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Outline Proposal PROPOSAL

Document Status: With Council

ESRC Reference: ES/M008126/1

ESRC Centres and Large Grants Outline Competition 2014

Organisation where the Grant would be held

Organisation	University of Liverpool	Research Organisation Reference:	Irwin 120233/36
Division or Department	Politics		

Project Title [up to 150 chars]

Development and Deployment of a Global Perceptions-Based 'People's Peace Index' (PPI)

Start Date and Duration

a. Proposed start date	01 October 2015	b. Duration of the grant (months)	36
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Applicants

Role	Name	Organisation	Division or Department
Principal Investigator	Dr Colin Irwin	University of Liverpool	Politics
Co-Investigator	Professor Jonathan Tonge	University of Liverpool	Politics
Co-Investigator	Professor Stefan Wolff	University of Birmingham	POLSIS
Co-Investigator	Professor Adrian Blanchard Guelke	Queen's University of Belfast	Sch of Politics Int Stu and Philosophy
Co-Investigator	Professor Michael Traugott	University of Michigan	Institute for Social Research

Impact Summary

Impact Summary (please refer to the help for guidance on what to consider when completing this section) [up to 4000 chars]

In addition to the expressed overall aim of the project the 'impact' can be summarised for each of the five 'objectives' above as follows:

1. Developing and deploying a global research instrument that measures and analysis conflicts comparatively based on the opinions of peoples. The impact here is firstly academic in so far as no one has produced a perceptions-based peace index before. Several fact-based indexes exist notably the Global Peace Index, Global Terrorism Index, Positive Peace Index and Social Hostilities Index. Critically they lack detailed ethnic and religious demographics so important to conflict analysis. Public opinion surveys are not subject to this limitation as they can generate demographic profiles as required to generate data sets previously unavailable.
2. Develop indexes from these analyses to track trends. The Global Peace Index, by producing an index, creates a great deal of public discourse about the subject of conflict and peace. However this perspective on conflict and peace is not always welcome as, for example, the politicians in a fragile state might say 'we know we are down at 143rd on the Global Peace index and we want to do better but telling us we are 143rd does not help'. Critically the various perceptions-based indexes will produce a variety of different results for the different questions asked and different analysis using different ethnic and religious breakdowns that can lead to a more constructive discussion about such indexes and their implications for conflict resolution.
3. Create a discourse in each state sampled and internationally by proactively making all results and analysis public. Almost everyone takes an interest in matters of conflict and peace so all the 'top line' results will be published with national, regional, and global analysis that includes various demographic breakdowns. Critically all the SPSS data files will also be published and made available to any user including NGOs, international organisations, universities, diplomats, etc. for secondary analysis. The hoped for impact here is that these data will create an international discourse at all levels on the topic of peace and peace making from high schools and up. This project can only work with total methodological transparency.
4. Provide the UN and other interested parties with a public opinion baseline from which more detailed research can be undertaken when and where required for conflict resolution. At the present time public opinion polls are undertaken on an ad hoc basis for conflict resolution. The UN Department of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) want to mainstream perceptions based research in all their theatres of operation. The perceptions-based peace index proposed here would do that.
5. Complement the relevant indicators of other researchers by extending their coverage to other states and adding critical indicators for conflict analysis not included in their 'basket' of indicators. A very great deal of UN and IGO peace research is subject to the difficulties of what can be termed the politics of peace research with the effect that critically sensitive issues and questions do not get adequately addressed. By independently monitoring all states on such sensitive issues this program of research can help to overcome such omissions that might otherwise prove fatal to the success of various UN and IGO monitoring programs.

Objectives

List the main objectives of the proposed research in order of priority [up to 4000 chars]

The expressed goal of the project is to make a significant and effective contribution to the knowledge of what can, may or won't work in peace processes by 'mainstreaming' the development of peace polls (currently confined to a small number of conflict regions) on a global basis. This will be done by meeting a number of objectives as follows:

1. Developing and deploying a global research instrument that measures and analysis conflicts comparatively based on the opinions of peoples. This will be done for both 'open-ended' problems specific to each state as well as a battery or

'shopping list' of comparative problems common to most conflicts internationally with the addition of questions that measure conflict intensity and the role of other states in conflict and peace making.

2. Develop indexes from these analyses to track trends. It is not the intention of this research to combine all the perceptions based indicators into a single index that somehow rank orders all the states of the world in terms of 'peacefulness' as defined by the researchers. Different questions will produce different indicators and indexes. For example the WIN Gallup International 2013 End of Year (EoY) survey ranked the US as the 'greatest threat to world peace' but the pilots for this project also gave a very high ranking for the US as both making 'the greatest contribution to world peace' and as being the informants states 'strongest ally'. Comparing and contrasting the numerous indexes that this perceptions-based research will produce with the various fact-based indexes should prove to be both informative and revealing.

3. Create a discourse in each state sampled and internationally by proactively making all results and analysis public. The Global Peace Index do this very well with public launches in Sydney, London and New York in 2013 as well as making translations of their reports available for critical states and placing all their results on dedicated websites - as do Pew Research and the International Crisis Group. Taking these as examples of dissemination 'best practice' the same will be done for the perceptions-based People's Peace Index (PPI) as well as making all of the SPSS country files available for download by academic researchers globally.

4. Provide the UN and other interested parties with a public opinion baseline from which more detailed research can be undertaken when and where required for conflict resolution. At the present time perceptions-based surveys undertaken for conflict resolution are, for the most part, only commissioned after a conflict has become violent and when they are also a matter of international concern. The PPI can resolve several problems in this regard: firstly by providing a base-line of annually tracked conflict data; secondly by having a polling capacity in place that can be readily expanded; and thirdly by making the addition of such data a normal part of conflict analysis, discourse and resolution in the affected state.

5. Complement the relevant indicators of other researchers by extending their coverage to other states and adding critical indicators for conflict analysis not included in their 'basket' of indicators. For example the indicators developed to monitor the Peace-building and State-building Goals (PSGs) for the G7+ New Deal fragile states use a combination of fact and perception-based indicators that have been agreed to by the affected states. Critically these indicators may leave out conflict elements that the states do not want to monitor or have reviewed comparatively. An independent PPI can help to fill this gap when required to do so for these PSGs and similar programs of research, such as the peace indicators used to monitor the UN Post-2015 Development Agenda - Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Summary

In simple terms please describe your proposed research in a way that it could be publicised to a general audience [up to 4000 characters].

Public opinion surveys have been used for conflict analysis since World War II and were developed as an aid for conflict resolution in support of negotiations and instrument of public diplomacy in Northern Ireland in the 1990s. What are now referred to as 'peace polls' have subsequently been employed to bring the views of critical populations into peace processes in a number of conflicts around the world including the Balkans, Middle East and Asia. However, the application of this methodology has been done on an ad hoc basis and generally bespoke to a particular theatre of violence receiving international attention with no effort made to do this on a cross national basis, as an essential instrument of learning in peace process.

This issue is well understood by the UN but in their review of UN peacekeeping operations around the world the Senior Advisory Group noted that the views of local people were not systematically being sought to help resolve conflicts and they strongly recommended that this omission should be rectified. UN DPKO (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) policies are presently under review to address this issue. To this end, by mainstreaming 'peace polls' through their global application in an index the views of local people can be made a normal part of every-day conflict discourse and

comparative analysis in conditions of both violent conflict and states of peace.

The existing fact-based Global Peace Index (GPI) uses UN and Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) data to analyse the peace 'profile' of 162 UN member states annually while the International Crisis Group (ICG) regularly reports on about 60 or 70 countries subject to violent conflict. But these analyses do not systematically sample the views of local populations and their perceptions of peace, violence and the problems that they consider a threat to their security. Peace polls can do this and an instrument for general application has now been refined and tested for global deployment to create a perceptions-based People's Peace Index (PPI).

Using a standard set of questions that employs the scales and methods developed in the Balkans, Middle East, Northern Ireland and Asia, a number of analyses can be completed that include: problems specific to the conflict being examined; problems common to most conflicts in comparative perspective; intensity of conflict and the role of states in conflict and peace making. Critically the reports of respondent's perceptions will be analysed by all relevant demographic variables including the group affiliations of those subject to or involved in violent actions. This can also be done at various levels including national, regional and transnational.

ALL the results, analysis, reports and data sets will be published and made available on a dedicated portal for download, review and secondary analysis by any interested third party. The objective, by doing so, is to create the widest possible discourse on and about the views of local people's caught up in and subject to violent conflict. Inevitably such 'broad brush' research will be critiqued as not being sufficiently detailed in any specific context. Such criticisms are welcome and will be viewed as opportunities for others to undertake more detailed work, publicly or privately, to explore both problems and solutions as an aid to more effective peace making.

