

Civil War Paths: A Research Programme on Civil War as a Social Process

Funded by the UK Research and Innovation Future Leaders Fellowship “Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-War Stages: A Comparative Approach” (Ref.: MR/T040653/1 and MR/T040653/2, start date 1 January 2021; MR/Y034090/1, start date 1 January 2026)

Contributors: Anastasia Shesterinina (Future Leaders Fellow)
Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas
Sadeen Haddad
Hanna Ketola
Michael Livesey
Toni Rouhana
Sayra van den Berg

Table of Contents

The Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War	1
The Civil War Paths Project	2
Conceptual Framework	3
Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre- to post-war	3
Research Design	6
Armed group formation in civil war: “movement,” “insurgent,” and “state splinter” origins	6
Empirical Strategy	8
Research ethics in team-based fieldwork-intensive projects	8
Humanising political violence: Lee Ann Fujii’s legacies for civil war studies	10
Navigating field research in armed conflict settings	12
Application to Case Studies	14
“Like flesh and a nail”: rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict	14
Disaggregating rebellion: mid-level commanders in hierarchical non-state armed organizations	16
Weapons of the weakened, but not wiped out: insurgent adaptability through life histories	18
A critical juncture lived otherwise? The case of the “Cedar Revolution”	21
The art(s) of conflict disruption in South Sudan	23
Collaborations and Policy Implications	25
Identifying contemporary civil wars’ effects on humanitarian needs, responses & outcomes	25
The what, who and how of compliance and restraint by non-state armed groups	26
Acting like a state: armed violence in post-war Abkhazia	28
Complete List of Civil War Paths Outputs	30
References	54

The Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War

The Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War was established in 2021 to conduct world-leading comparative research on civil war, inform policy on sustaining peace and bring together international interdisciplinary expertise on conflict and peace to form the foundation for continued research and impact in this field. It is organised around three pillars:

- Civil War Paths Project and Research Team,
- Fellowship Scheme, and
- Advisory Board.

The Civil War Paths Project (<https://www.civilwarpaths.org/>), “Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-War Stages: A Comparative Approach” funded by a UKRI Future Leaders Fellowship is a multi-year, multi-country project that seeks to transform how scholars and policymakers think about and tackle the dominant form of contemporary armed conflict. The Centre hosts the Research Team whose members draw on extensive expertise and experience of field research in Colombia, Lebanon, Nepal, South Sudan, and other contexts to conduct coordinated fieldwork and analysis on how civil wars emerge, unfold, and end or transform over time in these contexts, with implications for civil wars more generally.

The Centre also hosts over 100 international interdisciplinary Civil War Paths Fellows. This prestigious Fellowship Scheme attracts emerging and established scholars of conflict and peace to exchange expertise and showcase cutting-edge research in the field. Fellows contribute to the Civil War Paths Blog disseminated via the Centre’s website, present at the Annual Civil War Paths Conference, and attend the Civil War Paths Seminar Series that brings experts and practitioners of conflict and peace in conversation on the latest research and practice in the field.

Other activities of the Centre include visiting posts of Civil War Paths Fellows at the University of York, organisation of international conference panels and roundtables with presentations from the Civil War Paths Research Team, Fellows, and broader networks, and impact-oriented training and dissemination, including among practitioners.

These activities are supported by the Advisory Board of leading experts and practitioners in the field of conflict and peace who receive three-months updates from the Centre's Director and meet annually to provide advice on the completed and planned activities. Advisory Board members also support the Civil War Paths Research Team in broadening their networks for fieldwork and impact and collaborate with the Research Team, including through invited contributions to externally funded projects, co-authored publications, and consultancies.

Combined, these activities expand the Centre’s reach and ensure institutional legacy beyond the lifespan of the Civil War Paths Project and generate a network of civil war researchers, which previously did not exist and which forms the basis for future collaboration, including high-profile co-authored publications and grant capture.

The Civil War Paths Project

Civil wars, or wars that take place within state borders, are the dominant form of armed conflict today. Every year civil wars generate numerous deaths from violence, destruction and poverty, displace conflict affected populations, halt sustainable development and contribute to resource exploitation. The human, political, economic and environmental costs of war are severe. Yet, we still know little about how conflicts turn violent, how civil wars evolve over time and why some recur while others do not. To develop better informed responses to this pressing global problem, the Civil War Paths project advances a research programme on civil war as a social process that seeks to understand how civil wars unfold across the pre-war, war-time and post-war stages of conflict.

This project departs from traditional analyses of civil war as phenomenon that is isolated from the broader conflict and follows a separate logic to explore civil war as a process that connects the pre-war, war-time and post-war stages of conflict through evolving interactions between the state, non-state groups and external actors. Examining civil war as a process shows that civil wars follow different paths from the pre- to post-war stages that require distinct responses. For example, wars that start in the context of fragmentation within the regime differ in duration, severity and outcomes from those preceded by long-term social movement mobilisation. External support can change how these wars develop. Efforts to prevent, react and rebuild conflict-affected societies should be based on this variation and change.

To understand different paths that civil wars follow, the project has undertaken a rigorously designed qualitative analysis of four cases of civil war, including Colombia, Lebanon, Nepal, and South Sudan. A team of highly qualified researchers have engaged in coordinated fieldwork to collect and analyse new primary and secondary data on three sets of questions:

Q1. What are the different paths to civil war onset?

- a. How does conflict turn violent?
- b. How do non-state groups mobilise and organise before the war?
- c. What role does the state play in civil war onset?

The project has explored civil wars that emerge from:

- i. weak state capacity and fragmentation within the state;
- ii. spontaneous mass mobilisation and state repression in response to the unrest;
- iii. organized social movements that engage in violent contention; and
- iv. activities of militant political groups.

Analysing these paths can help understand where civil wars start and how they develop.

Q2. How do the different paths to civil war shape the dynamics and outcomes of wars?

- a. How do the nature of actors and distribution of forces at the war's onset shape the fighting?
- b. (How) does the fighting change over time?
- c. What is the role of regional influence and external support in these changes?

The project has explored changing internal and external conditions, including:

- v. introduction of external support; and
- vi. changes in internal mobilisation and funding.

Identifying these changes can help understand what factors protract and intensify the fighting.

Q3. How do the civil war dynamics and outcomes shape the post-war potential for peace?

- a. Do some war outcomes facilitate post-war peacebuilding more than others?
- b. What forms of “peace” emerge from the different paths when civil wars end?
- c. What explains the recurrence of violence after civil wars?

The project has explored two types of civil war outcomes:

- vii. victory; and
- viii. negotiated settlement.

Identifying the effects of these outcomes on post-war peace can help understand where violence recurs and how to engage local actors to prevent it.

Ultimately, the findings on how the pre-war conflict is related to the civil war’s onset, how the onset of war affects its development and how the dynamics and outcomes of war shape the post-war potential for peace will help differentiate between the pre- to post-war stages that require distinct responses and build a robust policy toolkit for international organisations. The remainder of this report outlines the conceptual framework and research design of the project and its application to research questions and case studies, summarising a selection of publications on the project. It concludes with an overview of the Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War, within which the project is nested, and a complete bibliography of outputs produced at the Centre during 2021-2025.

Conceptual Framework

The Civil War Paths project seeks to understand how civil wars unfold through path-dependent and endogenous dynamics, and in answering this question, develops a processual approach to civil war. This approach was introduced in ‘*Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre- to post-war*’ (Shesterinina, 2022) and further advanced in subsequent publications on the project.

Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre- to post-war

Shesterinina, A. (2022). Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre- to post-war. *European Journal of International Relations*, 28(3), 538-562. doi:10.1177/13540661221095970.

This article contributes to efforts to grapple with the complexity of civil war by developing an account of civil war as a social process that incorporates dynamics of conflict from pre- to post-war periods, which unfold through evolving interactions between non-state, state, civilian, and external actors involved. These actors form and transform as they relate to one

another in the context of conflict. The dynamics that their interactions engender emerge at different points in the conflict, intersect, and shift over time to shape overarching trajectories of civil wars in path-dependent and endogenous ways.

Actor-centred, relational approach

This article adopts an actor-centred and relational (in other words, *social*) approach to the process of civil war. Drawing on the literature on contentious politics, this approach starts from a non-linear view of civil war, where it is not predefined actors engaging in interactions that set off predictable sequences of events but multidirectional and changing relations that can turn the process in unexpected ways. Drawing on the literature on civil war, the article outlines the dynamics that have been identified as common during pre-war, wartime, and post-war periods to understand the linkages between these dynamics over time.

Civil war dynamics

The dynamics of civil war are evident before the war in the mobilisation and organisation of nascent non-state armed groups. These groups emerge from small cores of dedicated individuals using clandestine methods, broader networks, social movements, and/or splits within the regime. They require civilian support to survive: from recruits, to secrecy, to provision of resources and hiding places. Social ties and identities that link these groups to their internal and external bases of support can form in the pre-war period when collective action is often met with state repression and can escalate to war through radicalisation of actors, militarisation of tactics, and polarisation of societies.

However, not all civil wars escalate from intensifying or widening collective action and state-society interaction—some break out unexpectedly, whereas others follow prolonged periods of low-intensity violence. Moreover, social ties and identities can transform and new ones can develop during the war. One of the linkages between the pre-war and wartime periods, therefore, is the influence that mobilisation and organisation of non-state armed groups and their bases of support have on these groups' internal structure and their relations with non-state, state, civilian, and external actors.

While pre-war configurations can have such path-dependent effects, civil war trajectories can evolve in endogenous ways as a result of the intersecting dynamics of intra-group socialisation through training, political education, and participation in violence, violence against civilians and institution-building in the areas where non-state armed groups establish territorial control, which civilians respond to in different ways, competition and alliance formation among non-state armed groups, their conflictual and cooperative relationships with various state actors, and external influence.

These dynamics leave long-lasting legacies in the post-war period, but not all post-war outcomes are directly related to civil war and some can be driven by pre-war dynamics,

combined wartime and post-war effects, and altogether new dynamics that emerge after the war. Here the focus is on armed actors' disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration, including through power-sharing at the top level. Still, belligerents often return to organised violence and new armed actors and violent activities appear. Social ties and identities continue to transform and groups affected by wartime and post-war violence, among others, mobilise alongside international efforts to maintain their activities amidst changing local circumstances where peacebuilding institutions are co-opted by spoilers in and outside of the regime.

As old and new forms of conflict develop in these environments, with former, remaining, and emergent armed groups reconfiguring their relations with other non-state and state actors and continuing to exercise control over civilian populations, the linkages between dynamics across pre-war, wartime, and post-war periods of conflict come to the fore. Tracing these dynamics from pre- to post-war periods can help illuminate central questions in the study of civil war, namely, how armed conflict originates in different ways and how these origins condition the progression of civil wars and impact war-to-peace transitions together with wartime and post-war developments.

Civil war process

Because wartime dynamics are intricately related to pre-war and post-war periods, scholarship on civil war should move further toward a processual view of civil war. Shesterinina's (2022) approach to civil war as a social process connecting these dynamics through evolving interactions between internal and external actors involved invites scholars to focus on how actors form and transform as they relate to one another in order to trace dynamics from pre- to post-war periods of conflict and on continuities and discontinuities in the dynamics that their interactions generate in order to grasp overarching trajectories of civil wars.

Developing grounded knowledge on these actors' own perceptions of their reality through close, ethical engagement with primary and secondary materials in single and comparative case studies of civil war is the methodological foundation of this approach. Guided by this approach, the research team of the Civil War Paths project conducted immersive fieldwork in cases of civil war characterised by different organisational histories of non-state armed groups to understand whether and how armed groups' organisational origins condition relations between non-state, state, civilian, and external actors in path-dependent ways and how endogenous dynamics transform these actors, changing the course of civil wars in which they participate.

Research Design

Building on the processual approach to civil war as unfolding through relations between non-state, state, civilian, and external actors involved, the project centers non-state armed groups as a vantage point in the analysis of evolving conflict dynamics. These dynamics set off with armed group formation. The literature on armed group formation has established that distinct origins of armed groups matter for these actors' intra- and inter-group relations, at least at the outset. The research design of the Civil War Paths project is rooted in our engagement with this literature and is presented in '*Armed group formation in civil war: "movement," "insurgent" and "state splinter" origins*' (Shesterinina and Livesey, 2024).

Armed group formation in civil war: "movement," "insurgent," and "state splinter" origins

Shesterinina, A. and Livesey, M. (2024) Armed group formation in civil war: "movement," "insurgent," and "state splinter" origins. *Review of International Studies*, 50(4), 638–661. doi:10.1017/S0260210524000020.

This article argues that fundamentally different dynamics of conflict shape armed group origins in the context of broad-based mobilisation, peripheral challenges to the state, and intra-regime fragmentation. Armed groups that emerge in these contexts in general differ in their initial membership and leadership, the basic organisational dimensions. These dimensions underlie the descriptive typology of "movement," "insurgent," and "state splinter" origins of armed groups that the authors generate.

The meso level of armed organisations

This analysis focuses on the meso level that takes place above the level of individuals and below the level of collectivities. Focusing on the meso level and on armed groups *as* organisations is an analytical decision that helps us connect the micro- and macro-level dynamics of conflict. Centring armed groups is a vantage point from which to approach the organisational structures that armed groups establish, which have bearings on both individuals faced with these groups and the evolution of conflict. From this perspective, armed group origins encompass the broader context in which armed groups emerge and the ways in which individuals involved in them build their organisations.

Conflict dynamics and armed group formation

At the heart of this analysis is the argument that different dynamics of conflict shape armed group origins in different ways. The authors find that armed group formation in contexts of broad-based mobilisation, peripheral state challenges, and intra-regime fragmentation entails substantively different interactions through which the actors involved form and transform.

In the context of intra-regime fragmentation, interactions within and between civilian and military elites that generate coup and elite splintering dynamics lie at the origin of armed groups. While military defections to uprisings have been discussed in this context, contexts of broad-based mobilisation present fundamentally distinct conflict dynamics. Here, it is not intra-regime interactions but those between and within social movements, the state's repressive apparatus, wider audiences, and foreign actors that create dynamics of movement fragmentation and militarisation, including loyalty shifts in the regime, and repurposing of opposition from which armed groups emerge. Finally, in peripheral state challenge contexts, interactions between a small number of insurgents, local civilians, and local and central state actors underlie counter-insurgency dynamics that centre on the secrecy that armed groups require to form.

These different dynamics of conflict at the outset of armed group activities condition their membership and leadership, at least to an extent, with implications for their ability to engage with other actors in the military, political, and social realms.

