Year 2 Report
13th October 2013

On the Receiving End: towards more critical and inclusive perspectives on international intervention

Summary of project

This British Academy-funded project initially aimed to build an international partnership between teams in Palestine, Belgrade and Surrey, but with the support of the British Council, a new partner in Gaza – Al Azhar University-Gaza – has joined the team. The purpose of the collaboration is to equip a new generation of researchers to document the perspectives of those who have lived through the experience of international intervention in the three regions, to draw tentative lessons, identify further research questions and to disseminate findings. The project aims to document, empower and learn from local communities and local institutions’ lived experience of international intervention in order to broaden and deepen mainstream understandings of non-Western perceptions of intervention. The project will also consider the implications of these findings for emerging and future doctrines of intervention. In order to achieve these aims, the project aims to build a strong international team.

Methodology

Over three years, in order to build research and teaching capacity in the participating regions the project planned to conduct a series of team briefings in each of the locations, and to organise a series of visiting lectures and seminars to be delivered by visiting staff. Students were to be trained and supported to conduct a series of elite semi-structured interviews and focus groups in Palestine and Serbia. An audio-visual dimension of the project necessitated specific media training, and the documentation and analysis of these data and training of students in research methods would include methods of qualitative analysis such as content and discourse analysis. The project also aimed to disseminate the work of the project using social media.

PRIORITIES FOR YEAR 2
Following the evaluation of year 1 of the project, a number of priorities were identified for year 2:
1. **Project meetings**: To organise a planning meeting of all the partners in one venue to discuss the project in detail and to plan how to move forward in years 2 and 3.

2. **Sharing teaching materials**: Following the consignment of relevant books and audio visual materials sent, via the British Council to Birzeit in year 1, sites will continue to exchange the teaching materials on research methods and topics related to intervention.

3. **Increasing student participation**: In Year 2, new ways were to be found to increase student participation on all sites.

4. **Ethical approval**: An Ethics Committee approval is to be obtained for the project.

5. **Summer-school activity**: Two summer-schools on international intervention are to be run in Belgrade in year two and Birzeit in year three.

6. **Planned outputs**: detailed planning to be undertaken on the outputs of the project, to include a special issue of an academic journal, possibly an edited volume, together with policy briefings are planned in the future.

**SUMMARY OF YEAR 2 ACTIVITIES**

1. **British Council support**: Professor Breen-Smyth completed the negotiations with the British Council, leading to the signing of a partnership agreement whereby the British Council will support the travel and subsistence costs of colleagues from Palestinian Universities to participate in the project. The Council required more than one Palestinian University of participate, so Professor Baumgarten identified Professor Abusada as a suitable participant, and following his agreement, the new partnership agreement was formalised. Professor Abusada and indeed a student from Al Azhar have been actively engaged in the project in Year 2.

2. **Project meetings**: A planning meeting of all the partners in Surrey to discuss the project in detail and to plan how to move forward in years 2 and 3 took place in December 2012. All the partners from four participating institutions participated, although Professor Baumgarten was unable to attend in person, she joined the meeting by teleconference. A news item on the cii website reports on this meeting at: [http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/cii/News/2012/97334_on_the_receiving_end_first_meeting_of_the_international_team_in_surrey.htm](http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/cii/News/2012/97334_on_the_receiving_end_first_meeting_of_the_international_team_in_surrey.htm). A longer report which was included in Politics Newsletter is attached as a separate document.
3. **Round table at Surrey: During the meeting at Surrey, on** Tuesday 4 December 2012, 16.00 to 18.00, a round table was organised to discuss ‘Prospects for a Palestinian State’ in the wake of the 194 resolution at the UN. Professor Bassem Ezbidi, Birzeit University; Ina’am R. Al Obaidi, Birzeit University and Professor Mkhaimar Abusada, Al-Azhar University, Gaza all participated and the event was chaired by Professor Breen-Smyth. The event was widely advertised in universities in the region, using academic networks and through the university press office it was open to the public. The event attracted a large audience. See [http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/cii/Events/2012/prospects_for_a_palestinian_state.htm](http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/cii/Events/2012/prospects_for_a_palestinian_state.htm). In addition, a video recording of the round table was made by the Surrey media students.