By sampling and reporting on as many states as possible two additional objectives can be met. Firstly no particular state will be the focus of selective political attention and secondly the opinion-based data can be added to existing fact-based data for additional analysis and interpretation.

Summary of Resources Required for Project

Summary fund heading	Full Economic Cost £	ESRC contribution £	% ESRC contribution
Directly Incurred	727877	582301.60	80
Directly Allocated	211598	169278.40	80
Indirect Costs	515305	412244.00	80
Exceptions	4105756	4105756.00	100
Total requested from ESRC	5560536	5269580.00	

Total Cash Contribution from Project Partners	0		
Total In-Kind Contribution from Project Partners	0		

Proposal Classifications

Research Area:

Research Areas are the subject areas in which the programme of study may fall and you should select at least one of these. Once you have selected the relevant Research Area(s), please ensure that you set one as primary. To add or remove Research Areas use the relevant link below. To set a primary area, click in the corresponding checkbox and then the Set Primary Area button that will appear.

Please select one or more Research Areas

Subject	Topic	Keyword
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Civil society, nongovernmental organisations
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Conflict, Peace, Security
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Democratisation
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Fragile states
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	International relations, international cooperation
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Justice and Reconciliation
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Participation and Empowerment
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Political systems & development
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	Rights and Citizenship
Development studies	Politics, International Relations and Development	UN system, intergovernmental organisations, IFIs
Political science and international studies	Conflict/War Studies	
Political science and international studies	Conflict/War Studies	Intra-state conflict/civil war
Political science and international studies	Conflict/War Studies	Peace operations
Political science and international studies	Diplomacy & International Relations	Conflict
Political science and international studies	Diplomacy & International Relations	Democracy
Political science and international studies	Diplomacy & International Relations	Human Rights
Political science and international studies	Diplomacy & International Relations	United Nations
Political science and international studies	Diplomacy & International Relations	
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary]	
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary] [Primary]	Conflict
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary] [Primary]	Ethnic Conflict
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary] [Primary]	Peacebuilding
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary] [Primary]	Peacekeeping
Political science and international studies	Peace Studies [Primary] [Primary]	United Nations
Political science and international studies	Security Studies	Conflict
Political science and international studies	Security Studies	
Political science and international studies	Security Studies	Terror
Political science and international studies	Security Studies	United Nations

Qualifier:

Qualifiers are terms that further describe the area of study and cover aspects such as approach and geographical focus. Please ensure you complete this section if relevant.

To add or remove Qualifiers use the links below.	
Type	Name
Approach	Experimental
Approach	International Comparative
Approach	Knowledge exchange
Approach	Large new datasets
Approach	Longitudinal Studies
Approach	Quantitative
Approach	Technique/Method Development
Collaboration location region	Africa
Collaboration location region	Central America inc Caribbean
Collaboration location region	Eastern Europe
Collaboration location region	England
Collaboration location region	Far East (China/Japan)
Collaboration location region	Mediterranean
Collaboration location region	Middle East
Collaboration location region	North America
Collaboration location region	Oceania
Collaboration location region	Russia and Central Asia
Collaboration location region	S Asia (Pakistan to Indonesia)
Collaboration location region	Scandinavia
Collaboration location region	South America
Collaboration location region	UK & Ireland
Collaboration location region	Western Europe
Geographic Area	Africa
Geographic Area	Central America inc Caribbean
Geographic Area	Eastern Europe
Geographic Area	Far East (China/Japan)
Geographic Area	Mediterranean
Geographic Area	Middle East
Geographic Area	North America
Geographic Area	Oceania
Geographic Area	Russia and Central Asia
Geographic Area	S Asia (Pakistan to Indonesia)
Geographic Area	Scandinavia
Geographic Area	South America
Geographic Area	UK & Ireland
Geographic Area	Western Europe
Project Engagement by Sector	Academic Users
Project Engagement by Sector	General Public
Project Engagement by Sector	Press and Media
Project Engagement by Sector	Professional/Statutory Bodies
Project Engagement by Sector	Student Teachers & Undergrads
Project Engagement by Sector	Third Sector
Public Engagement Audience	Government/policy-makers
Public Engagement Audience	Scientists/engineers/academia
Public Engagement Audience	Secondary schools
Public Engagement Audience	Teachers
Public Engagement Audience	Those affected by issue
Public Engagement Methodology	Attitude study
Public Engagement Methodology	Consultation
Public Engagement Methodology	Mass media
Public Engagement Methodology	Opinion Poll
Public Engagement Methodology	Public dialogue discuss/debate
Public Engagement Methodology	Publication
Public Engagement Methodology	School resource/curriculum
Public Engagement Methodology	Website dominated activity
Time Period	Contemporary

Free-text Keywords:

Free-text keywords may be used to describe the programme of study in more detail. To add a keyword, you first need to search existing Research Areas by entering the keyword in the Search box and selecting the Filter button.
If the keyword is adequately reflected by one of the terms displayed below, click in the corresponding checkbox then select Save. If no potential matches are displayed, or none of those displayed are suitable, select the Add New button followed by the Save button to add it as a descriptor.
To add or remove those previously added use the links below.

Case for Support

Title: Development and Deployment of a Global Perceptions-Based 'People's Peace Index' (PPI)

Colin Irwin and Jonathan Tonge, University of Liverpool

Stefan Wolff, University of Birmingham

Adrian Guelke, Queen's University of Belfast

Michael Traugott, University of Michigan

1. Fit to Large Grant Programme

By developing and deploying a perceptions based global peace index in 140 plus countries this program of research clearly meets the 'medium-to-large surveys' category for ESRC Large Grants. However, by making all the data and analysis available to the international community - academic, governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental – the project will also establish an extensive 'inter-institutional research network' at a variety of levels with significant potential for both scientific and user impact.

2. Aims and Objectives

The expressed goal of the project is to make a significant and effective contribution to the knowledge of what can, may or won't work in peace processes by 'mainstreaming' the development of peace polls (currently confined to a small number of conflict regions) on a global basis. This will be done by meeting a number of objectives as follows:

1. Developing and deploying a global research instrument that measures and analyses conflicts comparatively based on the opinions of peoples.
2. Develop indexes from these analyses to track trends.
3. Create a discourse in each state sampled and internationally by proactively making all results and analysis public.
4. Provide the UN and other interested parties with a public opinion baseline from which more detailed research can be undertaken when and where required for conflict resolution.
5. Complement the relevant indicators of other researchers by extending their coverage to other states and adding critical indicators for conflict analysis not included in their 'basket' of indicators.
6. In collaboration with other researchers examine the correlates and causes of both conflict and peace.

3. Research Context

Public Opinion and Conflict Analysis: Public opinion surveys have been used for conflict analysis since World War II and were developed as an aid for conflict resolution in support of negotiations and as an instrument of public diplomacy in Northern Ireland in the 1990s (Irwin 2002). What are now referred to as 'peace polls' have subsequently been employed to bring the views of critical populations into peace processes in a number of conflicts around the world including the Balkans, Middle East and Asia (Irwin 2012, Shamir and Shikaki 2010, Lordos, Kaymak and Tocci 2009). However, the application of this methodology has been done on an *ad hoc* basis and generally bespoke to a particular theatre of violence receiving international attention with no effort made to do this on a cross national basis, as an essential instrument of learning in peace process.

This issue is well understood by the UN, for example, the Report of the Secretary General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (UN 2009) notes that 'Local and traditional authorities as well as civil society actors, including marginalized groups, have a critical role to play in bringing multiple voices to the table for early priority-setting and to broaden the sense of ownership around a common vision for the country's future.' However, in their review of UN

peacekeeping operations around the world the Senior Advisory Group noted that the views of local people were not systematically being sought to help resolve conflicts - 'the international response to conflict is often supply-driven, with international actors focusing on what they can provide, rather than listening to the real needs of those they serve' and they strongly recommended that this omission should be rectified (UN 2011). UN DPKO (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) policies are presently under review to address this issue (DPKO/NUPI 2013). To this end, by mainstreaming 'peace polls' through their global application in an index the views of local people can be made a normal part of every-day conflict discourse and comparative analysis in conditions of both violent conflict and peace.

The existing fact-based Global Peace Index (GPI 2014) uses UN and Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU 2014) data to analyse the peace 'profile' of 162 UN member states annually while the International Crisis Group (ICG 2014) regularly reports on about 60 or 70 countries subject to violent conflict. But these analyses do not systematically sample the views of local populations and their perceptions of peace, violence and the problems that they consider a threat to their security. Peace polls can do this and an instrument for general application has now been refined and tested for global deployment to create a perceptions-based People's Peace Index (Irwin and Deshmukh 2013).

