PEACE SCIENCE DIGEST

A PROJECT OF THE WAR PREVENTION INITIATIVE

IN THIS ISSUE

KIS-LEV

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.

Cover Photo Credit: Jonathan Kis-Lev
Kis-Lev's political work depicting Israeli Srulik and Palestinian Hanala embracing one another.

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, its impact, and the 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 its many beneficiaries.

The *Peace Science Digest* is formulated to enhance awareness of scholarship 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.

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Rising tensions between the United States and Iran may leave us with the impression that war is inevitable. Leaders of both countries have expressed the desire to avoid war but also speak as if war is the only option after a certain point. It is not—the option to de-escalate or search for a diplomatic solution is always available. Fortunately, we have other recent examples where actors have employed nonviolent conflict strategies in moments of political crisis. For instance, nonviolent resistance movements in Algeria and Sudan recently removed autocratic leaders from office in those countries. The actions of those courageous activists remind us that nonviolence remains a powerful and effective choice.

Some of the articles in this issue focus on intractable conflicts, like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or civil wars of the recent past, like Sierra Leone or Côte d'Ivoire. While conflict is persistent in these settings, there are examples of peacebuilding at the interpersonal and local levels. These initiatives reveal that peace is possible when individuals and broader communities make an active choice to push back against the normalization of violence, while rebuilding relationships and addressing injustices. They provide an inspiration for peace activists around the world.

The choice between violence and nonviolence is highlighted in two other articles, though in quite different contexts. Research conducted in Iran finds that nonviolent resistance garners more support than violent resistance does even after the previous failure of a nonviolent movement. Other research reveals that the inclusion of armed groups in negotiations can move them away from the use of violence, while their exclusion makes a return to violence more likely. Participating in negotiations can help armed groups air grievances, moderate stances, and, ideally, contribute to the formal end of hostilities.

Additionally, national governments continue to play a powerful role in shaping outcomes for peace and security, from decisions about whether to participate in negotiations with armed groups to decisions about how much to allocate towards defense spending. These are two arenas where national governments signal their priorities. What message does a national government convey if it seeks to increase defense spending, regardless of other funding needs? How national governments conceptualize security is key to these discussions—is it in the form of militarization or in addressing structural inequalities through social welfare spending?

On an administrative note, we send a sincere thanks to all readers who completed the *Peace Science Digest* survey. Your feedback helps to clarify our goals, improve our content, and think creatively about ways communicate with you. We plan to discuss the results of our survey in the coming months.

Your *Peace Science Digest* Editorial Team,

Patrick Hiller   Kelsey Coolidge   Molly Wallace

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Consequences of Excluding Armed Actors From Peace Negotiations

Keywords

negotiations, civil war, peace agreements, rebels, peace negotiations

Negotiating the end to a civil war is a complex process involving many actors and interests. Who gets to negotiate on whose behalf? Who is included and who is excluded? For peace negotiations to be successful and durable, many aspects of the process need to be better understood. The author of this research examines the relationship between armed group inclusion/exclusion and durable peace. She presents two case studies from Chad and the Philippines to test the following theoretical argument: Armed actors excluded from peace negotiations are more likely to renew armed conflict after a peace agreement. Peace processes need to be inclusive, so all parties to the conflict have the opportunity to influence the agreement and address their grievances and interests. The latter typically include self-interested gains such as political leadership roles for rebel leaders, government positions for fighters, and amnesty from prosecution for war crimes. The theory is simple: Those who are included can negotiate those issues. Those who are excluded need to continue to fight to achieve those gains.

The two country case studies were chosen to test this theory of inclusion and exclusion. Both cases were unique in that the government chose to negotiate with one rebel group while excluding another. Groups with the capacity to mobilize significant constituencies and undermine an agreement were considered in the study. The case study in Chad was a conflict over the central government. The case study in the Philippines was a conflict involving a Muslim separatist movement in a Christian-majority country.

The author develops the following model on the inclusion and exclusion of armed groups. Armed groups included in negotiations advocate for their self-interests/private benefits, moderate their stances, and remain committed to the agreement reached. Armed groups excluded from negotiations lack this commitment, remain with their unresolved grievances, and therefore are motivated to continue their armed actions.

Figure I Causal mechanism: Inclusion/exclusion of armed groups in peace negotiations

Continued reading:

Hauenstein, M., & Joshi, M. (2019, February I3). *Framework deal: A long-term path to peace in Afghanistan*. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from http://politicalviolenceataglance. org/2019/02/13/framework-deal-a-long-term-path-to-peace-in-afghanistan/

Kaplan, O. (2014, January 27). *Peace prospects for the Philippines*. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from http://politicalviolenceataglance. org/2014/01/27/peace-prospects-for-the-philippines/

Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. (2018). *State of implementation of the Colombia Peace Agreement: Report two. December I, 2016 - May 31,2018 (No. 2). South Bend*. Retrieved from https://kroc. nd.edu/assets/284862/executive_summary_2_with_logos.pdf

Organizations/Initiatives:

Peace Accord Matrix by Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame: https://peaceaccords.nd.edu

Both cases ended up supporting the author's model. In Chad, included and excluded rebel groups had the same grievances and goal. Those who were included in the peace process (the Movement for Democracy and Justice) reached a compromise with the government once they had a place at the table. Those who were excluded (the National Resistance Alliance) resumed armed action. The case in the Philippines also provided strong support for the basic theory. One of the groups excluded from the negotiations launched a military assault as a sign of protest against their exclusion.

