



SSIS Post Graduate Conference 2014  
In Politics & IR, SPA and IAIS

University of Exeter  
Wednesday 30.04–Thursday 01.05.2014  
Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Stocker Road  
Exeter, Devon, EX4 4ND





Welcome!

Foreword

Dear Fellow Post Graduate Students,

It is our greatest pleasure to welcome you to the SSIS Annual Postgraduate Research Conference 2014, held 30th of April and the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2014. The conference comprises of Graduate Research Students and Master Students of three departments Politics & IR, SPA and IAIS. This is a wonderful opportunity to be part of an exciting and supportive academic event, to get to know your peers and exchange ideas.

It is a student-led conference, organised by students for students. We hope to facilitate our fellow researchers in gaining experience in presenting and participating in an academic conference with formal and supportive atmosphere. We hope that you will find the conference engaging from an academic perspective, as well as a way to build contacts with fellow students to foster an inter-disciplinary community that will last throughout your research and into the future.

We want to thank you all for coming along and joining us for this conference and hope this event will set the bar high for next year's organising committee! Finally and importantly, we would like to especially thank Amy Rager, Dr Bice Maiguashca and Dr William Gallois for their continued advice and support through organising this conference. Further we would like to thank Elisenda McCutcheon, Sarmishtha Ghosh and the whole The Graduate Research School office for their support. We also wish to thank The SSIS Graduate Research School which generous funding made this conference possible.

With best wishes for the conference and your future research,

The Organising Committee,

Veronica Buffon (IAIS), Alexander Badman-King (SPA), Giorgia Ferrari (IAIS) and Felix-Christopher von Nostitz (POL)

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**Meet The committee Members**

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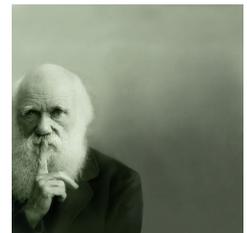
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**Programme**

**Conference Venue:** Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies,  
Streatham Campus - Rooms: Lecture Theatre 1 (LT1) and  
Lecture Theatre 2 (LT2)

<b>Wednesday 30.04</b>		
<b>13:30 : Registration and Welcome Speech</b>		
<b>13:45-15:15</b>	<b>Panel 1 (LT1)</b>	<b>Panel 2 (LT2)</b>
	1.Moralee, Laura 2.Basoukos, Antonios	1.Mazzoleni, Matteo 2.Wavre, Veronique 3.Alfraidi, Tareq
<b>Coffee Break</b>		
<b>15:30-17:00</b>	<b>Panel 3 (LT1)</b>	<b>Panel 4 (LT2)</b>
	1.Berrisford, Kate 2.Jarret, Henry 3.Beloushi, Hassan	1.Moorby, Martin 2.Tang, Zhangmei 3.Kerimov, Farhad
<b>18:30 Speakers Dinner at The Dinosaur Café</b> 5 New North Road, Exeter EX4 4HH (Members of Staff are welcome)		
<b>Thursday 01.05</b>		
<b>9:00-10:30</b>	<b>Panel 5 (LT1)</b>	<b>Panel 6 (LT2)</b>
	1.Agoren, Guler Cansu 2.Dell, Philippa 3.Eason, Fenella	1.Mike , Jennifer 2.Aliyu Dogo, Sefinatu 3.Grácio Alberto, Rita
<b>Coffee Break</b>		
<b>11:00-13:00</b>	<b>Panel 7 (LT1)</b>	<b>Panel 8 (LT2)</b>
	1.Choi, Jiwon 2.Beimenbetov, Serik 3.Lemon, Edward 4.Pettinato, Davide	1.Masso, Telemaque 2.Scrase, Stuart 3.Morad, Kawa 4.Griffiths, Jack
<b>13: 15 Lunch</b>		
<b>14:00-16:00</b>	<b>Panel 9 (LT1)</b>	<b>Panel 10 (LT2)</b>
	1.Ustun, Tayfun 2.Marilungo,Francesco 3.Hawari, Yara 4.Rodriguez, Endika	1.Brebeannu, Bogdan-Nicolae 2.Neads, Alex 3.Slucca, Maria Chiara



**Meet The Student Presenters**

Here you can learn more about the students who presented at the PGR conference 2014, including their abstracts. Following this, you will find contact details for the student delegates ( for those who registered in advance), organised by: presenters and attendee.

<b>Student Presenters (alphabetical)</b>			
<i>Name</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Title</i>
Agoren, Guler Cansu	Panel 5 LT1	SPA	Biomedical Understanding of Depression and the Human Self
Alfraidi, Tareq	Panel 2 LT2	IAIS	Conditional sentences in Modern Written Arabic A Semantic-Syntactical Approach.
Aliyu Dogo, Sefinatu	Panel 6 LT2	Politics&IR	Nigerian Patriarchy: When and How?
Basoukos, Antonios	Panel 6 LT2	SPA	A Priori Principles in Hans Reichenbach's Epistemology
Beimenbetov, Serik	Panel 7 LT1	Politics&IR	The Formal-Legal Dimension of Defensive Democracy in Europe
Beloushi, Hassan	Panel 3 LT1	IAIS	The Paradigm Shift of Current Shī'ī <i>Uṣūl al-Fiqh</i> : From <i>al-Bahbahānīan</i> Paradigm to <i>Maqṣid al-sharī'ah</i>
Berrisford, Kate	Panel 3 LT1	Politics	What challenges does Multiculturalism pose for Liberalism?
Brebeanu, Bogdan-Nicolae	Panel 10 LT2	Politics&IR	The politics of Security Sector Reform
Choi, Jiwon	Panel 7 LT1	IAIS	
Dell, Philippa	Panel 5 LT1	SPA	Economy vs. Ecology – a social-ecological approach to the study of anthropogenic noise disturbance of cetaceans in the Pelagos Sanctuary