Public Perceptions and Conflict: When it comes to conflict between different identity groups, perceptions by their members and leaders matter greatly in determining choices they make (Guelke 2004, Wolff 2006, Tonge 2014). Thus, public opinion polling can be an extremely useful tool to gather data which can be analysed to test hypotheses about causal factors at work in processes of escalation and de-escalation of conflicts and formulate effective policy responses. So far, public opinion research remains an under-utilised tool for conflict analysis. Furthermore, the complex relationships between religion, culture, economy, society and politics are not being investigated systematically at the sub-state, state, regional and global levels of analysis and the emphasis is nearly always on the 'other' (typically Muslim) community with little attention being paid to the views of, for example, Christians, Hindus, Jews and those not attached to any religious community, in the countries in-/directly affected by/involved in (potential) conflict. This serious gap in the academic literature dealing especially with the phenomenon of international terrorism (Blick et al. 2006, Bonney 2004, Esposito 2002) has been partially recognized by the policy community (European Commission 2005, Home Office 2004) and in some of the academic literature (Guelke 2006, Tonge 2014).

4. Research Team

Dr Colin Irwin pioneered the peace polls methods in Northern Ireland and then, through a series of grants from UK, US and Norwegian government and third-sector agencies, extended his work to numerous conflicts around the world. Dr Irwin will work full time on this project as PI. Professor Jonathan Tonge, Professor Stefan Wolff and Professor Adrian Guelke as Co-Investigators will bring their extensive analytical, scholarly and editorial skills in the study of conflict to the project to undertake primary analysis, writing and editorial management (see attached CVs). Professor Michael Traugott at the Institute for Social Research (ISR) in the University of Michigan and Past President of the World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) will also join the team as an International Co-Investigator. As a leading authority of public opinion methodology he adds a critical area of expertise to the project with respect to the design and management of complex polls.

Two Post-Doctoral Fellows (PDs) will be hired for the length of the project with political science backgrounds and with SPSS, web management and social media expertise to manage the data sets and online dissemination of the project including the data files, reports, blogs, Facebook, Twitter etc. Additionally four PhD Post-Grads (PGs) will be awarded three-year scholarships to examine various aspects of the research program under the joint supervision of the four investigators. These might include perception-based opinion and: UN/DPKO best practice; peace process negotiations; correlates of conflict and peace; levels of conflict and peace analysis.

However, it should be added that three universities are involved in this project bringing in the expertise of the Institute for the Study of Conflict Transformation and Social Justice at the Queen's University of Belfast where Adrian Guelke is a Fellow, and the Institute for Conflict, Cooperation and Security at the University of Birmingham where Stefan Wolff is the Director of Research and Knowledge Transfer in the College of Social Sciences.

5. Research Design and Methods

The research design is based upon the systematic development of analysis of public opinion in conflict regions, via the testing and collation of representative opinion polling, undertaken by national organisations cognisant of local sensitivities.

Background: After completing programs of peace polls in Northern Ireland and the Balkans in 2005 Global Market Insight (GMI) asked Dr Irwin if he could develop an opinion-based peace index to complement their Anholt-GMI National Brands Index (this index is now run in partnership with GfK). This was not possible at the time and the fact-based GPI was launched by Steve Killelea in 2007. Transparency International piloted a Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) in 2002 covering 46 countries (Transparency International 2003). With advances in methodologies this has risen to 100 states in 2011 (Transparency International 2011). With further advances in international market research capacity and the application of peace polls in 'third world' countries a perceptions-based global peace index is now possible in 140 plus states.

Demographics: Critically the GPI and GCB do not include demographic analysis and consequently fail to identify important sources of conflict at different levels of analysis. For example at the launch of the Commonwealth Youth Development Index (YDI), which uses the same databases and methodologies as the GPI the YDI was criticized for not including ethnic and gender breakdowns in its analysis. Consequently states that did well in this analysis (Canada, New Zealand and Australia) failed to identify the poor conditions and prospects of their native youth while the Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General, Mrs Mmashegoa Masire-Mwamba also regretted the absence of a gender breakdown that would have clearly identified the relative prospects of boys and girls across the Commonwealth states. It was noted that this data was unavailable for most states including developed states (Commonwealth Secretariat 2013). Significantly the PPI will include demographic analysis in terms of critical ethnic and religious groups, gender, age etc.

Research Instrument: Using a standard set of questions to create a People's Peace Index (PPI), that employs the scales and methods developed in Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Middle East and Asia, a number of analyses can be completed that include: problems specific to the conflict being examined; problems common to most conflicts in comparative perspective; intensity of conflict and the role of states in conflict and peace making. Critically the reports of respondents' perceptions will be analysed by all relevant demographic variables including the group affiliations of those subject to or involved in violent actions. This can also be done at various levels including national, regional and transnational.

Levels of Analysis Approach: There is a long tradition in IR theory using a levels-of-analysis approach (e.g., Waltz 1959, Singer 1961). Models for the analysis of intra-state conflict, too, have more recently drawn on this approach (Brown 1996, Brubaker 1996, Wolff 2001), and identified a range of actors and structures relevant to explain causes, consequences and settlements of such conflicts (e.g., Adamson 2005, Collier and Hoeffler 2001, Cordell and Wolff 2009, Crawford and Kuperman 2005, Kemp 2004, Abuza 2003, Frost et al. 2003, Smith 2005, Wolff 2006). Drawing on these various approaches, we will use an analytical model to identify relevant actors and structures and their impact on the onset, duration, and termination of conflict at the sub-state, state, regional and global levels of analysis.

6. Contracting Global Polls

The major costs of this project are the public opinion polls for the pilots (to be completed in the first year) and the peace index to be completed annually as part of an existing international omnibus in the second and third years. Feasibility and budget estimates have been sought following consultations and advice from colleagues in the World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR) and at Ipsos MORI (London), GfK (New York), Gallup USA (London and Washington), WIN Gallup International (Montreal, London, Rome) and Pew (Washington). Prices for a 140 country plus sample as part of an international omnibus range between approximately 2M and 4M USD (prices have been quoted in US Dollars). When costs for pilots (300,000 to 1M USD) are added in an estimate in the region of 6.5M USD (£4M) should probably be considered a workable minimum budget for the three-year project. A final budget will be arrived at in consultation with the granting agency/institution following responses to the Request for Proposal (available on request).

7. Research Ethics

Primary Research Ethics oversight will be managed through the University of Liverpool Research Ethics Committee, which in turn complies with ESRC Research Ethics standards. However, given the international breadth of running the collection of polling data in 140 plus countries through country specialist polling sub-contractors all such contracts will also comply with the ethical standards set by the World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR 2014). It should also be noted that in the special case of 'violent conflict', the PI and then Chair of WAPOR drafted additional ethical guidelines for such work, which will also be followed (Peacepolls 2014).

8. Outputs and Dissemination

General Dissemination: ALL the results, analysis, reports and data sets will be published and made available on a dedicated portal for download, review and secondary analysis by any interested third party. The objective is to create the widest possible discourse on and about the views of local people's caught up in and subject to violent conflict. By sampling and reporting on as many states as possible two additional objectives can be met. Firstly no particular state will be the focus of selective political attention and secondly the opinion-based data can be added to various fact-based UN, EIU, GPI/IEP and Pew Research (see Pew 2014) data for additional analysis and interpretation. For example when the IEP analysed the GPI and GCB together the only strong correlation found was with police corruption (Irwin 2013). This very narrow result is expected to fundamentally change when minority/group demographics are added in from the PPI. Also see Pathways to Impact attached.

Academic Publications: The importance of testing public opinion in peace processes – and how it can be undertaken – will form the basis of articles to be submitted to various journals such as the *Journal of Peace Research* and *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. A monograph to be published with Manchester University press on *Public Opinion and Peace Processes: Understanding Consensus and Fracture* will form the first book-length publication from the project. As the depth and breadth of the data comes in articles and books will be written on both the comparative analysis of the data as well as its impact on peace process best practice internationally. Additionally all the applicants will present papers on their own particular areas of expertise at international conferences of their choice with a view to publication. Also see Pathways to Impact attached.