The primary finding from this research is that the exclusion of some rebel groups from peace negotiations can perpetuate a civil war. Even if it seems logical to follow a two-party negotiation process for the sake of simplicity, including all groups from the outset of negotiations is more effective. That way, those who might otherwise be excluded will participate in a peace process rather than return to their military strategy.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The importance of good and lasting peace agreements cannot be overemphasized. Peace agreements are the beginning of complex, difficult, and long-term processes toward reconciliation after the violence of (civil) war. If we consider current armed conflicts such as Syria, Yemen, Somalia, or Mali, it is understandable that a quick resolution to stop the killing and end the suffering would be front and center of any peacemaking efforts. Any steps in this direction should be supported. Although we might assume that a simpler peace process with fewer parties at the table would more quickly result in halting the violence, an inclusive peace negotiation and a speedy end to the fighting may not be mutually exclusive. It is within the power of the parties to the conflict and those who can exert outside influence on them to initiate more inclusive processes that are more likely to lead to committed peace negotiations and follow-through should agreements be reached. Otherwise, it is too easy to fall back into cycles of violence.

While agreements are the outcomes of negotiation processes, they must be viewed as steps within broader conflict trajectories. Peace agreements must be designed to normalize relationships between fighting parties and ultimately contribute to reconciliation. As the research has shown, negotiations unfortunately don't always follow this good process. Those designing peace negotiations should consider the research discussed here as they weigh the inclusion and exclusion of certain parties in the process.

TALKING POINTS

- The exclusion of some rebel groups from peace negotiations can perpetuate civil war, rather than hastening a resolution.
- Based on research, we can theorize that when armed groups are included in negotiations, they negotiate for their self-interests/private benefits, moderate their stances, and remain committed to the agreements reached.
- Based on research, we can theorize that when armed groups are excluded from negotiations, they lack commitment to the process and agreements, remain with their unresolved grievances, and are motivated to use violence to reach their goals.

Photo Credit: Robert Viñas / Malacañang Photo Bureau [Public domain].

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Excluding actors from negotiation is contradictory to the basic definition of the process. A "Negotiation is the process whereby the parties within the conflict seek to settle or resolve their conflicts."[1] If not all major parties in a specific conflict can participate in some form, the process itself is already flawed. Major parties are those that need to be involved in ending the conflict or who can sustain or reignite it.

At the very least, the parties need to be communicating. While not always considered part of the official negotiation process, informal communication between the parties—beyond simple threats and insults—already constitutes a form of negotiation, even if it simply entails talking about how to officially negotiate. Often the nature of a conflict and the perceived wrong-doings by adversaries might not always allow for direct negotiation. We must remember that the conflicting parties' constituencies are a major influence on them. In other words, they have to achieve and maintain their legitimacy by responding to their constituents while at the same time trying to engage their "enemies" constructively. Therefore, creative efforts transcending the official peace negotiations need to be pursued as well—whether sports or cultural exchanges or economic collaboration—where hostilities can be reduced outside of the official negotiation context. The former brings humans together around shared interests, whereas the latter often starts off with parties in locked-in positions. Creativity in building peace can be found by adopting a moral imagination as explained by peace scholar and practitioner John Paul Lederach. Conflict resolution practitioners should imagine people "in a web of relationships that includes [their] enemies," foster the understanding of others as an opportunity rather than a threat, pursue the creative process "as the wellspring that feeds the building of peace," and "risk stepping into the mystery of the unknown" landscape beyond violence. [2]

I. Ramsbotham, O., Miall, H., & Woodhouse, T. (2016). *Contemporary conflict resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts (4th ed.).* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

2. JLederach, J. P. (2005). *The moral imagination: The art and soul of building peace.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

West African Zones of Peace and Local Peacebuilding Initiatives

Keywords

zones of peace,
Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire,
peacebuilding,
civilian protection,
armed conflict

Zones of peace: *"territories in which communities aim to reduce the negative impact of armed conflict through non-violent means."*

Peacebuilding is usually associated with activities undertaken once the fighting has stopped to heal the wounds of war, rebuild a more just socio-political order, and prevent a relapse into violent conflict. Less adequately explored are the ways in which peacebuilding activities can be undertaken *during* armed conflict to prevent violence or protect civilians. A small body of research on nonviolent approaches to violence prevention and community protection has emerged, highlighting the development of so-called "**zones of peace**." Most research on zones of peace has centered on their presence in Latin America (particularly Colombia), with very little investigation into their existence in Africa. The authors wish to fill this gap by examining local peacebuilding initiatives—and especially zones of peace—in the midst of armed conflicts in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Drawing on interviews with former combatants, government workers, traditional and religious leaders, and other citizens, the authors consider how and why six specific zones of peace developed in these two countries in the 2000s and 2010s.