Eason, Fenella	Panel 5 LT1	SPA	Dogs who sniff: How humans with chronic illness benefit socially from their canine companions' olfactory prowess
Grácio Alberto, Rita	Panel 6 LT2	SPA	"Not bad, for a girl!": women playing the drum kit
Griffiths, Jack	Panel 8 LT2	Politics&IR	The Politics of Nature: The appropriation of Darwinism by <i>laissez-faire</i> ideology, and why it is untenable
Hawari, Yara	Panel 9 LT1	IAIS	Collective memory in the Galilee: The construction of a narrative and the preservation of memories in a 'State of Denial'
Jarrett, Henry	Panel 3 LT1	IAIS	The nationalism of election campaigns in plural societies: Northern Ireland, Brussels and Malaysia compared.
Kerimov, Farhad	Panel 4 LT2	Politics&IR	Hermeneutics, Discourse, and Pluralism
Lemon, Edward	Panel 7 LT1	Politics&IR	Exploring the relationship between (in)security and secularism in Tajikistan
Marilungo, Francesco	Panel 9 LT1	IAIS	City and national identity. How culture and media can redefine the national incorporation of a place: the case of Diyarbakir and the Kurdish issue.
Masson, Telemaque	Panel 8 LT2	Law	The Great Legal Transformation: From speenhamland to Hartz IV— an account of the emergence of Human Dignity in law and of its political potential
Mazzoleni, Matteo	Panel 2 LT2	Politics&IR	A southern neighbourhood in turmoil. The European Union foreign policy and the Arab Spring. The case of Egypt and Syria.



<i>Name</i>	<i>Session</i>	<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Title</i>
Mike, Jennifer Heaven	Panel 6 LT2	Law	The relevance of the Trips agreement as it relates to human rights, access to medicine and human development through a feminist analysis
Moorby, Martin	Panel 4 LT2	Politics&IR	Marx's 'riddle of the bourgeois state': the centrality of alienation in his early political writings
Morad, Kawa	Panel 8 LT2	SPA	Performing History: Agency and Affect in Kurdish Sung Narratives
Moralee, Laura	Panel 1 LT1	Politics&IR	Encountering and countering the culture of counting: What's at stake in the quantification of public life?
Neads, Alex	Panel 10 LT2	Politics&IR	Building Other Peoples' Armies: Military Capacity Building and democratic Security Sector Governance during International Interventions
Pettinato, Davide	Panel 7 LT1	IAIS	Exploring British Muslims faith-based advocacy for emancipatory change and social justice
Rodriguez, Endika	Panel 9 LT1	IAIS	A case study of settler colonialism: The idea of population transference in Zionist political thought during the British Mandate in Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus.
Scrase, Stuart	Panel 8 LT2	SPA	In what way can the London Riots be understood as meaningful social practices deriving from actors' interpretations, emotional experience and moral valuation of everyday life?



Slucca, Maria Chiara	Panel 10 LT2	Politics&IR	Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAVs): how do increasingly high-performing and fully autonomous systems undermine international security and stability
Tang, Zhangmei	Panel 4 LT2	Politics&IR	Seduction of the Public: On Heidegger and Arendt’s interpretation of Public
Ustun, M.Tayfun	Panel 9 LT1	Politics&IR	The Method of ANCO-HITS: Interdisciplinary Approach to Analyse Ethnicity in Diasporic Space
Wavre, Veronique	Panel 2 LT2	Politics&IR	Defining the domestic context in policy diffusion; The case of telecommunications provisions in Morocco and Jordan

**Abstracts (alphabetical)**

**Agoren, Guler Cansu-** *Biomedical Understanding of Depression and the Human Self*  
 The aim of this study is to analyse how the bio-medical model defines depression in relation to the concept of human self. The understanding of depression has often been based on the concept of human self and the biological account of depression depends on the idea of a solid self. This implies that there is an actual, definable self for each human being and depression is a separation from it. Depending on this idea, it is possible to suggest that the biomedical account distinguishes between three different phenomena. The first one is the actual self overshadowed by depression. The second is the depression which is a totality of symptoms. The third is the individual peculiarities, which are not defined as the reflections of the actual self, nor the symptoms of “depression”. This understanding does not only bring the idea of a solid and consistent self; but also implies that depression is the same in each case. Therefore, the uniqueness of each individual’s experience is irrelevant to the essence of depression. In this case, depression appears to be a certain phenomenon, which is not interconnected with the self, rather isolated from it. It manifests a similar existence in every human being; instead of being altered in each case as a result of its interplay with that human’s unique self. Here, this interpretation will be discussed to understand whether it allows a deep understanding of the phenomenon of depression or only a limited description of it.



**Alfraidi, Tareq-***Conditional sentences in Modern Written Arabic A Semantic-Syntactical Approach*

Conditional sentences are one of the most complex areas in the field of linguistics in general and in Arabic grammar in particular. Therefore, it has been a central topic for both Classical and Modern linguists of Arabic grammar. However, most of these studies show several shortcomings, such as a lack of coherent analyses, narrow and limited data and inappropriate approaches. The main problem is that most of the previous studies, excepting Peled, 1992 and Sartori, 2010, did not aim to build the gap between syntax and semantics, while the major focus has been given to the syntactical aspect of the topic. Thus, this study's aim is to apply an approach that helps to associate form with meaning in order to achieve an adequate description for conditionals in Modern Written Arabic (MWA). This study will also aim to address the relation between conditionals, from one hand, and some linguistic issues which have not been given enough attention on the other hand, such as time references, the semantic link between the two clauses and discourse functions. Under the influence of some cross-linguistic works (e.g. Comrie, 1986; Dancygier, 1998), this study is intended to apply a "multi-angled" framework in order to meet its main goals. This framework is considered to have a universal validity to be applicable to conditional analysis in all languages (Ibid). Finally, this study will be demonstrated on the basis of a mainly descriptive analysis for authentic examples that will be gathered from different MWA material.