9. Working with existing ESRC Investments

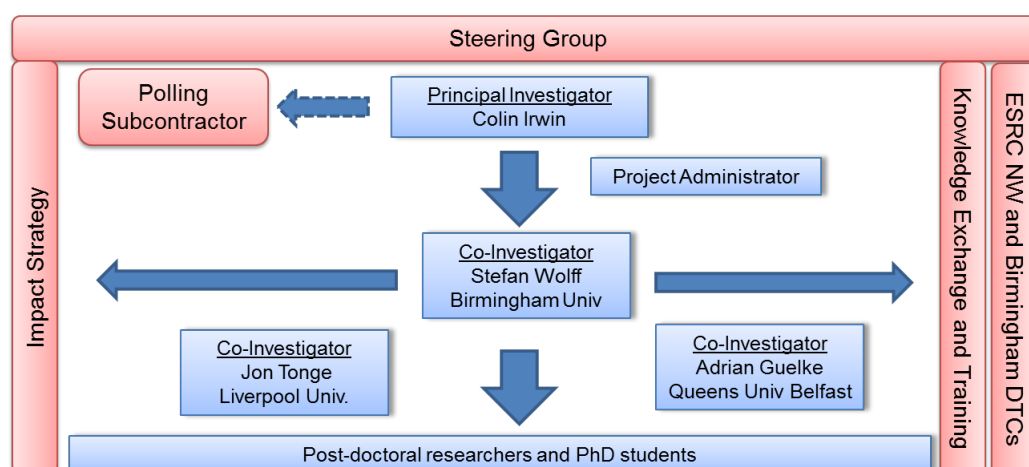
The training strategy outlined for this project will benefit significantly by working closely with existing ESRC DTCs hosted at Liverpool and Birmingham. This provides a unique supervision and training opportunity for PhD students. Further training for PhD and PDRAs will be available through Liverpool's participation in Methods Northwest and NCRM. Liverpool has recently applied to the ESRC Advanced Training Initiative with a focus on digital methods, where applications such as social media, big data analytics and geospatial analysis have direct relevance for this project.

10. Career Development and Capacity Building

The project will establish a training and KE programme aimed at researchers and a wider professional and public audience. The project will benefit from inclusion within two existing ESRC DTCs (Birmingham and NW DTC), and will support 4 PhD programmes across the project, with joint supervision from differing institutions, opportunity for placements with project partners and participation in development of the project, as well as part of ESRC DTC cohorts with access to advanced training. Post doctoral staff will benefit from a mentoring programme through the PI and Co-Is, who are recognised as world leaders in their field. The project will provide all staff with access to project partners and steering committee providing a link to wider development and career opportunities, including placements and paid internships. Knowledge Exchange will be in part facilitated by annual workshops (in Brussels, London and Belfast), and also by local KE events delivered through in country partnerships with the polling organisations.

11. Management

Overall management of the project will be from the PI Dr. Colin Irwin, who has a track record of managing and delivering similar projects with an international dimension. The PI will be responsible for (1) implementing the mission of the project; (2) managing the strategic direction of the research, including monitoring progress on KPIs; (3) reporting outcomes to the steering group (4) managing the contract for externally commissioned polling; (5) to managing and reviewing the budget; (6) Line managing PDRAs. A 0.2 FTE grade 6 Project Manager will oversee day-to-day operations. Prof Stefan Wolff and Prof Jonathan Tonge (Co-Is) will share responsibility for Training and Development and Impact, responsible for (1) delivering training / mentoring programme (2) overseeing links with ESRC DTC's for PhD training (3) delivering and monitoring impact agenda (see pathway to impact for details). The PI and Co-I's will work together and meet as a management team bringing in expertise as required with respect to the tendering process and contract management of the global polls. The management team will meet at a minimum monthly. A steering group will meet 4 times per year and comprise external academics, NGOs, polling organisations and other invited representatives. Its responsibilities are: (1) to review data collection and quality; (2) to advise on the research, training and KE activities. Subject to availability these will include WAPOR Past Presidents and members Professor Michael Traugott, University of Michigan; Sir Robert Worcestor, Ipsos MORI; Dr Ijaz Gilani, Gallup Pakistan and other nominated senior management from the University of Liverpool in addition to the PI and CIs. Critically the steering group will meet to review responses to 'Request for Proposals' as part of the tendering process and following the award of contract the primary contractor(s) will be invited to join the steering group. Given its global reach management meetings will be held with video links as required and in person whenever possible.



Management flow chart

12. Institutional Commitment

To support this project, the three **UK institutions** have committed to the following support:

- (1) Matched studentships: Liverpool and Birmingham will each provide one PhD aligned to the project's areas of inquiry. Matched funds will be requested from ESRC that will allow hosting of a total of 4 PhD students hosted at our existing DTCs. (in-kind support equivalent to £105,756) .
- (2) Hosting of annual workshops to facilitate KE with policymakers: One event to be held in Brussels at the University of Birmingham Brussels Office, (which has expertise in facilitating and contributing to European policy debates), with further annual events in London to be held at the University of Liverpool London campus; and a number of events in Belfast.
- (3) All institutions will provide high quality infrastructure to enable their staff to successfully run an internationally distributed project such as this. This will include telephone and video conferencing facilities, hosting other scholars and staff engaged on the project and meeting/seminar spaces to enable ad hoc meetings and visits as required. Institutions will also provide access to their dedicated impact and KE faculty teams to assist with development and implementation of the KE plan.
- (4) The Institute for the Study of Conflict Transformation and Social Justice at Queens University Belfast will also facilitate Professor Guelke's mentoring of Erasmus-funded interns from the University of Venice to undertake specific roles on this project as part of their training programme.

13. Timetable and Post Grant Objectives

The activities required to launch the PPI, and realise its objectives and goals, including items already completed, are as follows:

1. Review peace polls research, design, test and refine an instrument for comparative research capable of producing a number of perceptions based indexes (completed).
2. On the basis of this instrument examine the feasibility of launching the PPI globally and draft a 'Request for Proposal' accordingly (completed - Draft RFP available on request).
3. Send out the 'Request for Proposal' from the funding agency/institution (Month 1), review responses (Month 3-4) and award two contracts for comprehensive pilots. (Month 6)
4. Analyse the pilot results, revise the research instrument and implementation plans as may be required (Month 7 to 12) and commission a global sample (Months 11-12).
5. Design and establish the PPI website (Month 2 to 3)
6. Identify all potential users and interested parties for the PPI data and results and build up a data base of third party interests with links to the PPI website. (Months 2 to 6)
7. Publish the results of the pilot studies with critical analysis of methods used and 'pilot indexes' (Months 6 to 12)
8. Analyse and publish the results of the first round of the full 140 plus state PPI with appropriate media events in key cities. (Year 2, Months 16 to 21)
9. Engage with third party users through consultations, seminars, workshops and collaborative research projects. (Year 2, Months 15 to 24)
10. Review all work undertaken, results and objectives met, revise plans accordingly and commission a second round of the global PPI. (Year 2, Months 21 to 24)
11. Complete a third year of activity while seeking partners to build on and expand peace polling activities where and when they may be required. (Years 3)
12. Critically review all aspects of the project after three years of activity while taking into account both the political impact of the research and evolving technical environment of public opinion methodologies. (Year 3)

Finally, it should be added that it is the expressed intention of the applicants to use this grant to develop the project into an institution/NGO with UN affiliation that will complete perception based global polls on an annual basis and provide specialist/expert advice and support to third parties running polls for conflict analysis and resolution. As such this new institution/NGO will fill the gap between present ad hoc polls in conflict environments and the fact based Global Peace Index run by the Institute for Economics and Peace.

Dr Colin Irwin (<http://www.peacepolls.org>)

Qualifications:

1985 Ph.D. (Syracuse University)
1981 M.A. (University of Manitoba)

Appointments:

2010 – Present	Research Fellow, Department of Politics, University of Liverpool.
2006 – 2010	Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool.
2005 – 2006	Research Fellow, Institute of Governance, Queen's University Belfast.
2002 – 2004	Research Fellow, Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict, QUB.
1994 – 2002	Research Fellow, Institute of Irish Studies, QUB.
1988 – 1997	Research Fellow, Dept. of Social Anthropology, QUB.
1988 – 1991	Associate Professor of Research, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University.
1987 – 1989	Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada Fellow, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University.
1985 – 1987	Killam Fellow, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University.