4. **Sharing teaching materials**: Although other sites are not necessarily undertaking elite interviewing, teaching materials from the training were made available to all participating programmes. This was in addition, a consignment of relevant books and audio visual materials that was sent in year 1. A number of filmed interviews were conducted at Surrey, and a Facebook page for the project was created at Surrey. At FMK Singidunum, a substantial volume of audiovisual material was compiled as part of the summer school activities (see below.)

5. **Increasing student participation**: At Surrey students, were encouraged to participate in the project through their MA dissertations, and were encouraged to choose topics arising out of the project work. The project itself was integrated into the Masters in Intervention programme and into the research training which all Masters students undertake. This was undertaken Drs Capelos and Exadaktylos who provided specific training on elite interviewing and data analysis in the Post Graduate taught module on Research Methodology. Professor Aaronson also participated in this training. We have created some teaching materials for the elite interviews training – Lois Davis made a powerpoint presentation which is accessible to all participants via the Receiving End dropbox that Dr Maxine David set up.

6. **Ethical approval**: An application for ethical approval to the University Ethics Committee was made. Consent and participation information protocols were circulated amongst partners to ensure that regional requirements are fulfilled and agreed protocols were sent to the Ethics Committee at Surrey. A data management framework and systems for editorial control of AV research outputs were also drawn up, circulated for consultation and agreed. However, the ethics application raised a number of issues relating to multi-site work, the application of inappropriate rules and standards to social science work and pointed to a lack of awareness and sensitivity on the part of the ethics committee when examining research related to violence and armed conflict. An unmet need for training of ethics committee members in relation to international research and research related to war, violence and armed conflict was identified. This is being addressed by Dr Gallagher (Chair of the Ethics Committee) and Professor Breen-Smyth.
7. **Summer-school activity**: A summer-school on international intervention was taught in Belgrade it was organized and implemented by the Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS) at the Faculty of Media and Communications (FMK). Following consultation with the team, it was decided to provide two bursaries to Palestinian students to attend the summerschool and one student from Birzeit (Maisaa Aldarsa) and one from Al Azhar- Gaza (Ahmed Jamil) were selected for participation. Dr Maxine David who taught the stream on international intervention, comments:

“2012-13 was a very productive year for the Receiving End Project. A good deal of progress was made in terms of teaching particularly. In December 2012, our partners from Palestine and Serbia visited Surrey and sat in on one of our Masters classes, The Politics of International Intervention. The Palestinian partners particularly were struck by the very discursive, student-centred approach that is the hallmark of our teaching at Surrey. These differences were again commented upon by the two Palestinian students from Birzeit University and Al-Azhar University-Gaza who attended the summer school in Belgrade in July 2013. Their thoughts were recorded in an interview conducted by Dr Maxine David and filmed by the team at the Faculty of Media and Communication, Belgrade. That footage is now being developed further and will be used for teaching purposes at Surrey in the coming years.

The two Palestinian students expressed what can really only be described as amazement at the difference in teaching styles between what they were used to at their respective universities and that adopted by Dr Maxine David during the summer school. One of them has talked particularly movingly of the experience and spoken of her commitment to engage in more study abroad with the aim ultimately of returning to Palestine to pass on interactive methods of teaching that put students at the forefront of the learning process and which allow them the freedom to explore and develop their own thinking and to express their own thoughts.”

On the project Facebook page, Dr David wrote:

“July 2013 was the timing for my trip to Belgrade and the Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS) in the Faculty of Media and Communication (FMK), University of Singidunum. I was there to teach a course on ‘International Intervention in a Globalised World’. As ever, it was a marvellous, if punishing week. Students and staff are in a classroom for six intensive days to discuss events and literature that touch upon some of the deepest miseries that ordinary people suffer in too many places in the world. In addition, students come from a range of backgrounds and thus differences in perspective are inevitable. Recognising and respecting those differences is not always simple. Some students were still in education, others were in full-time employment. Most students were European, but still from a wide and varying geography and political life. We had students from Austria, Croatia, Bulgaria, Germany, Poland, Serbia, Switzerland, but also one from the USA. Some came from a former conflict region; others had no experience of living in such an environment.
This year, a different dimension was added with the presence of two Palestinian students, sponsored as part of the British Academy ‘On the Receiving End’ project. The week began and ended with debate and analysis of the ongoing conflict in Syria. From the very beginning, the virtue of including students from that region became obvious. The Palestinian students came with extensive regional knowledge, which assisted the other students enormously in trying to understand the complexity of this crisis. In addition, unlike other students present who came from former conflict regions, the Palestinian students came from a perspective of not having experienced an intervention ‘on their behalf’.