**Aliyu Dogo, Sefinatu-***Nigerian Patriarchy: When and How?*

The present Nigerian Society, like most of Africa, is patriarchal in nature, with attendant unequal gender relations which cast women in a subordinate position. However, African scholars have contended and still do that it was not always that way, but that it became patriarchal as a result of the introduction of external factors like the religions of Islam and Christianity, colonialism, education and others. They believe that the most of African society, including Nigeria, was matriarchal in nature and so the claims of western writers to the contrary are wrong. This work, which is part of my PhD research, attempts to trace the societal nature and gender relations pattern within the Nigerian society, from pre-colonial Nigerian society, through the colonial into the present post-colonial Nigerian society. It engages the works of early writers on the evolution of society like Fredrick Engels and African writers like Cheikh Anta Diop, who, influenced by Engels claims about society and how it portrayed Africa, carried out researches in order to refute them; and also current writings on the Nature of gender relations in post-colonial Nigerian society.

**Basoukos, Antonios-***A Priori Principles in Hans Reichenbach's Epistemology*

One of the major contributions of Hans Reichenbach to the philosophy of science has been his justification of induction. Related with his account of probability, the justification of induction has been judged unavailing. It is also beset with difficulties concerning the reconstruction of Reichenbach's original arguments. In this presentation I introduce his thought on induction, probability, the tasks of epistemology, and the central role of the will in his writings to argue that we can rely on passages in his work to interpret his



thought to indicate that induction as the prevalent type of reasoning employed in the empirical sciences is justified. The justification of induction is, I argue, a result of regarding nature as purposeful according to Immanuel Kant's Critique of Judgement. Following Kant, the purposefulness of nature signifies that we are justified to believe nature readily available to our understanding, induction included.

***Beimenbetov, Serik- The Formal-Legal Dimension of Defensive Democracy in Europe***

Liberal democracies know a wide range of strategies to counter non-democratic groups and parties that might threaten the democratic order from within the political system. Rather than covering all types of defensive mechanisms (including societal ones, for instance), my paper analyzes the range of formal-legal mechanisms that constrain anti-democratic groups and parties in 8 advanced democracies in Europe. These mechanisms are identified in constitutional documents, civil law, criminal law, in electoral laws, and other pertinent legal sources passed by the legislature and issued by courts, regulating political freedoms, homeland security and public order. On this basis, I will provide an encompassing and systematic mapping of differences and similarities across these democracies and thereby assess their relative formal-legal defensiveness. The past research has made many considerable efforts at studying defensive efforts of individual countries but cross-national research is relatively rare. Particularly so the research on the doctrine of "militant democracy" focused on studying individual countries and how they fight political extremism. While building on such research, my paper adopts a broader focus of formal-legal democratic defensiveness by looking beyond conventional instruments of militant democracy such as party bans. Rather than focusing on a single instrument, I study the full range of measures that formally constrain non-democratic groups in a democracy, categorizing measures in three analytical categories that differ in the severity of constraints they impose on anti-democratic actors respectively: legal ban of political parties and groups, freedom constraints, and operational constraints. The study thereby closes an existing gap in the literature by providing a broader perspective on cross-national differences among democracies in terms of their formal-legal defensiveness.

***Beloushi, Hassan-The Paradigm Shift of Current Shī'ī Ūṣul al-Fiqh: From al-Bahbahānian Paradigm to Maqṣid al-sharī'ah***

Providing a better understanding to the developments of intellectual history of Shī'ī ūṣul al-fiqh has been one of the main issues in the field. As the scholarship of the field has been increased significantly, the dominant conviction is that the current paradigm of Shī'ī ūṣul al-fiqh is a continuation with a few developments of al-Waḥid al-Bahbhānī's framework. This paper determines the socio-intellectual factors that formed the Bahbahānian paradigm and argues that the current maqāsidī (The Purposes of Islamic Law) discourse in Shī'ī ūṣul al-fiqh represents a new jurisprudential paradigm. This study analyses the socio-political and intellectual Shī'ī movements in later Safavid and early Qajari period and compares them with their counterparts in modern and contemporary age. This examination has shown that the maqāsidī paradigm can be deemed as a rupture with what so-called Bahbahānian paradigm and it represents a shift from it in



epistemological, functional and methodological levels. Each of these levels was a respond to certain socio-intellectual circumstances in Iran and Iraq in 17th and 18th centuries, namely; a) Safavid anti-Sunni discourse b) the growth of philosophy amongst Shī'ī religious institutions by 'Iṣfahan School, c) the avoiding from politics by Shī'ī scholars after the 'Āmilis experiences and d) the emergence of 'Akhbarism. By confronting new socio-intellectual circumstances during what so called 'modernity', Shī'ī uṣūl al-fiqh is witnessing a paradigm shift toward the maqāṣid al-sharī'ah, but in Shī'ī model.

***Berrisford, Kate-What challenges does Multiculturalism pose for Liberalism?***

In the contemporary world, the normative political theory Liberalism is confronted with the fact of Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism means that diverse groups with diverse traditions, identities and practices live in the same community or state. This may mean that Liberal societies are confronted with 'illiberal' practices, that is, practices that violate principles of Liberalism, such as the liberal commitment to equality.