A typology of armed group origins

Armed groups with “movement” origins are defined by their association with broad-based mobilisation and the legitimacy that this affords, at least early on. These groups draw their members from social movement organisations and opposition networks who as a result share a collective identity. They enjoy pre-existing organisational resources and at least some domestic and foreign support for the goals of the movement from which they emerge as they engage in public confrontation with the state. But their capacity to pose unified opposition to the state stems from the movement's ability to direct their activities towards common goals. These groups often fragment the broader movement as they compete with one another for human and material resources, generating complex arrangements of actors in civil wars.

In turn, the secrecy of armed groups with “insurgent” origins vis-à-vis the state defines their operations. Their activities are organised outside of government purview by a limited number of members whose recruitment is based on trust and who develop organisational structures to induce discipline, particularly with regard to the spread of information. These groups initially engage in minor violence against accessible state targets. Their reliance on local communities limits their violence against civilians, especially because they initially lack alliances with other non-state armed groups or foreign support. Yet access to resources over time and the need to adapt to evolving counter-insurgency can transform these organisations into full-fledged and brutal insurgent armies and even broader movements.

Finally, fragmentation within the regime defines “state splinter” armed groups. These groups emerge from current or former civilian government or military whose membership is at first fixed by this background. They engage in such activities as coup d'état attempts that evolve into civil wars, which might be secretly planned but are publicly executed. These activities

identify and implicate individuals involved in ways that pose high stakes for and, thus, bond participants. The organisations that emerge in these cases have pre-existing leadership, military resources, and skills, which form the basis of initially disciplined, cohesive groups with insider knowledge of the government's weakness. They transform as they expand to new members who lack prior government and especially military experience and as divisions within their diversifying leadership disintegrate the original core and aims of the group.

At their outset, then, “state splinter” groups whose members are mobilised from the current or former military or government differ from “insurgent” and “movement” groups that mobilise outside of the regime, where the former groups are defined by relatively closed membership due to their inherent vulnerability vis-à-vis the state whereas groups that emerge from broad-based mobilisation have a more open membership boundary. These groups also diverge in pre-existing leadership experience and skills. In general, “state splinter” and “movement” groups enjoy these pre-existing organisational resources that stem from their prior activities in and outside of the regime, respectively, which “insurgent” groups often lack. But “state splinters” have an insider understanding of the regime from which they originate, which is generally not available to “movement” and “insurgent” groups.

This typology offers a useful heuristic for future studies of armed group formation and outcomes of interest, including the use of violence, in cases of armed groups with different origins. But the authors also show that these origins are best viewed not as competing models but through the lens of parallel processes of armed group formation that can overlap and co-exist, even in the same conflict.

Empirical Strategy

The empirical strategy of the project builds on the conceptual framework of civil war as a social process and the typology of armed group origins outlined above to trace broader conflict dynamics and specific organisational predecessors underlying the formation of selected armed groups and their subsequent intra- and inter-group relations in Colombia, Lebanon, Nepal, and South Sudan. This strategy involves coordinated fieldwork centred around life history interviews carried out by the research team in context-sensitive ways and is discussed in ‘*Research Ethics in Team-Based Fieldwork-Intensive Projects, in Forum: Rethinking Ethics Review for International Relations Research*’ (Shesterinina, 2025).

Research ethics in team-based fieldwork-intensive projects

Shesterinina, A. (2025). Research Ethics in Team-Based Fieldwork-Intensive Projects, in *Forum: Rethinking Ethics Review for International Relations Research* edited by F. Dionigi, M. Howlett, and R. Tapscott with contributions from N. Otrishchenko, G. Akello, and M. Mukherjee, *International Studies Perspectives*. doi:10.1093/isp/ekaf004.

As a team-based, fieldwork intensive project, Civil War Paths is based on three practices—flexibility in research design, ongoing reflexivity, and project updating before, during, and after fieldwork. These practices are rooted in the understanding that research methods and ethics are intricately related, and decisions made on the former inform and shape the latter. This project highlights a trade-off between the goals of prioritising the well-being of all involved in the research and comparability expected in large, competitively funded projects, and points to a way in which comparative analysis can be undertaken while being true to interlocutors’ meanings, especially in relation to ethical decision-making.

Research Design

Built-in flexibility, or openness to changes in response to changing circumstances in the selected research sites, researchers’ fieldwork experiences, and theoretical development, was a defining feature of the research design in this project. This could be considered a risky decision in the context of transparency debates in political science, particularly calls rooted in the positivist tradition for the preregistration of research designs in qualitative research (Jacobs et al., 2021). However, in line with interpretive approaches, a flexible research design was essential for not only exposing where the original assumptions and conceptualisations of the project fell short, but also ensuring the safety of all researchers and interlocutors (Fujii, 2018: 48-9). In other words, *flexibility was an ethical practice* that enabled necessary changes to the project in response to emergent shared understandings in the research team.

Hence, the “cases” in this project were not predetermined. Instead, they were selected through an iterative process of deepened conceptualisation of armed group origins in conversation with the existing literature, mapping contemporary civil wars according to different origins (Shesterinina and Livesey, 2024), and safety concerns. This effort guided the recruitment of doctoral and postdoctoral researchers on the project.

Coordinated Fieldwork

Coordinated fieldwork was based on this shared analytical framework and fieldwork protocols that the research team developed collaboratively while being guided by “ethnographic sensibility,” that is, being sensitive to how interlocutors make sense of their context and especially risks associated with research in this context (Schatz, 2009: 6). Equipped with detailed fieldwork protocols, the researchers conducted preliminary and core field trips, adapting research plans based on their awareness of changing circumstances in the field sites. This generated intersecting questions in the research team as individual researchers reflected on their field experiences during and after fieldwork in field notes, conversations with collaborators and interlocutors, debriefs with team members, and short pieces of writing exploring particular challenges.

The field research that the individual researchers engaged in was thus necessarily distinct, guided by shared yet evolving analytical concerns, an ethos of ethnographic sensibility, and ongoing reflexivity. This diversity of fieldwork experiences in the project reflects our careful attention to interlocutors' own understandings, which served as our basis for ethical decision-making. Had the project been based on a fixed research design and paid little attention to the changing conditions of fieldwork, not only the generation of knowledge but also research ethics could have been compromised.

This empirical strategy draws inspiration from other field-intensive, interpretive studies and methodological discussions, explored in '*Humanising Political Violence: Lee Ann Fujii's Legacies for Civil War Studies*' (Shesterinina, 2023) and '*Navigating Field Research in Armed Conflict Settings*' (Shesterinina, 2025).

Humanising political violence: Lee Ann Fujii's legacies for civil war studies

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Humanising political violence: Lee Ann Fujii's legacies for civil war studies. *Civil Wars*, 25(2–3), 577–588. doi:10.1080/13698249.2023.2253050.

This review highlights Lee Ann Fujii's legacy of humanising our research on, and understanding of, political violence and her contributions on the social embeddedness of participation in violence, the endogeneity of social categories to violence and embodied and performative dimensions of violence. It argues that civil war scholars should draw on Fujii's relational approach as an ethical radar for the methods we use and as a reality check on our analytical frameworks.

Understanding political violence and war

All scholars who work on questions of why and how people come to participate in political violence can benefit from insights that emerge from Fujii's research on these questions. These insights stem from three important observations. First, it is ordinary people who are the crux of participants. Joiners, or the lowest-level participants in the communities Fujii studied in Rwanda, for example, were typically farmers who were married with children and did not hold positions of power or have training in combat before the genocide (Fujii, 2009: 130). Second, these participants "stood to suffer the most from the destruction of their communities" as they "were not just going after an abstract category of people, but actual neighbors they knew" (Fujii, 2009: 16, 185). That is, the violence they participated in was socially and physically intimate, involving family and friends and carried out "up close and face-to-face" (Fujii, 2009: 172). Third, Fujii observes that violence is consistently put on display, or collectively staged "for people to see, notice, and take in," including in counterproductive ways (Fujii, 2021: 2).

Lessons for civil war studies

What are the implications of this discussion for civil war scholars? First, systematic observations at the lowest participant level can help pinpoint inconsistencies and limitations in existing approaches to central questions that drive research on civil war and advance new understandings in the field. Second, to address the puzzles that emerge from these observations, we have to look closely at the actors involved in the processes we study and how they relate to one another, to reconstruct events of interest within the social contexts in which they take place and capture their underlying dynamics. Third, and relatedly, focusing on actual participants and the full range of their actions in civil war can help us move away from macro-level concepts to uncover the variation in actions across and within social categories and theorise the agency of those involved. Such concepts as “ethnic civil war” are not only unhelpful in achieving these aims but are also dangerous as they uncritically reproduce elite narratives that we should instead challenge (Fujii, 2009: 10; 2021: 81). Finally, we should appreciate the importance of endogenous dynamics for the changes we observe in civil wars, the ambiguity of meanings underlying these dynamics and the contingency that results.

Researching political violence and war

The conceptual, theoretical and empirical contributions discussed above cannot be divorced from the relational approach that Fujii developed to research methods and ethics. Interaction between the researcher and research participants lies at the heart of this approach where research is jointly produced in a specific social context.

These contributions combine into Lee Ann Fujii’s legacy of humanising how we understand and research political violence and war. Challenging the primacy of ethnicity and other macro-structural explanations of violence, stressing the role of social embeddedness in participation in violence and taking seriously the endogeneity of social categories to violence are some of the entry points into this humanising agenda. In terms of methods, this agenda translates into ongoing reflection on positionality, ethical dilemmas and research participants’ verbal and non-verbal cues that would be easy to brush off as “lies” or “biases” but that carry important meanings for participants in our research and thereby for the questions we study. Building working relationships with research participants is central to gaining access to these meanings.

The Civil War Paths project draws on these insights, viewing research as jointly produced by the researchers and research participants, centring meanings that research participants convey, and thereby challenging macro-structural explanations of civil war that overlook lived experiences. It also draws on Shesterinina’s (2025) prior field experience.

Navigating field research in armed conflict settings

Shesterinina, A. (2025). Navigating field research in armed conflict settings. In: D. Hammett and N. Holmes, *The Routledge Handbook of Field Research*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781003404903.

This chapter considers unique challenges of field research in settings where armed conflict has taken place and/or is ongoing. It opens with a vignette from a personal gendered field experience that highlights the limits of trust with some research participants and trade-offs involved in navigating the risks to the researcher's safety. Building on this experience, the chapter draws implications for researcher training on the kinds of practical concerns that researchers should consider in preparation for fieldwork, unanticipated dilemmas that can emerge during fieldwork and require decision-making in situ, and possible consequences of fieldwork in armed conflict settings, including vicarious trauma.

“Why did I get into that car?” A vignette from personal experience

After weeks of building my network of contacts and following up on referrals in Abkhazia, a breakaway territory of Georgia in the South Caucasus, I finally arranged an interview with a former fighter from a category of participants that was difficult to access but was crucial for my doctoral dissertation on pre- to post-war mobilisation of ordinary people. This category included Abkhaz men who fought in the Georgian-Abkhaz war of 1992–1993 and continued participating in Abkhazia's *de facto* border defence long into the post-war period. His father who was an activist in the Abkhaz national movement before the war and joined the Abkhaz war effort introduced me to this potential interviewee. I set a time during the day in a café, a public space where I conducted some interviews for personal safety reasons. But when the man arrived, he asked me to relocate and said he could drive me to a place that was quieter and more conducive to an interview. In a split second, I had to make a decision—whether to insist on the preselected location or get into his car. I hesitated but got into the car not asking where we were going. As the man drove toward the mountains, where finding an interview place would be unlikely, it hit me that he had hidden intentions. The terror of what could have happened next quickly morphed into determination to convince him to return me to the town. I used every argument at my disposal—that “everybody knew me” given the reputation as a researcher that I established across Abkhazia, the danger of harming an international visitor, and local norms of honour. Whether this continuous flow of thoughts that entered my mind and that I articulated firmly as we drove up was what persuaded the man to bring me back cannot be known. But what is clear is that I made an instantaneous choice in a highly risky situation that I did not anticipate and had no prior training to help me grapple with. The question that I have been left with ever since is, “Why did I get into that car?”

Limits of trust

While common advice for researchers of armed conflict is to develop trust with interlocutors (Thomson et al., 2013), my field experience demonstrates the limits of trust, particularly with

certain participants in the conflict. “[A] complex, contingent, and evolving relationship,” trust was central to my ability to gain an understanding of the security situation in advance of my core field trip, make informed decisions during that trip, and access research participants with a variety of conflict experiences (Parkinson and Wood, 2015: 23). Trust enabled me to engage in open and vulnerable conversations that moved past the dominant narrative of conflict with many interviewees who participated in the war (Shesterinina, 2019: 197). But it was not possible with other interlocutors as our “working relationships” were shaped by our irreconcilable “interests, values, backgrounds, and beliefs” (Fujii, 2017: 3). These emotional dynamics are crucial to understanding my decision-making in the opening vignette. I approached this encounter with the trust that the familial referral by this potential interviewee’s father entailed in the context where I worked to build positive relationships with individuals and broader communities in my field sites. Yet these expectations around trust did not reflect “multiple and fluid positionalities” of my research participants who could at once protect and compromise my safety and change their relationship to me over time (Schulz, 2020: 552). In this instance, trust, typically viewed as a “positive” emotion, was associated with emotional and possible physical harm to me as a researcher (Pearlman, 2023: 1244).

Trade-offs

The complexities of trust are only a part of the story. I was acutely aware of the possible changes in the security situation in my field sites or the border area and the need to leave as a result, which distinguished me from my interlocutors—I had “the privilege of being able to leave” (Parkinson and Wood, 2015: 24). This created a feeling of every interview, especially with difficult-to-reach participants, being essential for future analysis, and potentially the last. This trade-off between my safety and research goals was not clear at the time of decision-making: I did not engage in cost-benefit calculation in the moment I had to choose whether to get into the car or not. But it became evident on reflection, considering the back-up plans that I devised in each field site to depart when needed and ultimately my early termination of fieldwork. Other trade-offs were reputational. Finally, rejecting that potential interviewee could have an unintended consequence of provoking anger that could increase risk. In other words, uncertainty over repercussions surrounded my decision whether I chose to get into that car or not. More could be at stake in this decision than visible at first glance.

This reflection illustrates not only the need to prepare for the challenges that can arise during fieldwork in armed conflict settings but also that not all situations can be anticipated and that some decisions made in situ and research in these settings in general, especially on difficult subjects of violence and war, can have long-term consequences, including vicarious trauma. Attention to these challenges should continue with such tools as “reflexive advising” whereby “mentors and mentees actively and collectively evaluate a combination of researcher positionality and contextual factors in order to open discussions of field safety,” professional support, and peer networks (Parkinson and Zyed, 2022: 40). Such “collaborative ways of taking care of ourselves” can move self-care beyond individualised practices that fail to address structural constraints (Schulz et al., 2023: 1463).

