

# Kjetil Tronvoll, Prof., PhD

Senior Partner

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## PROFILE

Kjetil Tronvoll is Senior Partner at ILPI, and oversees all Africa related activities and the ILPI offices in Ethiopia and Tanzania, as well as directing the Political Analysis and Conflict programme area. He has broad experience within research and consultancies on human rights, governance, democratisation, politics and conflict related issues. Tronvoll is a former professor of human rights at the University of Oslo, and has lectured, researched, and published extensively on human rights. Tronvoll still maintains a professorship (part time) of peace and conflict studies at Bjorknes University College.

For more than two decades, Tronvoll has worked within the broad field of human rights, with a particular focus on implementation of political rights in an African context. With a PhD in political anthropology from London School of Economics, visiting fellowships at Columbia University, Addis Ababa U. and U. of Florida, long-term fieldwork in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Zanzibar, and project assignments in a dozen other African countries, Tronvoll holds an extensive international experience in and a wide network of relevance for political and conflict analysis as well as human rights assessments. In addition to his extensive academic performances within the field, he has also worked as a consultant for various development aid agencies and donors on evaluations and issues of human and political rights. He has published 9 book and dozens of articles and reports on human rights, conflicts, democratisation, and political development. Tronvoll has also served as an advisor to political reconciliation processes and international peace meditating initiatives.

## WORK EXPERIENCE

<b>Senior and Founding Partner, International Law and Policy Institute, Oslo</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Co-responsible for running of the Institute. Oversees offices and staff in Ethiopia and Tanzania. Responsible for project development and quality assurance within political analysis and conflict sector and the Africa project portfolio. Director of ILPI Research and Outreach, and ILPI Centre for African Studies.</li> </ul>	2009 – Present
<b>Professor of Peace and Conflict studies (part time), Bjørknes College, Oslo</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conducted research, dissemination, supervision and teaching on human rights and political developments in Africa.</li> </ul>	2012 – Present
<b>Professor / associate prof. of Human Rights, Faculty of Law, University Of Oslo</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conducted research, dissemination, supervision and teaching on human rights and political developments in Africa.</li> </ul>	2005 – 2014
<b>Senior Fulbright Scholar, Center for African Studies, University of Florida</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Research and lecturing on African political development and human rights</li> </ul>	2006 – 2007

<b>Senior Research Fellow / Research fellow / Horn of Africa programme director, Norwegian Centre for Human Rights, University Of Oslo</b>	1996 – 2005
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conducted research on political development, peace and reconciliation processes and conflict in Africa.</li> <li>▪ Responsible to establish and run a 5 year long Norad funded university cooperation programme between UiO and Addis Ababa University; with the aim to strengthen human rights teaching and research in Ethiopia.</li> <li>▪ Carried out various appraisals and evaluations on human rights for Norad, through the framework agreement between Norad and NCHR.</li> </ul>	
<b>Research fellow, Gender Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)</b>	1998 – 2000
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Research on gender in African conflicts and identities, as part of an international project in cooperation between LSE, Cambridge U., SOAS and Nordic Africa Institute</li> </ul>	
<b>Research fellow, Fafo Institute of Applied Social Science</b>	1995 – 1996
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Heading an international evaluation team of the NORAD funded Yearbook on Human Rights. (Evaluation report published by Norwegian MFA).</li> </ul>	
<b>Project Coordinator / project leader, NORDEM (Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights)</b>	1993 – 1994
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Administering, coordinating and recruiting personnel under the NORDEM programme, to observe elections and strengthen human rights capacities in international assignments.</li> </ul>	
<b>EDUCATION</b>	
<b>London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), University of London, United Kingdom</b>	1998 – 2003
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ PhD in Anthropology. Thesis title: 'Identities in Conflict. An Ethnography of War and the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia, 1998-2000', pp. 414. Awarded the highest 'grading' possible. (Revised mss. published in 2009).</li> </ul>	
<b>University of Oslo, Norway</b>	1992 – 1996
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Magister artium (Mag. art./M.Phil.), Department of Social Anthropology. Thesis title: 'Mai Weini – a Highland Village in Eritrea. A study of the people, their livelihood and land tenure during times of turbulence', pp. 363. (Revised mss. published in 1998).</li> </ul>	
<b>University of Oslo, Norway</b>	1988 – 1992
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cand. mag degree at the Faculty of Social Sciences. Major (mellomfag) in social anthropology, minors (grunnfag) in sociology and geography.</li> </ul>	