Selected Publications:

- Irwin, C. J.**, (2013) Public Opinion and Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, in McEvoy, Joanne and Brendan O'Leary (eds), *Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places: Progress and Regressions*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- (2012a) The People's Peace: 'Pax Populi, Pax Dei' - How Peace Polls are Democratizing the Peace Making Process, CreateSpace, Scotts Valley, CA.
- (2012b) 20 Peace Lessons from Northern Ireland to Israel and Palestine, CreateSpace, Scotts Valley, CA.
- (2007) Peace Process, in Bevir, M., (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Governance*, Sage.
- (2006) The Northern Ireland 'Peace Polls', *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1-14.
- (2005) A People's Peace process for Bosnia and Herzegovina? *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 4, No. 3.
- (2004) Using Public Opinion Polls to Support Peace Processes: Practical Lessons from Northern Ireland, Macedonia, Cyprus, Israel and Palestine, in Guelke, A. (Ed.), *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke and New York.
- (2003) Forum Northern Ireland: An Opinion Poll and its Implications, *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*. vol. 2, no 3-4.
- (2002a) *The People's Peace Process in Northern Ireland*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke and New York.
- (2002b) Forum Macedonia: An Opinion Poll and its Implications, *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*. vol. 2, no 1.
- (2001) How Public Opinion Polls Were Used In Support Of The Northern Ireland Peace Process, *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*. Vol. 1, no 1.
- (1999) The People's Peace Process: Northern Ireland and the role of Public Opinion Polls in Political Negotiations, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30, No. 3.
- (1997) Social Conflict and the Failure of Education Policies in Two Deeply Divided Societies: Israel and Northern Ireland, in *Culture and Policy in Northern Ireland*, Hastings D. and McFarlane G. Eds. Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast.
- (1992) Integrated Education: From Theory to Practice in Divided Societies, *Prospects, UNESCO Quarterly Review of Education*. Vol. XXII, No.1, UNESCO Paris.

Grants, Awards and Research Consultancy:

- Asia Foundation and DFID: \$5,000 Formal peace processes and informal local peace building efforts strengthened more credible with conflict-affected populations.
- Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: £134,000 Setting International Standards and Assisting Third Parties in Running 'Peace Polls'.
- British Academy: £7,071 A Comparative Analysis of Public Opinion, Public Diplomacy and Peace Making.
- Consultant to Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South East Europe for 'peace polls' undertaken in Kosovo and Serbia in 2005, Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2004 and Macedonia (FYROM) in 2002 funded by the EC, Charles Mott Foundation, Open Society Foundation, Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, USAID, UNESCO and OSCE.
- Atlantic Philanthropies: £68,000 to develop the use of public opinion polls in the Northern Ireland peace process and their application to other conflicts.
- The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: £146,500 as a series of grants for work in support of the Northern Ireland peace process and the negotiation of the Belfast Agreement.
- The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: £36,500 for research on public preferences for various peace building and public policy options in Northern Ireland.
- Northern Ireland Office, Policy Planning and Research Unit: £27,000 for a study of social change at an integrated school.
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada: \$48,000 Post Doctoral Fellowship to study integrated and segregated education in Northern Ireland and Israel.
- Health and Welfare Canada: \$26,000 for a study of the growing Inuit population and their effects on social and economic change.
- Killam Foundation: \$45,000 Post Doctoral Fellowship to study the sociobiology of group conflict and cultural mechanisms used to promote pro-social behaviour.
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada: \$50,000 Doctoral Fellowship to study Inuit mechanisms of pro-social control.
- Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada: \$8,000 Special MA Scholarship to undertake an interdisciplinary study of Inuit ethics.

Other Activities and Awards:

- Research fieldwork undertaken in Alaska, Arctic Canada, Greenland, Israel, Palestine (Jerusalem and West Bank), Northern Ireland, Cyprus (North and South), Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia, Kashmir (IaK), Sri Lanka, Sudan (Darfur), Lebanon, Egypt, Philippines (Mindanao), Turkey (re. Syria) and United Kingdom.
- Guest lectures and seminars at the Conflict Prevention and Resolution Forum and USIP Washington; Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and PASIA Jerusalem and Ramallah; UN DPA and DPKO New York; HD Geneva; Oslo Forum, PRIO Oslo.
- Human rights cases taken to UN Rights of the Child and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Committees to establish the rights of children to attend integrated schools in Northern Ireland.
- Television documentaries on the Northern Ireland conflict and Inuit in Arctic Canada.
- Advisor to Keewatin Inuit Association, Hudson's Bay, with responsibilities for land claims issues, social impact of Polar Gas pipeline, legal aid and native business development.
- Voyage to Scotland, Iceland, Greenland and Hudson's Bay; single handed sailing of Northwest Passage; crossing of Arctic North America by dog team; first underwater living experiment with artificial atmosphere; recovery of 2500 BC canoe from Poole Harbour.
- Royal Cruising Club Medal for Seamanship and Duke of Edinburgh Scientific Award to BSAC.

Professor Adrian Guelke

Qualifications:

Ph.D. (London School of Economics and Political Science)

BA (University of Cape Town)

Positions:

2012 – present Emeritus Professor, School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy and Visiting Fellow, Institute for the Study of Conflict Transformation and Social Justice, Queen's University of Belfast

1997 – 2012 Professor of Comparative Politics, Queen's University of Belfast

Selected Publications:

Guelke, A., 'Consociationalism and conflict resolution' in Michelle Hale Williams (ed.), *The Multicultural Dilemma: Migration, ethnic politics, and state intervention* (Routledge, 2013)

Guelke, A., and Junes, T., "Copycat Tactics" in *Processes of Regime Change: The Demise of Communism in Poland and Apartheid in South Africa*, Critique and Humanism, Vol.40, special issue 2012.

Guelke, A., 'The USA and the Northern Ireland Peace Process', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol.4, No.4, November 2012.

--- *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies* (Polity Press, March 2012)

--- 'Global watersheds and the study of ethno-politics' in **Adrian Guelke** and Jean Tournon (eds), *The Study of Ethnicity and Politics: Recent Analytical Developments* (Barbara Budrich Publishers 2012)

--- 'The potency of external conflict management: Northern Ireland' in Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou (eds), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies: Theories and Practice* (Routledge 2012).

--- 'Lessons of Northern Ireland and the Relevance of the Regional Context', LSE IDEAS Special Report, SR008 - Northern Ireland, November 2011

--- *The Challenges of Ethno-Nationalism: Case Studies in Identity Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010)

--- 'A consociational democracy or Anglo-Irish conflict management? The St Andrews Agreement and the political accommodation of Irish nationalism' in André Lecours and Luis Moreno (eds), *Nationalism and Democracy: Dichotomies, complementarities, oppositions* (Routledge 2010)

--- 'Northern Ireland: communal division and the embedding of paramilitary networks' in David Martin Jones, Ann Lane and Paul Schulte (eds), *Terrorism, Security and the Power of Informal Networks* (Edward Elgar 2010)

--- 'South Africa: The Long View on Political Transition' in John Coakley (ed.), *Pathways from Ethnic Conflict: Institutional Redesign in Divided Societies* (Routledge 2010)

--- 'The flexibility of Northern Ireland Unionists and Afrikaner Nationalists in comparative perspective', *IBIS working paper no.99* (University College Dublin 2010)

--- 'Approaches to the Control of Ethnic Conflict in the post-Cold War World', *Ethnopolitics Papers No.4* (Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies, October 2010)

--- 'South Africa: The Long View on Political Transition', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol.15, Nos.3-4, July-December 2009

--- *The New Age of Terrorism and the International Political System* (IB Tauris, 2009)

--- 'Consociational Theory and the wider peace process' in Rupert Taylor (ed.), *Consociational Theory: McGarry and O'Leary and the Northern Ireland conflict* (Routledge 2009)

Guelke, A., and Doyle, J., 'Northern Ireland' in Radha Kumar (ed.), *Negotiating Peace in Deeply Divided Societies: A Set of Simulations* (SAGE India 2009)

Guelke, A., 'The United States and the Peace Process' in Brian Barton and Patrick J. Roche (eds), *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

--- 'Negotiations and Peace Processes' in John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty (eds), *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction* (Palgrave Macmillan 2008)

--- 'Israeli Flags Flying Alongside Belfast's Apartheid Walls: A New Era of Comparisons and Connections' in Guy Ben-Porat (ed.), *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process? A Comparative Analysis of Peace Implementation in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

--- 'Great whites, paedophiles and terrorists: the need for critical thinking in a new age of fear', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, Vol.1, No.1, April 2008

--- 'The Lure of the Miracle? The South African Connection and the Northern Ireland Peace Process' in Christopher Farrington (ed.), *Global Change, Civil Society and the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Implementing the Political Settlement* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

--- 'The Northern Ireland Peace Process and the War against Terrorism: Conflicting Conceptions?', *Government and Opposition*, Vol.42, No.3, Summer 2007

--- *Terrorism and Global Disorder: Political Violence in the Contemporary World* (IBTauris, 2006)

Guelke, A., Co-editor, *A Farewell to Arms?: Beyond the Good Friday Agreement* (Manchester University Press, 2006)

--- *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

-- Editor, *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict: Advancing Peace in Deeply Divided Societies* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Selected Services to the Profession

2006 – 2012	Chair of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity (RC 14)
Since 2010	Editor, <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i>
2000 – 2006	Vice-Chair of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity (RC 14)
Since 1991	Executive Board of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee on Politics and Ethnicity (RC 14)
1995 – 1998	Editor, <i>The South African Journal of International Affairs</i>

I have also been a longstanding member of the International Advisory Board of *Nations and Nationalism* (journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism).