Application to Case Studies

Case study publications on the project, covering the cases of Colombia, Lebanon, Nepal, and South Sudan, have built on these conceptual and methodological foundations to advance the research programme on civil war as a social process. These outputs have focused on different stages and dynamics of conflict, linking pre-war ties and experiences to wartime mobilisation and organisation, exploring organisational transformation of armed groups in response to endogenous wartime dynamics such as counterinsurgency, and drawing implications of how conflicts unfolded in specific contexts for post-war mobilisation and justice. Taken together, the case study contributions on the project provide critical insights on how relevant actors form and transform as they relate to one another in the course of conflict and on continuities and discontinuities in conflict dynamics underlying the overarching trajectories of civil wars.

Focusing on the micro level, Ketola and O'Reilly (2025) show how pre-existing familial ties both inform women's participation in civil war and are transformed through conflict in *'Like flesh and a nail': rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict'*, including in the case of Nepal. Pre-existing ties and experiences are also central to the analytical framework for understanding mid-level commanders as a heterogeneous group in hierarchical non-state armed organisations that Shesterinina (2025) develops in *'Disaggregating rebellion: mid-level commanders in hierarchical non-state armed organisations'* in the case of Colombia. But these pre-war aspects of mid-level commander trajectories intersect with their specific wartime roles and experiences within the armed organisation in shaping these actors' varied post-war influence. This meso, organisational level is further explored in Álvarez-Vanegas' (2026) *'Weapons of the weakened, but not wiped out: insurgent adaptability through life histories'*, which delves into the adaptation strategies adopted by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP) during the period of intensified counterinsurgency in Colombia. Finally, Rouhana (2024) in *'A critical juncture lived otherwise? The case of the "Cedar Revolution"'* and van den Berg (2025) in *'The art(s) of conflict disruption in South Sudan'* examine post-war implications of ongoing violence and unaddressed wartime experiences in the cases of Lebanon and South Sudan, respectively.

“Like flesh and a nail”: rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict

Ketola, H. and O'Reilly, M. (2025). “Like flesh and a nail”: rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict. *European Journal of International Relations*, 31(3), 609-634. doi:10.1177/13540661251323177.

What are the familial ties that are constituted through conditions of war? And how do these ties shape women's participation in armed groups, in various forms? This article builds off critical IR and feminist scholarship, which recognize that family sustains war symbolically and materially. Yet, what is missing is a conceptualisation of the relationship between the diverse ties that constitute family in contexts of war and women's participation in armed groups. To address this lacuna, the article offers a new theoretical framework of militarised

familial ties to capture how familial ties shape, and are shaped by, women's participation in fighting forces supported by field research conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Nepal.

Militarised familial ties

Familial ties are distinctly affective bonds that both emerge and transform within and through armed conflict (Ketola, 2023). Thus, familial ties operate as a generative, rather than solely constraining, force, which prompts and shapes women's participation in fighting forces in distinct ways. The notion of "affective bonds" captures the emotional investments in the lives of others and relationships to others, including the affective labour that is dedicated to sustaining such attachments (Chisholm and Ketola, 2020; Baines, 2016). The authors argue that familial ties matter for understanding armed conflict not only because family is a powerful social institution. They matter because the women who participate in armed groups continue to cultivate and affectively invest in these ties and the norms that structure them.

To explore the generative and transformative relationship between war's violence and familial ties, two frames are constructed in this article. First, the frame of "familial ties as emergent through war" is used to capture the kinds of ties that women's participation as fighters generates within and through the armed group, highlighting how these ties may be expressed in familial terms (Matarazzo and Baines, 2021). This exploration highlights both the ties generated through specific institutional arrangements such as revolutionary marriage and, more broadly, the ties that emerge through participation in the armed group and are expressed in familial terms (Zharkevich 2019). The second frame, "familial ties as transformed through war" captures how both pre-existing and emergent familial ties are in various ways (re)configured vis-à-vis wider transformations in societal gender norms that militarised violence affects. This wider restructuring of gender norms is felt and experienced through the embodied interactions that generate and maintain affective ties.

Implications for theorising women's participation in armed groups

This framework opens two crucial research avenues. First, the article demonstrates how familial ties shape key processes pursued by armed groups, including the recruitment and retention of fighters. Equally, it shows that familial ties are not merely, or even primarily, a barrier to women's participation, but also operate as an enabling factor. Delving deeper, the article argues that there is a distinct affective quality to how familial ties condition women's participation in armed groups, in ways that both enable and constrain. The affective quality of familial ties creates contradictory demands for women in fighting forces, shaping their decisions regarding whether to join, sustain their participation, or leave armed groups. A typology of militarised familial ties in the article illustrates how pre-existing and emergent familial ties condition and are conditioned by women's participation in armed groups.

Second, the framework offers new insights into how the political subjectivities of women fighters intersect with familial ties. While previous studies have explored the cultural politics of motherhood, few have examined how other familial ties are invoked to rationalise, enable,

or thwart women's participation in fighting forces. This article shows that political subjectivities are crafted within, rather than outside, the web of familial ties in which women fighters are embedded. The crafting of sisterly ties and other familial bonds is closely intertwined with the formation of political subjectivities linked to armed struggle, rather than standing in opposition to them. Analyses of the political subjectivities that emerge through participation in armed groups should critically engage with familial ties as affective bonds.

Disaggregating rebellion: mid-level commanders in hierarchical non-state armed organizations

Shesterinina, A. (2025). Disaggregating rebellion: mid-level commanders in hierarchical non-state armed organizations. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 0(0). doi:10.1177/00108367251356964.

Existing research demonstrates the central role of mid-level commanders as either spoilers or leaders of peace but treats this group as unitary, defined by its communication function in hierarchical non-state armed organisations. Drawing on life history interviews with “middle managers” (*mandos medios*) of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army (FARC-EP), this article explores heterogeneity of mid-level commanders.

Heterogeneity of mid-level commander experiences

Existing research sheds light on the multi-directional relations mid-level commanders develop during war and their sustained post-war ties to ex-combatants, civilian communities, and elites. It characterises these actors as having unique skills and status that differentiate them from both top commanders and rank-and-file combatants. By drawing connections between their wartime and post-war roles, it advances our understanding of these actors' influence, be it as spoilers or leaders in the peace process. Nevertheless, it defines their wartime roles broadly by their central position in armed organisations without considering distinctions in how mid-level commanders join their organisations, progress within them, and act in these roles. As a result, mid-level commanders are in general presented as a unitary group in the literature.

A closer look at this group suggests major differences in their experiences, however. Individuals follow different trajectories into, in, and out of diverse mid-level commander roles and this shapes the skills, status, and ties they forge over time in their organizations. A processual approach is needed to capture the dynamism of mid-level commander experiences and, thereby, their heterogeneity. This requires a shift from categorical analysis, that is, from “the mid-level commander” as a category, to the examination of a range of individual experiences as they unfold within this group. These experiences can then be aggregated into patterns that are meaningful for understanding mid-level commanders' varied, and contradictory, influence.

A processual approach to mid-level commander trajectories

Research on civil war identifies key components of a processual approach to individual trajectories in armed organisations. These trajectories set off with the process of *joining*, which combines individuals' various backgrounds and prior experiences with recruitment strategies of armed organisations. Once in the organisation, individuals undergo the processes of formal and informal *socialisation* into the rules and norms of the organisation and where relevant *progression* within it. While only a small proportion of members move beyond the rank-and-file, members can shift between different, for example, combatant and non-combatant, roles. These aspects of individual trajectories to a large extent depend on the structure, institutionalisation, and needs of the organisation at any given time.

Research on middle managers in organisation and management studies helps extend this approach to mid-level commanders in particular. In answering the question “who is the middle manager,” this literature has highlighted that middle managers at the same time are controlled by and resist senior management as well as control and are resisted by junior staff (Harding et al., 2014: 1231). Instead of passive transmitters between senior managers and junior staff, they can therefore be seen as active mediators who interpret and implement strategic plans in ways that make everyday operations of the organisation not a top-down but a bottom-up, “emergent and unpredictable process,” where middle managers reshape, obstruct, and resist senior directives, whether intentionally or not (Balogun and Johnson, 2005: 1574).

A typology of mid-level commander trajectories

Because of this agentic capacity, in the “processual view” advanced in this research, middle managers constitute and reconstitute their identity in a continuous process of “becoming,” drawing on formal and informal discourses to legitimize their shifting roles (Thomas and Linstead, 2002: 75). They do so by moving between their contradictory subject positions in what is called “boundary work,” or “dynamic positioning at and across” boundaries between structures within and beyond their organizations, for example, “between ranks and across professional logics” (Azambuja et al., 2023: 1820, 1822). This is further complicated by “a large variety of middle managers from first line supervisors... to very senior managers” that are included in this category (Gjerde and Alvesson, 2020: 125). The boundaries that middle managers with these distinct roles negotiate differ dramatically, which matters for how and in relation to whom their “middle-levelness” is experienced (Gjerde and Alvesson, 2020: 125). These experiences—the processes of “becoming” and navigating *the boundaries of their position*—frame the processes of joining, socialization, progression to, and movement between different wartime and post-war roles stemming from civil war studies in ways that are specific to the middle level.

Mapping individual trajectories from mid-level commanders' process of “becoming” within the organisation to their post-war roles allows us to identify not only heterogeneity of their experiences but also differences within this cohort that are meaningful for post-war

outcomes. Individuals do not obtain special skills, status, and ties simply by virtue of their central position in the organisation. They become mid-level commanders in different ways and thus differ in their skills and status. For example, in contexts where commanders are targeted by counterinsurgency, “young replacement commanders d[o] not usually have the same skills as their predecessors” (Giustozzi, 2012: 39). The ties they can develop are also contingent on the centralisation and diversification of the organisation and the specific position in the hierarchy and character of mid-level commander roles that stem from these aspects of the organisational structure. These roles range “[f]rom the squad leader to the front commander,” or “from supervision of fewer than five fellow fighters to command over several hundred in a particular area” (Giustozzi, 2012: 54; Zyck, 2009: 121).

Hence, who “the mid-level commander” is, whether a mediator transmitting directives down and feeding implementation up the organisation or an agent interpreting, shaping, and even obstructing strategic plans, is not a straightforward question as she is likely to occupy and move between different roles. While her typical path along the ranks involves taking on “increasingly responsible positions,” not all mid-level commanders develop “portable skills” that enable them to maintain influence when their organizations transform (Grzymała-Busse, 2002: 65). Because a large variety of mid-level commanders exists between top leaders and the rank-and-file, each role’s “middle-levelness” should be defined relationally—in relation to a given constellation of superiors, subordinates, and other constituencies (Gjerde and Alvesson, 2020: 125). Acting as both superiors and subordinates at any given level of the organisation, mid-level commanders cross boundaries between ranks, organisational branches, and internal and external constituencies based on their shifting position within and beyond the organisation. The article develops a typology linking these heterogenous wartime experiences to various post-war outcomes previously identified in the literature.

Weapons of the weakened, but not wiped out: insurgent adaptability through life histories

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. (2026). Weapons of the weakened, but not wiped out: insurgent adaptability through life histories. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1-13. doi:10.1093/jopres/xjaf025.

How did the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army (FARC-EP) survive the Colombian state counterinsurgency campaign? This article introduces the concept of counterinsurgency at work as a dynamic that captures the interaction between the practices of the adaptation strategies deployed by the FARC-EP, specifically increased mobility and quarantine, and the Colombian state counterinsurgency efforts from the late 1990s to the 2010s. It argues that the FARC-EP deployed adaptation strategies in response to a modernised Colombian military apparatus by repurposing and incorporating new roles, practices, and rules, which nonetheless had multiple, contradictory effects on this group’s inner workings. Evidence from life histories with former FARC-EP combatants and retired personnel from the Colombian armed forces demonstrates this interplay.

Counterinsurgency at work

The concept of counterinsurgency at work as a dynamic captures two levels of interaction. The first is between increased mobility and quarantining in response to various strategies deployed simultaneously by the Colombian armed forces. The second level deals with the consequences of both adaptation strategies on the FARC-EP's inner workings. By capturing these interactions, the article moves beyond what can be gleaned through a focus on top-down counterinsurgency strategies and the FARC-EP's official documents regarding adaptation to examine the practices of increased mobility and quarantining then-combatants carried out in the everyday. A turn to the day-to-day reveals the complex social realities of adaptation practices to counterinsurgency and its unanticipated effects within armed groups. Hence, it calls for disaggregating armed groups—not treating them as homogenous units of analysis—and challenging the intentionality of both counterinsurgency and adaptability.

Increased mobility and its effects

“Before the El Caguán [failed peace process between 1999 and 2002], we used to stay up to 15 days in a camp, sometimes one or two months. After the El Caguán, with [Álvaro] Uribe [Colombian president from 2002 to 2010], we wouldn't last more than two days in the same camp,” says a former combatant (LH009). This quotation illustrates the adaptation strategy of increased mobility. It involved moving frequently, often daily and in smaller groups. Through increased mobility, the FARC-EP changed daily routines to survive the “onslaught,” as ex-combatants refer to the counterinsurgency campaign (LH001/LH003/LH005/LH006/LH015). Following the El Caguán, the FARC-EP was up against faster and more modernised military forces (LH003/LH005/LH006/LH025). The adoption of increased mobility by the FARC-EP is examined in response to the counterinsurgency strategies of imposition of control, armed competition, and local disembedding.

The practices of increased mobility had multiple, contradictory effects. While increased mobility created bonding, it undermined this group's capacity to deploy large-scale military operations and disrupted socialisation institutions. Life histories help us uncover changes and transformations from the perspective of former combatants and participants. Former combatants show that increased mobility required readiness. Incorporating readiness amidst the military pressure of the Colombian state “strengthened and united us” (LH003/LH006). Ex-combatants highlight the uncertainty of not knowing when or where they would eat or sleep, the need to keep equipment always prepared, and the importance of avoiding traces or making noise that could alert the enemy. Equally important was supporting comrades not to make mistakes that might have compromised the security of dozens of troops or exposed key supporters among the local population (LH003/LH006/LH012/LH020)

Increased mobility also disrupted the socialisation and education of recruits (LH001/LH003/LH006). Ill-socialized and inadequately educated combatants during the “onslaught” had serious consequences for the discipline required to implement increased mobility and posed risks in the context of state forces infiltrating local populations or setting

up intelligence-gathering networks. “Education is learning to behave like a fighter—disciplined and respectful of your comrades and the local population” (LH001).