## LANGUAGES

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- **Norwegian** — Fluent (mother tongue)
- **English** — Fluent

## OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE OF RELEVANCE

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- **2014:** Coordinating an appraisal on a landuse and development programme in Gambella, Ethiopia, with regards to minority rights and participatory rights of local inhabitants (for SIDA).
- **2013 – on-going:** External project based advisor; for the Swedish Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on Ethiopia's foreign policy.
- **2013 – on-going:** External project based advisor; for the Danish and Norwegian Embassies, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on conflict tracking and political development in Tanzania.
- **2013 – on-going:** External project based advisor; for the Norwegian Embassy, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on political reconciliation in Zanzibar.
- **2012 – on-going:** External project based advisor; for the Foreign Office, UK Government, on conflict prevention and political development in Eritrea.
- **2009 – 2011:** External project based advisor; for the Norwegian Embassy, Dar es Salaam, on conflict, political development and reconciliation in Zanzibar.
- **2008 – 2009:** Senior consultant/researcher; to the Oslo Centre for Peace and Human Rights, in charge of a study on the human rights context in Eritrea; including international advocacy towards UN, EU and AU.
- **2007 (fall):** Advisor to the World Council of Churches, seconded by Norwegian Church Aid, on an international conflict mediating/resolving initiative.
- **2007 (spring):** Consultant to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the economic ramifications of the Eritrean-Ethiopian war and ensuing political stalemate; with responsibility to develop an extensive set of recommendations to alleviate the latent conflict potential.
- **2006 (summer):** Consultant to the Norwegian Embassy in Tanzania on post-election reconciliation in Zanzibar.
- **2006 (winter):** Consultant and member of an international expert team to the Donor Assistance Group (DAG) in Ethiopia to analyse and advice on the post-election political turmoil and human rights situation in the country.
- **2005 (Aug.-Dec.):** Consultant/external political analyst for the Norwegian Embassy in Tanzania on the implementation of the political reconciliation agreement on Zanzibar and the conduct of the elections.
- **2003 – 2004:** Senior researcher on the implementation of the Muafaka political reconciliation accord on Zanzibar, commissioned by NORAD.
- **2002 (Jan-April, part-time):** Consultant/external expert advisor to SIDA, Stockholm on human rights and democratic development in Ethiopia for the preparation of a new country development strategy on Ethiopia.
- **1999 – 2000:** Consultant/researcher for Minority Rights Group International (a London based INGO), and responsible for drafting their country study on minority rights in Ethiopia.
- **1998 (fall):** Project leader/researcher of a study into the background causes of the new Eritrean-Ethiopian war, commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (revised mss. published 2000).
- **1996 – 2002:** Project leader and initiator of a comprehensive research and capacity building cooperation project between NCHR/University of Oslo and Dep. Of Political Science and International Relations, Addis Ababa University.
- **1995 – 1998:** Coordinator of a low-profile political dialogue initiative to reconcile the government party and opposition parties in Ethiopia (funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
- **1993 – 2010:** Participating in and heading 12 election observer missions to Zanzibar, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, South Africa, and Palestine
- **1993 – 1994:** Project leader (substitute) NORDEM (Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights), Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo.
- **1993 – 1994:** Project coordinator, NORDEM, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo.

- **1987 – 1988:** Duty signal officer in the Royal Norwegian Navy at Haakonsværn (West Coast Navy district) and subsequently at the National Defence Headquarters in Oslo.