Their analysis is structured around three factors: 1) the characteristics of the community's civil resistance movement or peace initiative, 2) the community's relationship with armed groups, and 3) the role played by external actors. Broadly speaking, these factors can influence zones of peace in the following ways. First, the social cohesion, broad participation, and collective leadership of community members translate into greater protection of the community and their stronger negotiation position vis-à-vis armed groups. Second, the community must establish clear rules for everyone (including armed groups) to follow, and armed groups must have incentives to follow these rules, to uphold rather than undermine the peace. And, third, although "strong patron support" is linked to successful zones of peace, there is also the risk that such support can supplant local agency and impose an external agenda on the community.

In Côte d'Ivoire, violence took shape differently in rural and urban locales. In rural areas, violence was ongoing, occurring intermittently and mostly among civilians. Local peacebuilding initiatives included the establishment of mechanisms for resolving land disputes, community-

level economic development projects, and meetings between "traditional chiefs and representatives of the various ethnic groups" to contain violence and facilitate the return of previously expelled populations. Several of these initiatives were spearheaded by non-governmental organizations with prominent, well-known individuals at the helm. In urban areas, violence was mainly carried out by armed groups and was linked to key political events in 2002 and 2011. Here, too, prominent authority figures took the lead defusing tensions after violence by convening meetings with "representatives of…different ethnic groups and religious communities." But the predominant approach to local peacebuilding amid armed conflict in cities was interfaith organizing, with Christian and Muslim leaders and communities issuing joint declarations, fasting, calling interfaith meetings, undertaking social cohesion activities, or facilitating disarmament.

In Sierra Leone, the authors examined three locales where violence was limited. The first was a town that functioned as a hub of the diamond trade and was therefore spared, as fighters on all sides had a greater interest in supporting the diamond trade than taking the city militarily. The second was a key junction between multiple cities, where an influential non-governmental organization headed by a former-rebel-turned-peacebuilder successfully negotiated peace between the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the UN. And the third was a marginalized fishing community that, in the wake of violence and displacement, developed alternative conflict resolution mechanisms in the form of grievance committees and peace monitors who were "able to intervene at a local level to prevent conflict escalation."

The authors draw some key conclusions. First, the legitimacy and authority of civilian actors is a key factor in whether they can successfully prevent violence. Perhaps counterintuitively, this is the case with "big men" leading local peace initiatives, as they sometimes gained legitimacy from their previous participation in war and access to armed actors for negotiation. Second, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between "armed actors" and "communities." The line is porous, with individuals "becom[ing] agents of violence [or] … peace at different points in the conflict." Regardless, armed groups have to make decisions about whether to "accommodate or resist" civilian peace initiatives. Often it is less costly to accommodate rather than risk alienating civilian communities. Third, the distinction between external and internal actors is often unclear, as many of the prominent national figures leading non-governmental organizations in this work originally came from the villages where they were engaged in peacebuilding. In the final assessment, the fluid and intermittent nature of civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone meant that zones of peace there were less stable and institutionalized than their better-known counterparts in Colombia and more dependent on the leadership of powerful individuals and their capacity to negotiate local (often resource-related) agreements to bring temporary lulls in violence.

Continued reading:

Conciliation Resources. (N.d). *History: Conflict in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire*. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from https://www.c-r.org/where-we-work/west-africa/history-conflict-sierra-leone-guinea-liberia-and-c-te-d-ivoire

Peace Science Digest. (2017). *Civil resistance during civil war*. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from https://peacesciencedigest.org/civil-resistance-civil-war/

Masullo, J. (2015). *The power of staying put: Nonviolent resistance against armed groups in Colombia. Washington, DC: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict.* https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource/the-power-of-staying-put-nonviolent-resistance-against-armed-groups-in-colombia/

Reuters. (2019, April 3). *More than 60 dead in Burkina Faso violence. The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/03/world/africa/burkina-faso-killed.html

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

Although civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone has subsided, armed conflict continues in other West African countries, notably in the Sahel region. In early April 2019, more than 60 people were killed in intercommunal clashes in the northern part of Burkina Faso—violence that was arguably sparked by the activities of religious extremist "terrorists" in the area. While we should be wary about generalizing findings from two West African countries to the rest of the region, let alone the rest of the continent, one way this research can be helpful in interpreting recent violence is simply to remind us that armed actors—whether they are called "rebels" or "terrorists"—are usually embedded in surrounding communities. Even if some individuals may be coming from neighboring countries, these groups depend on local recruits to sustain themselves. While the "terrorist" label may conjure irrevocably evil individuals, presumably responsive only to military force, there may be other ways to influence these armed actors, especially if they may have family members or friends in the community. Even armed actors cannot depend on weapons or violence all the time in their efforts to control a population. They care about the support they garner from local communities, as well as their access to resources, and these interests can inform strategies to influence their behaviors.