Quarantining and its effects

“Being close to the local population brought comfort to many. But that came at a deadly cost. Some accepted gifts from the locals or friends who had flipped. Those were not gifts or goodwill but the poison that guided the enemy’s aerial bombardments” (LH015). This quotation from a FARC-EP ex-combatant exemplifies quarantining, an adaptation strategy that involved storing all incoming goods and supplies for extended periods in quarantine camps. In these places, combatants scanned for electronic tracking devices or microchips—“the poison” (LH001/LH003/LH006/LH012)—which could be as small as a thumbnail. The FARC-EP adopted quarantining in response to the killing of top and mid-level commanders through high-precision airstrikes in the 2000s and 2010s. These unprecedented attacks led the FARC-EP to believe that the state had tracked their exact locations using microchips. “The poison” could be hidden anywhere: in food, radios, GPS devices, laptops, lanterns, toiletries, boots, or military hardware. Its sources varied: gifts from relatives, acquaintances, support networks, and goods from trusted suppliers. Planting microchips also required individuals who would bring them into the camps. The Colombian military accomplished this by infiltrating the FARC-EP’s local units, urban networks, and even its member’s relatives.

The FARC-EP adopted quarantining in response to the counterinsurgency strategies of leadership decapitation and local disembedding. Same as increased mobility, quarantining also had multiple, contradictory effects. It was not only a strategic choice, but also an emergent property amidst the counterinsurgency campaign. The life histories of former combatants suggest that quarantining saved the lives of on-the-ground-commanders with implications for the unity of the FARC-EP before and during the peace talks with the Colombian government (2012–2016). Quarantining was essential for the survival of these local cadres, known for their military capabilities and legitimacy among the rank-and-file (LH003/LH012/LH015/LH024). However, quarantining had other effects on the inner workings of the FARC-EP. Former combatants refer to the end of an era of plenty and well-being, contrasting their wartime living conditions before and during the counterinsurgency campaign (LH003/LH005/LH015/LH024). These conditions led to desertions, especially among young combatants who “joined the FARC-EP during the golden years” (LH001).

Quarantining, or lack thereof, also impacted trust among combatants and toward the local population. Discovering microchips and thereby avoiding an air strike fostered trust and bonding (LH009/LH012/LH021/LH024). Similar to increased mobility, it meant that rebels were being disciplined, and no one had flipped. On the contrary, mistrust arose when an aerial attack against the FARC-EP succeeded. “We began to suspect the presence of a mole—un infiltrado—someone who had planted the chip, behaved suspiciously, or perhaps even someone in charge of scanning who had deliberately failed to do their job properly” (LH001/LH003/LH021/LH027). When counterespionage measures uncovered infiltrators, “they were executed” (LH001/LH006). Amid a widespread context of mistrust, some “executions” also

stemmed from bad blood between superiors and the rank-and-file, leading some combatants to defect and collaborate with state authorities out of fear (LH002/LH003).

Through this analysis, the article shows that non-state armed organisations adapt to external pressure. However, adaptation has multiple, contradictory effects on their internal dynamics. By focusing on both levels of interaction in the everyday, it demonstrates the analytical utility of “counterinsurgency at work” for future studies insurgent adaptability and transformation.

A critical juncture lived otherwise? The case of the “Cedar Revolution”

Rouhana, T. (2024). A critical juncture lived otherwise? The case of the “Cedar Revolution.” *Ethnopolitics*, 1–20. doi:10.1080/17449057.2024.2401244.

This article focuses on the mobilisations of ordinary Lebanese who came together across their differences in the small demonstrations leading to the massive demonstrations of March 8 and March 14, 2005, which this paper argues was the starting point of transforming what could have become a critical juncture into a missed opportunity. While new cross-sectarian imaginaries emerged temporarily in the midst of the events and did not take hold as such, and the institutionalised change did not materialise in the overthrow of the ‘sectarian system,’ this period changed the subsequent political landscape by modifying the composition of political alliances, which were no longer structured primarily on a sect-based basis and instead took on a cross-sectarian characteristic. It is therefore critical to analyse the workings of sect identities differently from existing studies to understand the subtler ways in which sect identities were reframed despite the inability to altogether “break from past communal politics” or change “the communal and sectarian nature of the political system” (Clark and Zahar, 2015: 2). To understand the dynamics of the “near miss critical juncture,” the article focuses on the manifestations of sect identities at the popular level during the unfolding of the critical juncture in the aftermath of Prime Minister Hariri’s assassination.

The new sect-based imaginations

During the first three weeks following the February 14th assassination of PM Hariri, people came together in small mobilisations to protest the Syrian Army occupation, implying the Lebanese people’s belief in the Syrian government’s involvement with Hariri’s killing. Groups started gathering in Martyrs’ Square in downtown Beirut. “In the month after February 14, it was the public that led the way” (Young, 2010: 29). This public was unique: “You could see Arabists alongside Lebanese nationalists; dissident communists alongside Christian federalists; religious conservatives alongside hedonistic atheists” (Young, 2010: 23). Most importantly, people from different sects came together in one place for the same reason for the first time since the end of the civil war. This unprecedented scale of coming together of various sects in Martyrs Square enabled the embodiment of non-divisive sect-based imaginations. That means, sect-based differences were *not* eliminated amid these

demonstrations; indeed, they continued to be meaningfully lived and enacted, but in ways that defy those who understand sect identity as always and only conflictual and contentious.

People started bringing to the square religious symbols that had once held sectarian meanings, but at this moment, they did something different with those symbols: rather than pitting them against one another, they held them in proximity to each other as a way to express a longing for a shift in sect habitus. It is not usual for members of the Lebanese Forces (LF)—a right-wing Christian militia that was formed during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)—wearing the war militia outfits in 2005 to hold a sign displaying the Christian cross and the Muslim crescent with the slogan “Together Free Lebanon.” Also, it is unusual to see photographs of a Sunni leader (Prime Minister Rafik Hariri) covered with Muslim and Christian symbols at the same time or for a Progressive Socialist Party member to hold the cross in one hand and the Quran in the other.

The Christian rosaries on the photo of a Sunni leader and countless similar actions amid the demonstrations exceeded co-existence. They not only merged different and often opposing sect identities and practices, but they also fused the differences of religious and sect cultures into new sect-based imaginations that manifested in non-divisive sect-based practices. These symbolic acts were generated by the new sect’s imaginations that burst forth and were emblematic of these three weeks. Hence, these new sect imaginations emerged out of old sectarian practices, but during this period, people gave them new non-divisive meanings.

Closing down of the new sect imaginations

In response to the increasing popular demands and as a retort to the overwhelming foreign pressure exercised on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, the Hezbollah, Amal, Marada, the Syrian Social Nationalist, and the Lebanese Democratic parties called for a peaceful demonstration on March 8th where hundreds of thousands gathered to thank Syria for help with ending the 1990 civil war and their continued support of the resistance against Israel. The March 8th demonstration was the starting point of reinstating the fear of the “Other.” At that time, sect-based divisions re-emerged, displacing the burgeoning popular cross-sect sect imaginaries that had taken hold in the previous three weeks.

What had been a shifting of the *sect habitus* (Rouhana, 2021) now took a different route. The reimagining of the sectarian subject during the month of mobilisations between February 14th and March 14th could not overcome the entrenched Lebanese sectarian system. The new sectarian structures that emerged in the wake of this month were to some degree different from what had prevailed in Lebanon for decades, but they also preserved the power relations embedded within the sectarian system. Political leaders and organisers were able to tap into the longstanding sectarian practices and fear of the “Other” to keep their constituencies within the existing sectarian structures and borders.

The article shows that the period leading to the March 14th demonstration was as important as that day, if not more, in contrast to most analyses of the period, which regard it as a build-up

to March 14th. The four weeks prior exhibited intense changes in the *sect habitus* at the popular level. This term—*sect habitus*—gets at the experiences of daily conscious and non-conscious social relations that structure sectarian dispositions and behaviours of different groups in Lebanon. The resulting approach gives people’s actions throughout the four weeks importance and understands them in the context of larger structures at play.

The art(s) of conflict disruption in South Sudan

van den Berg, S. (2025). The art(s) of conflict disruption in South Sudan. *Third World Quarterly*, 46(9), 970-986. doi:10.1080/01436597.2025.2521387.

This article explores how artistic practices in South Sudan advance the justice imagination in the service of peace, as spaces of conflict disruption that articulate, activate and imagine the justice needs and hopes of conflict-affected communities in times of enduring violence and impunity. This analytical reading of artistic practices as spatial practices of everyday peace in contexts of enduring violence is situated within the wider and burgeoning aesthetic turn in research and contributes to growing academic conversations on spaces of conflict disruption. It adopts Chipato’s (2024: 2) “broad understanding of aesthetics, anchored around a creative sensibility” to engage with diverse forms of “artistic production” that include music, painting, political cartoons and public art installations and spaces. It argues that as part of the justice imagination in South Sudan, the arts disrupt conflict by resisting the erasure of past and present violence and offer visions of justice that refuse the totality of violence by rendering visible an imagined future without war.

Art as accountability

In South Sudan, artists turn to the arts to render personal and collective experiences of injustice public and put on display enduring legacies of poor governance and violence. Political cartoons and music are particularly popular artistic spaces that counter the erasure of past and enduring experiences and systems of violence, articulating the justice needs of conflict-affected communities. The country’s bold political cartoon scene regularly publishes visually striking condemnations of both government officials and the international community in newspapers and through social media channels, sharing portrayals of corruption, violence and neglect to audiences around the country, and around the globe. Similarly, musicians use music to criticise the culture of violence and impunity in South Sudan but also to call for peace and justice.

In expressing what was and is, these spaces of artistic expression articulate what is needed. The enduring nature of violence, impunity and corruption are dominant themes in these spaces, as is the need for, and, correspondingly, the absence of, peace.

Arts as space of healing and non-violence

Beyond merely expressing justice needs, the arts also offer platforms to address them, by creating reconciliatory spaces for healing through re-storying past trauma, and by promoting non-violent spaces of dialogue and conflict resolutions.

In describing the healing power of the arts in South Sudan, Andy, an art trauma therapy practitioner, shares that “art has the power to unify us, our trauma, guilt and remind us of our connections.” Alex, similarly, emphasises that “art in itself is a trauma healing factor” that offers a reprieve from the stresses and insecurities of everyday existence among conflict-affected South Sudanese. Photovoice research in Colombia by Fairey, Cubillos, and Muñoz (2024) similarly highlights the healing effect of participatory arts for conflict-affected communities. In South Sudan, Sam, a visual artist, adds that for them, art has “become part of healing” because it offers moments to “feel comfortable” within the broader context of ongoing violence in the country.

Various artistic practices in South Sudan have been leveraged and transformed to explicitly promote peace by changing “the orientation” of individuals and communities who “might otherwise consider engaging in forms of intercommunal violence” (Verjee, 2024: 71). Within internally displaced communities in South Sudan, one initiative promotes the return and revitalisation of culturally significant and diverse dance practices in an effort to counter the erasure of culture that is both a product of, and contribution to, ongoing violence.

Justice hopes

Temporal slippages within the justice imagination mean that these spaces express not only what was and what is, but crucially also what could, and should, be. In South Sudan justice hopes are given expression in myriad artistic forms. For example, in Juba, a permanent art installation depicts the history of South Sudan across several murals, created by different artists, that taken together visualises the country’s history of violence, progress and unmet expectations. The installation is designed such that you walk past each mural in chronological order until you reach the final space – a wall left intentionally blank, a deliberate choice that serves as a reminder that South Sudan’s “history is not yet done,” and that hope remains.

The arts in South Sudan serve to “document, activate and imagine” (Potash and Kalmanowitz, 2023: 311) peace by giving multivocal expression to past, present and future justice needs and hopes in a context of enduring violence. However, the contributions and potential of the arts as spaces of conflict disruption in contexts of enduring violence also carry risks, and require further exploration into the limits, tensions and challenges that artistic practices as spaces of conflict disruption navigate. Furthermore, the risks that artist activists confront in contexts of ongoing violence showcase the need for considerable ethical reflection and accommodation in future research.

Collaborations and Policy Implications

The conceptual framework developed in Shesterinina (2022) has informed collaborations of the Civil War Paths project with implications for policy and practice. It was applied to the area of humanitarian health provision in *'Identifying contemporary civil wars' effects on humanitarian needs, responses, and outcomes* (Shesterinina, 2023). This article extends the framework to develop the notion of “systems of relations” that non-state, state, civilian, and external actors generate in civil war, shaping humanitarian activities in interaction with one another. This multi-actor lens and a micro-dynamic approach to violence that it yields are further advanced in *'The what, who and how of compliance and restraint by non-state armed groups'* (Shesterinina et al., 2025) and *'Acting like a state: armed violence in post-war Abkhazia'* (Shesterinina, 2023). These publications reflect collaborations with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences “Rethinking the Humanitarian Health Response to Violent Conflict” project, the Beyond Compliance Consortium, and “Institutional Legacies of Violent Conflict” at UNU-WIDER, respectively.

Identifying contemporary civil wars' effects on humanitarian needs, responses & outcomes

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Identifying contemporary civil wars' effects on humanitarian needs, responses & outcomes. *Daedalus*. 152, (2) 24–37. doi:10.1162/daed_a_01990.

Contemporary civil wars are highly complex processes involving a myriad of non-state, state, civilian, and external actors that develop systems of relations, which evolve in the course of conflict. Humanitarian actors are not isolated from but are part of these social systems. Understanding the effects of civil wars on humanitarian activities therefore requires mapping these relations and their evolution and drawing the implications of these changes for the operation of humanitarian actors.

Mapping systems of relations in civil war

This article advances an analytical framework for mapping systems of relations between the actors at the center of contemporary civil wars to understand how the relations humanitarians establish evolve for reasons outside of their control. This mapping entails not simply identifying the different actors and their interests at any point in time, but also analysing what relationships exist between conflict actors and charting the dynamics that their interactions produce over time. While these systems of relations have long been a part of civil wars, the proliferation of actors and their activities in contemporary civil wars makes these social systems increasingly complex.

Non-state armed groups that challenge the state's authority and control over territory lie at the center of these systems of relations. These actors mobilise for war in different ways, from

clandestine to social movement to regime splinter activities (Shesterinina and Livesey, 2024), and are thus embedded in broader populations to a different extent. They establish leadership structures and institutions that govern behaviours within the organisation, thereby socialising their members. But these actors transform through internal politics, competition and alliance formation with other non-state armed groups, violent and nonviolent conflict and cooperation with the state, civilian responses to these actors' control, and international intervention.