## RESEARCH MANAGEMENT

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- **Project leader** of the interdisciplinary research project *Ethiopia – Consolidating Peace or Emerging New Conflicts?*, funded by the Norwegian MFA. The project has a 2 year time frame (2013-2015) and is analysing the impact of Ethiopia's developmental state policy on peace and conflict in the country. The project will result in several reports and a published anthology.
- **Project leader** of the interdisciplinary research project *Ethiopia's International Relations: The Foreign Policy Making and Determinants of an Emerging Giant*, funded by Swedish MFA and SIDA. The project has a 2 year time frame (2013-2015) and is carried out in partnership with Ethiopian institutions and Ethiopian MFA. The project will result in a national and international published anthology, in addition to several other articles.
- **Project leader** of the international and interdisciplinary research project *Tanzania Towards 2015*, funded by the Danish and Norwegian embassies to Tanzania. The project has a 3 year time frame (2013-2016) and will provide continuous conflict tracking analysis of events across Tanzania, and will result in a number of reports and articles.
- **Project leader** of the international and interdisciplinary research project *Conflict After War: Troubled Transitions in the Horn of Africa*, funded partly by the Norwegian Research Council (through the CPD network) and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The project involves eight scholars (drawn from the disciplines of political science, social anthropology, and history), from three countries. (Output published in special edited issue of *Review of African Political Economy*).
- **Project leader** of the international and interdisciplinary research project *Contested Power: Traditional Authorities and Multi-party Elections in Ethiopia*, funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The project involves ten scholars (drawn from the disciplines of political science, social anthropology, religious studies and history) from six countries. (Mss. under consideration for publication by Brill).
- **Project leader** of the international and interdisciplinary research project *Ethiopia's Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged*, funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The study involved twelve scholars (drawn from the disciplines of law, history, political science, social anthropology and sociology) from five countries. (Oxford: James Curry, 2009).
- **Project leader** of a research project on the conduct of the Ethiopian 2000/2001 elections commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The study involved participants from Norway and USA. Outcome was the co-edited book *Ethiopia After the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Performance and Pretensions* (London: Zed Books, 2002).
- **Project leader** of the research project into the background causes to the 1998-2000 Eritrean-Ethiopian War commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Outcome was the co-authored book *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopia War* (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2000).
- **Project leader** of an international and interdisciplinary research-evaluation team of five persons into human rights research in developing countries, commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Outcome was the report *Evaluation of the yearbook 'Human Rights in Developing Countries'* (published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Evaluation Report Series no 5.96*).
- **Project leader** of a research project into the Ethiopian 1995 elections. Outcome was the co-authored monograph *Process of Democratisation in Ethiopia: An Expression of Popular Participation or Political Resistance?* (published as Human Rights Report, No. 5/95, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights).

## INTERNATIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

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- **Zanzibar (2010):** International observer and team leader of the ILPI observation group to the general elections in Zanzibar
- **Zanzibar (2010):** International observer and team leader of the ILPI observation group to the referendum on the formation of Unity government.

- **Zanzibar (2009-2010):** International observer to the voter registration process.
- **Zanzibar (2005):** Diplomatic observer to the Tanzanian and Zanzibar elections and subsequent re-elections.
- **Zanzibar (2005):** International observer to the voter registration process.
- **Zanzibar (2003):** International election observer to the Pemba by-election.
- **Ethiopia (2000):** Head of Norwegian research and observation mission to the Ethiopian federal and regional elections.
- **Kenya (1997/1998):** Research member and international observer to the general elections.
- **Eritrea (1997):** Team leader of the Norwegian observer group to the regional elections.
- **Palestine Autonomous Area (1995/96):** Long term observer and research coordinator to the general elections to Palestine authorities in Gaza.
- **Tanzania (1995):** Team leader of the Norwegian observer group to the presidential and parliamentary elections.
- **Ethiopia (1995):** Team leader of the Norwegian research and observer group to the regional and federal elections.
- **Ethiopia (1994):** International observer to the constituent election.
- **South Africa (1994):** Coordinator of the Norwegian observer group to UNOMSA, and UN observer to the regional and parliamentary elections.
- **Eritrea (1993):** UN observer to the referendum on independence.

## LONG-TERM RESEARCH FIELDWORK

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- *Zanzibar:* Research into the political reconciliation process (*Muafaka*) between the CCM government party and the opposition party CUF. The reconciliation agreement came about as a consequence of electoral mismanagement and violence in 1995 and 2000. First fieldwork conducted from May to December 2003; follow up fieldworks every year since then (all in all about 2,5 years).
- *Ethiopia:* Research on the impact of the Eritrean-Ethiopian war on the political transition and identity politics in Ethiopia. Main fieldwork conducted in periods during 1998-2000, mostly in the war-zone of Tigray. In addition, three to four field visits every year have been undertaken to Ethiopia from 1995 until the main fieldwork started in 1998; and every year since 2000.
- *Eritrea:* Research on rural livelihood, traditional social organisation and the relationship between the military liberation front and the peasantry during war. Fieldwork conducted in a small highland village during the transitional period from war to independence in 1991-93. Follow-up field-visits have been conducted in 1994, 1996, 1997 and 1998.