How liberal societies ought to respond to 'illiberal' practices has been under discussion for some time, and yet the question remains contentious. If a liberal society is only committed to providing individuals with equal 'procedural' rights to pursue their own 'substantive' interpretations of the good life, then in principle it ought not to condemn practices involved in that procedure. This causes a tension concerning how to respond to 'illiberal' practices in liberal societies, and raises the question of whether different groups should be granted different rights or legal exemptions in order to preserve the groups' traditions and identity. Thinkers offer diverse perspectives on and solutions to the conundrum.

In this chapter I construct a typology of Liberal Multicultural theorists and theories in order to identify the main challenges for Liberalism and Multiculturalism. I will use the practice Female Genital Cutting to interrogate the theories, to elucidate any incongruence within them, and to illuminate any gaps between theory and practice.

***Brebeanu, Bogdan-Nicolae- The politics of Security Sector Reform***

With ten major armed conflicts taking place around the world right now there is little doubt that the years to come will pose a serious challenge to the tasks of peace-building and state-building. But, since 200,000 people fleeing the economic capital of Syria in one day represent the effect of an ongoing war, and an estimated number of 45,000 people dying on a monthly basis in the aftermath of the Second Congo War constitute the humanitarian dimension of a recently finished conflict, one starts to wonder where is the border between the official ending of armed hostilities and the beginning of a long and thorny reconstruction process. In this context, a crucial stage in the stabilization of the emerging state is the one concerning the security sector reform ("SSR") which in practice involves a successful conduction of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, an enforcement of the rule of law, a carefully balanced transitional justice process and a though implementation of small arms and light weapons controls. Listed in a sequential order all of the above contribute, at least in theory, to the creation of an operational climate in a fractured state based on functional institutions, a



sense of transparency and an awareness of the importance of the rule of law. As such, this research project will seek to contextualize and decompose the internal and external repercussions of the SSR process by drawing on the findings of an ensuing comparative analysis that will revolve around the cases of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Palestine and Lebanon.

*Choi, Jiwon- available on request from author*

**Dell, Philippa-** *Economy vs. Ecology – a social-ecological approach to the study of anthropogenic noise disturbance of cetaceans in the Pelagos Sanctuary*  
The study of underwater anthropogenic noise pollution and its effect on cetaceans has become a topic of considerable interest in the academic literature. However, the majority of these studies focus almost exclusively on quantifiable impacts on the animals, rather than taking into account the wider social-ecological scenario. There is an increasing need to address the social and economic barriers to cetacean conservation, where significant conflict exists between maritime industries and contiguous cetaceans. ‘Social-ecological systems (SES) analysis’ is an area of research that seeks to assess the complex interactions between humans and the natural environment within a biogeophysical unit. This project utilises a similar approach to address the issue of noise disturbance of cetaceans in the Ligurian Sea. It is interdisciplinary in nature, involving two strands of research: Ecological, involving acoustic analysis to identify sources and potential impacts of anthropogenic noise in the sanctuary; and Anthropological, investigating the socio-economic barriers to marine mammal risk mitigation. In collaboration with the Tethys Research Institute in Italy, the ecological strand involves analysis of



acoustic data collected throughout a designated study site within the Pelagos Sanctuary from 2007-13. The anthropological strand involves a series of qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the study site, of representatives from various maritime industries contributing to underwater noise pollution in the sanctuary, including fishing, Naval military, eco-tourism, shipping and maritime tourism. Still in its early days, the project has already garnered a great deal of interest, and collaborations have been established with several local organisations to participate in the research.

**Eason, Fenella-Dogs who sniff: How humans with chronic illness benefit socially from their canine companions' olfactory prowess**

Research into human-animal interactions has become acceptable with escalating scientific data collection and interpretation. The concept of animal personhood no longer appears disquieting and, in this study, has significance when trained canine olfactory diagnosticians (scenting dogs) are viewed as medical assistants independently working in the homes of chronically ill humans. The role of the working dog is highlighted by both its superior sense of smell and its acceptance of 'training' methods. Humans prioritise visual or auditory senses rather than that of smell, but dogs utilise a complex olfactory system to choose their 'personal' survival tactics. It is this perceptual ability that has brought about inter-species cooperation in seismology, exhumation and drug smuggling detection, and now exists in the field of medical diagnostics. Human and canine olfactory systems will be briefly compared this paper. Research into human-canine collaboration – based, in this instance, in anthrozoology and the sociology of health and illness - can lead to an improved quality of life for individuals with conditions such as Type 1 diabetes. Employing dogs with their exceptional sense of smell to partner humans with chronic illness has important social significance in that it allows the latter to leave home and integrate in society with less anxiety, secure in the knowledge that their canine companions will alert them before situations occur that may cause embarrassment, collapse or necessitate emergency medical assistance. Human-nonhuman involvement in contemporary health issues - specifically canine olfactory detection of human illness - is creating new ways to manage chronic conditions.

**Grácio Alberto, Rita- "Not bad, for a girl": women playing the drum kit**

Scholarship has looked at the gendering of instruments (Doubleday, 2008), but the drum kit is still un-explored (Smith, 2013). Based on in-depth qualitative interviews, and using a socioecological perspective on music (DeNora, 2013), this article presents some findings on women drummers. Considering the drum kit a sociotechnical artifact, it seeks to explore its uses as a resource for gendered musical identities and performances.

**Griffiths, Jack- The Politics of Nature: The appropriation of Darwinism by laissez-faire ideology, and why it is untenable**

The 'Darwinian' image of nature as a gladiatorial arena of competitive struggle between individual organisms, and the conception of evolutionary progress expressed by the phrase 'survival of the fittest', have leached into modern understanding of the world in many ways, including through interaction with political and economic thought. The



subject of this paper is the appropriation of these ideas as a justificatory tool in laissez-faire ideology. I shall argue that such an appropriation is untenable. I shall provide historical examples of this appropriation and explain two important conceptual roles that it can play in laissez-faire ideology, which I dub the 'naturalising move' and the 'moral progress move'. The latter is undermined by revealing that its appeal to 'survival of the fittest' cannot do the moral work required. A critique of the former can be approached from two different perspectives. The first, inspired by the moral philosophy of T. H. Huxley, takes for granted the 'Darwinian' conception of nature, but rejects its application to society. The second attempts to undermine this conception of nature itself, with reference to evidence from biology and evolutionary theory.