Contingency in wartime humanitarian health provision

Because of its universal and vital quality, health care is strategically important for insurgents whose members and communities in which they are embedded require such services and whose internal and external legitimacy in part depends on their decisions around health care. Yet health care provision is uniquely drawn into various relationships between non-state, state, civilian, and external actors. This means that in some cases these actors can consciously obstruct, refuse, and manipulate health care provision. Moreover, their decisions can change as they navigate a complex set of conflict relations. For example, insurgents that initially engage with humanitarians can later renege or find themselves unable or unwilling to deliver on their commitments. At best, this can force humanitarians to renegotiate their activities and at worst prevent humanitarian work, including health care provision, altogether.

Humanitarian actors thus operate in dramatically different contexts within the broad rubric of “contemporary civil war” that constrain and enable their activities in distinct ways and that can change unpredictably. To better understand these contexts, we should place the evolving relations that different actors involved in civil wars develop at the center of analysis. Humanitarian health care provision is contingent on this evolution and requires locally informed, adaptive practices for humanitarian organisations to be able to negotiate access, protect medical facilities and personnel, and deliver vital assistance in an ongoing way in response to changing circumstances.

The what, who and how of compliance and restraint by non-state armed groups

Shesterinina, A., E. Heffes, A. Sjöberg and K. Karagkouni (2025). The what, who and how of compliance and restraint by non-state armed groups: a snapshot of behavioural variation. Beyond Compliance Paper Series No.1, ISSN 2978-8595, Beyond Compliance Consortium, University of York, October 2025.

This report focuses on non-state armed groups' (NSAGs) compliance with international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL) and restraint from violence and abuse more broadly structured around three questions:

The “what” question: what factors affect compliance and restraint by NSAGs?

Multiple, intersecting factors affect compliance and restraint by NSAGs. These factors are both internal and external to the group. They include concerns with legitimacy, alignment of international law with the group's internal features, and training and disciplinary mechanisms as well as the context in which the group operates. The effects of these factors are norm-specific and time-variant and vary even among groups with similar features, making case-by-case analysis essential. While not all factors apply to every NSAG, each can play a role in shaping compliance and restraint, either positively or negatively, and none operate in isolation.

The “who” question: who influences compliance and restraint by NSAGs?

Multiple actors at different levels can influence the various factors affecting compliance and restraint by NSAGs. These actors are both internal and external to the group. They include the group's political leaders, military commanders and mid-level cadres, State armed forces and other armed groups, local community actors, particularly religious leaders, and external actors, such as humanitarian organisations and third States. These actors' influence can be direct and indirect and their overlapping activities shape NSAG's behaviour in parallel, often with contradictory effects. This means that focusing on one set of actors while overlooking the others risks limiting our understanding of compliance and restraint outcomes in specific contexts and makes a multi-actor approach necessary to understand these outcomes.

The “how” question: how do factors and actors shape compliance and restraint by NSAGs?

The factors and actors that affect compliance and restraint by NSAGs can lead to different compliance and restraint outcomes across contexts, and these effects are norm-specific. Effective humanitarian engagement with NSAGs requires a case-specific understanding of the combination of factors and actors that shape behaviour with regard to different norms.

Recommendations for international actors engaging with NSAGs

These findings underscore that NSAGs' behaviour varies by context, norm and over time, and that change results from multiple, intersecting factors and influence of a variety of actors. Therefore, preparing for engagement requires a comprehensive analysis of the NSAG and its influencers to identify viable entry points, decide who will conduct the engagement and frame the discussion, including the legal framework to be invoked. Conducting engagement requires seeking support of local and external actors with influence over NSAGs' decision-making and agreeing on the process and “focal points” with NSAG leaders while undertaking security/do-no-harm analysis, consulting with stakeholders knowledgeable about the context and the NSAG, building on existing good practices by NSAGs and using internal peer influence and external role-modelling.

Acting like a state: armed violence in post-war Abkhazia

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Acting like a state: armed violence in post-war Abkhazia. *Geoforum*, 146, 1-12.
doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103850.

How should we approach violence after war? What tools can we use to capture continuities and changes from the war to the post-war period? How do perspectives of participants in post-war violence shape our analysis? Focusing on the complex local dynamics of violence in Abkhazia after the Georgian-Abkhaz war of 1992-1993, this article advances a micro-dynamic approach to violence in the aftermath of war and brings tools from civil war studies to understand variation. It shows that violence shifted in scale in post-war Abkhazia and that Abkhaz participants understood regular and irregular forms of violence that unfolded in the contested areas of Abkhazia through the lens of their official duties as part of Abkhazia's state even before its partial recognition in 2008.

A micro-dynamic approach to violence after war

This study is situated in the micro-dynamic approach that emerged in the literature on violence in the aftermath of war. This approach draws our attention to continuities and changes in the actors, conditions, and dynamics of violence with a focus on local variation in its form, intensity, timing, and location. Any study of violence in the aftermath of war will benefit from an analysis of who is involved in violence and with what understandings, what conditions foster it, and how dynamics of violence evolve across time and space after war.

Tools from civil war studies

Because violence after war is intricately related to the preceding war, conceptual and analytical tools from civil war studies can help identify war-to-post-war connections. Technologies of rebellion and territorial control are the tools that this article adapts to analyse post-war violence. The former helps distinguish irregular violence, or post-war activities that resemble insurgent and counterinsurgent dynamics of civil war, from regular violence, or post-war exchanges and clashes involving light and heavy weaponry. The latter helps focus on contested areas where violence concentrates after war.

Local dynamics of violence in post-war Abkhazia

Applying the micro-dynamic approach to violence with tools from civil war studies in post-war Abkhazia, the article shows that different systematic forms of violence emerged in this case. Irregular and regular violence unfolded in the Gal/i district predominantly but not fully controlled by the Abkhaz side and the upper Kodori Valley predominantly but not fully

controlled by the Georgian side. These forms combined in the fighting of 1998 in the Gal/i district and 2008 in the Kodori Valley. In other words, violence became localised in the contested areas after the 1992-1993 war in Abkhazia.

Whereas irregular and regular forms of violence are typically associated with wartime insurgents and incumbents, respectively, the nature of actors changed in the post-war period. Having achieved a military victory in the war, the Abkhaz side acted like a state after the war. Georgian armed groups, which grew out of Georgian forces that participated in the war, organized guerrilla activities from beyond the territory of Abkhazia, which Abkhaz forces targeted in their counterinsurgency-like operations. A small war between Georgian and Abkhaz patrols stationed on the two sides of the ceasefire line resembled state border defense in Abkhazia.

Abkhaz participants engaged in these activities in their official capacity to defend the Abkhaz state. They distinguished between irregular and regular violence. “What an army cannot do two people can,” a reservist differentiates Georgian armed forces from guerrilla groups. They also distinguished their responses to these forms of violence. “There is no such phrase cleaning of the territory in the army,” a commander differentiates counterinsurgency-like operations from military actions, “when the army is involved, it is theater of war.”

Implications for post-war de facto states

The perceived outcome of these activities was the establishment of Abkhaz control over Abkhazia and its recognition as an independent state by Russia and a handful of other states. But the reality in this *de facto* state is ongoing conflict with Georgia and dependence on Russia. Recognition of statehood rarely brings underlying conflicts to an end. Instead, partially and fully recognized states established on the back of war are mired in multiple, overlapping forms of violence. Conflicts persist into the post-war period when the former warring parties transform and new actors emerge to contest the outcome of the war and the post-war arrangements at the local level.

Complete List of Civil War Paths Outputs

1) Articles

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2026). Weapons of the Weakened, but not Wiped Out: Insurgent Adaptability through Life Histories. *Journal of Peace Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopres/xjaf025>

Cismas, I., Fortin, K., Sutton, R., Heffes, E., and Shesterinina, A. (2026). The Beyond Compliance Approach: Centring Harm + Need Towards Full(er) Protection in Armed Conflict. *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*. <https://www.jtl.columbia.edu/volume-64/the-beyond-compliance-approach>

Dionigi, F., Howlett, M., Tapscott, R., Otrishchenko, N., Akello, G. Mukherjee, M., and Shesterinina, A. (2025). Forum: Rethinking Ethics Review for International Relations Research. *International Studies Perspectives*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isp/ekaf004>

Ketola, H. (2023). Familial Ties as a Gendered Relationality in Civil War: Militarisation, Violence and Politics. *Civil Wars*, 27(1), 116–138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2023.2185376>

Ketola, H. and O'Reilly, M. (2025). 'Like flesh and a nail': rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict. *European Journal of International Relations*, 31(3), 609-634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661251323177>

Rouhana, T. (2023). Critical discourse analysis guided topic modeling: the case of Al-Jazeera Arabic. *Information, Communication & Society*, 26(5), 904–922. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2023.2166364>

Rouhana, T. (2024). A Critical Juncture Lived Otherwise? The Case of the 'Cedar Revolution'. *Ethnopolitics*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2024.2401244>

Shesterinina, A. (2022). Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre- to post-war. *European Journal of International Relations*, 28(3), 538-562. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661221095970>.

Shesterinina, A. (2022). *Between victory and statehood: Armed violence in post-war Abkhazia*. UNU Wider Working Paper 2022/137. <https://www.wider.unu.edu/publication/between-victory-and-statehood>

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Acting like a state: Armed violence in post-war Abkhazia. *Geoforum*. 146, 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2023.103850>

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Humanising Political Violence: Lee Ann Fujii's Legacies for Civil War Studies. *Civil Wars*, 25(2–3), 577–588. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2023.2253050>

Shesterinina, A. (2023). Identifying Contemporary Civil Wars' Effects on Humanitarian Needs, Responses & Outcomes. *Daedalus*. 152 (2), 24–37. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01990

Shesterinina, A. (2024). The micro-sociology of peace and conflict. *International Affairs*, 100 (6), 2678–2680. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaae186>

Shesterinina, A. (2024). State-Building as Lawfare: On Conflict, Interpretation, and Ethics. *Nationalities Papers*, 53(1), 228-231. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2024.43>

Shesterinina, A. (2025). Disaggregating rebellion: Mid-level commanders in hierarchical non-state armed organizations. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00108367251356964>

Shesterinina, A., Heffes, E., Sjöberg, A., and Karagkouni, K. (2025). The What, Who and How of Compliance and Restraint by Non-State Armed Groups: A Snapshot of Behavioural Variation. *Beyond Compliance Consortium*. <https://beyond-compliance-consortium.org/the-what-who-and-how-of-compliance-and-restraint-by-nsags/>

Shesterinina, A. and Livesey, M. (2024). ‘Armed group formation in civil war: “Movement”, “insurgent”, and “state splinter” origins’, *Review of International Studies*, 50(4), 638–661. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210524000020>

van den Berg, S. (2023). Untold Stories: Ex-Combatant Silences in Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 17(4), 351–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2022.2152617>

van den Berg, S. (2025). The art(s) of conflict disruption in South Sudan. *Third World Quarterly*, 46(9), 970–986. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2025.2521387>

2) Book Chapters

Shesterinina, A. (2025). Navigating Field Research in Armed Conflict Settings. In: D. Hammett and N. Holmes, *The Routledge Handbook of Field Research*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003404903>

3) Theses

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2025). Fragmentation and Cohesion in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP): The Cases of the Breakaway Factions During the Peace Process (2012-2016). A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy, University of York.

4) Blogs, Newsletters, and Briefs

a) External Briefs and Newsletters

Shesterinina, A. (2020). Committed to peace: Former FARC-EP midlevel commanders as local leaders in the peace process. *Sheffield Political Economy Research Institute*. <https://sheffield.ac.uk/media/36437/download?attachment>

Shesterinina, A. (2021). Transitions to and from civil war. *American Political Science Association*. Spring 2021. https://www.comparativepoliticsnewsletter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/2021_spring.pdf

b) External Blogs

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2022, July 21). O compromisso de Gustavo Petro com a paz total. *openDemocracy*. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/pt/gustavo-petro-aposta-paz-total/>

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2022, November 25). El reinicio de los diálogos con el ELN deja muchas preguntas abiertas. *openDemocracy*. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/es/reinicio-dialogos-eln-preguntas-abiertas/>

Rouhana, T. (2024, September 24). Is Palestine the “Compass”? *SEPAD*. <https://www.sepad.org.uk/announcement/is-palestine-the-compass>

Rouhana, T. (2025, December). Understanding HTS's Strategic Shifts: How Theological Argumentation Shapes (Geo)Political Flexibility. *PRISME*. <https://prismeinitiative.org/publications/hts-strategic-shifts-theological-political-rouhana/>

Shesterinina, A. (2021, March). The paths and legacies of civil war. *UNU-WIDER*. <https://www.wider.unu.edu/publication/paths-and-legacies-civil-war>

Shesterinina, A. (2022, March). Learning from conflicts past: What recent history of Abkhazia tells us about the future of Donetsk and Luhansk. *UNU-WIDER*. <https://www.wider.unu.edu/publication/learning-conflicts-past>

Shesterinina, A. (2024, September 24). Beyond Compliance Symposium: Beyond typologies of actors: ambiguous boundaries in non-international armed conflicts. *Armed Groups and International Law*. <https://www.armedgroups-internationallaw.org/2024/09/24/beyond-typologies-of-actors-ambiguous-boundaries-in-non-international-armed-conflicts/>

Shesterinina, A. and Cismas, I. (2024, September 18) Beyond Compliance Symposium: Compliance + Restraint Towards Full(er) Protection in War. *Lieber Institute West Point*. <https://lieber.westpoint.edu/compliance-restraint-towards-fuller-protection-war/>

van den Berg, S. (2023, 2 May). The art of peace and accountability in South Sudan. *Leuven Transitional Justice Blog*. <https://law.kuleuven.be/ltjb/the-art-of-peace-and-accountability-in-south-sudan/>

c) Civil War Paths Blog

i) Contributions from the Research Team:

1) Substantive Entries:

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2022, July 8). The progressivist hope and the legacies of war in Colombia: Petro and Márquez at the crossroads. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-progressivist-hope-and-the-legacies-of-war-in-colombia-petro-and-marquez-at-the-crossroads/>

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2023, March 29) Life histories and the ordinary: examining fragmentation and counterinsurgency through lived experiences. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/life-histories-and-the-ordinary/>

Haddad, S. (2025, November 11). The role of ideology in Hezbollah's social institutions. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-role-of-ideology-in-hezbollahs-social-institutions/>