## SHORT-TERM RESEARCH FIELDWORK

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- *Uganda:* A study on Sexual and Gender Based Violence against women (2011).
- *Comoros:* A survey of the political situation related to the political transition and re-unionification process (2000).
- *Zambia:* A study of the free press/expression of freedom/media situation (1998).
- *Botswana:* A study into the conditions of human rights research in the country (1996).
- *Tanzania:* A study into the conditions of human rights research in the country (1996).
- *Mozambique:* Democratisation/pre-election study (1994).
- *Djibouti:* Conflict study of the political tension between the Issa and Afar groups (1992).

## KEY PUBLICATIONS (SELECTED)

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### Books

- Tronvoll, K & Mekonnen, D 2014, *The African Garrison State: Human Rights and Political Development in Eritrea*, James Currey, Woodbridge.
- Tronvoll, K & Hagman, T 2011, *Contested Power in Ethiopia: Traditional Authorities and Multiparty Elections*, Brill Publishers, Leiden.
- Tronvoll, K 2009, *War and the Politics of Identity in Ethiopia: The Making of Enemies and Allies in*

*the Horn of Africa*, James Currey, Woodbridge.

- **Tronvoll, K**, Schaefer, C, & Aneme, G (eds) 2009, *The Ethiopian Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged*, James Currey, Woodbridge.
- Tronvoll, K 2009, *The Lasting Struggle for Freedom in Eritrea. Human Rights and Political Development, 1991-2009*, Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, Oslo.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Vaughan, S 2003, *The Culture of Power in Contemporary Ethiopian Political Life, SIDA Studies*, Stockholm.
- **Tronvoll, K**, Pausewang, S. & Aalen, L 2002, *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, Zed Books, London.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Negash, T 2000, *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War*, James Currey Publishers, Woodbridge.
- Tronvoll, K 1998, *Mai Weini - a Village in Highland Eritrea. A study of the people, their livelihood and land tenure during times of turbulence*, Lawrenceville, NJ, Red Sea Press, USA.

#### International 'Peer Review' Articles /Publications (selected)

- Tronvoll, K 2011, 'The Ethiopian 2010 Federal and Regional Elections: Re-establishing the One-party State', *African Affairs*, vol. 110, no. 438, pp. 121–136.
- Tronvoll, K 2009, 'Minority Marginalisation in Eritrea', *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 409-426.
- Tronvoll, K 2009, 'Ambiguous Elections: The Influence of Non-electoral Politics in Ethiopian Democratisation', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 449-474.
- **Tronvoll, K**, Cliffe, L, & Love, R 2009, 'Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 151-163.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Aalen, L 2009, 'The End of Democracy? Curtailing political and civil rights in Ethiopia', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 193-207.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Nystuen, G 2008, 'The Eritrean-Ethiopian Peace Agreement: Exploring the limits of law', *The Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, no. 1, pp. 16 -37.
- Tronvoll, K 2008, 'Human Rights Violations in Federal Ethiopia: When Ethnic Identity is a Political Stigma' *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, vol. 15, no. 1.
- Tronvoll, K 2006, 'Bridging Divided Identities – or an Agency of Political Domination? Reassessing the Future of the Tanzanian Union', *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights*, vol. 13, pp. 223-241.
- Tronvoll, K 2005, 'Ambiguous Identities: Notions of War and Significant Others among the Tigreans of Ethiopia', *Violence and Belonging: The Quest for Identity in Post-Colonial Africa*, ed Vigdis Broch-Due, V, Routledge, London, pp. 236-254.
- Tronvoll, K 2001, 'Voting, violence and violations: Peasant voices on the flawed elections in Hadiya, Southern Ethiopia', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 39, no. 4.
- Tronvoll, K 2000, 'Meret Shehena or 'Land of Brother': S.F. Nadel's 'Land tenure on the Eritrean plateau' revisited', *Africa*, vol. 70, no. 4, pp. 595-613.
- Tronvoll, K 1999, 'Borders of violence – boundaries of identity: demarcating the Eritrean nation-state' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 22, no.6, pp. 1037-1060.
- Tronvoll, K 1998, 'The Process of Nation-Building in Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above?', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 36, no.3, pp. 461-482.
- Tronvoll, K 1996, 'The Eritrean Referendum: Peasant Voices', *Eritrean Studies Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, Red Sea Press, New Jersey, p. 23-67.

#### Short monographs

- Tronvoll, K 2000, *Ethiopia: A New Start?*, Minority Rights Group International, London.
- **Tronvoll, K**, Tostensen, A & Andreassen, BA 1998, *Kenya's Hobbled Democracy Revisited, The 1997 General Elections in Retrospect and Prospect*, Human Rights Report, no. 2/98, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, Oslo.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Aadland, Ø 1995, *The Process of Democratisation in Ethiopia: An Expression of Popular Participation or Political Resistance?*, HRR No. 5, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo, Oslo.