TALKING POINTS

- Due to the fluid and intermittent nature of civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, zones of peace there were less stable and institutionalized than better-known cases in Colombia and more dependent on the leadership of powerful individuals and their capacity to negotiate local agreements to bring temporary lulls in violence.
- In the context of civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, the line between "armed actors" and "communities" was porous, creating a situation where peacebuilders spanning these categories in some cases had special access to armed actors for the purposes of negotiation.
- Armed groups have to make decisions about whether to "accommodate or resist" civilian peace initiatives, and often it is simply less costly to come to some sort of accommodation rather than risk alienating civilian communities.

Photo Credit: Annie Spratt
Mother Carrying Baby on Back in Sierra Leone.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the context of civil war, with civilians subject to forces that feel much larger and more powerful than themselves, communities still have the capacity to create islands of peace and protection by influencing armed actors and/or civilians otherwise primed for violence. For communities that may not yet have the capacity to develop a well-institutionalized zone of peace—such as the well-researched zones of peace that took root in Colombia during the civil war there—these cases provide a variety of alternative models for preventing violence and protecting communities. For instance, if intercommunal violence is the risk, communities can come together to assess the likely triggers for violence (whether land conflicts or displaced person resettlement) and preemptively address those through creative conflict management mechanisms or react quickly to crisis moments through emergency meetings to convene key leaders from various identity groups/sectors. If armed group violence is threatening the community, it may be worthwhile to take a pragmatic approach and consider what may be motivating these armed groups (whether continued access to resources or not alienating community members) in order to determine the most strategic way forward. Of course, such considerations may not be satisfying from the perspective of justice—for instance, facilitating the ability of an armed group to continue profiting off of the diamond trade—but if what is sought is immediate relief from the threat of violence, these may be the temporary trade-offs necessary while awaiting a more all-encompassing peace agreement that will address these deeper concerns.

When Countries Increase Their Military Budgets, They Decrease Public Health Spending

Keywords

military expenditures, government expenditures, public health

Causal relationships: *Correlation does not imply causation.* A correlation (or, relationship) between variables does not necessarily mean that one caused the other. There could be an unknown or untested variable that affects the outcomes of both, or causation could run in the opposite direction than what was expected. To determine a causal relationship – where one variable causes a change in another variable – a researcher must employ rigorous research methods to see if the evidence supports such a conclusion.

One key argument against military spending is that it "crowds out" government spending in public health. The evidence is mixed. Some argue that increased military spending has indirect but positive effects on public health—whether through the diversity of military expenditures or other "growth-stimulating" effects. Others suggest that there is a trade-off between military and public health priorities because government spending is constrained by limited resources. Using sophisticated statistical techniques, this article examines whether a **causal relationship** exists between military spending and public health spending.

Based on quantitative data from 197 countries from 2000 to 2013, the article finds that higher military spending "negatively impacts health expenditures, and therefore [becomes] an important risk factor for population health and individual well-being." Military expenditures data was sourced from the World Bank's Development Indicators (WDI) and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Health expenditures were also sourced from the WDI. Other variables like gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, level of democracy, corruption perceptions index, and population demographics were included in the analysis.

The article finds that, over time, a 1% increase in military spending results in a 0.62% decrease in health spending. If a country's GDP per capita increases over time, military spending is more responsive to those increases as compared to health spending. The trade-off between spending in military and spending in health is more intense for poorer countries. For lower-middle-income countries, a 1% increase in military spending is associated with a 0.962% drop in health spending. Upper-middle-income countries only see a 0.556% decline in health spending for a 1% increase in military spending.

Health, military, and other government spending are determined jointly in the budget allocation process. Because these decisions about government spending happen at the same time, it's unclear if increased funding in one area causes decreased funding in another. Without an ability to account for simultaneous effects (when changes in one area of funding

Continued reading:

SIPRI. (2019). *World military expenditure grows to $1.8 trillion in 2018.* Retrieved May 16, 2019, from https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2019/world-military-expenditure-grows-18-trillion-2018

National Priorities Project. (2018). *The souls of poor folk.* Retrieved May 16, 2019, from https://ips-dc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/PPC-Audit-Full-410835a.pdf

Brookings Institution. (2019). *Quality over quantity: U.S. military strategy and spending in the Trump years.* Retrieved May 16, 2019, from https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/FP_20190102_military_strategy_spending.pdf

necessarily result in changes in all areas of funding because there are limited resources), it is difficult to determine a causal relationship showing that increases in the military budget alone resulted in a decline in public health spending. This decline could instead be caused by other variables (like increases in other budget spending categories, a smaller budget overall, or demographic shifts). To address this problem, the authors employ a statistical technique called structural equation modeling that can control for simultaneous effects and therefore demonstrate a robust causal relationship between increased military spending and decreased public health spending.