Ketola, H. (2022, June 17) About returning - when research encounters feel different. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/about-returning/>

Livesey, M. (2021, August 6) 'Laying the foundations'... The discursive track in civil wars. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-discursive-track/>

Livesey, M. (2023, August 1) The long and short of it: micro and macro process times in civil war. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-long-and-short-of-it-micro-and-macro-process-times-in-civil-war/>

Rouhana, T. (2022, July 1). Initial reflections on life histories of ex-combatants in the Lebanese Civil War. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/reflections-on-life-histories/>

Shesterinina, A. (2022, March 10). How did ordinary Ukrainians navigate the first days of the unfolding war?. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-days-of-the-ukraine-war/>

van den Berg, S. (2022, December 13). Of arts and war: the thrills and challenges of the arts in ethnography in South Sudan. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/arts-and-war/>

2) Project Entries:

Haddad, S. (2025, June 23) The 2024-2025 Annual Civil War Paths Conference: Focusing in on intra- and inter-group relations. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-2024-2025-annual-civil-war-paths-conference-focusing-in-on-intra-and-inter-group-relations/>

Livesey, M. (2022, May 13). New blog series: ‘Sustaining Peace.’ *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/new-blog-series/>

Livesey, M. (2021, September 10) Keynote speaker event: ‘Reimagining Civil War Studies.’ *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/reimagining-civil-war-event/>

Livesey, M. (2021, September 17) Civil War Paths seminar series. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/seminar-series/>

Shesterinina, A. (2020, October 15). University of Sheffield academics honoured for world class research and innovation. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/university-of-sheffield-academics-honoured-for-world-class-research-and-innovation/>

Shesterinina, A. (2020, November 25). Understanding civil war from pre- to post- war stages. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/understanding-civil-war-from-pre-to-post-war-stages/>

Shesterinina, A. (2020, December 17). New research brief: How former FARC-EP midlevel commanders could help to advance peace in Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/new-research-brief-how-former-farc-ep-midlevel-commanders-could-help-to-advance-peace-in-colombia/>

Shesterinina, A. (2021, January 10). New Seminar Series launches the Centre for the Comparative Study of Civil War. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/new->

[seminar-series-launches-the-centre-for-the-comparative-study-of-civil-war-at-the-department-of-politics-and-international-relations/](#)

Shesterinina, A. (2021, February 17). Dr Anastasia Shesterinina's book Mobilizing in Uncertainty. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/dr-anastasia-shesterininas-book-mobilizing-in-uncertainty-collective-identities-and-war-in-abkhazia-will-be-published-march-15th-with-cornell-university-press/>

Shesterinina, A. (2021, April 14). Mobilizing in Uncertainty (Cornell University Press) Book Launch. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/mobilizing-in-uncertainty-cornell-university-press-book-launch/>

Shesterinina, A. (2022, May 26). A year of Civil War Paths: Reflections, and steps ahead. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/reflections-and-steps-ahead/>

Shesterinina, A. (2022, September 6). The First Civil War Paths Conference: Themes and Directions. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-first-civil-war-paths-conference-themes-and-directions/>

Shesterinina, A. (2023, May 19). Year Two of Civil War Paths: Achievements and Challenges. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/year-two-of-civil-war-paths-achievements-and-challenges/>

Shesterinina, A. (2023, October 11). The 2022-2023 Annual Civil War Paths Conference: Highlights. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/annual-civil-war-paths-conference/>

Shesterinina, A. (2024, March 15). Year Three of Civil War Paths: From Fieldwork to Analysis. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/2024-03-15-year-three-of-civil-war-paths/>

Shesterinina, A. (2024, July 23). The 2023-2024 Annual Civil War Paths Conference: Cross-Cutting Questions. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-2023-2024-annual-civil-war-paths-conference/>

Shesterinina, A. (2025, June 26). Year Four of Civil War Paths: Taking Stock. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/year-four-of-civil-war-paths-taking-stock/>

van den Berg, S. (2023, September 19). New blog series: 'Building Bridges'. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/new-blog-series-building-bridges/>

van den Berg, S. (2023, October 13) From 'Sustaining Peace' to 'Building Bridges' in civil war research. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/from-sustaining-peace-to-building-bridges/>

van den Berg, S. (2024, June 17). New blog series: 'Relational Approaches to Civil War'. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/new-blog-series-relational-approaches-to-civil-war/>

ii) Contributions from Civil War Paths Fellows:

Aryal, C.P. (2022, October 28). Marriage among combatants in Nepal's Maoist insurgency. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/marriage-among-combatants/>

Bachmann, T. (2022, September 23). Grounding the Inclusion Hype: Learning from Participatory Development Programmes in Post-Agreement Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/grounding-the-inclusion-hype/>

Bachmann, T. (2022, December 6). Training matters: reflections on trauma in civil war research. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/trauma-and-research/>

Barberis, C. F. (2022, October 26). 'We Have the Enemy at Home': How Georgian Leadership Avoided Russian-Georgian Clashes (So Far). *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/georgia-russia/>

Barrera, V. (2022, September 29). Achieving 'Total Peace' in Colombia: The Dilemmas of Participation in Peacebuilding. *Civil War Paths Blog*. (H. Staples, Trans.). [achieving-total-peace-in-colombia](https://www.civilwarpaths.org/achieving-total-peace-in-colombia)

Baskett, V. (2021, December 10). Identities in conflict: a discourse on civil norms. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/identities-in-conflict-a-discourse-on-civil-norms/>

Berlin, M. (2024, March 11). Understanding Rhetorical Cooperation between Militant Organizations. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/understanding-rhetorical-cooperation-between-militant-organisations/>

Buitelaar, T. (2024, January 19). Bringing Humans Back in: Agency and Structure in Peace and Conflict Studies. *Civil War Paths Blog*. [bringing-humans-back-in-agency-and-structure-in-peace-and-conflict-studies](https://www.civilwarpaths.org/bringing-humans-back-in-agency-and-structure-in-peace-and-conflict-studies)

Bustelo, M. G. (2023, June 30). The "Frontiers" of Mediation. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-frontiers-of-mediation/>

Butos, G. (2026, December 5). Does Ideology Matter to Make Peace? Lessons from Colombia and Beyond. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/does-ideology-matter-to-make-peace-lessons-from-colombia-and-beyond/>

Cardeño, C. (2025, May 23). 'Jihad is Planted in our Hearts': International Aid, Rebel Institutions and Women's Participation in the Bansamoro. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/jihad-is-planted-in-our-hearts-international-aid-rebel-institutions-and-womens-participation-in-the-bangsamoro/>

Corradi, E. (2023, July 28). Emotions and Radical Ideologies in Foreign Fighters' Armed Mobilisation. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/emotions-and-radical-ideologies-in-foreign-fighters-armed-mobilization/>

De Bruin, E. (2023, June 12). Power-sharing and the risks of coups in post-conflict settings. *Civil War Paths Blog*. [power-sharing-and-the-risks-of-coups-in-post-conflict-settings](https://www.civilwarpaths.org/power-sharing-and-the-risks-of-coups-in-post-conflict-settings)

Firmian, F. M. (2022, October 14). Political unrest and socio-environmental breakdown in Iraq. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/political-unrest-and-socio-environmental-breakdown/>

Freiberg, A. (2024, April 15). From Books to Bullets: The Spectrum of Political Education in Rebel Groups. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/from-books-to-bullets-the-spectrum-of-political-education-in-rebel-groups/>

Hewitt, J. (2024, February 16). Familial Loyalties and Pathways Through Involvement in Civil War. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/familial-loyalties-and-pathways-through-involvement-in-civil-war/>

Hu, Q. (2022, April 28). Deciphering multi-layered identities in Ukraine. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/identities-in-ukraine/>

Hyppä, T. (2022, February 25). Civil wars and external aid: why did civil governance fail in Syria?. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/civil-governance-and-external-actors/>

Isidro-Herrera, L. (2023, November 10). Rural School Teachers in Colombia: Decrypting Memories and Tackling Violence amidst Colombian Armed Conflict. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/decrypting-memories-in-colombia/>

Kaya, Z. (2022, January 14). Women talking peace in Iraq. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/women-talking-peace/>

Kaleem, A. (2021, September 3). (Re)situating civic engagement within counter-extremism. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/resituating-civic-engagement/>

K.C., L. (2022, November 23). Armed conflict, reintegration, and gender roles. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/conflict-reintegration-gender/>

- Knuppe, A. (2024, May 13). What do Ukrainians Think About the Prospects for a Peaceful Settlement with Russia? *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/what-do-ukrainians-think-about-the-prospects-for-a-peaceful-settlement-with-russia/>
- Kriner, M. (2024, February 2). Peacekeepers and Civilian Protection: Who Does the Protecting? *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/peacekeepers-and-civilian-protection-who-does-the-protecting/>
- Mathieson, N. (2022, December 6). Foreign fighter or foreign volunteer: what's in a name?. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/foreign-fighter-foreign-volunteer/>
- Martin, L. (2022, February 4). Humour and research in conflict? Experiences from researching civil war in Sierra Leone. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/humour-and-conflict/>
- Melcher, M. (2022, December 22). Rethinking DDR: the possibilities of post-conflict military integration. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/rethinking-ddr/>
- Minatti, W. (2024, June 17). Rebel Governance as Self-Legitimation: The Case of the FARC in Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/rebel-governance-as-self-legitimation-the-case-of-the-farc-in-colombia/>
- Ntantoma, D. (2024, April 12). Disappointment and Ex-Combatant Choices in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/disappointment-and-ex-combatant-choices-in-the-democratic-republic-of-congo/>
- Ortiz-Ayala, A. (2023, January 4). War mentalities: disarming state soldiers' hearts and minds in Post-Agreement Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/war-mentalities/>
- Phillips, B. J. (2024, November 18) How can research on terrorist designation speak to studies of civil war processes?. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/how-can-research-on-terrorist-designation-speak-to-studies-of-civil-war-processes/>
- Prior, K. L. (2023, April 14). Justice in Colombia? Perspectives from a Forgotten Region. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/justice-in-colombia-perspectives-from-a-forgotten-region/>
- Riberio, M. (2021, December 17). The challenges of peacekeeping operations in identity conflicts. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/peacekeeping-operations-in-identity-conflicts/>

Schwab, R. (2025, October 3). Armed Group Constellations in Multiparty Civil Wars: How Syrian Rebels Toppled Assad. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/armed-group-constellations-in-multiparty-civil-wars-how-syrian-rebels-toppled-assad/>

Schwartz, R. (2023, March 3). How Wartime Actors Outmaneuver Peacetime State Reforms: Reflections and Lessons from Post-Conflict Central America. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/how-wartime-actors-outmaneuver-peacetime-state-reforms/>

Sebly, J. (2021, November 19). What's happened to climate security? Reflections from COP26. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/climate-security-reflections-from-cop26/>

Shay, C. W. (2023, March 10). The Long-term Consequences of Violent vs. Nonviolent Rebellion. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-long-term-consequences-of-violent-vs-nonviolent-rebellion/>

Siberdt, B. (2022, March 18). How civil wars start, and why it matters. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/how-civil-wars-start/>

Simon, E. (2021, October 28). Reflections on 'the civil' in 'civil' war and other concepts. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/reflections-on-the-civil/>

Sosa, S. (2022, May 5). Business for peace: Ex-Combatant entrepreneurship in Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/business-for-peace/>

Sosa, S. (2024, April 29). The Micro-Dynamics of Peace and Conflict: Evidence from Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/micro-dynamics-of-peace-and-conflict/>

Staples, H. (2021, August 20). A society in movement: mobilising for peace in Colombia. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/social-movements-colombia/>

Staples, H. (2024, September 16). The whole truth and nothing but the truth? Changing perceptions in/of Rio de Janeiro's low-intensity war. *Civil War Paths Blog*. [the-whole-truth-and-nothing-but-the-truth-changing-perceptions-in-of-rio-de-janeiros-low-intensity-war](https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-whole-truth-and-nothing-but-the-truth-changing-perceptions-in-of-rio-de-janeiros-low-intensity-war)

Tellidou, N. (2024, May 6). Empowered by Allies: Women Fighters and Sponsorship Dynamics in Civil Wars. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/empowered-by-allies-women-fighters-and-sponsorship-dynamics-in-civil-wars/>

Thaler, K. M. (2024, July 1). Civil War, Statebuilding, and the Continuing Struggle for Indigenous Autonomy in Nicaragua. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/civil-war-statebuilding-and-the-continuing-struggle-for-indigenous-autonomy-in-nicaragua/>

Villamil, F. (2023, October 6). How political actors influence war legacies. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/how-political-actors-influence-war-legacies/>

Vince, B. (2021, July 23). The importance of indigenous solutions during post-war peacebuilding. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/eurocentrism-and-peacebuilding/>

Voyvodic, C. (2025, June 6) The Cost of Doing Business. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-cost-of-doing-business/>

Waterman, A. (2022, January 21). Order, ordering processes, and the paths of civil wars: Encapsulating a research agenda. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/order-a-research-agenda/>

Weiner, J. F. (2024, September 11) Armed Group Funding and Adaptation. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/armed-group-funding-and-adaptation/>

Zerla, P. (2023, August 16). The Spaces in Between - Examining Community Experiences of DDR and Reintegration. *Civil War Paths Blog*. <https://www.civilwarpaths.org/the-spaces-in-between-examining-community-experiences-of-ddr-and-reintegration/>

4) Selected Conference Presentations

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2023, June 20-23) The Multiple Paths of the FARC-EP in the Colombian War. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2024, July 1-3). “How on earth do you fight back an aerial bombardment?” Understanding Counterinsurgency at Work Through Life Histories. Society for Latin American Studies. Amsterdam.

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. (2024, September 4-6). Cohesion and Fragmentation in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People’s Army (FARC-EP): The Cases of the Breakaway Factions During the Peace Process. Conflict Research Society. Edinburgh.

Álvarez Vanegas, E. (2024, January 18-19). “How on earth do you fight back an aerial bombardment?” Understanding Counterinsurgency at Work Through Life Histories. Latin American Peace Science Society. Bogotá.

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. (2025, January 17-18). Cohesion and Fragmentation in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People’s Army (FARC-EP): The Cases of the

Breakaway Fractions During the Peace Process. Latin American Peace Science Society Annual Conference. Cali.

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. (2026, March 22-25). Cohesion and Fragmentation in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP): The Cases of the Breakaway Fractions During the Peace Process. International Studies Association. Columbus.

Álvarez Vanegas, E. & Shesterinina A. (2023). External Support and Rebel Cohesion: The Case of Venezuela and the FARC-EP. Workshop: Global Tensions, Local Wars? The Changing International Politics of Civil Conflict, University of Montréal.