#### Sections In Books

- Tronvoll, K 2012, 'The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia', in *The Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, Cambridge University Press.
- **Tronvoll, K** & Hagman, T 2012, 'Introduction: traditional authorities and multi-party elections in

- Ethiopia', in *Contested Power: Traditional Authorities and multiparty elections in Ethiopia*, eds Tronvoll, K & Hagman, T, Brill (African Social Studies Series), Leiden/Boston.
- Tronvoll, K 2012, 'Epilogue: The 'new' Ethiopia: changing discourses of democracy' in *Contested Power: Traditional Authorities and multiparty elections in Ethiopia*, eds Tronvoll, K & Hagman, T, Brill (African Social Studies Series), Leiden/Boston.
  - Tronvoll, K 2009, 'Contested Politics: A Brief History of Ethiopian Elections', in *Det hjemlige og det globale. Festskrift til Randi Rønning Balsvik*, eds Niemi, E & Smith-Simonsen, C, Akademisk Forlag, Oslo.
  - Tronvoll, K 2009, 'Concluding the main Red Terror trial – Special Prosecutor v. Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam et al.' in *The Ethiopian Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged*, eds **Tronvoll, K**, Schaefer, C, & Aneme, G, James Currey Publishers, Oxford.
  - Tronvoll, K 2009, 'The Red Terror Trials: A Quest for Justice or the Formation of Political Legitimacy?' in *The Ethiopian Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged*, eds Tronvoll, K, Schaefer, C, & Aneme, G, James Currey Publishers, Oxford.
  - Tronvoll, K 2009, 'The Red Terror Trials: The context of transitional justice in Ethiopia', in *The Ethiopian Red Terror Trials: Transitional Justice Challenged*, eds Tronvoll, K, Schaefer, C, & Aneme, G, James Currey Publishers, Oxford.
  - **Tronvoll, K** & Pausewang, S 2008, 'Norway', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia Vol. 3*, ed Uhlig, S Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.
  - Tronvoll, K 2004, 'From war to peace, and back to war again? The failure of OAU/UN to create sustainable peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia' in *The Crisis of the Horn of Africa*, eds Sørbø, G & Pausewang, S, CMI/Rafto Foundation, Bergen.
  - Tronvoll, K 2003, 'Bayto', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia Vol.1 A-C*, ed Uhlig, S, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.
  - **Tronvoll, K**, Pausewang, S & Aalen, L 2002, 'Democratisation in Ethiopia: Some Notes on Theory and Methodology' in *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, Zed Books, London.
  - **Tronvoll, K**, Pausewang, S & Aalen, L 2002, 'A Process of Democratisation or Control? The Historical and Political Context' in *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, Zed Books, London.
  - **Tronvoll, K**, Pausewang, S & Aalen, L 2002, 'Conclusion: Democracy Unfulfilled?' in *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, Zed Books, London.
  - Tronvoll, K 2002, 'Political Repression and Resistance: The Elections in Hadiya, Southern Region' in *Ethiopia Since the Derg: A Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, Zed Books, London.
  - Tronvoll, K 2001, 'Eritrea', in *Countries and Their Cultures*, eds Ember, M & Ember, CR, vol. 2, Macmillian, New York, pp. 724-732.
  - **Tronvoll, K** & Negash, T 2001, 'Rim: a form of land holding or a conceptual framework of local governance? The rise and decline of Rim in Eritrea', in *Anthropological and Historical Documents on "Rim" in Ethiopia and Eritrea*, eds Bausi, A, Dore, G & Taddia, I, L'Harmattan, Italy.
  - Tronvoll, K 1998, 'Etiopias rettsoppgjør: Søken etter rettferdighet eller bygging av politisk legitimitet?' ('The Ethiopian war-tribunal: The Quest for Justice or the creation of political legitimacy?'), in *Forsoning eller rettferdighet? (Reconciliation or Justice)*, eds Andreassen, BA & Skaar, E, Cappelen Akademiske Forlag, Oslo.
  - Tronvoll, K 1995, 'Eritrea Beyond Independence' in *On the Challenges of Eritrean Education*, eds Bergem, T & Ertzgaard, S, NLA Forlaget, Bergen, pp. 8

**In addition to 75 other reports, op-eds and articles on issues of human rights, democratization, political developments and conflicts written between 1993 and today.**