Other variables included in the research produced interesting if somewhat intuitive results. If a country's population is generally older (seniors aged 65 or older make up a greater share of the population), health spending increases. The existence of conflict in a country increases military spending. Countries with overall larger populations spend more per capita on their militaries. A country's level of democracy plays no significant role.

This research offers important evidence to the debate on military and health spending. However, there are two important caveats. First, the research methods did not incorporate the relative price of health care among countries in the sample. The price of medicine or a visit to the doctor varies country by country, which likely influences how much the government spends on health. Second, budget allocation processes are not always in line with fiscal years—politics often introduces delays to the budget allocation process. Researchers account for this problem by using lagged—or time-dependent—variables. This article excluded the use of lagged variables because it would have limited the amount of data available for analysis.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The budget allocation process is one way that a government signals its priorities to its people or to other countries. This plays out every year as governments determine their annual budgets. How money is spent—and who gets to decide it—can be fundamental to questions of peace. Decisions on governmental spending can be the inspiration for protests or broader resistance movements. Much of the recent activism in the United States, like the Women's March, is linked to healthcare spending. These questions also played out in the 2018 mid-term elections, helping to flip the House of Representatives to Democratic Party control.

Broadly, increased military spending is one component of militarization. This is concerning because it signals a preparation for war or other forms of violence. It is important to remain vigilant when politicians call for increased military expenditures and skeptical of the expressed reasons for those expenditures. Military spending has been a tool of past authoritarian regimes to increase economic output and tighten control over society—and it continues today. For example, the Egyptian military owns several lucrative firms and has a history of staging coup d'états to exert political control over the country. Estimates differ, but some experts suggest that the Egyptian military accounts for upwards of 3% of the overall Egyptian GDP.[1] At the same time, human rights violations in Egypt are on the rise.

TALKING POINTS

- When military spending increases by 1%, spending on health decreases by 0.62%.
- This trade-off is more intense in poorer countries, where a 1% increase in military spending results in a 0.962% drop in health spending.
- Population demographics and conflict also influence this trade-off: Countries with older populations spend more on health whereas countries with larger populations overall and countries experiencing conflict spend more on the military.

I. Reuters. (2018, May 16). From war room to board room: Military firms flourish in Sisi's Egypt. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/egypt-economy-military/

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

What do a 1% increase in military spending and a 0.62% decrease in public health spending mean in real terms? For a hypothetical exercise, a government has a budget of 10 dollars and chooses to split it equally between military and health spending. Then, in the next budget allocation process, it applies this finding between military and health spending.

Military	5 USD	+1%	+0.05	5.05
Health	5 USD	-0.62%	-0.03	4.97

A few cents do not seem that bad. But it matters more on a larger scale. For example, a government has 5 million dollars to split between military and health spending.

Military	2.5 million USD	+1%	+25,000	2,525,000
Health	2.5 million USD	-0.62%	-15,500	2,484,500

That results in a 40,500 difference between the two spending categories. This simplification also assumes that the budgets were equal in the first place, but that's often not the case. For a more realistic scale, the 2017 U.S. Federal Budget allocated 590 billion dollars to defense spending, 591 billion to Medicare, and 375 billion to Medicaid[1]. For simplicity, the combined Medicare and Medicaid spending represents all health spending. Also, we are putting aside the fact that some health care spending comes out of the military budget, such as spending for veterans' health care.

Military	590 Billion USD	+1%	+5,900,000,000	595,900,000,000
Health	966 Billion USD	-0.62%	-5,989,200,000	960,010,800,000

A theoretical 6 billion cut in public health would be devastating to the American public, which is why the main result of this article is so alarming. This is, of course, a simplified approach to understanding the trade-off between public health and military spending. There is little reason to suspect an impending 6 billion cut to U.S. public health spending. However, the Trump Administration has advanced budgets with large increases to defense spending. What other needed government expenditures are cut as a result of increased military expenditures? What does this signal to an American public about the priorities of the federal government?

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1. Congressional Budget Office. (2018, March 5) The federal budget in 2017: An infographic. Retrieved May 31, 2019, from Congressional Budget Office website: https://www.cbo.gov/publication/53624

From Encountering the "Other Side" to Social Change Activism

Keywords

encounter organizations, Israel/Palestine, peacebuilding, activism, peace education

Encounter organization: a peacebuilding organization that brings together individuals from the different "sides" of a conflict so they can get to know one another and, in doing so, start to break down negative attitudes they may have towards the other side and broaden their perspective on the conflict.

In the midst of violent conflict, **"encounter" organizations** and initiatives bring together individuals from the different "sides" with the hope that they can humanize one another and build relationships, thereby defusing tensions and negative perceptions that can fuel violence. While most previous research focuses on whether such initiatives work, not as much is known about *how* encounter initiatives have the impact that they do on participants, including how they may encourage participants to engage in longer-term social change activism. Focusing on Sadaka Reut, an organization in Israel that implements encounter programs between Jewish- and Palestinian-Israelis, the author asks, how are participants in its programs empowered to continue social change activism, particularly in relation to the conflict?