Professor Jon Tonge

Qualifications:

Appointments:

2005 – present Professor of Politics, University of Liverpool
1994 – 2005 Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Professor of Politics, University of Salford

OTHER MAIN APPOINTMENTS

- HEFCE Politics sub-panellist, 2014 REF
- Chair, Youth Citizenship Commission, 2008-9
- President, Political Studies Association of UK, 2008-11
- Chair, Political Studies Association of UK, 2005-8
- Visiting Professor, University of Ulster, 2006-7
- Visiting Scholar, St John's, Oxford University, 2003
- Elected to the Academy of Social Scientists, 2004.

PREVIOUS APPOINTMENTS: Professor of Politics, Salford Univ, 2001-5

- Senior Lecturer, University of Salford. Appointed 1.4.1999 Lecturer, 4.1.1994

Selected Publications:

Books

Tonge, J., *Comparative Peace Processes*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2014)

Tonge, J., McAuley, J., Hennessey, T., Braniff, M., and Whiting, S., *The Democratic Unionist Party: From Protest to Power*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014,

Tonge, J., McAuley, J. and Mycock, A., *Loyal to the Core? Orangeism and Britishness in Northern Ireland*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2010).

Tonge, J., *Britain Votes: The UK General Election 2010*, co-ed with A. Geddes

---*Abandoning the Past? Republican and Loyalist Former Prisoners and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*, Manchester University Press, 2009 (winner, PSAI book prize)

Tonge, J., Shirlow, P., McAuley, J., McGlynn, C. and Adshead, M., *Ireland North and South: Convergence and Divergence on a dual polity island*, (London, Palgrave, 2009)

Tonge, J., Busteed, M., & Neal, F., *Irish Protestant Identities*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008)

Tonge, J., *Northern Ireland*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2006)

Tonge, J. and Murray, G., *Sinn Fein and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation*, (London: Hurst, 2005)

Tonge, J., *The New Northern Irish Politics?* London: Palgrave, 2005.

Tonge, J. and Geddes, A., *Britain Decides: UK General Election 2005*, (London, 2005, Palgrave)

Tonge, J., *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change*, (London, Pearson, 2002, 1998)

--- *The New Civil Service*, (Tisbury: Baseline, 2000)

Tonge, J. and Geddes, A., *Labour's Second Landslide: the British General Election 2001*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002)

Tonge, J. and Geddes, A., *Labour's Landslide: the British General Election 1997* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997)

Tonge, J., Bennie, L., Denver, D., Rallings, C., Scully, R., and Webb, P., *British Elections and Parties Review 11, 12, 13* (London, Frank Cass, 2001, 2002, 2003)

Tonge, J. and Gilligan, C., *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997)

Relevant Refereed Journal articles

Tonge, J., McGlynn, C. and McAuley, J., 'The party politics of Post-Devolution identity in Northern Ireland', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 2014, 273-90

Tonge, J., 'Catholic, Irish and Nationalist: Examining the Importance of Ethno-National and Ethno-Religious Variables in determining Nationalist Political Allegiance in Northern Ireland', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2013.

---'From Abstentionism to Enthusiasm: Sinn Fein, Nationalist Electors and Support for Devolved Power-Sharing in Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 2013, 28.1, 39-57.

---"No-one likes us: we don't care": 'Dissident Irish Republicans and mandates', *Political Quarterly*, 2012, 83.2, 219-26.

Tonge, J., and Evans, J., 'Menace without mandate? Is there any Sympathy for dissident Irish republicanism in Northern Ireland?' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2012, 24.1 61-78

Tonge, J., Shirlow, P., and McAuley, J., 'So why did the guns fall silent? How interplay, not stalemate, explains the Northern Ireland peace process', *Irish Political Studies*, 2011, 26.1, 1-18

Tonge, J., Evans, J., Jeffery, R., and McAuley, J., 'New Order: Political Change and the Protestant Orange Tradition in Northern Ireland', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 2011, 13.3, 400-19.

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'Northern Ireland: Unionism loses more leaders', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 2010, 63.4, 742-59

Tonge, J. and McAuley, J., 'Britishness and Irishness in Northern Ireland since the Good Friday Agreement', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 2010, 266-85

Tonge, J., Shirlow, P., and McAuley, J., 'Conflict, Transformation and Former Loyalist Paramilitary Prisoners in Northern Ireland', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2010, 22.1, 22-40 **Tonge, J.** and Evans, J., 'Social Class and Party Choice in Northern Ireland's ethnic blocs', *West European Politics* 2009, 32.5, 1012-30

Tonge, J. and McAuley, J., 'Faith, Crown and State: Contemporary Discourses with the Orange Order', *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 2008, 15.1, 136-55

Tonge, J., 'IRA former prisoners: discourse and the maintenance of Republican ideology and tactics', *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 2008, 15.1, 156-76.

Tonge, J. and McAuley, J., 'For God and for the Crown: Contemporary Political and Social attitudes among Orange Order members in Northern Ireland', *Political Psychology*, 2007, 28.1, 33-52

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'Unionist Party Competition and the Orange Order vote in Northern Ireland', *Electoral Studies*, 2007, 26.1, 156-67

Tonge, J., 'Sinn Fein and Republicanism in Belfast', *Space and Polity*, 2006, 135-47.

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'The problems of modernising an ethno-religious party: the case of the UUP in Northern Ireland', *Party Politics*, 2005, 11, 319-38

Tonge, J., "'They haven't gone away you know". Irish Republican 'Dissidents and 'Armed Struggle', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2004, 16.3, 671-93.

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'The future of the radical centre after the Good Friday Agreement', *Political Studies*, 2003, 51.1, 26-50

Tonge, J., 'Victims of their own success? Political dilemmas of the moderates in Northern Ireland', *Global Review of Ethnonational Politics*, 2003, III.1, 23-38.

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'Party Members and the Good Friday Agreement', *Irish Political Studies*, 2002, 12.2, 59-73

Tonge, J., 'Over the Rainbow? Relationships between Loyalists and Republicans in the Northern Ireland Assembly', *Etudes Irlandaises*, 2003, 28.1, 177-96.

Tonge, J. and Evans, J., 'Faultlines in Unionism: Division and Dissent within the Ulster Unionist Council', *Irish Political Studies*, 2001, 16, pp. 111-32

Tonge, J., 'The Formation of the N. Ireland Executive', *Irish Political Studies*, 2000, 15, 'From Sunningdale to the Good Friday Agreement: Creating Devolved Government in N. Ireland', *Contemporary British History*, 2000, 14.3, 39-60.

Research grants:

ESRC (2013-15) *A study of the Membership, Strategies and Tactics of Dissident Irish Republican Organisations*

Leverhulme Trust (2012-14) *A Membership Survey of the Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland*

Leverhulme Trust (2006-8) *Abandoning the Past? Former Prisoners in Northern Ireland*. With J. McAuley & P. Shirlow.

ESRC (2006-8) *A Survey of the Social and Political Attitudes of Orange Order Members in Northern Ireland*. With J. McAuley.

ESRC (2001) *Third Tradition(s) in Northern Ireland; Alliance Party*

ESRC (2000-01) *The Role of 'Extra-Constitutional' Parties in the Northern Ireland Assembly*

ESRC (1998-2000) *New Nationalism in Northern Ireland*

Professor Stefan Wolff (www.stefanwolff.com)

Qualifications:

1999 Ph.D. (London School of Economics and Political Science)
1996 M.Phil (University of Cambridge)
1995 *Erstes Staatsexamen* (University of Leipzig)

Positions:

2010 - present Professor of International Security, University of Birmingham
2006 - 2010 Professor of Political Science, University of Nottingham
1999 - 2004 Lecturer A/B, Reader, Professor of Political Science, University of Bath

Selected publications:

Selected Co/Authoring and Co/Edited Books

Wolff, S. and Yakinthou, C., (eds) *Conflict Management in Divided Societies: Theories and Practice*, (London: Routledge, 2011)

Wolff, S. and Cordell, K., *Ethnic Conflict: Causes—Consequences—Responses* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009)

Wolff, S. and Weller, M. (eds), *Institutions for the Management of Ethnopolitical Conflict in Central and Eastern Europe*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2008)

Wolff, S., *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Wolff, S. and Weller, M. (eds), *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution: Innovative Approaches to Institutional Design in Divided Societies*, (London: Routledge, 2005)

Wolff, S. and Cordell, K., *The Ethnopolitical Encyclopaedia of Europe*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004)

Wolff, S., *Disputed Territories: The Transnational Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict Settlement* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2002)

Selected Articles in Refereed Journals

Wolff, S. and Rodt, A. P., "Self-determination after Kosovo", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 65, no. 5 (July 2013), 799-822.