**Hawari, Yara-** *Collective memory in the Galilee: The construction of a narrative and the preservation of memories in a 'State of Denial'*

This paper focuses on the indigenous population that remained in the newly formed state of Israel after the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Regarded by Israel as a 'fifth column' and ignored by the international community, the Palestinians with Israeli citizenship have had a very different experience to Israel's occupation than their brothers and sisters in the West Bank and Gaza. Being physically in place but socially and politically marginalized has given them a unique experience and has placed them at odds with their collective memory of Palestine. The Galilee has a significant Palestinian population, indeed they form the majority at about 60% despite Israel's unrepentant attempts to settle the area with Jewish immigrants. This battle for demographics is also reflective in the battle for narratives, and is particularly interesting in the context of Israelis and Palestinians occupying the same space. The 'state of denial' refers to the context of institutionalized marginalization and negation of the Palestinian narrative by Israel. With the destruction of their society in 1948, Palestinians turned to oral history as an "emergency science" to preserve their narrative. Stories of events, traditions and identity were passed on and a cross-generational narrative formed. It is this construction of a cross-generational narrative, also referred to in this research as 'collective memory' that is the focus of this paper.

**Jarrett, Henry-** *The nationalism of election campaigns in plural societies: Northern Ireland, Brussels and Malaysia compared*

This paper will use ethno-symbolism to analyse and compare election campaigns in plural societies. It will test its hypothesis and argument that the potential to maximise electoral success should incentivise political parties to moderate the nationalist rhetoric and symbolism of their campaigns in attempt to appeal to voters beyond the ethnoregional bloc they represent. To determine if this is so, this paper will explore recent campaigns in Northern Ireland, Brussels and Malaysia, comparing the manifestos of Sinn Fein, Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten, and the Malaysian Chinese Association. The rationale behind selecting these cases is that all are consociational democracies and each has a different electoral system, which will enable the determination of whether voting systems have any impact on campaign moderation in societies with elite level power sharing. The recent campaigns of the largest party explicit in its representation of



the largest minority in each of these cases have been chosen for comparison. These parties should be most likely to demonstrate a willingness to moderate as they already have a core support base within their own ethnonational community but as this is limited to a minority of voters, would benefit greatly from expanding their electoral support and, therefore, political influence. This paper will, however, conclude that this moderation is not occurring, which is largely the result of party perception that the electorate will vote for who they consider to best represent the interests of their community and, therefore, parties assume they will not benefit from toning down their campaigns.

***Kerimov, Farhad- Hermeneutics, Discourse, and Pluralism***

This paper presents the central task of an ongoing research project that focuses on the role of discourse in accommodating pluralism in democratic politics. Discourse, conceptualized in terms of Habermasian rationality, has been successfully used by some deliberative democratic theories to accommodate plural value claims in democratic politics. However, the contention this research makes is that discourse dominated by Habermasian rationality is restrictive and exclusionary and so limits the accommodation of pluralism in democratic politics. This research revisits the Habermas-Gadamer debate in order to re-consider the role of discourse in accommodating pluralism in democratic politics from a perspective sympathetic with Gadamer's line of argument on the universality of the hermeneutic problem. Discourse, understood in terms of Gadamerian hermeneutical philosophy, is not just a medium for achievement of an overriding consensus over difference by means of rational debate but also a medium where difference and plural value claims can have their being and can only be known in the public sphere of democratic politics by their disclosure in discourse. Gadamer's hermeneutical philosophy can serve as a carefully thought out justification for such an understanding of discourse and I will present some key aspects that he defends against Habermas that can help understand the role of discourse in a way much more amenable with the demands of pluralism on democratic politics.

***Lemon, Edward-Exploring the relationship between (in)security and secularism in Tajikistan***

In this paper, I will explore the interrelationship between (in)security and secularity in Tajikistan using Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the "field." For Bourdieu society consists of a series of rule-governed, overlapping fields in which actors struggle to define their world. I will focus on the interaction between the religious and security fields in Tajikistan. Considerable debate exists between actors occupying different positions on the field as to whether secularity and religiosity are sources of security or insecurity. In these competing discourses of danger, no consensus exists over the security threat, referent object and exceptional measures taken to address this. Three discourses on the relationship between (in)security and secularity (dunyavi) emerge from these fields. First, the governmental discourse links secularism with the development of the modern state (muosir davlati). In speeches President Rahmon frequently pairs the secular with words such as "universal" (jahoni), "civilized" (mutarakki), "democracy" (demokrati) and "progress" (obodu). As such it is secularism that secures society against



the dangerous threat of religious radicalisation. Second, according to the liberal discourse- espoused by a wide array of journalists, civil society representatives and political parties- both the government's assertive secularism and "radical Islam" are potentially dangerous. To enhance the human security of Tajiks, a passively secularist and democratic order is required. Last, the radical Islamists themselves espouse their own discourse. These actors see state secularity itself as the threat to the security of the umma (Muslim community) in Tajikistan and call for the creation of a state based on sharia law.