To address this question, the author focuses on the pedagogical approach taken by Sadaka Reut in its encounter programs. Begun in 1982 with an after-school program, the organization has grown to include programs of varying levels of intensity for children and young adults, including a year-long program where participants volunteer and engage in social justice work together. Over that time, the emphasis has shifted from building interpersonal relationships to the critical importance of social change. Due to its focus on Israeli citizens, the status of Palestinian citizens in a state (Israel) that defines itself in religious terms and privileges Jewish citizens is the main conflict its encounter work addresses. In this context, its activities aim to challenge dominant narratives in society that justify various forms of inequality, as well as segregation between Jewish-Israelis and Palestinian-Israelis, so that participants can gain a "critical awareness of systemic injustices—of all kinds—in Israeli society."

Drawing on interviews with Sadaka Reut participants and staff members, along with organizational documents and meetings, the author concludes that two elements of Sadaka Reut's approach were especially important in encouraging continued activism by participants. First, participants noted the significance of learning about issues closely related to their identities and/or personal experience but also of engaging in concrete learning experiences. By visiting sites around Israel and Palestine to learn about the problems facing various communities, participants gained a much more grounded understanding of injustice, as well as of their own privilege, creating personal connections in the process that motivated them to care.

Continued reading:

Gawerc, M. (2016). Constructing a collective identity across conflict lines: Joint Israeli-Palestinian peace movement organizations. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 21(2), 193–212. http://afcfp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Constructing-a-Collective-Identity.pdf

Marlowe, J. (2014, July 29). Rays of hope in Gaza: 13 Israeli and Palestinian groups building peace. *YES! Magazine*. https://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/13-peace-builders-in-gaza

Goldenblatt, D. (2012, February 16). On anti-normalization: Joint Israeli-Palestinian activism must continue. *+972 Magazine*. https://972mag.com/on-anti-normalization-joint-israeli-palestinian-activism-must-not-be-stopped/35524/

Organizations/Initiatives:

Sadaka Reut: http://www.reutsadaka.org

It was precisely the difficulty and closeness of these experiences—witnessing the raw pain of a family whose son had just been killed by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) or the sweet-natured demeanor of a little girl who lived on an IDF firing range—that made them so transformative.

Second, it was not only learning about injustices in concrete and personal ways but also learning about them within a binational framework—with Palestinian-Israelis and Jewish-Israelis learning together—that proved significant in shaping participants as future activists. On the most fundamental level, developing binational relationships through Sadaka Reut's programs helped participants understand key issues related to the conflict with greater depth and complexity. Doing so also meant, according to one Palestinian-Israeli participant, that from then on if she heard about a proposed policy she would consider its implications not only for the Palestinian community but also for the Jewish-Israelis she met in the program, as well as for their families, friends, and broader networks. In addition, greater awareness of the experiences of the "other side" and of the broader inequalities at the heart of the conflict helped participants think more carefully about how best to engage in joint activism—in particular, when to lead a struggle and when to stand back and simply be supportive. At the same time, by undertaking activism together as part of Sadaka Reut, participants from both communities demonstrated that joint activism is possible in the first place.

Although these elements of Sadaka Reut's work were instrumental in motivating continued activism on the part of former participants, the author also notes three key tensions inherent in the organization's work: 1) urging participants to develop a critical awareness of existing power inequalities while also striving to validate all participants' perspectives/experiences, 2) exposing participants to difficult realities while also providing them with adequate emotional support so that despair does not serve as a barrier to action, and 3) revealing the complexities of issues surrounding the conflict and multiple injustices in society while also enabling participants to "take sides" on particular issues as is necessary in activism. Despite these ongoing challenges, this research suggests that "encounter organizations can act as pathways for recruitment into social change endeavors and social movements more broadly," especially via personally relevant, concrete learning experiences undertaken in a binational framework.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

This past year, the Israeli government passed the so-called "nationality law," reaffirming the Jewish character of the Israeli state—further drawing out the contradiction between Israel's democratic and religious dimensions and the fundamental inequality between Jewish and non-Jewish Israelis. If anything, this development only exacerbates the precarious situation of Palestinian-Israelis and underscores the need for encounter initiatives that focus not only on relationship-building—as important as that is—but also on critical education around inequalities in Israeli society and binational activism to remedy these. As we know from research on nonviolent/civil resistance struggles, the more broad-based a movement is, the more likely it is to succeed. In other words, activism across societal divides—joint Palestinian-Israeli/Jewish-Israeli activism in the case of Israel—is key to building the power and effectiveness of a movement, and encounter initiatives like Sadaka Reut's are an important way to develop joint activism that is deliberate and thoughtful in its approach.

TALKING POINTS

• Organizations that bring together people from multiple sides of a conflict can play an important role in motivating participants to become activists for social change.

• Organizations bringing together people from multiple sides of a conflict can motivate participants to continue their social justice activism by "making learning experiences personal and concrete" and by providing participants with the chance to engage in learning experiences with those from the "other side" of the conflict.