Wolff, S. and Dunn, D. H., "Drone Use in Counter-Insurgency and Counter-Terrorism: Policy or Policy Component?" *RUSI Whitehall Report* no.2 (2013), 97-104.

Wolff, S., "Conflict Management in Divided Societies: The Many Uses of Territorial Self-Governance", *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, vol. 20, no.1 (January 2013), 27-50.

Wolff, S. and Dursun-Özkanca, O., "Regional and International Conflict Regulation: Diplomatic, Economic and Military Interventions", *Civil Wars*, vol. 14, no. 3 (September 2012), 297-323.

Wolff, S., "South Sudan's Year One: Managing the Challenges of Building a New State", *The RUSI Journal*, vol. 157, no. 5 (October/November 2012), 46-54.

---"Post-conflict State Building: the debate on institutional choice", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 10 (October 2011), 1-26.

---"The Regional Dimensions of State Failure", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3 (June 2011), 951-972.

---"Managing Ethno-national Conflict: Towards an Analytical Framework", *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, vol. 49, no. 2 (April 2011), 162-194.

---"Governing (in) Kirkuk", *International Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 6 (November 2010), 1361-79.

---"Building Democratic States after Conflict: Institutional Design Revisited", *International Studies Review*, vol. 12, no. 1 (March 2010), 128-41.

Wolff, S. and Whitman, R. G., "The EU as a Conflict Manager: The Case of Georgia and Its Implications", *International Affairs*, vol. 86, no.1 (January 2010; with Richard G. Whitman), 87-107.

Wolff, S., "Conflict resolution between power sharing and power dividing, or beyond?", *Political Studies Review*, vol. 5, no.3 (September 2007), 363-79.

---"The Institutional Structure of Regional Consociations in Brussels, Northern Ireland, and South Tyrol", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Autumn 2004), 387-414.

Selected Grants:

- ESRC: *The Political Impact of Drone Warfare on Conflicts within and between States*: With David H. Dunn and Nicholas Wheeler.
- ESRC: *Conflict Resolution in Moldova*
- ESRC: *Assessing UK Conflict Resolution Capacity*
- ESRC: *The European Union as a Global Conflict Manager*. With Richard Whitman.
- British Academy/UACES: *The European Union's European Neighbourhood Policy*
- EU FP6: *Minority Rights in the Lifecycle of Ethnic Conflicts: European Union*
- ESRC: *International Organisations and Ethnic Autonomy Regimes in Eastern Europe*. With Pieter van Houten.
- British Academy: *The International Politics of Autonomy*. With Wolfgang Danspeckgruber.

Selected Services to the Profession

- Chair, Impact Strategy Working Group (University of Birmingham, since March 2013)
- Director, Research and Knowledge Transfer (College of Social Sciences, University of Birmingham, since August 2012)
- Director of Research, Deputy Head of School, Principle co-ordinator for preparation of the RAE/REF submission (June 2007—December 2009, School of Politics & International Relations, University of Nottingham)

Selected Other Affiliations and Recognitions

February 2014	Associate Fellow, Royal United Services Institute
May 2013	Founding Member, Center for International Cooperation and Development, University of Bucharest
October 2012	Member, Advisory Board, Political Analysis and Emerging Scenarios Initiative, UNDP, Skopje
March 2012	Fellow, Academy of Social Sciences
Since 2010	Member, Advisory Council, European Centre for Minority Issues
Since 2006	Member, Advisory Board, Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project
2006	Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Joint Services Command and Staff College, Defence Academy
Since 2005	International Associate, Liechtenstein Institute on Self-determination at Princeton University

Professor Michael W. Traugott

Qualifications:

1965 BA. Political Science (Princeton University)
1967 MA. Political Science (University of Michigan)
1974 Ph.D. "An Economic Model of Voting Behavior" (University of Michigan)

Appointments:

University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research

ISR Policy Committee, elected member, 1998—2000, 2003 -- 2005, 2007 -- 2009
Member of the Survey Operations Management Advisory Committee (SOMAC), 1996 – 2001
Faculty member, Program in Survey Methodology, 2002 –

Center for Political Studies:

Senior Research Scientist, 1998-- .
Member, Director's Advisory Committee, 1991-1993, 1995-1997, 2005-2006
Program Director, 1987-1998. Senior Study Director, 1980-1987. Study Director, 1974-1980
Director, Resource Development, ICPSR, 1978—1993. Director, Archive, ICPSR, 1975-1978
Assistant Director, Historical Archive, ICPSR, 1969-1975. Assistant Study Director, 1970-1974
Instructor, ICPSR Summer Program, 1969-1972, 1978-1979

Survey Research Center:

Assistant Study Director, 1966-1970
Assistant in Research, 1965-1966
Instructor, Summer Institute, 1985-1986

University of Michigan, College of Literature, Science, and the Arts

Associate Dean for Development, 1992—1994. Department of Communication Studies
Professor, 1987. Director, Interdepartmental Ph.D. Program in Mass Communication, 1986-1998
Director of the Ph. D. Program, 2004 – 2008. Department Executive Committee, 1996-1998
Chair, 1998 – 2004. Howard R. Marsh Distinguished Research Fellow, 2010-2013

Selected Publications (from over 200 listed on full CV):

Presidential Polls and the News Media, with Paul J. Lavrakas and Peter V. Miller (Westview Press: Boulder, CO, 1995).
The Voter's Guide to Election Polls, with Paul J. Lavrakas (Chatham House Press: Chatham NJ, 1996; Second edition, 2000; Third edition, 2004 release (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham MD); Fourth edition, 2008 release (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham MD); Republished in Spanish as Encuestas: Guia Para Electores (Siglio XXI: Mexico City, 1997).
Election Polls, the News Media & Democracy, with Paul J. Lavrakas (Chatham House/Seven Bridges Press: Chatham NJ, 2000).
Voting Technology: The Not So Simple Act of Casting a Ballot, with Paul S. Herrnson, Richard G. Niemi, Michael J. Hanmer, Benjamin J. Bederson, and Frederick G. Conrad. (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008)
Handbook of Public Opinion Research, with Wolfgang Donsbach (Co-editor). (London: Sage Publications, 2008)
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Grants, Awards and Research Consultancy:

- Bureau of Census, "Development of the Survey Methodology Information System Data Base."
- Citizens' Commission to Improve Michigan's Courts, "Survey of Public Attitudes toward the Legal System."

- Howard R. Marsh Center, Horace H. Rackham School, "Conference on Comparative Analysis of the Role of the Media in Contemporary Legislative Campaigns," with Edie N. Goldenberg.
- National Science Foundation, "The Role of Mass Media in Congressional Campaigns," with Edie N. Goldenberg.
- Goldsmith Research Award, Joan Shorenstein Barone Center, Harvard University, 1992.
- The Pew Charitable Trusts and The Ford Foundation, "An Evaluation of Vote-by-Mail Elections in Oregon."
- The Pew Charitable Trusts, "The Role of Polling in a Civil Society."
- Office of the Vice President for Research, "Voting Reform Conference."
- Howard R. Marsh Center, "How America Responds to September 11."
- Russell Sage Foundation, "National Longitudinal Surveys following September 11."
- National Science Foundation, "An Assessment of Voting Technology and Ballot Design."
- National Science Foundation, "Time-Sharing experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS) Competition, Experiments to Understand How Americans React to New Election Procedures," with Frederick G. Conrad and Michael J. Hanmer.
- The Pew Charitable Trusts and the JEHT Foundation, "Design of an Empirically-Based Election Audit System."
- Fellowship, Joan Shorenstein Center for the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University, Spring 2009.
- Fellowship, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University, Fall 2011

Other Activities and Awards:

American Political Science Association

- Secretary-Treasurer, Political Communication Section, 1991-1996
- American Statistical Association
- Fellowship Review Board, ASA/NSF/BLS Fellowships, 1993 - 2008

International Political Science Association

- Member, Research Committee, Political Communication Research Group, 1991- 1997

Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research

- Elected Fellow of MAPOR, 2002
- Vice-President, 2010 – 2011
- President, 2011-2012

Midwest Political Science Association

- Section coordinator for the 1995 Conference Program (Political Communication)

World Association for Public Opinion Research

- Conference Chair, 2002. Program Committee for annual conference, 2003 -
- Co-chair, WAPOR Conference on Survey Quality, Cadenabbia Italy, June 2004, 2006
- Vice-President and President Elect, 2005 – 2006
- President, 2006 – 2008.
- Past President, 2009 – 2010.
- Contributing Editor, *The Public Perspective*, 1994 – 2002.
- Advisory Board Member, Campaign Assessment and Candidate Outreach Project, 1998 – 2000.
- Editorial Board, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 1999 – 2003. Editor, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2003 –. Editorial Board, *Journal of Communication*, 2005 – 2007.