Discussion of sensitive subject matters in a classroom setting always presents difficulties. Part of the learning process in the summer school is about the negotiation of these areas. Thus, knowledge and understanding is acquired not only in respect of academic literature and current and past events but in respect of social skills as well. Cultural differences also play their part but what was most striking this year was how quickly all the students began to learn about each other as individuals and how respect for different perspectives and viewpoints was manifested in debate. The interactions between the students from the Balkans and those from Palestine were particularly instructive.

One of the primary purposes of the British Academy project, the building of a teaching partnership, was unarguably achieved. Following my return from the summer school, I remain in contact with some of the students; we continue to exchange ideas and information, to debate developments in Syria and to weigh up the merits and deficiencies of where we are in respect of the academic literature. Many students participating in any summer school experience a different style and form of teaching for the first time. For the Palestinian students, the difference in pedagogical method was most stark. They commented on the space for and freedom of thought that was accorded to them. They learned particularly from the confidence of other students but learned too about the necessity of working to achieve a distance from personal experience in order to analyse in a more objective fashion. Most significantly in terms of the longer-term effects is that one of the Palestinians has already expressed a commitment to studying for a PhD outside of Palestine but with a very firm view to returning there afterwards in order to give other Palestinians the same kind of pedagogical experience.”

Dr Orli Fridman comments:
“At the Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS) we hosted the 4th summer school in comparative conflict studies. This year as part of our participation in the "On the Receiving End" project, we had Dr. Maxine David from Surrey University teach a course "INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION IN A GLOBALISED WORLD". 15 students attended her class, out of which 2 were funded by the project: one students from Bir Zeit University and the other from Al Azhar University. In their participation they have contributed greatly to the diversity of background and opinions in the classroom.”
Watch an Interview with Dr. Maxine David about her experiences in teaching her course in Belgrade:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FAQcQH-lO1c
Read more about the 2013 summer school in comparative conflict studies here
http://cfccs.org/summer-school/2013
Watch the video featuring the 2013 summer school experiences
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-K8pauGjDY0
Watch a short interview with Ahmed Asmar - the student from Al-Azhar University
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jSdrHkjgnc

All CFCCS activities are also shared on their Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/CFCCS

Professor Mkhaimar Abusada from Al Azhar- Gaza selected Ahmed Jamil to participate in the summerschool and also, himself attended the December 2012 meeting in Surrey. He comments:

"My trip to university of Surrey in December 2012, and my interactions and discussions with our hosts at Surrey and colleagues from Serbia as well as colleagues from Birzeit University were very illuminating and it has broadened my knowledge regarding our research project "international intervention". I have benefited extremely from this visit, particularly my interaction with British colleagues at Surrey and I apply many of the things I learned with my students at Al-Azhar University-Gaza.

One of our graduate students Ahmad Asmar of Al-Azhar university-Gaza, participated in the summer program at Singdunum University, Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS). He came back with a rich experience in the field of international conflict, especially, but not limited to his complications of returning home to the Gaza Strip, after the eruption of the internal Egyptian crisis on July 3rd, which stresses upon us how to avoid such complications between European and Palestinian universities in the future.”

It is noteworthy at this point, that due to the coup in Egypt, Ahmed Jamil was unable to travel back to Gaza at the end of the summerschool and went through a traumatic number of weeks. He was first of all stranded at Frankfurt airport for a number of weeks. Subsequently, we managed to get him to Aman in Jordan where he stayed with his grandmother. However, a further attempt to get him to Gaza via Cairo resulted in his deportation by the Egyptians back to Aman where he could no longer stay with his grandmother. Dr David, Dr Fridman and Professors Breen-Smyth remained in constant contact with him, and Professors Baumgarten and Abusada provided support by negotiating with the German and Jordanian authorities. We are very grateful to the British Council, the British Consul in Jerusalem, to the Embassies of Germany and Jordan, to the insurance staff in the University of Surrey and to the International Relations Office in Surrey who provided support. Eventually Ahmed was reunited with his family. Whilst this was an experience that many Gazans had to endure in the political turbulence of the
summer, our duty of care to Ahmed meant that a good deal of time and energy went into providing support and fortunately a good outcome was eventually secured. A critical incident analysis is currently being undertaken to glean lessons from these events. A number of holes in the university insurance provision have been identified as a result and these are being addressed.