***Marilungo, Francesco-City and national identity. How culture and media can redefine the national incorporation of a place: the case of Diyarbakir and the Kurdish issue.***

Diyarbakir (Amed in Kurdish) is the Kurdish largest city in Turkey, often considered as the unofficial capital of Northern Kurdistan. Despite being historically abode of a multicultural environment, displacement policies and waves of forced migration from the surrounding villages transformed Diyarbakir into the most populous Kurdish city, the centre of Kurdish politics in Turkey. A symbol for Kurds all around the world. In the media discourse, as well as in literature and cinema, the city of Diyarbakir has been constructed and portrayed by Kurdish actors as the principal urban setting of the Kurdish/Turkish conflict and, at a symbolic level, as a metonym for the whole Kurdish identity. Whilst during the grimmest years of the ethnic conflict (1984-1991) Diyarbakir is characterized through media, literature and arts in general, as a gloomy place of sorrows (the ominously famous prison being a symbol of this period), in subsequent years of discontinuous détente the image of the city changed radically. The unearthing of the multi-ethnic past of the city carried out by writers and journalists during the 1990s paved the way for the elaboration of a new identity scheme that would go beyond the Turkish nationalist incorporation and would put the city at the core of the symbolic landscape of Kurdish culture. Nowadays the name of the city might stand as a metonym for the Kurdish political agenda (as Ankara or Washington might stand for Turkish or American) and Diyarbakir has become the centre of cultural production of Northern Kurdistan. In this paper I will look at how literature and media, along with the armed and political struggle, effectively contributed to give to Diyarbakir a specific role in the framework of Kurdish nationalist ideology, and helped to put the Kurdish political agenda on the map at an international level.

***Masson, Telemague-The Great Legal Transformation: From speenhamland to Hartz IV— an account of the emergence of Human Dignity in law and of its political potential***

In his seminal 1946 'The Great Transformation', Karl Polanyi saw the cause for the two world wars to lie in a 'double movement' between forces of marketisation and of social protection. He understood the former as having been set in motion by the emergence, in late 18th century England, of the idea of self-regulating, 'free' markets ; and the latter as appearing in reaction to the vehemence of the attack on society by the former. In this context, he pointed to the Speenhamland system, which consisted in the implementation by the courts of a universal but means-tested form of public assistance, as an attempt to



guarantee what he termed a 'right to dignity'. Critical theorist Nancy Fraser, who sees in today's crisis a Great Transformation Redux, criticises Polanyi's binary model and argues that a third movement made up of the forces of emancipation was there all along. Her analysis rejoins that of German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) Judge Susanne Baer, who sees in Dignity, Liberty and Equality a fundamental triangle of constitutionalism. Drawing a parallel between Speenhamland and the 2010 Hartz IV cases before the FCC, this paper will consider Basic Income as a tool of Human Rights Budgeting for the implementation of Socio-economic Rights and the systematic protection of Human Dignity. It will do so in the light of contemporary french democratic theory and anglo-american constitutional theory. This will lead to reflections on what may be the nature and place of the justice system in a republican form of organisation respectful of Human Rights and striving for democratic governance

**Mazzoleni, Matteo**-*A southern neighbourhood in turmoil. The European Union foreign policy and the Arab Spring. The case of Egypt and Syria*

The present research project attempts to address many questions surrounding the role played by the European Union towards Egypt and Syria since the outbreak of the Arab Spring. The ultimate goal of this study is to assess how EU foreign policy institutions, such as the European External Action Service or the Union for the Mediterranean, have responded to the fast changing scenario and the political crises erupted on the southern rim of the Mediterranean. In the two case studies selected, EU policies have been examined by utilising a purposely-tailored framework of analysis, which takes into account the peculiarity and the sui generis nature of the EU, understood as both a supranational institution capable of partially autonomous action and a venue for national foreign policy coordination. In particular, involvement in Egypt and Syria has been analyzed by focusing on EU's ability to agree, act and devote resources to the achievement of its foreign policy goals. This study suggests that, in dealing with the Arab Spring and its outcomes, the EU foreign policy has been beleaguered by major structural leashes. The continuous need to find common positions, which tend to become increasingly difficult vis-à-vis major political crises, has confirmed the everlasting existence of a "expectations-capability" gap which hinders the achievement of its foreign policy goals

**Mike, Jennifer Heaven** - *The relevance of the Trips agreement as it relates to human rights, access to medicine and human development through a feminist analysis*  
I pursue research in this area primarily by combining the flexibility of human rights and development network theories with a deep feminism based understanding of the patent and access to medicine phenomenon. I consider myself part of a growing group of scholars who employ the network of interdisciplinary perspective and gender based knowledge to re-frame classical economic and sociological explanations of international organizational decisions, laws and market outcomes. This approach holds out the promise of a more flexible welfare grounded model of international organisational action. It follows a conception that the WTO (TRIPS), usually thought to be primarily responsive to objective economic factors such as incentives for innovation, is also responsive to a



variety of social factors including physical wellbeing, good health, cultural participation in a social structure. I view this approach to be a vital infusion of sociological imagination into theoretical territory and gender settings that have suffered by its absence. I expect the results of my research on the relevance of the TRIPS Agreements in the light of health concerns to have implications for our understanding of how, exactly, patents do, can, or should “contribute to the well-being of society”. Relevant questions that I hope to answer include: Where did our current protectionist Rights holder -centred, view of the role of patents come from—particularly in light of the very different one that underlay the justification for a trade liberal foundation of the WTO system? How does our current view of the role of the Pharmaceutical patents protection in the multi-lateral trade system compare with the way that innovation has traditionally been conceived in other human related disciplines like development?