• Organizations at the intersection of peacebuilding and social justice must contend with a few key challenges, including how to 1) help participants develop a critical awareness of power inequalities while also validating all perspectives, 2) expose participants to difficult realities while also providing adequate emotional support, and 3) reveal complexity while also enabling participants to take a stand.

• By learning and engaging in activism together as part of Sadaka Reut's programs, Palestinian-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli participants demonstrate the kind of partnership and joint activism that is possible.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This research draws out the potential of encounter initiatives becoming a springboard for further social justice activism, especially in the context of an asymmetrical conflict—but also the related challenges. On the one hand, the process of learning about the realities of conflict and injustice along with members of the "other side" can open participants' eyes to the personal impact and urgency of these issues, prodding them to stay engaged and act for change. On the other hand, the complexity and sheer enormity of a conflict and its human toll can be overwhelming, creating a sense of hopelessness and paralyzing individuals instead of galvanizing them into action. To effectively motivate and energize participants for long-term social justice activism, encounter organizations need to recognize and navigate these tensions. In addition to adopting the pedagogical approaches that this research indicates are key to encouraging activism in participants, organizations should provide space for participants to consider the involved tensions directly: to discuss how to take a stand when one is aware of complexity or how to work through the discomfort some might feel when their more dominant perspectives are not validated as much as those of their more marginalized counterparts. On a related note, encounter organizations should not underestimate the psychological toll experienced by participants as they broaden their understanding of the conflict and its related injustices. They should proactively integrate support mechanisms into their programming to ensure that participants don't become burnt out before they are able to act on their newfound convictions.

Nonviolent Movements for Social Change Considered More Moral and Supportable

Keywords

nonviolence, Iran, social movements, social change, nonviolent civil resistance

Large-scale nonviolent movements for social and political change include famous historical cases like the Indian independence struggle, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and the movement to end Apartheid in South Africa. More recently, the Arab Spring movements in 2011 have reminded us that nonviolent resistance movements are not just anomalies from the past recorded in history books but ever-present forms of mass organizing for social change. Contemporary studies increasingly shed light on nonviolent movements and what makes them succeed or fail.

In this study, the authors conducted an experiment to examine whether the use of nonviolence compared to violence would influence the attitudes of Iranians toward an imagined new Green Movement. The 2009 Green Movement in Iran challenged election results and advocated for a more secular system. Despite the fact that nonviolent movements have a better chance of success than violent movements, the Green Movement was ultimately unsuccessful and unable to persist in the face of violent government repression. The Iranian Green Movement is an ideal context for examining whether people disillusioned with the outcome of a previous movement are more open to the use of violence when nonviolence was unsuccessful the first time around.

Successful nonviolent movements, according to the authors, require both popular support and the potential for people to mobilize (to become part of the movement). With these underlying metrics, the authors hypothesize that when a movement uses nonviolence (as compared to violence), people's support and willingness to join will increase because the movement is perceived as more human and moral. Simply stated, observers of the movement believe that members can distinguish between "right and wrong" and therefore are more likely to support and join.

In this study conducted in 2015 (six years after the Green Movement), 120 participants (Iranians on the left side of the political spectrum considered "Reformists") were asked in a questionnaire to imagine that the Green Movement would reemerge in the future. One group was told to imagine a violent movement, including the destruction of government buildings,

Continued reading:

Stephan, M. J. (2018, January 9). Why nonviolent protest is the best hope for Iran. *The Washington Post.* https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/01/09/why-nonviolent-protest-is-the-best-hope-for-iran/

Yousefi, M. (2018, December). Protesting corruption in Iran: Real demands for real change. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from ICNC website: https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/blog_post/corruption-iran-real-demands-for-real-change/

Organizations/Initiatives:

International Center on Nonviolent Conflict

www.nonviolent-conflict.org

rioting, and interfering with security forces. The other group was told to imagine a nonviolent movement, including tactics such as holding rallies, staging sit-ins, and organizing strikes. The questions asked about perceptions of the movement's effectiveness (can the movement achieve its goal?), power (can the movement resist against government repression?), and morality (is the movement right and the government wrong?); the level of support respondents would give to the movement (donating money, social media advocacy, or even joining?); and attitudes toward joining. The authors expected to find perceptions of morality and levels of support to be greater for the nonviolent movement than for the violent one.

The study found that "[r]eformists were more willing to support and join the Green Movement in the future if it were to use nonviolent rather than violent strategies." The findings are significant in various ways. First, already existing non-experimental research on political movements, which finds that nonviolent movements attract more support than violent movements, was corroborated. Second, even within corrupt and repressive systems, nonviolence garners more support than violence. And, third, even with a real history of a failed nonviolent movement (the 2009 Green Movement), nonviolence is still considered the preferred option. This study also demonstrated how nonviolent movements could attract more public support. People want to be associated with groups that are perceived as moral because they want a positive self-image and adopting nonviolent strategies led to positive perceptions of the movement's morality. Nonviolent movements were also considered more human, meaning they are more sensitive to pain and suffering. In addition to being perceived as more human and moral, nonviolent movements were perceived as more powerful than violent movements.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The research here shows how nonviolence can be perceived as powerful, even after it has failed. Despite a previously unsuccessful nonviolent movement in Iran, people are still inclined to support nonviolence in the future. This experimental study sheds light on some key mechanisms of popular support and mobilization for contemporary nonviolent movements. Nonviolent movements have learned a lot about the strategic value and many possible tactics of nonviolence—but so have the authoritarian regimes being challenged, and they are becoming more astute in their responses to these movements. It is crucial for movements to continuously assess and re-assess what works, what does not, and what makes people support and even join nonviolent movements. Ultimately, while one can agree or disagree with the objectives of a movement, one should always recognize that nonviolence does not cause physical harm to people. Nonviolence therefore must always be viewed as a constructive form of conflict transformation.