8. **Research training and activity:** In Surrey, as stated above, Dr Tereza Capelos, and Dr Theofanis Exadaktylos delivered the research training component to students, which was integrated into the Masters in Intervention programme and into the research training. Specific training on elite interviewing and data analysis was provided in collaboration with Professor Sir Mike Aaronson. Dr Wali Aslam, who was at Surrey until June 2012, acted as coordinator. In FMK Signidunum, in addition to the summer school in Belgrade, the team have so far conducted 5 interviews for the research project, focusing on memories of the 1999 NATO bombing by ordinary people in Serbia. They have interviewed 2 civil society activists - one from the founding generation, (who experienced the bombing as an adult person) and one from the younger generation (who experienced the bombing as a child). They also conducted 2 interviews in the north of Serbia (Vojvodina) capturing experiences and memories of members of the Hungarian community in Serbia, a minority community that contains different narratives and memories of the past. During the month of October 2013, there are plans to conduct 6 more interviews.

9. **Kenyon Institute:** Following the meeting in Edinburgh in June 2012 between the new Director of the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem, Dr Mandy Turner, and Professor Breen-Smyth, discussions are underway about mounting one or more events in the institute aimed at disseminating the findings of the project and showcasing the work, including the audiovisual outputs. Support for the summer-school in Birzeit in Year 3 will also be explored.

10. **Project visits:** A further set of visits is anticipated in the coming weeks. Professor Breen-Smyth plans to visit the Kenyon Institute and link with Professor Abusada in preparation for their joint article for the special issue. In addition, a visit by Dr David, Ciaran Gillespie and Professor Breen-Smyth in January will follow up on the summerschool and support the event in the Kenyon Institute.

**OUTPUTS**

It is proposed to put together a special issue of an academic journal and has been accepted for publication by *Intervention and Statebuilding*. Entitled ‘International Intervention: assembling critical perspectives’. The Special Issue journal will address various aspects of international intervention through a critical lens. Using the three project locations as the primary sources, articles will examine the impact of intervention through a critical lens. More specifically, it will provide perspectives on
ground level impact, the impact of Western intervention on these areas, perspectives from where intervention is occurring, as well as analyses of the aftermath of intervention, and the coping mechanisms which people have developed in the post-intervention state.

The outline of articles is as follows:

Section 1
Intervention, war or dirty war?

‘You Call It Intervention, We Call It War: mapping the conceptual terrain’
Maxine David, University of Surrey and Bassem Al Zubaidi, Birzeit University

‘Auditing proportionality through casualty counts: an analysis of the 2012 bombardment of Gaza’
Mkhaimar Abusada, Al-Azhar University, Gaza and Marie Breen-Smyth, University of Surrey

In the first section, Western conceptualisations and discourses on intervention are described and critiqued by David and Al Zubaidi, who map the conceptual terrain, problematising Western elite approaches and rationales to internationalisation and examining how these are embedded in Western foreign policy. The second paper in this section, by Abusada and Breen-Smyth, takes the example of the bombardment of Gaza, argues that empirical casualty counts are a viable method of judging proportionality in military interventions and then applies this method of auditing to the bombardment of Gaza.

Section 2
Voices from the receiving end: Palestinian and Serbian accounts of intervention

‘European intervention: a Palestinian perspective’
Helga Baumgarten, Birzeit University

‘The impact and aftermath of Intervention: a post-conflict analysis of Serbia’
Orli Fridman and Dunja Resanović, FMK Singidunum University

In Section 2, ‘Voices from the receiving end’ by Baumgarten, a German scholar based for the last several decades in Palestine provides a Palestinian perspective on intervention, based on data collection in the ‘Palestinian street’. The second article by Fridman and Resanović provides a post-conflict perspective on the NATO bombing of Serbia, based on the experience and aftermath of that intervention derived from interviews with local residents and NGOs.

Section 3
Consequences of Intervention: Localised significances and coping mechanisms.

‘Dichotomies of International Intervention: power-politics and reshaping the socio-political milieu of the recipient’
Hasan Ayoub, An-Najah University, Nablus, Palestine

‘Normalising Narratives: Collective memories of the Serbian Bombing’
Krisztina Rácz, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
In Section 3, Ayoub’s article on the ‘Dichotomies of International Intervention’ addresses the complexities and the effects of intervention. The second paper, by Rácz, addresses the various coping mechanisms which developed during the Serbian bombing, and how they have had a normalising effect.