**Moorby, Martin** -*Marx's 'riddle of the bourgeois state': the centrality of alienation in his early political writings*

Marx never wrote his planned treatise on the state, leaving only a scattered account on the subject. This essay is part of a thesis which restores the centrality of alienation in readings of Marx's approach to the state and explores its theoretical implications. I expound the roots of Marx's account in some of his earliest writings in 1842-4. My aim is to explain what Marx means by treating the modern state as a form of alienation and how this impacts on our understanding of the development of his thought. Marx characterises the state as a riddle; for its idealised aims are contradicted by the materialism of the actual freedom it guarantees. Not only does this description of the state reveal much about how Marx approached the state as a form of alienation, it shows how he approached the state as a theoretical and practical problem which he sought to explain. I explicate how Marx regarded the state as a contradiction. I do this by (1) showing how Marx regarded the idealised freedom of the political state as a distorted expression of commercial society; (2) demonstrating how Marx conceptualised the actual state institutions as a manifestation of the alienation of bourgeois civil society; finally, (3) expounding his claim that the state originates in the same historical moment as commercial society. Through his critical dialectic Marx treats the state as a relation between the ensemble of state institutions and civil society; he regards the state as a relation between form and content.

**Morad, Kawa**- *Performing History: Agency and Affect in Kurdish Sung Narratives*

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**Moralee, Laura**-*Encountering and countering the culture of counting: What's at stake in the quantification of public life?*

Public life, from both a social-political philosophy and a social-political practice perspective, is constituted by the broad question of how to conceive, describe, produce, and manage public 'goods'. These goods include services such as education, law making and enforcement and healthcare, interpersonal relations such as trust, respect and co-operation, and the relative value itself of community and the private sphere. I argue that the way we currently address this question is permeated by a 'culture of counting'. The culture of counting can be explicated through an examination of claims that professionals and public services are increasingly subject to detrimental processes and procedures via a programme of transparency, and that the particular nature of these processes and procedures reflects the broader idea that public goods only count when they are 'countable'. It is this examination that I focus on in the paper, considering what is at stake in a culture of counting, and suggesting some reasons why we might care about things that are put at risk.

**Needs, Alex**-*Building Other Peoples' Armies: Military Capacity Building and democratic Security Sector Governance during International Interventions*

In the years following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the world has seen a dramatic rise in intra-state conflicts. In our increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, foreign state instability poses a significant strategic issue for western nations. But in the post-Iraq and Afghanistan era, and as economic instability intensifies existing trends towards downsizing military personnel establishments, large-scale interventionist nation-building can no longer be countenanced. Instead, capacity building as a response to state instability has increased in prominence, and Military Capacity Building (MCB) continues to form an important element of this policy. But MCB must be more than just defence diplomacy; it must produce effective forces able to defend tangible interests while remaining democratically legitimate. In light of renewed interest in MCB as an element in state reconstruction, I will examine the fundamental issues of building both effective, and accountable, military forces in post-conflict societies. This problem builds on two broad schools of academic inquiry. Firstly, on literature addressing democratic civil-military relations, and the second on the sociological and institutional problems of generating cohesive military institutions. Ultimately then, these contradictory dynamics pose questions of Security Sector Governance (SSG); of how to create democratically supportive, accountable, yet internally effective military forces in a divided post-conflict landscape.

**Pettinato, Davide**-*Exploring British Muslims faith-based advocacy for emancipatory change and social justice*

How British Muslims articulate faith-based advocacy for emancipatory change and social justice? Is British Muslim youth being educated about the Muslim perspective on global active citizenship, fair-trade, sustainability, and eco-friendly living? What is the British Muslim contribution to conflict-resolution, development strategies, and fight



against poverty? The paper tackles these questions by selecting a case study [the London-based 'MADE in Europe'] to analyse motivations and values of British Muslim faith-based emancipatory activism. 'MADE in Europe' is chosen because of its focus on advocacy and education amongst Muslim youth about the Islamic perspective on themes such as global poverty and injustice, social action, justice and environmental stewardship. The paper uses qualitative analysis to identify patterns and explore what ideas and beliefs are communicated. An original multidisciplinary framework is developed to reciprocally combine and supplement three theoretical perspectives: 1) post-Orientalism, to take into account the Muslim specificity; 2) Liberation Theology, to highlight the religious dimension of faith-based activism; 3) Social Movement Theory, to articulate how activism occurs, and to develop the basis for comparison with other forms of activism for social justice. In conclusion, the paper brings a significant contribution to the "Politics, SPA and IAIS Annual Postgraduate Conference" by offering an original insight into British Muslim faith-based emancipatory activism, and by exploring potential 'real world' applications of an original inter-disciplinary theoretical framework of analysis.

**Rodriguez, Endika-** *A case study of settler colonialism: The idea of population transference in Zionist political thought during the British Mandate in Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus*

The main idea of settler colonialism theory is related to land ownership: no settler colonialism would be possible without land. In settler societies the main purpose is to replace the native population in a determinate space. That process could not be carried out without creating the physical space for the migrants in the "new country". However, that method of colonisation obviously faces the rejection of the native population. There are diverse procedures to create "that" physical space; for example: expulsion, ethnic cleansing and transference. These systems are implemented depending on different factors: military strength, political strength and international factors. Several examples have been researched related to settler colonialism approaches, such as Australia, South Africa and United States of America. Yet the case of Zionism during the British Mandate has not been fully addressed. From the very beginning the Zionist enterprise focused on land purchases and settlement of migrants as a way to achieve a Jewish state with a Jewish majority in Palestine. Nur Masalha worked on this concept of transfer in Zionist political thought, arguing that the idea of transference of population was a pillar in Zionist ideology. This study wants to compare four sub-districts (Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Nablus) during the British Mandate period and using demographic approaches, examine whether the Arab population shows any effects related to the settlement policy (Jewish labour force) and land purchases carried out by Zionists.

