility Co-founder,  
9/11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows



*The Peace Science Digest is the right approach to an ever-present challenge: how do you get cutting-edge peace research that is often hidden in hard-to-access academic journals into the hands of a broader audience? With its attractive on-line format, easy to digest graphics and useful short summaries, the Peace Science Digest is a critically important tool for anyone who cares about peace – as well as a delight to read.*

**Aubrey Fox**  
Executive Director, Institute for Economics and Peace



*The field of peace science has long suffered from a needless disconnect between current scholarship and relevant practice. The Peace Science Digest serves as a vital bridge. By regularly communicating cutting-edge peace research to a general audience, this publication promises to advance contemporary practice of peace and nonviolent action. I don't know of any other outlet that has developed such an efficient forum for distilling the key insights from the latest scholarly innovations for anyone who wants to know more about this crucial subject. I won't miss an issue.*

**Erica Chenoweth**  
Professor & Associate Dean for Research at the Josef Korbel School of  
International Studies at the University of Denver



*Peace Science Digest is a valuable tool for translating scholarly research into practical conclusions in support of evidence-based approaches to preventing armed conflict.*

**David Cortright**  
Director of Policy Studies at the Kroc Institute of International Peace Studies at the  
University of Notre Dame



*How many times are we asked about the effectiveness of alternatives to violent conflict? Reading Peace Science Digest offers a quick read on some of the best research focused on that important question. It offers talking points and summarizes practical implications. Readers are provided with clear, accessible explanations of theories and key concepts. It is a valuable resource for policy-makers, activists and scholars. It is a major step in filling the gap between research findings and application.*

**Joseph Bock**  
International Conflict Management Program Associate Professor of International Conflict  
Management, Kennesaw State University



*"We must welcome the expansion of peace awareness into any and every area of our lives, in most of which it must supplant the domination of war and violence long established there. The long-overdue and much appreciated Digest is filling an important niche in that 'peace invasion.' No longer will anyone be able to deny that peace is a science that can be studied and practiced."*

**Michael Nagler**  
Founder of the Metta Center for Nonviolence

# RECOMMENDED SOURCES OF PEACE JOURNALISM AND ANALYSIS:



## ■ PEACEVOICE

A peace and justice op-ed distribution service and an extensive library of ready-to-publish commentary and op-eds written by peace professionals, focusing on changing the U.S. national conversation about the possibilities of peace and justice and the destructive cycle of war and injustice. PeaceVoice operates on the belief that presenting academically informed opinions that promote peace and nonviolent conflict resolution provides the public one of the best, and most absent, deterrents to war and injustice.

## Peace Policy

## ■ PEACE POLICY

A product of the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for Peace Studies, providing research-based insight, commentary, and solutions to the global challenge of violent conflict. Contributions include writing from scholars and practitioners working to understand the causes of violent conflict and seeking effective solutions and alternatives war and the use of force.



## ■ OTHER WORDS

Distributor of no-cost commentary, op-eds, columns and cartoons focused on empowering readers to become more engaged in issues of local and global peace, justice, democracy, economy and the environment.



## ■ TRANSCEND MEDIA SERVICE

A nonprofit peace network specializing in exclusive analysis, research and policy commentary on local and global affairs. Topic areas include political, economic and social issues; as well as global insight on nonviolence, activism conflict resolution and mediation.



## ■ FOREIGN POLICY IN FOCUS

A "Think Tank Without Walls" connecting the research and action of 600+ scholars, advocates, and activists providing timely analysis of U.S. foreign policy and international affairs, and recommends policy alternatives seeking to make the United States a more responsible global partner.



Political Violence @ a Glance  
*Expert Analysis on Violence and Its Alternatives*

## ■ POLITICAL VIOLENCE @ A GLANCE

Political Violence @ a Glance answers questions on the most pressing problems related to violence and protest in the world's conflict zones. Analysis comes from a distinguished team of experts from some of America's top universities. The goal is to anticipate the questions you have about violence happening around the world and to offer you simple, straight-forward analysis before anyone else does. No jargon. No lingo. Just insightful content.



See more issues and get a print subscription at:

**COMMUNICATION.WARPREVENTIONINITIATIVE.ORG**

The Peace Science Digest is a project of the War Prevention Initiative

<h2>OUR VISION</h2>	<p>Our vision is a world beyond war by 2030 and humanity united by a global system of peace with justice.</p>
<h2>OUR MISSION</h2>	<p>Our mission is to advance the Global Peace System by supporting, developing and collaborating with peacebuilding efforts in all sectors of society.</p>
<h2>OUR CORE VALUES</h2>	<p>Nonviolence – We promote strategic and principled nonviolent solutions over any kind of armed conflict.</p> <p>Empathy – We view social problems through the eyes of others and respectfully communicate with each other in the pursuit of mutual understanding.</p> <p>Planetary loyalty – We consider ourselves global citizens, living in harmony with humanity and nature.</p> <p>Moral imagination – We strive for a moral perception of the world in that we: (1) imagine people in a web of relationships including their enemies; (2) foster the understanding of others as an opportunity rather than a threat; (3) pursue the creative process as the wellspring that feeds the building of peace; and (4) risk stepping into the unknown landscape beyond violence</p>
<h2 style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">AREAS OF FOCUS</h2>	<h2>WE SUPPORT</h2> <p>Support Rotary International’s focus on peace by aiding the Rotarian Action Group for Peace with human, logistical and content-related resources.</p> <p>Support development of effective strategies to convince Americans that the United States should not promote war, militarism or weapons proliferation, but rather embrace conflict resolution practices that have been shown to prevent, shorten, and eliminate war as viable alternatives to local, regional and global conflicts.</p> <p>Support building grassroots social movements seeking a world beyond war.</p>
	<h2>WE EDUCATE</h2> <p>Actively contribute to peace science and public scholarship on war prevention issues.</p> <p>Share information and resources with multiple constituencies in an understandable manner.</p> <p>Provide evidence-based information on peace and conflict issues with immediately potential doable policy advice to public policy makers.</p> <p>Advance the understanding and growth of the Global Peace System.</p>
	<h2>WE ENGAGE</h2> <p>Convene national and international experts in ongoing constructive dialog on war prevention issues via our Parkdale Peace Gatherings.</p> <p>Connect likely and unlikely allies to create new opportunities.</p> <p>Participate in peacebuilding networks and membership organizations.</p>
<h2>UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS</h2>	<p>We are at a stage in human history where we can say with confidence that there are better and more effective alternatives to war and violence.</p> <p>A Global Peace System is evolving.</p> <p>Poverty, employment, energy, education, the environment and other social and natural factors are interconnected in peacebuilding.</p> <p>Peace Science and Peace Education provide a path to a more just and peaceful world.</p> <p>Multi-track diplomacy offers a sectoral framework for creating peacebuilding opportunities</p>