Álvarez Vanegas, E. & Shesterinina, A. (2024, January 18-19). External Support and Rebel Cohesion: The Case of Venezuela and the FARC-EP. Latin American Peace Science Society Conference. Bogotá.

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. & Shesterinina, A. (2024, September 5-8). Two-Way Support: Venezuela and the FARC-EP in Regional Perspective. American Political Science Association. Philadelphia.

Álvarez-Vanegas, E. & Shesterinina, A. (2026, March 22-25). External Support and Rebel Cohesion: The Case of Venezuela and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP). International Studies Association. Columbus.

Ketola, H. (2022, September 7-9). Familial Ties as Gendered Relationality in Civil War: Militarisation, Violence and Politics. Conflict Research Society. Belfast.

Ketola, H. (2022, September 15-18). Violations of the Heart: Paternal Harm in Contexts of Systematic Violence and Oppression. American Political Science Association. Montréal.

Ketola, H. (2022, September 15-18). From Clandestine to Social Movement Path? The case of the CPN-M and the People's War in Nepal. American Political Science Association. Montréal.

Ketola, H. (2023, June 20-23). From Clandestine to Social Movement Path: The Maoist 'People's War' in Nepal. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

Ketola, H. (2025, November). 'Catching the rhythm of life': legacies of revolutionary marriage in Nepal. Afterlives of War and Revolution: University of Bern. Bern.

Ketola, H. & Bibhas, N. (2025, June 18-20). Hidden yet 'with people': Clandestinity and social reproduction in civil war. 'BISA 2025 50th anniversary conference. Belfast.

Ketola, H. & O'Reilly, M. (2023, June 20-23). *Familial Ties and Militarized Violence: Women in Fighting Forces in Nepal and Bosnia & Herzegovina*. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

Ketola, H. & O'Reilly, M. (2024, May 6). *Like flesh and a nail: rethinking the nexus of familial ties and armed conflict*. Feminist Peace Research Conference. Tampere.

Rouhana, T. (2022, August 5-9). *Content Discourse Analysis Guided Topic Modeling: the Case of Aljazeera Arabic*. American Sociological Association. Los Angeles.

Rouhana T. (2022, September 15-18). *A Social Movement Path? Sect-Based Divisions in the Lebanese Civil War*. American Political Science Association. Montréal.

Rouhana, T. (2022, December 1-4). *Movement and Countermovement Dynamics at the Onset of the Lebanese Civil War*. Middle East Studies Association. Denver.

Rouhana, T. (2023, June 20-23). *A Social Movement Path? Sect-Based Divisions in the Lebanese Civil War*. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

Rouhana T. (2023, September 4-8). *A Social Movement Path? Sect-Based Divisions in the Lebanese Civil War*. European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Prague.

Rouhana T. (2023). *Ethnography in War: Challenges and Dilemmas*. Centre d'études et de recherches internationales de l'Université de Montréal (CÉRIUM). Université de Montréal.

Rouhana T. (2023). "Security and Safety": The Making of Syrians Sect Identities. *Political Authority in the Middle East*. University of York.

Rouhana T. (2023, November 2-5). *Syria's Civil War: Sect Habitus and the Evolution of Human Rights Discourse*. Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting 2023. Montréal.

Rouhana, T. (2024, November 11-16). *A Meso-Level Analysis of Pre-Civil War Lebanon: Movement and Counter-Movement Dynamics*. Middle East Studies Association. Washington D.C.

Rouhana, T. (2025, August 26-29). *War in Digital Time: A Computational Analysis of Cyclical War Discourse on Social Media*. European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Thessaloniki.

Rouhana, T. (2025, November 22-25). *Language and Ideology in HTS's Organizational Evolution*. Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting. Washington D.C.

Rouhana, T. (2025, November 22-25). Cycles of War: Digital Discourse and the Reshaping of Conflict. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting & Exhibition. Washington D.C.

Rouhana, T. (2025). Understanding HTS's Strategic Shifts: How Theological Argumentation Shapes (Geo)Political Flexibility. SALAM-SEPAD.

Shesterinina, A. (2021, January 19-22). Middle Managers as a Source of Institutional Stability in Hierarchical Armed Organizations: The Case of FARC-EP. Latin American Peace Science Society. Bogotá.

Shesterinina, A. (2022, March 28 - April 2). Civil War Paths: Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post- War Stages. International Studies Association. Nashville.

Shesterinina, A. (2023, June 20-23). Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-War Stages: A Comparative Approach. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

Shesterinina A. (2023, August 5-9). Disaggregating Rebellion: Mid-level Commanders in Hierarchical Non-state Armed Organizations. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting & Exhibition. Los Angeles.

Shesterinina, A. (2023, September 11-13) Disaggregating Rebellion Conference Paper. Conflict Research Society. London.

van den Berg, S. (2022, July 6-9). Transitional Justice from within: an examination of local transitional justice spaces and needs during and after war in South Sudan. European International Studies Association. Thessaloniki.

van den Berg, S. (2022, August 22-26). Punishing Silence: Complex victimhood and agency among everyday ex-combatants in Sierra Leone. European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Innsbruck.

van den Berg, S. (2022, September 15-18). Impunity and state splintering? Framing violence in South Sudan's civil war path. American Political Science Association. Montréal.

van den Berg, S. (2023, June 20-23). Impunity and State Splintering: Framing Violence in South Sudan's Civil War Path. British International Studies Association. Glasgow.

van den Berg S. (2023, July 12-14). The Art of Justice in South Sudan: An Ethnographic Examination of Arts as Unconventional and Unrecognised Transitional Justice Spaces. European International Studies Association European Workshop in International Studies. Amsterdam.

van den Berg, S. (2023, September 4-8). The Art of Justice in South Sudan: An Ethnographic Examination of Arts as Unconventional and Unrecognised Transitional Justice Spaces. European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Prague.

van den Berg, S. (2024, March 13-15). The Perilous Art of Justice in South Sudan: Examining the Paradox of Artistic Invisibility in Transitional Justice in Times of Fragile Peace. Justice Visions Conference. Ghent.

van den Berg, S. (2025, August 26-29). The Perils of Invisibility: the pitfalls and potential of the arts in South Sudan. European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Thessaloniki.

5) Organisation of Panels and Roundtables

British International Studies Association Annual Conference 2025

Roundtable / Relationality in civil war: Toward a research agenda

Sponsor: War Studies Working Group

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Participants: Tiina Hyypä, Finn Klebe, Johanna Söderström, Hanna Ketola

British International Studies Association Annual Conference 2024

Panel / Relational Approaches to Civil War: From Inter-Rebel Cooperation to Ex-Combatant Reintegration

Sponsor: Political Violence, Conflict and Transnational Activism

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Papers: Regine Schwab, "Living to Fight Each Other Another Day: Armed Group Relationships in Multiparty Civil Wars"

Edoardo Corradi, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall: Why Some Rebel Groups' Alliances Last Longer Than Others"

Tom Buitelaar, "Action, Inaction, or Somewhere in Between? UN Peacekeepers and War Criminals"

Victor Bouemar, Romain Malejacq, Kai Thaler, "Rebel Victory: A Research Agenda"

Pauline Zerla, "Everyday Legacies of War: Ex-combatants' and Communities' Coexistence in Conflict-Affected Spaces"

British International Studies Association Annual Conference 2023

Panel / Civil War Paths

Sponsor: Political Violence, Conflict and Transnational Activism

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Papers: Anastasia Shesterinina and Michael Livesey, "Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-War Stages: A Comparative Approach"

Hanna Ketola, "From Clandestine to Social Movement Path: The Maoist 'People's

War' in Nepal”

Toni Rouhana, “A Social Movement Path? Sect-Based Divisions in the Lebanese Civil War”

Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas, “The Multiple Paths of the FARC-EP in the Colombian War”

Sayra van den Berg, “Impunity and State Splintering: Framing Violence in South Sudan’s Civil War Path”

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting and Exhibition 2022

Panel / Civil War Paths

Division: Conflict Processes

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Papers: Anastasia Shesterinina, “Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-War Stages: A Comparative Approach”

Hanna Ketola, “From Clandestine to Social Movement Path: The Maoist ‘People’s War’ in Nepal”

Toni Rouhana, “A Social Movement Path? Sect-Based Divisions in the Lebanese Civil War”

Sayra van den Berg, “Framing a Coup: The Role of Collective Memory in South Sudan’s Civil War Path”

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting and Exhibition 2021

Roundtable / The Future of Civil War Studies

Division: Conflict Processes

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Participants: Ana M. Arjona, Amelia Hoover Green, Patricia Justino, Stathis N. Kalyvas, Dipali Mukhopadhyay, Paul Staniland

6) Events and Workshops

a) Seminar Series

Civil War Paths Seminar Series 2021-2022

Seminar: Understanding Civil War from Pre- to Post-war Stages

Civil War Paths UKRI Project

Speaker: Anastasia Shesterinina

Rethinking Civil War as a Process Roundtable

Participants: Michael Livesey, Amna Kaleem, Elena Simon, Henry Staples, Bryony Vince

Chair: Anastasia Shesterinina

Seminar: Narrative Identity and the Experience of Violence.

Speaker: Wendy Pearlman

Discussant: Toni Rouhana

Seminar: Social Movements and Civil Wars

Speaker: Donatella della Porta

Discussant: Hanna Ketola

Seminar: Rebel Group Formation in Africa

Speaker: Janet Lewis

Discussant: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas

Seminar: Into and Out of the Coup-Civil War Trap

Speaker: Philip Roessler

Discussant: Anastasia Shesterinina

Seminar: Mapping Civil War Cases Civil War Paths Team

Speakers: Civil War Paths Team

Discussant: Michael Livesey

Civil War Paths Seminar Series 2022-2023

Seminar: Who's Baby? The Birth of Pro-governmental Militias in Colombia

Speaker: Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín

Discussant: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas

Seminar: Rethinking Insurgent Masculinities: Ideology, Identity and Change in the People's War in Nepal

Speaker: Heidi Riley

Discussant: Hanna Ketola

Seminar: Building on Sand: the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A) and State Formation in South Sudan

Speaker: Peter Biar Ajak

Discussant: Sayra van den Berg

Seminar: Ideology, Affect and the politics of Disavowal: Notes on Syria

Speaker: Lisa Wedeen

Discussant: Toni Rouhana

Seminar: Beyond the Lines: Social Networks and Palestinian Militant Organizations in Wartime Lebanon

Speaker: Sarah Parkinson
Discussant: Anastasia Shesterinina

Civil War Paths Seminar Series 2023-2024

Seminar: Working across Academia and International Organisations in the Field of Conflict and Peace

Speakers: Véronique Dudouet and Marie-Joëlle Zahar
Discussant: Anastasia Shesterinina

Seminar: Spaces and Discourses of Transitional Justice: Conversations across Activism, Policy and Scholarship

Speakers: Ram Kumar Bhandari and Henry Redwood
Discussant: Sayra van den Berg

Seminar: Art and Creative Methods in Contexts of Political Violence: A Dialogue between Research, Practice and Activism

Speakers: Choman Hardi and Francesca M. Romeo
Discussant: Hanna Ketola

Seminar: Journalism and Conflict Analysis in Contexts of Political Violence: Experiences and Challenges

Speakers: Rabie Barakat and Kyle Johnson
Discussants: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas and Toni Rouhana

Civil War Paths Seminar Series 2024-2025

Seminar: Waging War by Law: Taliban Courts in Afghanistan

Speaker: Adam Baczko
Discussant: Anastasia Shesterinina

Seminar: Houses Built on Sand: Violence, Sectarianism and Revolution in the Middle East

Speaker: Simon Mabon
Discussant: Toni Rouhana

Seminar: Navigating Local Transitional Justice: Agency at Work in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

Speaker: Laura Martin
Discussant: Sayra van den Berg

Civil War Paths Seminar Series 2025-2026

Seminar: Reproducing Revolution: Women's Labor and the War in Kachinland

Speaker: Jenny Hedström

Discussant: Hanna Ketola

Seminar: Surviving Peace: Violence against Ex-Combatants in Colombia

Speaker: Enzo Nussio

Discussant: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas

b) Expert Workshops

Expert Workshop 2022

Civil War Paths Case Mapping

External Experts: Joel Blaxland; Henk-Jan Brinkman; David Cunningham; Christopher Day; Véronique Dudouet; Adrian Florea; Yvan Guichaoua; Wolfram Lacher; Florian Weigand; Joseph Wright; Marie-Joëlle Zahar

Expert Workshop 2025

Day 1: Civil War Paths

Panel 1: Civil War Paths project and co-authored book discussion

Moderator: Anastasia Shesterinina

Discussants: Stefan Malthaner and Romain Malejacq

Panel 2: South Sudan study discussion

Moderator: Sayra van den Berg

Discussants: Naomi Pendle and Nicki Kindersley

Panel 3: Lebanon case study discussion

Moderator: Toni Rouhana

Discussant: Tiina Hyypä and Jannis Julien Grimm

Panel 4: Nepal case study discussion

Moderator: Hanna Ketola

Discussant: Jenny Hedström

Panel 5: Colombia case study discussion

Moderator: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas

Discussant: Johanna Söderström and Simon Pierre Boulanger Martel

Day 2: Relational Approaches to Civil War

Panel 1:

Paper: Fatherhood in Insecure Times: Upholding Masculinity in the Toposa Community in South Sudan

Speaker: Heidi Riley

Paper: Peacetime Defeat and the Undermining of Relationalities through Death and Its Aftermath: Dying and Burial among South Sudan's Armed Opposition Post the 2018 Peace Agreement

Speakers: Leben Moro and Naomi Pendle

Moderator: Sayra van den Berg

Panel 2:

Paper: Armed Group Boundary Work: A Framework and Research Agenda

Speaker: Simon Pierre Boulanger Martel and Lee J. M. Seymour

Paper: The Ties that Bind: Presence of Vital Relations in Civil Wars

Speaker: Tiina Hyypä

Paper: Transnational Identification and Local Legacies of Civil War: Linking Gaza and Northern Ireland

Speaker: Jannis Julien Grimm

Moderator: Toni Rouhana

Panel 3:

Paper: Understanding the Multiplex of Rebel Governance: Defiance, Dealmaking and Delegation Processes Between Rebel Groups and Existing Governance Providers

Speaker: James Worrall

Paper: The Logic of Gendered Governance during Civil Wars

Speakers: Meredith Maloof Loken and Jenny Hedström

Paper: The Sources of State Power after Rebel Victory

Speaker: Victor Bouemar Dinocheau, Romain Malejacq and Kai M. Thaler

Moderator: Eduardo Álvarez-Vanegas

Panel 4:

Paper: War as Work

Speaker: Nicki Kindersley

Paper: Imagining Peace in the Namibian Public Debate

Speaker: Johanna Söderström

Moderator: Hanna Ketola

c) Annual Conference

Civil War Paths Annual Conference 2021-2022

Panel 1	Processual Approaches to Civil War – Discussant: Tiina Hyypä
Civil War Paths Team	Armed Group Origins and Transformation in Civil War
Guillermo Kreiman	Stage by Stage: A Processual Approach to Irregular Civil Wars
Panel 2	State-Rebel Dynamics – Discussant: Nicholas Barker
Rune Larsen	The Organisation of Insurgency in Southeast Asia
Alex Waterman	Managing Insurgency: Counterinsurgency and Order Negotiation in Northeast India
Tiina Hyypä	End of a Council, Return of the State? Rethinking the Boundaries of State and Rebel Governance in the Syrian War
Panel 3	Territorial and Social Frontiers – Discussant: Michael Livesey
Nicholas Barker	Borders, Boundaries and Buffer Zones in Europe's Separatist Wars: Explaining The Causes and Consequences of Territorial Boundary Formation In Secessionist Conflicts
Qianrui Hu	Capturing the Interaction of Ethnic, Regional, and National Identity in Donbas Amid the (Un)finished War - A Narrative-based Case Study of People with Dual Nationality
Henry Staples	Life At The Frontier: Initial Reflections on 'Social Frontiers' and Inter-group Dynamics in Cities
Panel 4	Transitions and Legacies – Discussant: Henry Staples
Maria Amjad	Rebel Groups' Participation in the Formal Negotiations with the State: Understanding from a New Theoretical Perspective
Bryony Vince	The Importance of Ubuntu for Peacebuilding in South Africa

Civil War Paths Annual Conference 2022-2023

Panel 1	Armed Group Dynamics
Ulaş Erdoğan	Are civil and interstate wars one of the same? A new typology of civil wars and its consequences for the study and comparison of civil war and interstate wars
Geraldine Bustos-Zamora	A new framework to study ideology in rebel groups
Nicola Mathieson	Foreign fighter integration and the impact on international security

Dr Erica De Bruin	Did Covid-19 Change Armed Group Governance? Evidence from a Survey of Local Security Authorities in Colombia
Panel 2	Wartime Violence
Dr Elizabeth Stubbins Bates	Intersecting dynamics of war crimes: What is the role of International Humanitarian Law's normativity?
Sara Daub	Protection from afar? Diaspora support and civilian targeting
Pauline Zerla	Legacies of reintegration after civil war: Exploring child soldiers' imageries of transition in the DRC
Panel 3	Negotiating Peace
Dr Laura Saavedra-Lux	Negotiating peace: The role of trust and ownership
Dr Wassim Mroue	Intra-sect peace introduced: Explaining the role external civil war parties play in brokering peace
Dr Andrea Peinhopf	Whose ethnicity matters? Ethnically mixed families navigating conflict in Georgia and Ukraine
Panel 4	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
Dr Miranda Melcher	Why military integration not DDR?
Daniel Odin Shaw	Dimensions of demobilisation: Dataset introduction and key findings
Panel 5	Peace in Colombia
Theresa Bachmann	Transforming state-society relations through inclusivity? Insights from the implementation of the Colombian 2016 Peace Agreement
Dr Alejandra Ortiz-Ayala	Total Peace without security reform: Transformation resistance through competitive victimhood among Colombian soldiers

Civil War Paths Annual Conference 2023-2024

Panel 1	Technologies of Peace and Post-war Participation – Discussant: Anastasia Shesterinina
Brian J. Phillips	Corporate counterterrorism: Why do social media firms designate some militant groups as terrorists?
Diksha Poddar	Mapping the contours of technology for peace: Opportunities and challenges

Isabella Aung & Jennifer Hodge	How the functionalities of digital spaces and technologies affect women's participation and protection in Myanmar
Josephine Lechartre	From beggars to participants: The positive effects of refugee camp autonomy on long-term refugee political participation
Panel 2	Institutional Dimensions of International Intervention in Armed Conflict – Discussant: Jennifer Hodge
Miranda Melcher	What can looking at UN peacekeeping add to understandings of neo-institutionalism and isomorphism?
Tom Buitelaar	UN peace operations and spoiler management
Elizabeth Good	The power of representation: Women in comprehensive peace negotiations
Panel 3	A Continuum of Armed Group Strategies Against Civilians – Discussant: Austin Knuppe
Joshua Fawcett Weiner	Armed Group Taxation and Adaptation: Evidence from Syria
Regine Schwab	The targeting of civilian infrastructure in civil war
Mark Berlin	Why Armed Groups Adopt Extra-Lethal Violence: Evidence from the Jihadist Movement
Panel 4	From Macro to Micro Level in the Study of Armed Organisations in Syria – Discussant: Toni Rouhana
Bilal Salayme	From monopoly to oligopoly of violence: Competitive rebel governance in Northern Syria
Silvia Carenzi	Explaining the trajectories of Islamist armed groups in Syria
James Hewitt	Trauma and militancy: The influence of trauma on Kurdish militant pathways
Panel 5	From Mobilisation to Reintegration in Latin America – Discussant: Viviana García Pinzón
Barbora Valik	Between the fire and the word: Indigenous movements and the choice between violent and nonviolent tactics
Wolfgang Minatti	Justifying violence: Comparative judgements and rebel legitimacy in Colombia
Laura Camila Barrios Sabogal	Do wo(men) support the reintegration of former combatants into society? Insights from the Colombian Peace Process
Panel 6	Norms, Culture and Ideology in Comparative Perspective – Discussant: Mike Kriner
Amelie Freiberg	How rebel groups socialize: Introducing the Socialisation & Political Education in Rebel Groups (SOPERG) Data Project
Tessa Devereaux Evans	To have and to hold: The determinants of insurgent gender governance
Nabin Bibhas	What is in (tek) name?

Civil War Paths Annual Conference 2024-2025

Panel 1	Performativity, Rumours and Networks in Armed Group Participation – Discussant: Diksha Podder
Ilayda B. Onder	Performative Rebel Governance and Legibility: Evidence from Rebel Recruitment in Southeast Turkey
Jéssica Höring	The logic of radical engagement in UNITA
Obayda Ghadban	Towards a cosmology of civil wars: A sociospatial micro-level case from Syria
Panel 2	From Rebel Rule to Durable Peace – Discussant: Coline Cardeño
Yu Bin Kim	When Do Rebel Governors Become Rebel Diplomats?
Sean Paul Ashley	Guerrilla Organization and the Durability of Rebel Regimes
Anna Marie Obermeier	Introducing the Provisions for Women in Ceasefires Dataset

Civil War Paths Annual Conference 2025-2026

Panel 1	Rebel Rule and Social Order – Discussant: Wolfgang Minatti
Edoardo Corradi	Improvised Rulers: Explaining How Rebels Shape Early Governance in Civil Wars
Tony Neil	The Micro-foundations of Rebel Order: How Should We Theorise Civilian-Insurgent Interaction?
Panel 2	Wartime Civilian Agency – Discussant: Juan Masullo
Imrana Alhaj Buba	Civilian Compliance and Victimization in the Boko Haram Insurgency
Nguyen T Ha	Migration Opportunities and Wartime Civilian Protests
Panel 3	Violence Against Civilians and Gendered Effects of Armed Conflict – Discussant: Sayra van den Berg
Promise Ejiofor	Gendercide and Terrorism Studies
Camille Laville	Systemic Issues and Local Perception

References

- Azambuja, R., Islam, G. and Ancelin-Bourguignon, A. (2023). Walling in and Walling out: Middle Managers' Boundary Work. *Journal of Management Studies.*, 60(7), 1819–1854. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12844>
- Balogun, J. and Johnson, G. (2005). From Intended Strategies to Unintended Outcomes: The Impact of Change Recipient Sensemaking. *Organization Studies*, 26(11), 1573-1601. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840605054624>
- Baines, E. (2016). *Buried in the Heart: Women, Complex Victimhood and the War in Northern Uganda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinkman, F. (2019). Topical Discourse Structures: Using topic modeling in discourse analysis approaches. *HUMAN IT*, 14(3), 83–114. <https://humanit.hb.se/article/view/597/743>
- Chipato, F. (2024). The Aesthetics of Peace: Complexity, Speculation, and Unknowing in Creative Peacebuilding Research. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 18(3), 225–243. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2024.2327922>
- Clark, J. A., and Salloukh, B. F. (2013). Elite strategies, civil society, and sectarian identities in postwar Lebanon. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45 (4), 731–749. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743813000883>
- Fairey, T., Cubillos, E., and Muñoz, M. (2024). Photography and everyday peacebuilding. Examining the impact of photographing everyday peace in Colombia. *Peacebuilding*, 12(1), 24–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2023.2184099>
- Fujii, L.A. (2009). *Killing neighbors: webs of violence in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Fujii, L. A. (2017). *Interviewing in Social Science Research: A Relational Approach*. Routledge.
- Fujii, L. A. (2018). *Interviewing in social science research : a relational approach, Routledge series on interpretive methods*. New York: Routledge.
- Fujii, L.A. (2021). *Show time: the logic and power of violent display*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gjerde, S. and Alvesson, M. (2020). Sandwiched: Exploring role and identity of middle managers in the genuine middle. *Human Relations*, 73(1), 124-151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726718823243>
- Giustozzi, A. (2012) Taliban Networks in Afghanistan. *CIWAG Case Studies*. 8.

<https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/ciwag-case-studies/8>

Grzymala-Busse, A.M. (2002) *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, Alan M., Tim Büthe, Ana Arjona, Leonardo R. Arriola, Eva Bellin, Andrew Bennett, Lisa Björkman, Erik Bleich, Zachary Elkins, Tasha Fairfield, Nikhar Gaikwad, Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Mary Hawkesworth, Veronica Herrera, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Kimberley S. Johnson, Ekrem Karakoç, Kendra Koivu, Marcus Kreuzer, Milli Lake, Timothy W. Luke, Lauren M. MacLean, Samantha Majic, Rahsaan Maxwell, Zachariah Mampilly, Robert Mickey, Kimberly J. Morgan, Sarah E. Parkinson, Craig Parsons, Wendy Pearlman, Mark A. Pollack, Elliot Posner, Rachel Beatty Riedl, Edward Schatz, Carsten Q. Schneider, Jillian Schwedler, Anastasia Shesterinina, Erica S. Simmons, Diane Singerman, Hillel David Soifer, Nicholas Rush Smith, Scott Spitzer, Jonas Tallberg, Susan Thomson, Antonio Y. Vázquez-Arroyo, Barbara Vis, Lisa Wedeen, Juliet A. Williams, Elisabeth Jean Wood, and Deborah J. Yashar. (2021). The Qualitative Transparency Deliberations: Insights and Implications. *Perspectives on Politics*, 19 (1):171-208. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001164>

Harding, N., Lee, H., and Ford, J. (2014). Who is ‘the middle manager’? *Human Relations*, 67(10), 1213-1237. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726713516654>

Matarazzo, A., and Baines, E. (2021). Becoming family: futurity and the soldier-father. *Critical Military Studies*, 7(3), 278–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23337486.2019.1631728>

Parkinson, S. E., and Wood, E. J. (2015). Transparency in intensive research on violence: Ethical dilemmas and unforeseen consequences. *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research*, 13(1), 22–27. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2652097>

Parkinson, S. E., and Zyed, D. (2022). Reflexive advising: Engaged mentorship for safe and ethical research practice. *Qualitative and Multi-Method Research*, 20(2), 38–42. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7140177>

Pearlman, W. (2023). Emotional sensibility: Exploring the methodological and ethical implications of research participants’ emotions. *American Political Science Review*, 117(4), 1241–1254. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422001253>

Potash, J. S., and Kalmanowitz, D. L. (2023). Art Therapists as Activists in Social Movements. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 18(3), 310-328. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15423166231193150>

Rouhana, T. (2021). A theory of practice of sect identities: A case study of the Syrian war [Doctoral dissertation, University of California Santa Cruz] <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8hg162gb>

- Schatz, E. (2009). *Political ethnography : what immersion contributes to the study of power*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Schulz, P. (2020). Recognizing research participants' fluid positionalities in (post-)conflict zones. *Qualitative Research*, 21(4), 550–567. <https://doi/10.1177/1468794120904882>
- Schulz, P., Kreft, A.-K., Touquet, H., and Martin, S. (2023). Self-care for gender-based violence researchers –Beyond bubble baths and chocolate pralines. *Qualitative Research*, 23(5), 1461–1480. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221087868>
- Shesterinina, A. (2019). Ethics, empathy, and fear in research on violent conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(2), 190–202. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318783246>
- Sutton, R. and Fortin, K. (2024). Beyond Compliance Symposium: What's in the frame? Understanding everyday lived experiences of armed conflict through a lens of 'harm+need'. *Armed Groups and International Law*. <https://www.armedgroups-internationallaw.org/2024/09/18/beyond-compliance-symposium-whats-in-the-frame-understanding-everyday-lived-experiences-of-armed-conflict-through-a-lens-of-harmneed/>
- Sutton, R. and Gillard, E.C. (2022). Beyond Compliance: International Humanitarian Law, Humanitarian Need and Civilian Harm in Armed Conflict. *PeaceRep*. <https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Beyond-Compliance-International-Humanitarian-Law-in-Armed-Conflict.pdf>
- Thomas, R. and Linstead, A. (2002). Losing the Plot? Middle Managers and Identity. *Organization*, 9(1), 71-93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135050840291004>
- Thomson, S., Ansoms, A., and Murison, J. (2013). Introduction: Why Stories Behind the Findings? In: S. Thomson, A. Ansoms, & J. Murison (Eds.), *Emotional and Ethical Challenges for Field Research in Africa: The Story Behind the Findings*. (pp. 1–11) Springer.
- Vogel, B., Kapplers, S. and Richmond, O.P. (Eds). (2024). *The Art of Peace Formation: Arts-based Social Movements, Opportunities and Blockages* (1st ed.). Edinburgh University Press.
- Young, M. (2010). *The ghosts of Martyrs Square: An eyewitness account of Lebanon's life struggle*. Simon & Schuster.
- Zharkevich, I. (2019). *Maoist People's War and the Revolution of Everyday Life in Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zyck, S. A. (2009). Former combatant reintegration and fragmentation in contemporary Afghanistan: Analysis. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9(1), 111–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800802704945>