**Scrase, Stuart-** *In what way can the London Riots be understood as meaningful social practices deriving from actors' interpretations, emotional experience and moral valuation of everyday life?*

The presentation will discuss the approach and initial conceptual issues, along with the



methodology of the research, into participants in England's 2011 riots. Rather than the exploring the event itself, the research will focus on participants' broader interpretations and experiences, and conceptualise the rioting as a number of socially meaningful acts embedded within these contexts. The aim of the research is to develop theory around why participants were involved and what social practises can be considered as contributing to their actions in 2011, with the further aim of grounding possible resolutions in the historically specific issues behind rioting. The presentation will begin with what the available statistical data could mean for locating enquiry and issues regarding initial analytical conceptualisations of the riots, looking specifically at the acts of looting, violence against police, and destruction of property. The following section will take a short look at the theoretical approach I intend to take, in particular the fundamental role of feelings in understanding why people act and how they are shaped. Finally I conclude with the methodological approach of unstructured interviews, participant observation, and a video anthropology employing footage from the riots.

***Slucca, Maria Chiara- Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAVs): how do increasingly high-performing and fully autonomous systems undermine international security and stability***

As flawed systems, UAS need technological upgrades. In my research I explore the impact technological advancements have on international security and stability. Indeed, since increasingly high-performing and autonomous systems lower the war threshold, it is important to understand how can action-reaction dynamics be kept under control and escalation be prevented. Increasingly autonomous systems can affect and complicate confidence building and communication in international relations. More specifically, my research focuses on deterrence in order to understand how can it work if systems act automatically and autonomously. While interfering in the relationship between geopolitical actors, autonomous UCAVs could alter and compromise deterrence among them. On one side, they would act as an additional player on the international scene; on the other, they not only would not take part in communication among actors but also could jeopardize it. In order to test deterrence theory, I analyse the hypothesis UAVs are equipped with nuclear weapons: if human operators are excluded from decision-making process, how could deterrence work in that case? In a country such as the United States where public opinion is very sensitive to U.S. casualties, increasingly autonomous UCAVs realize the idea of waging war with no sacrifice from the society. Though, not requiring blood sacrifice, governments and policymakers can escape democratic control and wage war with few domestic political limitations. Finally, public opinion's doubts raise ethical dilemmas: through artificial intelligence systems could select targets and attack them with no human intervention, but they cannot foresee the implications of their decisions and actions.

***Tang, Zhangmei- Seduction of the Public: On Heidegger and Arendt's interpretation of Public***

If from a philosophical or Heideggerian point of view, public realm seems an overly extoled and exposed political "space" in Arendt's political thought. How does her



teacher Heidegger look into the public? What is the difference of their understanding of the public? Why is the difference necessary? And what is the problematic of Dana Villa's interpretation of Arendt's appropriation of Heidegger? In this paper, I will generally exposit the idea of Heidegger's "seduction of the public", and make the comparison of the pathologies of the seduction of the public between Heidegger and Arendt. And finally, I will make a small comment on Villa's interpretation. Begin from Letter on Humanism, rest on Being and Time and The Human Condition, I will look into Heidegger's interpretation on publicness, and its relation to Heideggerian conception of everydayness of Dasein, das Man, fallenness, thrownness and Mitsein; and idle talk, curiosity and ambiguity as three different form of fallenness. Comparing Arendt's political-public space, I conclude three pathologies of publicness: forgetfulness (time); averageness (space) and exclusiveness, according to two great thinkers respectively. And then we can determine how much Arendt is influenced by Heidegger.

***Ustun, M.Tayfun- The Method of ANCO-HITS: Interdisciplinary Approach to Analyse Ethnicity in Diasporic Space***

Ethnicity in diasporic spaces is a fantastic topic which remains its mystery in social sciences. This invites researchers, coming from different backgrounds, to think over unstudied aspects of ethnicity with interdisciplinary approach. Analysis of ethnicity in diasporic communities is one of the unstudied research topics. This paper primarily aims to make a methodological contribution to ethnicity and diaspora studies through introducing a new analysis method; namely, ANCO-HITS in the example of Armenianness and Armenian community. This paper focuses on data analysis and research process of the ongoing PhD project seeking to understand reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. It consists of two parts. Firstly, a short background of the research project will be given. Afterwards, I will explain research design briefly and discuss how the data sets have been constructed. Secondly, it will be focused on data analysis process. In order to analyse reproduction of Armenianness in diasporic spaces, the data sets have been analysed by the method of ANCO-HITS. In this section, I will introduce principles of ANCO-HITS. Moreover, its contributions and benefits will be discussed through initial findings and results after ANCO-HITS analysis. This paper believes that ANCO-HITS can provide an alternative approach to analyse and understand how ethnic identities are reproduced and maintained in diasporic spaces. This method allows us to see similarities and differences systematically in the reproduction process.

***Wavre, Veronique-Defining the domestic context in policy diffusion; The case of telecommunications provisions in Morocco and Jordan***

When discussing whether context matters in policy diffusion, academic research does not always accord. It is often disagreed upon whether political, economic and social characteristics of a state impact policy diffusion or not. Some authors suggest that indicators of wealth, such as excess resources, per capita income and expenditures or indicators of urbanization, education levels and literacy rates might bring additional understanding of the domestic context (2002:158-9). Humphreys and Simpson propose an



array of domestic context variables to define the rise of telecommunications regulation, such as, the market specificities, the ideological colour of a government, the structure of domestic group policies the national regulatory styles and the models of capitalism (2008:855). While their study address the case of the EU member states, their research presents an interesting set of variables to assess the impact of domestic factors to policy diffusion. Using the case study of the telecommunications sectors in both Morocco and Jordan and in particular, universal service obligation and spectrum management provisions, I want to discuss whether the domestic context matters in policy diffusion and if so how can it be defined. Methods will include semi-structured interviews of policy-makers working in the telecommunications sector in both Morocco and Jordan, in addition to the use of relevant official reports and legislation.



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