TALKING POINTS

- Reformists in Iran were more willing to support and join a hypothetical Green Movement in the future if it were to use nonviolent rather than violent strategies.
- Reformists in Iran were more willing to support nonviolent movements because they perceived nonviolent movement members as more sensitive to pain and suffering.
- Reformists in Iran were more supportive of a future hypothetical nonviolent movement than a violent one, even though the 2009 nonviolent Green Movement failed.
- Nonviolence is seen as an effective way of waging social change even in corrupt and repressive contexts.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Studying a context where a previous nonviolent movement failed can provide valuable insights into the reasons for continued and renewed interest in nonviolence. It would be easy to argue that nonviolence failed and that it is therefore appropriate to fight violent repression with violence. Yet, even those who would like to see changes in their country are more supportive of a new nonviolent movement than a violent one. It appears that consideration for what makes people "human"—like the mental capacity for morality, pain, and suffering—outweighs support for violence.

If these dimensions are so central to people's support of a nonviolent movement, nonviolent actors can consider using them strategically in their movement-building efforts. In other words, if movements want to shift public opinion, achieve popular support, and mobilize the public—the preconditions for movement success—they can deliberate on how to demonstrate their morality and sensitivity to suffering to the broader public. For many movement actors those capacities are obvious, but making them explicit can further alter public perceptions of a movement in a positive way.

Photo Credit: Hamed Saber
Iran: 5th Green Day - 3V

[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 as 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 (FMR), 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
Director, School of Conflict Management, Peacebuilding and Development

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

The Peace Science Digest is a major contribution to the peace and security field. It makes complex issues more understandable, enabling professional outfits like ours to be more effective in our global work. The Digest underscores that preventing war is about more than good intentions or power; it is also about transferable knowledge and science.
Mark Freeman
Founder and Executive Director of the Institute for Integrated Transitions (IFIT).

The distillation of the latest academic studies offered by the Peace Science Digest is not only an invaluable time-saving resource for scholars and policymakers concerned with preventing the next war, but for journalists and organizers on the front lines, who can put their findings to good use as they struggle to hold the powerful accountable and to build a more just and peaceful world.
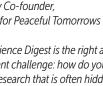**Eric Stoner**
Co-founder and Editor, Waging Nonviolence

Peace Science Digest is an invaluable tool for advocates for peace, as much as for educators. In it one quickly finds the talking points needed to persuade others, and the research to back those points up.
David Swanson
Director, World Beyond War

"The Digest is smartly organized, engaging, and provides a nice synthesis of key research on conflict, war, and peace with practical and policy relevance. The Digest's emphasis on "contemporary relevance," "talking points," and "practical implications" is a breath of fresh air for those of us trying to bridge the academic-policy-practitioner divides. Highly recommended reading."
Maria J. Stephan
Senior Advisor, United States Institute of Peace

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

OUR VISION

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

OUR MISSION

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

OUR CORE VALUES

Nonviolence – We promote strategic and principled nonviolent solutions over any kind of armed conflict.

Empathy – We view social problems through the eyes of others and respectfully communicate with each other in the pursuit of mutual understanding.

Planetary loyalty – We consider ourselves global citizens, living in harmony with humanity and nature.

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

AREAS OF FOCUS

WE SUPPORT

Support Rotary International's focus on peace by aiding the Rotarian Action Group for Peace with human, logistical and content-related resources.

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.

Support building grassroots social movements seeking a world beyond war.

WE EDUCATE

Actively contribute to peace science and public scholarship on war prevention issues.

Share information and resources with multiple constituencies in an understandable manner.

Provide evidence-based information on peace and conflict issues with immediately potential doable policy advice to public policy makers.

Advance the understanding and growth of the Global Peace System.

WE ENGAGE

Convene national and international experts in ongoing constructive dialog on war prevention issues via our Parkdale Peace Gatherings.

Connect likely and unlikely allies to create new opportunities.

Participate in peacebuilding networks and membership organizations.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

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.

A Global Peace System is evolving.

Poverty, employment, energy, education, the environment and other social and natural factors are inter-connected in peacebuilding.

Peace Science and Peace Education provide a path to a more just and peaceful world.

Multi-track diplomacy offers a sectoral framework for creating peacebuilding opportunities