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ESRC Centres and Large Grants - People's Peace Index

I write to confirm the full support of the University of Liverpool for the enclosed application to the ESRC's Centres and Large Grants programme. This bid has been prepared with our partners at The University of Birmingham and Queens University Belfast, with whom we have longstanding research partnerships in this field.

The University is fully committed to the creation of the Peoples Peace Index, which plays a central role in the strategic plan of the School of Histories, Languages and Cultures. This bid is aligned to the university's institutional research themes (Changing Cultures, Security and Conflict) and reflects the strategic priorities of a number of national and international bodies as well as those of the ESRC. The University's Strategic Plan (2009-2014) sets out a number of aims that align to this bid, such as our desire to increase long term, interdisciplinary research partnerships, global engagement and to increase the knowledge exchange and impact of our research. Dr Irwin has an unrivalled international reputation in peace polling; and he has the rare quality of being recognised both in academic and policy-circles as a researcher who can produce genuinely transformational and unique perspectives on world problems

If the proposal is successful, the University will provide a range of support, including the provision of 50% funding for two PhD studentships. Along with similar commitments from partners at The University of Birmingham this would lever up to 4 additional studentships to be based at either the NWDTC (hosted at Liverpool) or the Birmingham DTC, providing access to cohorts and advanced training. The University is committed to building capacity in this area of research strength and will provide all the resources necessary to support this research programme, this includes use of the new London campus for international meetings and conference events. The research team will benefit from existing infrastructure and facilities, including staff training and development, particularly postgraduate and early career researchers for which we offer tailored programmes and individual mentoring.

The design and delivery of this innovative research project is as a key component of the University's strategy for developing and linking research that is not only world leading, but also deeply involved in international policy debates. This project will address the serious need for democratic input into policy-making, and by linking together leading academics in Liverpool, Birmingham and Belfast, plus international partners, this project will achieve its ambitions to be a truly transformative programme of research that will deliver a meaningful global legacy for many years. I therefore wish to give the project and the researchers involved my strongest support.

Yours sincerely,



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Pathways to Impact: Perceptions-Based 'People's Peace Index' (PPI)

Our impact plan is based on the fundamental principle of knowledge exchange to ensure all the stakeholders and users have maximum access to the data and results through a pro-active program of dissemination using all available channels of media communications, publication and consultation to ensure that both stakeholders and users can benefit fully from conceptual and instrumental impact and capacity building based on the quality and scholarly integrity of the underpinning research. The beneficiaries can be categorised into three main groups of stakeholders and users as follows:

People's, politicians, governments and IGOs: The peoples caught up in violent conflicts, local and regional authorities in states, state governments and regional and global IGOs with responsibilities for conflict resolution. For example regional IGOs would include the EU, African Union etc. and globally the UN departments of Political Affairs, Peace-building, UNDPKO, UNDP etc. World Bank and ICRC.

NGOs: National and international NGOs engaged in conflict resolution, human rights advocacy, humanitarian aid and development. National NGOs in conflict states are numerous and varied. Internationally a few relevant NGOs would include: Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, No Peace Without Justice, Minority Rights Group International, International Crisis Group, Transparency International, Oxfam, etc.

Academic: Students, academics and research institutions engaged in peace and conflict studies, religious and ethnic conflict, fragile states, development, security and public opinion/market research. This would include all universities, their relevant departments and institutions as well as relevant government think tanks (for example: Chatham House, RUSI in the UK, PRIO in Norway).

The following pathways to impact have been identified to highlight the contributions that the proposed dissemination and follow-up activities will make to the identified target groups of stakeholders and users. Some impacts and media activities are aimed at all beneficiaries and others at selected groups of beneficiaries.

Target	Type of Impact	Method of Engagement
Peoples	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of their and/or other conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring 'their' conflict to the attention of their government and international community	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, Press conferences/releases
Politicians	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of their and/or other conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring 'their' conflict to the attention of their government and international community - Provide them with specialist analysis for on-going conflict resolution/peace-building	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, Press conferences/releases, Consultations
Government	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of their and/or other conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring 'their' conflict to the attention of the international community - Provide them with specialist analysis for on-going conflict resolution/peace-building <i>Capacity building:</i> Provide them with data and research instruments for conflict analysis	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, SPSS data files, Press conferences/releases, Seminars, Consultations
Domestic NGOs	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of their and/or other conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring 'their' conflict to the attention of their government and the international community <i>Capacity building:</i> Provide them with data for conflict analysis	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, SPSS data files, Press conferences/releases
International NGOs and IGOs	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring conflicts and potential 'hot spots' to the attention of governments and the international community <i>Capacity building:</i> Provide them with data and research instruments for on-going conflict analysis	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, SPSS data files, Press conferences/releases, Academic publications, Seminars, Consultations
Students	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of their and/or other conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Capacity building:</i> Provide them with data for conflict analysis	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, SPSS data files

Academics, Research Institutes and Think Tanks	<i>Conceptual:</i> Identify and understand better the nature of conflicts in national, regional and global contexts <i>Instrumental:</i> Help to bring conflicts and potential 'hot spots' to the attention of their government and international community - Create opportunities for collaborative projects with shared data <i>Capacity building:</i> Provide them with data and research instruments for on-going conflict analysis	Social media, Web site, Analysis and reports, SPSS data files, Conference papers, Academic publications, Seminars, Collaborative research projects
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Impact expectations

Peoples and politicians: Globally we would expect the annual release of the perceptions based People's Peace Index (PPI) to receive international press coverage in much the same way as the fact based Global Peace Index (GPI). However, at the state level where there are conflicts we would expect the coverage to be more intense with partisan commentary and analysis on all sides leading to opportunities for a more balanced discourse given the objective status of the PPI data and analysis.

Governments: Where governments are dealing with an insurgency we can expect their reaction to the PPI to be very similar to that of their constituent supporters and politicians and again this will create opportunities for the international community to identify and follow up with more objective approaches to conflict analysis and resolution. However, where conflicts are not receiving the attention of the international community the relevant governments can use the PPI data and analysis for international advocacy with NGOs and academics providing expert support.

IGOs: The PI has been brought in as one of several consultants to advise the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) on how best to bring the views of local peoples into their activities. As such the UN DPKO will be the first IGO point of contact for this project. It is expected that the state level data and analysis will be able to provide a perceptions/conflict baseline where the UN have missions (where this is not presently available) and where, in the future they may have missions. Starting from this point of contact the investigator team will engage with all relevant UN organisations to help them make perceptions based research a part of their activities wherever appropriate in accordance with expert advice given to the UN Secretary General.

NGOs: Domestic NGOs are too numerous to target individually and will be treated in much the same way as 'Students' and 'Academics' below in the first instance. However, where there are conflicts this can change in collaboration with UN/IGO requirements. Large International NGOs can be treated in much the same way as IGOs providing specialist seminars and consultations for advocacy in the mitigation of conflicts.

Students: The immediate availability of the SPSS files for conflict and peace analysis in 140 plus countries with state, regional and global demographics should provide students with one of the most interesting data sets available to them. Made accessible as a free download with notices going out through all the relevant professional associations further supported through social media it is expected that this strategy may well prove to be one of the most effective channels for impact through knowledge exchange.

Academics: With 4 Investigators and 2 Post Docs giving papers at various international conferences, with publications in the longer term coupled and with on-line discussion of results and analysis with academic colleagues around the world the project imperatives of academic transparency and co-operation should lead to many opportunities for collaboration with both the members of the project team as well as independently of the team when other academics so choose with appropriate acknowledgements to the project.

Research institutes and think tanks: Firstly, following meetings with the founder and members of the research team of the fact based Global Peace Index (GPI) in New York, London and Belfast we can expect good cooperation with the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) for sharing and combining data sets to produce hybrid fact/perceptions based analysis of conflict and peace. Secondly, though seminars and consultations with national think tanks we can expect these institutions to become more cognisant of the value of perceptions analysis in conflict resolution in both their states, regionally and globally.

All stakeholders/users together: We do not expect any one avenue/pathway for knowledge exchange to achieve the desired objectives of the project. However, collectively, it is the expectation of the project team that this program of research and dissemination will lead to the 'mainstreaming' of perceptions as an integral and necessary part of conflict analysis, resolution and peace-building.