Following discussions with the editors and contributors, the aim is to have the Special Issue published by the end of 2014, with subsequent deadlines having been set by Marie Breen-Smyth so as to enable internal editing to take place before journal alterations are made. Contributors have been informed that they are responsible for coordinating workloads if there is more than one contributor to the paper and that the first draft needs to be received by Marie by January 13th 2014. The aim is then to return drafts by the end of the month so as to allow any alterations to be made before the second deadline of March 17th. We hope to have the completed version submitted by April/May 2014, thus keeping in line with our summer deadline.

SOCIAL MEDIA: PROJECT FACEBOOK PAGE

The project Facebook page is located at
https://www.facebook.com/OnTheReceivingEndProject

Relevant links have been shared with the Surrey Politics Facebook page and with CFCCS Belgrade and content is updated when it is available. All the partners have been informed about the page and were asked to send contributions and comments. However, not all of them are active on Facebook, but the page has picked up some new audiences since 2013 Summer School.

Facebook page content:
- Surrey visit, December 2012
- Interviews in Belgrade
- Summer school in Belgrade (video links, photos and contributions from Surrey)
- Contributions from two Palestinian Students (short bios and their motivation to attend the Summer School)
- Maxine David’s contribution about Summer School

EVALUATION OF YEAR 2 PROGRESS

Logistical hurdles facing the project

A number of logistical challenges were encountered and, to some extent, overcome in Year 2 of the project. The most significant of these was the traumatic experience of Ahmed Jamil, who was stranded and unable to return home to Gaza due to the coup in Egypt and changes in the arrangements for transit for Gazans via Egypt. A critical incident analysis is in the process of being conducted on this experience so that the lessons can be learned for future use.
The challenges of maintaining a level of activity and a focus on international work given the heavy workloads of all participants in their own locality remains substantial. Differential levels of participation and activity mean that there is a risk that some partners will dominate the project, and we struggle to find ways of ensuring participation across all partners. This is compounded by logistical difficulties such as resources, availability of electricity on all sites and obstacles to free travel. In addition, the usual challenges of life events and illness have impeded progress. Nonetheless, we have made some substantial progress this year, and remain optimistic about the final year and the spin offs of the project in the long term.

Goals, priorities and targets for Year 3

1. Further funding: Institute for Advanced Studies: Professor Breen-Smyth will explore the possibility of additional funding for a follow up event in Surrey from the Institute for Advanced Studies.
2. Professor Breen-Smyth is in discussions with Dr Mandy Turner about mounting one if not two events at the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem presenting some of the work of the project.
3. The critical incident analysis of the events surrounding the obstacles faced by the student participant from Gaza will be conducted, the results processed with a view to capturing the learning and disseminating any relevant parts of it.
4. Conducting another team meeting, either virtually or face to face is an important step in the third year work.
5. Conducting a summerschool with colleagues from Birzeit is also part of the year 3 plan. Consideration of how to facilitate increased international participation including student participation in this event will be undertaken in the light of the budget underspend. It is therefore requested that virement between years be permitted and the underspend be carried over to year 3.
6. Finally, completing the special issue in the months following the completion of the project will help to document and disseminate the learning and the findings of the research.
7. Finance To date there is an underspend of £7,199.05. This is due to a time lag which occurred during year one comprising the delay in organising the project team meeting in Surrey, which has carried through to Year 2. Our final meeting is now scheduled for December 3-6th at Birzeit and we would like to devote our remaining expenditure to:
   a. Events disseminating the project work
   b. Editorial support for the special issue
   c. Supporting the summerschool in Birzeit in Summer 2014.

8. We would be grateful if you would confirm that virement between years is agreeable to you, and we can carry the funding over to year 3.

Marie Breen-Smyth
Marie Breen-Smyth
Professor of International Politics, School of Politics
Associate Dean International, Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
**FINANCIAL REPORT** (please note that this is based on August 2013 figures – an update can be provided in due course). An itemised report is attached. Please note that Ahmed Jamil’s expenses are still being processed.

**RK5503 - On the receiving end: towards more critical and inclusive perspectives on international intervention**
University of Surrey

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## Report

**11/09/2013**

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**Research income**

£19,895.00

**Money left to spend**

£7,199.05